

**NEGOTIATING THE FIELD:
AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN
OTTOMAN SYRIA, 1823 TO 1860**

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In loving memory of my grandmother, Sophie Jaekel

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the work of the missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the rise of a Protestant community in Ottoman Syria, from the commencement of the missionary station at Beirut in 1823, to the dissolution of the community in 1860. The primary goals of this thesis are to investigate the history of this missionary encounter and the culture of the new community. This analysis is guided by the theoretical framework of Practice Theory and employs gender as a lens to explore the development of the Protestant identity. It argues that the Protestant community in Ottoman Syria emerged within the expanding port-city of Beirut and was situated within both the American and Ottoman historical contexts. The social structures that defined this community reflect the centrality of the ABCFM missionaries within the community and reveals a latent hierarchy based upon racial difference. However, tensions within the community and subversions to the missionaries' definition of Protestantism persisted throughout the period under review, which eventually led to the fragmentation of the community in 1860. The contribution of this thesis lies in its investigation onto the activities of women and their delineation of Protestant womanhood and motherhood, as an important manifestation of Protestant culture. This work demonstrates the centrality of women to the development of the Protestant community in Ottoman Syria and reveals the complex interpersonal relationships that defined this missionary encounter.

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I declare that thesis has been composed of myself, is of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualifications.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
Anderson, <i>HM</i>	Rufus Anderson. <i>History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches: In Two Volumes</i> . Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872.
Anderson, <i>MV</i>	Rufus Anderson. <i>Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions</i> . (Fifth Edition). Boston: The Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1863.
AUB	American University of Beirut Archives
Badr, <i>CHME</i>	Habib Badr <i>et al.</i> (eds.). <i>Christianity: A History in the Middle East</i> . Beirut, Lebanon: Middle East Council of Churches, Studies & Research Program, 2005.
Bliss, <i>RDS</i>	Fredrick Bliss. (ed.). <i>The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss</i> . New York, Chicago, London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920.
CMS	Church Missionary Society
Comaroff and Comaroff, <i>RR:I</i>	John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff. <i>Of Revelation and Revolution: Volume One: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa</i> . Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
Comaroff and Comaroff, <i>RR:II</i>	John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff. <i>Of Revelation and Revolution: Volume Two: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier</i> . Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.
ECB	Evangelical Church of Beirut
ES	Eli Smith Papers
EWIC	<i>Encyclopaedia of Women and Islamic Cultures</i>
FO	Foreign Office
Gebhardt, <i>HSSCB</i>	Hans Gebhardt <i>et al.</i> <i>History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat</i> . Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2005.

HHJ	Henry Harris Jessup Papers
HHL	Harvard Houghton Library
Hooker, MSLS	Edward W. Hooker. <i>Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Lanman Smith, Late of the Mission in Syria</i> . London: The Religious Tract Society, 1839.
Huber and Lutkenhaus, GM	Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy Lutkenhaus. (eds.). <i>Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice</i> . Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
ICMR	<i>Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
Jessup, WA	Henry Harris Jessup. <i>The Women of the Arabs: With a Chapter for Children</i> (ed. C. S. Robinson and Isaac Riley). New York: Dodd & Mead, Publishers, 1873.
LJS	London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (London Jews Society)
MH	<i>Missionary Herald</i>
Michie and Thomas, NCG	Helena Michie and Ronald R. Thomas. (eds.). <i>Nineteenth-Century Geographies: The Transformation of Space the Victorian Age to the American Century</i> . New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 1993.
MSM	ABCFM, 'Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Syrian Mission, Held in the September and October, 1855, on occasion of the Visit of One of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions'. Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1856.
Murre-van den Berg, NFAL	Heleen Murre-van den Berg. (ed.). <i>New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries</i> . Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society
PRO:	[British] Public Records Office
Robinson and Smith, BR	Edward Robinson and Eli Smith. <i>Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Years 1838 and 1852</i> . (Second Edition). London: John Murray, 1856.
SPC	Syrian Protestant College
Tamcke and Marten, CWBCNB	Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten. (eds.). <i>Christian Witness Between Continuity and New</i>

- Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East.* Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2006.
- Tejirian and Simon, *AI* Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon. (eds.). *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East.* New York: Middle East Institute, Columbia University, Occasional Papers IV, 2002.
- Thomson, *LB* William McClure Thomson. *The Land and the Book: or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land. Volume I and II.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859.
- Tracey, 'HABCFM' Joseph Tracey. 'History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board', in: n.s. (ed.), *History of American Missions to the Heathen, From their Commencement to the Present Time*, Worcester: Sponner and Howland, 1840.
- UPC United Presbyterian Church
- Wortabet, *RRS* John Wortabet. *Researches into the Religions of Syria: Or, Sketches, Historical and Doctrinal, of Its Religious Sects. Drawn from Original Sources.* London: James Nisbet, 1860.
- Wortabet, *SS* Gregory M. Wortabet, *Syria, and the Syrians; or, Turkey in the Dependencies. Volume I and II.* London: James Madden, 1856.
- YDS Yale Divinity School Library

GLOSSARY

<i>`abidāt:</i>	Religious women or devotees.
<i>`adis:</i>	A lentil dish.
<i>Antebellum:</i>	‘Before the war’; period in United States history between the War of 1812 and the start of the American Civil War (1861).
<i>a`yān:</i>	Notables; composed of both the religious and secular leaders on Mount Lebanon.
<i>berāt:</i>	Documents stating the legal privileges or protection of an individual; often used to ensure the political and diplomatic protection of a foreigner or an employee of a foreigner living in the Ottoman Empire.
<i>berāth:</i>	One who holds a <i>berāt</i> .
<i>Bilād al-Shām:</i>	The territory within the Ottoman Empire that encompassed ‘Greater Syria’, which included the present day nation-states of Lebanon and Syria as well as areas in Jordan and Israel/Palestine.
<i>btul:</i>	Virgin; nun.
<i>Centre Hall</i>	A house with a central hall on the upper floor that ended in a double-arched or triple-arched façade of windows, which became the hallmark of the new Beirut middle classes during the mid to late nineteenth century.
<i>House:</i>	
<i>dār:</i>	A one-roomed house; the name of the central room within a Centre Hall House.
<i>corvée:</i>	Compulsory labour.
<i>dibs:</i>	Molasses made from vine fruits.
<i>conscription:</i>	Forced military service.
<i>diwān al-</i> <i>mushawarah:</i>	A consultation council formed in Beirut by Muhammed Ali during the 1830s.
<i>dhimmī:</i>	‘People of the Book’; applied to Jews and Christians living in the Ottoman Empire to emphasize their distinct, but protected, position within Ottoman political structures.
<i>emir:</i>	The title of the highest position within the political hierarchy on Mount Lebanon.
<i>emirate:</i>	The secular hierarchy amongst the local leaders of Mount Lebanon.
<i>Filioque:</i>	‘and the Son’ - in regards to the procession of the Holy Spirit within the Christian Trinity; a clause added to the Nicene Creed accepted by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, but rejected by Orthodox

	churches, relating to the divine nature of Jesus Christ.
<i>fooliyyah:</i>	A dish of cooked fava beans and tomatoes.
<i>Franji:</i>	Frank; French; the term associated with European residents of the Ottoman Empire.
<i>hane:</i>	The household arrangement found in Ottoman Syria where separate living units were officially recognised (and taxed) under a shared family name.
<i>ḥarāt:</i>	Large, apartment-like houses, found in Beirut’s city centre during the early nineteenth century.
<i>Hatt-ı Humayan:</i>	Ottoman Imperial Edit of 1856, which continued and refined the <i>Tanzimat</i> reforms through promising equality for all Ottoman subjects regardless of religious faith.
<i>Hatt-ı Sherif of Gülhane:</i>	Ottoman Edict of 1836, which marked the beginning of the <i>Tanzimat</i> reforms.
<i>iqṭā’:</i>	The system of governance on Mount Lebanon that followed a tax farming structure similar to other areas within the Ottoman Empire, but which drew upon local hierarchies and alliances.
<i>kibbeh:</i>	A traditional Syrian dish made with ground meat and bulgar wheat.
<i>labneh:</i>	A soft cheese made from strained yogurt.
<i>latinization:</i>	The process through which churches adopt and follow the religious tenets promoted by the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church.
<i>līwān:</i>	An open hall or room; the name given to the two and three stories houses that were popular in early nineteenth century Beirut, which had south-facing gardens surrounded by family living spaces, forming an ‘L’ or ‘U’ shape.
<i>madhābiḥ al-sittīn:</i>	‘Massacres of the Sixties’; the series of violence on Mount Lebanon and Damascus during the summer of 1860.
<i>mecil:</i>	Administrative councils.
<i>milk:</i>	Privately-owned land.
<i>millet:</i>	A recognised religious-political community within Ottoman political structures, especially during the nineteenth century.
<i>miri:</i>	State-owned land that could be confiscated and used by Ottoman and local officials at whim. This often included agricultural land outside of cities.
<i>muqata`āt:</i>	The district within a tax farm.
<i>muqata` jī (pl.</i>	Tax collector; secular ruler of an area on Mount Lebanon.

<i>muqata'jīyyah</i>):	
<i>Qa'im maqām</i> :	The political leader of a <i>Qa'im maqāmat</i> .
<i>Qa'im maqāmat</i> :	One of the two political regions/divisions of Mount Lebanon created by the Ottoman government during the period of 1843 to 1860.
<i>rahibah</i> (pl. <i>rahibāt</i>):	Nun.
<i>Rum</i> :	Collective title for all Christians within the Ottoman Empire; used more specifically to reference those within the Greek Orthodox Church.
<i>qadi</i> :	Judge.
<i>samneh</i> :	Butter, pertaining to clarified, not churned, butter.
<i>ṣilat al-raḥim</i> :	'Bonds of the womb'; kinship alliances.
<i>tā'ifah</i> (pl. <i>tāwā'if</i>):	Locally-based communal association organised around a designated religious and/or secular identity, which was used for court records and to allocate taxes.
<i>Tanzimat</i> :	A period of reforms initiated in 1839 by the Ottoman government to strengthen the relationship between the government and its subjects.
<i>theosis</i> :	Divinization; the process through which humans become one with God. This concept is central to Orthodox theology and can be achieved through the use of icons.
<i>Triple-Arched House</i> :	See Central-Hall House.
<i>vilayet</i> :	A designated province within the Ottoman Empire.
<i>wakīl</i> :	Representative council or assembly.
<i>wālī</i> :	Governor of a province.
<i>waqf</i> :	An endowment, often of a building or land, to be used for religious or charitable purposes.
<i>Zoqāq el-Blāt</i> :	'The cobbled lane'; originally used to describe the first paved street in Beirut's suburbs. It eventually referred to the suburbs around this street, which was an important location for the new houses and educational institutions of Beirut's emerging middle class.

MAP OF THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE



INTRODUCTION

In early 1860, John Wortabet applied to the United Presbyterian Church's (UPC) Synod of Edinburgh to 'be admitted as a [m]ember and [m]inister of this church'.¹ In so doing, John severed his ecclesiastical ties with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) with whom he had been associated since his youth. Before residing in Scotland, John and his wife, Salome (née Carabet) were active members in the Protestant community of Ottoman Syria, which commenced in 1823 when missionaries from the ABCFM settled in Beirut. Both John and Salome were born to parents who were originally Armenian Christians, but who became Protestants during the 1820s after their engagements with the ABCFM missionaries. Both John and Salome were educated at the ABCFM's schools in Beirut and were accepted as members of the ABCFM-linked Evangelical Church of Beirut (ECB), (f. 1847). As a young woman, Salome taught at the Protestants' schools and worked for a short period at their mission to Mosul.² After marriage, the Wortabets moved to Hasbaya on Mount Lebanon, where John was hired by the ABCFM as 'native preacher' for the new converts at this location, while Salome ran a school with John's sister, Hannie. Despite the longevity of their

¹ British and Foreign Bible Society, 'Application from Dr. John Wortabet', *The United Presbyterian Magazine*, IV (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co., 1860): 326.

² Jessup, WA: 63.

association with the ABCFM however, John felt that his work was curtailed by the ABCFM's policies and 'considered it unpresbyterial [*sic*] that native ministers should be called upon to occupy a lower status than foreign missionaries, and placed under [ABCFM missionary] supervision.'³ These frustrations lead to John's request of transfer to the UPC in 1860, which was accepted, and John was sent as a UPC missionary to the Jews in Aleppo that summer.⁴

The Wortabet's' multifaceted relationship with the ABCFM missionaries and their integral part in the Protestant community of Ottoman Syria encompasses many of the features that defined this missionary encounter. From the commencement of their mission to the region, the ABCFM missionaries forged relationships with the residents of Syria in the hopes of spreading their evangelical message. In so doing, they presented new theological concepts, ecclesiastical structures, social affiliations and cultural institutions, which were pursued by a number of individuals living in the region, including the Wortabet and Carabet. Although the ABCFM missionaries sought to regulate how their faith and culture was adapted to Syrian society, the characteristics that defined Protestantism in Syria was an amalgamation of beliefs and identities that reflects the different personalities and culture of those who created and composed this new church and social-political community.

This study investigates the individuals who formed the Protestant community and analyses the characteristics that identified these persons as Protestants. It begins in 1823, when the ABCFM's 'Syrian Station' was founded in Beirut.⁵ This analysis

³ British and Foreign Bible Society, 'Application from Dr. John Wortabet': 326.

⁴ For information on Wortabet's work for the UPC see Michael Marten, *Attempting to Bring The Gospel Home: Scottish Presbyterian Churches' Missionary Efforts to the Christian, Jews and Muslims of Palestine, 1839-1917* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006): 49-62.

⁵ Others use 1830 or 1840 the starting point for their research on the Protestant community, for this was when the community's major institutions were established. E.g. Ellen Fleischmann, 'Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries; the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830 – 1910)', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*: 263-280; Habib Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians": The Policy and Practice of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and its Missionaries Concerning Eastern Churches Which

concludes in 1860, when war ravaged Mount Lebanon and significantly disrupted the entire region. This end date affirms the research of other historians who argue that this violence was an important point in the transformations of regional political, economic and social systems.⁶ These changes marked the end of this Protestant community, for the authority of the ABCFM was undermined by the arrival of new missionary organisations and the pursuit of alternative definitions of culture and religion. As a result, the period of 1823 to 1860 represents a distinctive phase for Protestantism in Ottoman Syria, when this community emerged and was defined by the ABCFM missionaries' work with the residents of Syria.

A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MISSIONARY ENCOUNTERS

The complexities of missionary and colonial encounters have emerged as an important topic for academic research in recent years. Previous interpretations of history employed simplistic binaries that have recently been challenged by scholars through their nuanced re-readings of the past and deconstruction of essentialist categorisations. Such scholars have revealed the manifold and at times contradictory reactions of people

led to the Organization of a Protestant Church in Beirut (1819-1848)' (Ph.D. Thesis) (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1992): 121.

⁶ See Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000); Caesar E. Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830-1861* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000); Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). Khater argues that while 1860 is an important date, one can not overlook the connections that linked Syrian culture and society before and after this date. Akram Fouad Khater, *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001): 11.

living in colonised areas to the colonising powers and cultures.⁷ In so doing, this research demonstrates that colonialism and intercultural encounters, like mission work, not only affected the people living on the 'peripheries', but was fundamental in shaping the culture and identity of those at the 'metropole'.⁸ This problematises and pluralises our perceptions of 'modernity', often through highlighting the process through which the standards of modernity and civility were created and promoted.⁹ Other scholars have explored the ways that colonial and missionary encounters were both gendered and gendering experiences, through examining the manifold definitions of manhood and womanhood that were constructed and negotiated at these sites of contact.¹⁰ As a

⁷ Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', [1989], in: J. Rutherford, (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture and Difference* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990): 222-237; Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: I*; Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: II*.

⁸ Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, (eds.), *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994); Michie and Thomas, *NCG*; Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Nupur Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewellery, Curry and Rice in Victorian Britain', in: N. Chaudhuri and M. Strobel, (eds.), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992): 231-246; Laura E. Donaldson, *Decolonizing Feminisms: Race, Gender, and Empire-Building* (London: Routledge, 1992); Dana L. Robert, 'The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home', *Religion and American Culture*, 12: 1 (2002): 59-89.

⁹ The debate over modernity, mission and colonialism encompasses a variety of different facets. Important works on this topic include Mathew Burrows, 'Mission civilisatrice: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860-1914', *The Historical Journal*, 29: 1 (1986): 109-135; Akram Khater, "'God has Called Me to be Free": Aleppan Nuns and the Transformation of Catholicism in 18th Century Bilad al-Sham', *IJMES*, 40 (2008): 421-443; Elisa Camiscioli, 'Gender, Colonialism and Citizenship in the Modern Middle East', *Gender and History*, 16:1 (2004): 205-208; Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004); Kalpana Ram and Margaret Jolly, (eds.), *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁰ Barbara N. Ramusack, 'Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945', in: N. Chaudhuri and M. Strobel, (eds.), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992): 119-136; Kumari Jayawardena, *The White Woman's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia During British Colonial Rule* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995); Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1992); Ram and Jolly, *Maternities and Modernities*; Yoshihara, *Embracing the East*; Jane Haggis, 'White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non-Recuperative

result, the previous binaries of the colonised and coloniser, as well as male and female, have been transformed into a manifold network of accommodation, repression and subversion of identities.

Deciphering the role of missionaries within these complex networks has proved particularly challenging. While some scholars argue that missionaries were important in laying the ground work for later colonisation,¹¹ others contend that missionaries functioned as part of the indirect channels of imperialism due to their pursuits of 'colonial evangelism'.¹² Although important in highlighting the process of normalising racial inequalities, such histories focus upon only one aspect of the missionary experience. Instead of only positing the question 'was missionary enterprise a tool of imperialism?', I believe that it is more pertinent to examine the context in which missionary encounters emerged and the contradictory relationships that they encompassed.¹³ Broadening this scope allows us to recognise that those who engaged in mission included individuals who were agents of imperialism, those who assisted in the subversion of imperialism, worked in areas not directly colonised by their home nation, and/or came from formerly or ambiguously colonised areas, such as the United

History', in: R. Lewis and S. Mills, (eds.), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 161-189.

¹¹ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971); Julia Clancy-Smith, 'Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources for Studying Women and Islamic Cultures: Colonialism: 18th to Early 20th Century', in: S. Joseph, (ed.), *EWIC: I: Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 100.

¹² T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); Clancy-Smith, 'Methodologies: Colonialism: 18th to Early 20th Century': 100-101. Cooper argues that 'imperialism' pertains to the 'intervening in another polity without actually governing it', while 'colonialism' is the 'governing [of] the internal affairs of a subordinated polity'. Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005): 250 note 61.

¹³ Andrew Porter, 'Imperialism, Altruism, and Missionary Enterprise: The British Protestant Experience Since the Late Eighteenth Century', in: Tejerian and Simon, *AI*: 5.

States, Ireland and Scotland.¹⁴ While all missionaries in the nineteenth century believed that their faith and culture were superior to that of the 'targeted' society, labelling a missionary as a coloniser or imperialist cannot be uncritically applied in light of these complexities.¹⁵

Recent scholarship has also broadened our understanding of those who were 'targeted' by missions. Researchers have explored the ways that missionaries fit into (or more often did not fit into) the social and political structures of the groups that they sought to convert.¹⁶ Others have demonstrated that individuals at the 'peripheries' often articulated different perceptions of the encounter than that held by the missionaries; one that has often been silenced in the historical record however.¹⁷ Another branch of scholarship examines the hybrid culture that emerged at these sites of contact, which differed from both the missionaries' 'home' culture and that originally found in the local community.¹⁸ Such scholarship not only widens the subject of historical narratives to include 'local' voices, but reveals the true heterogeneity of societies at the 'periphery' and the dialectic nature of these encounters.

The narrower focus on European and American missions to the Middle East has become a genre within itself during recent years. Discussions at workshops, panels at

¹⁴ Barbara A. Reeves-Ellington, 'Zornitsa: The Protestant Press and the Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism, 1864-1876', Presented at: Middle East Studies Association (of North America) Annual Conference (Boston, 19 November 2006); C. Richard King, (ed.), *Postcolonial America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000): 4-5.

¹⁵ The relationship between 'Manifest Destiny' and American missionaries to Syria are problematised in Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians": 4; Eleanor Abdella Doumato, 'Missionary Transformations: Gender, Culture and Identity in the Middle East', *ICMR* 13:4 (2002): 375.

¹⁶ Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: I*; Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: II*.

¹⁷ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008); Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp and Stefan Weber, (eds.), *The Empire and the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag WürzBerg in Kommission, 2002): 16.

¹⁸ Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora': 222-37; Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture*. (London: Routledge, 1995); Avtar Brah, 'Diaspora, Border and Transnational Identities', in: R. Lewis and S. Mills, (eds.), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 613-634.

conferences and articles in journals and books have examined different aspects of these encounters.¹⁹ A number of scholars have investigated specific organisations and their work at particular locations, often through emphasising the ecclesiastical and/or national associations of the missionaries.²⁰ Others have analysed the way that people living in the Middle East perceived, negotiated, accepted and/or subverted the missionaries' message.²¹ When taken together, these different histories illuminate the diversity of mission work and the different reactions it evoked from individuals living in the Middle East.

Applying a gendered lens has proven particularly fruitful in uncovering additional details of these missionary encounters. A number of researchers have explored the ways that femininity was constructed and reconstructed during mission

¹⁹ These include two panels at the Middle East Studies Association (of North America) Annual Conference (Boston, November 2006); the Christian Missionaries in the Middle East: Re-Thinking Colonial Encounters Workshop (Raleigh, North Carolina, 4-5 May 2007); and the edited volumes: *IMCR* 13: 4 (2002); Tejirian and Simon, *AI*; Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*; Tamcke and Marten, *CWBCNB*.

²⁰ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine: 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1961); Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003); Reeva Spector Simon, 'The Case of the Curse: The London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews and the Jews of Bagdad', in: Tejirian and Simon, *AI*: 45-65; Nancy L. Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters among English and Palestinian Women, 1800-1948* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007); Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria: 1800-1901: A Study of Education, Literary and Religious Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*; Bernard Heyberger, 'Individualism and Political Modernity: Devout Catholic Women in Aleppo and Lebanon Between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in: A. Sonbol, (ed.), *Beyond the Exotic: Women's History in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005): 71-84; Uwe Kaminsky, 'German 'Home Mission' Abroad: The *Orientalarbeit* of the Deaconess Institute Kaiserswerth in the Ottoman Empire', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*: 191-209

²¹ Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*; Bernard Heyberger, *Hindiyya: Mystique et Criminelle: 1720-1798* (Paris: Aubier, 2001); Heyberger, 'Individualism and Political Modernity': 71-84; Willy Jansen, 'Arab Women with a Mission. The Sisters of the Rosary', in: Tamcke and Marten, *CWBCNB*, 41-61; Willy Jansen, 'Visions of Mary in the Middle East: Gender and the Power of a Symbol', in: I. Okkenhaug and I. Flakerud, (eds.), *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005): 137-154; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*; Haddad, 'Syrian Muslims' Attitudes Toward Foreign Missionaries', *AI*: 253-274; Doumato, 'Missionary Transformations': 373.

encounters to the Middle East.²² Such research shows that mission work granted European and American women a space to navigate the gender roles that defined their home culture, but in a foreign setting, while also allowing women from the Middle East room to examine and modify their own definitions of womanhood. The investigations of how women in Syria and Egypt appropriated aspects of European Roman Catholicism to construct alternative theologies within the Maronite and Greek Catholic communities has proved particularly insightful in this regard.²³ Other scholars have studied the new definitions of womanhood that were created and performed at schools funded by missionary organisations, such as the American School for Girls in Beirut and the Cooper Institute in Jerusalem.²⁴ Through focusing specifically upon women,

²² The analysis of gender within Middle East Studies tends to focus upon the construction of femininity, which has served as an important channel to emphasis the study of women within this discipline. Some of the seminal pieces on women in Middle East History include Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, (eds.), *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978); Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); Lila Abu-Lughod, (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998); Guity Nashat and Judith E. Tucker, *Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Restoring Women to History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998); Margaret Meriwether and Judith Tucker, (eds.), *Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999). However, the gendered analysis of masculinity remains under-theorised within Middle East Studies, although few studies have emerged in recent years, such as Sarah A. Kaiksow, 'Subjectivity and Imperial Masculinity: A British Soldier in Dhofar (1968-1970)', *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 4:2 (2008): 60-80.

²³ Heyberger, *Hindiyya*; Heyberger, 'Individualism and Political Modernity': 71-84; Bernard Heyberger and Chantal Verdeil, 'Spirituality and Scholarship: The Holy Land in Jesuit Eyes (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*:19-40; Jansen, 'Visions of Mary in the Middle East:' 137-54; Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 421-443.

²⁴ Ellen L. Fleischmann, "'Our Moslem Sisters': Women of Greater Syria in the Eyes of American Protestant Missionary Women', *ICMR* 9:3 (1998): 307-323; Ellen Fleischmann, 'The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860-1950', *ICMR*13:4 (2002): 411-426; Ellen Fleischmann, 'Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries; the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830 – 1910)', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*: 263-280; Marilyn Booth, "'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule": Arabic Biographies of Missionary Teachers and Their Pupils', *ICMR*13: 4 (2002): 427-448; Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 'Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women: An Overview', in: I. Okkenhaug and I. Flakerud, (eds.), *Gender, Religion and Change in*

such work uncovers the intricate and at times deeply emotional bonds that linked missionary women and their female students,²⁵ which were often overlooked in previous studies of these exchanges.

This thesis presents another facet of this genre, for it examines the activities of the ABCFM missionaries and the development of the Protestant community in Ottoman Syria. This community is better known than other missionary encounters in the region due to its connection with famous individuals such as Butrus al-Bustani and Nasif al-Yaziji, its role in the *Nahda* of the nineteenth century and its influence on the Syrian Protestant College (later the American University of Beirut).²⁶ The importance of these links has been thoroughly examined by different scholars, whose work is vital in understanding the history of these noteworthy people and institutions.²⁷ Despite this strong base however, gaps and misunderstandings of the Protestant community remain. This is particularly true in regards to the hybrid culture that defined the group,

the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005): 103-126; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*.

²⁵ Murre-van den Berg, 'Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions': 111-114; Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 427-448. This is not to say that women are essentially more 'emotional' than men, but that such relationships are often obscured or overlooked in analysis of men's activities and institutions.

²⁶ This link was originally made by George Antonius and maintained in subsequent literature. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1945); Abdul Latif Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut and Butrus Al-Bustānī', *St. Antony's Papers*, 16: 3 (1963): 137-182; Habib Badr, 'American Protestant Missionary Beginnings in Beirut and Istanbul: Policy, Politics, Practice and Response', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*: 211-239. Situating the *Nahda* solely in the nineteenth century was problematised by in Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 427, 441 note 44.

²⁷ These include Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut'; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*; Ussama Makdisi, 'Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity', *The American Historical Review* 102:3 (1997): 680-713; Ussama Makdisi, (2004), 'Rethinking American Missionaries and Nineteenth-Century Historiography of the Middle East', in: T. Philipp and C. Schumann, (eds.), *From the Syrian Lands to the States of Syria and Lebanon* (Beirut: Orient-Institute, 2004): 209-224; Habib Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians": The Policy and Practice of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and its Missionaries Concerning Eastern Churches Which led to the Organization of a Protestant Church in Beirut (1819-1848)'. (Ph.D. Thesis) (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1992); Marwa Elshakry, 'The Gospel of Science and American Evangelicalism in Late Ottoman Beirut', *Past and Present* 196 (2007): 173-214.

the influence of gender on the Protestant identity, and the roles and activities of women in the Protestant community. It is thus the aim of this thesis to address and shed light onto these gaps through re-examining the creation and early development of this community.²⁸

THEORETICAL APPROACH

Adopting different theoretical approaches to research is one way to uncover gaps within historical narratives and records. Practice Theory has proven insightful in other historical and anthropological studies, but has thus far played a limited role in the research of nineteenth century Ottoman Syria and the ABCFM's work in the region.²⁹ The Theory of Practice is often associated with Pierre Bourdieu, but was also articulated by Marshall Sahlins, Michel de Certeau and Sherry Ortner,³⁰ and has more recently

²⁸ Ellen Fleischmann's research on the institutions for female education and Wafa' Stephan Tarnowski's Masters Thesis are two noticeable and welcomed exceptions. Fleischman, 'Evangelization or Education'; Fleischmann, 'The Impact of American Protestant'; Fleischmann, 'Our Moslem Sisters'; Wafa' Stephan Tarnowski, 'Sociological Profile and Cultural Impact of American and British Women Missionaries in Lebanon (1823-1914)' (M.A. Thesis) (Beirut: University of Beirut, 1997).

²⁹ One exception is Jens Hanssen, who regularly engages with Bourdieu's concepts in his analysis of late Ottoman Beirut. Although Practice Theory is not overtly referenced, similar concepts are also employed by Harik in his study of political changes and the Maronite Church on Mount Lebanon during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Iliya F. Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society: Lebanon, 1711-1845* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968). For an overview of the trends influencing the study of women in the Middle East and Islamic world see Judith Tucker, 'Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources for Studying Women and Islamic Cultures: Ottoman Arab Region: Mid-18th to Early 20th Century', in: S. Joseph, (ed.), *EWIC: Volume I*: 143-152; Marilyn Booth, 'Middle East Women's and Gender History: State of a Field', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, [e-journal], 4:1 (2003).

³⁰ See Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992): 104-5; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (trans. Richard Nice) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (trans. Richard Nice) (New York and London: Routledge, 1984); Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (trans. Steven Rendall) (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984); Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical*

been refined by post-colonial and feminist scholars.³¹ In particular, Jean and John Comaroff have demonstrated the ways that Practice Theory can be applied to uncover the intricacies and dialectics of missionary encounters through their analysis of British missionaries and the Tswana in South Africa.³²

The aim of Practice Theory is to expose the dynamics of power that are manifested within the daily activities and social relations of individuals in a specific community. This approach does not force the details of social interactions into preconfigured categories formed around European or American prototypes,³³ but is guided by the ideologies and activities of the group being reviewed; for this study the Protestant community in Ottoman Syria.³⁴ As a result, the categories that the Protestants used to judge each other will be first delineated in order to outline the social

Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdoms (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981); Sherry B. Ortner, *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Gender* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

³¹ For post-colonial engagements and critics of Bourdieu and Practice Theory see Michael Hanchard, 'Acts of Misrecognition: Transnational Black Politics, Anti-Imperialism and the Ethnocentrism of Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 20: 4 (2003): 5-29 and Andrew Smith, "'Beyond a Boundary" (of a "Field of Cultural Production") Reading C.L.R. James with Bourdieu', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 23:4 (2006): 95-112. Feminist analysis of Bourdieu and the Theory of Practice include Toril Moi, 'Appropriating Bourdieu: Feminist Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology of Culture', *New Literary History*, 22:4 (1991): 1017-1049; Lisa Adkins, 'Reflexivity: Freedom of Habit or Gender?', *Sociological Review: Theory Culture and Society*, 20: 6 (2003): 21-42; Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs, (eds.), *Feminism After Bourdieu* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Lois McNay, 'Agency and Experience: Gender as a Lived Relation', *Sociological Review*, 52:2 (2005): 173-190; Lois McNay, 'Gender, Habitus and the Field: Pierre Bourdieu and the Limits of Reflexivity', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16:1 (1999): 95-117.

³² Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: I*; Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: II*.

³³ Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, 'On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason' (trans. Derek M. Robbins and Loïc Wacquant), *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16:1 (1999): 41; Randal Johnson, 'Editor's Note', in Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, (ed. and trans. Randal Johnson) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993): 19. For a similar criticism of how Marxism has been applied, but does not resolve the Eurocentric focus of its terms and concepts see John T. Chalcraft, 'Pluralizing Capital, Challenging Eurocentrism: Toward Post-Marxist Historiography', *Radical History Review*, 91 (2005): 12-39.

³⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations* (trans. Richard Nice) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000): 93-94; Johnson, 'Editor's Note': 19. Also see Leslie A. Adelson, *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward A New Critical Grammar of Migration* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 12-13.

stratification that affected relations within this group. Moreover, this thesis is not a strict Bourdieusian analysis of Protestantism, for only certain aspects of Practice Theory will be applied, which will be introduced and defined in the following paragraphs.

The concept of 'field' is central to Practice Theory and is an important influence on my investigation. The term 'field' was used by Bourdieu to describe the ideological structures that linked people together.³⁵ It pertains to the shared ideology and 'fundamental point of view on the world' that is upheld by all within a community.³⁶ Each field is unique, in both the ideas endorsed by its members and the means through which these concepts are regulated and distributed.³⁷ This thesis maintains that both the United States and Ottoman Syria were two fields during the early nineteenth century, so that the Protestant community emerged at the meeting point or frontier site of these two fields, and functioned as its own, hybrid field.³⁸

An analysis of fields considers the social, economic, and political structures found within a specific location.³⁹ Fields however, are essentially ideological and are not confined by geographical limits.⁴⁰ They resemble the non-visible pull of magnetic

³⁵ Some scholars employed the phrase 'social space', instead of fields, to emphasise the physical dimension of these systems. e.g. Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1995): 21; Thomas Philipp, 'Identities and Loyalties in Bilad al-Sham at the Beginning of the Early Modern Period', in: T. Philipp and C. Schumann, (eds.), *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon* (Beirut: Orient-Institute, 2004): 10-11; Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provençal Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005): 4.

³⁶ Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*: 99.

³⁷ Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*: 32; Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society*: 5.

³⁸ For more on frontier spaces and borderlands see De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*: 127-129; Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: II*: 26; Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands =La Frontera* (Second Edition) (Fransisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999). Compare with Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: I*: 39.

³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'Site Effects', in P. Bourdieu, (ed.), *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in a Contemporary Society* (trans. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson et al) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999): 124; Bourdieu, *Distinction*: 124.

⁴⁰ Bourdieu theorised this point in reference to neo-globalisation, in which he based his call for international action to counter new forms of collective domination. Pierre Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance: Against the New Myths of Our Time* (trans. Richard Nice) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998): 17-25, 82-96.

fields,⁴¹ for the unity and homogeneity within a community is determined by the strength of its members to minimise or integrate external influences.⁴² As post-colonial scholars have shown, events and ideas at one location, such as Beirut, were connected to those at other sites, like Istanbul, Cairo, Mosul, Hawaii and Boston.⁴³ As a result, this thesis will investigate the social limits of the Protestant community as well as show that individual Protestants remained connected to groups and drew upon ideas from outside the community, which in turn, affected the Protestants' unique and hybrid identity.⁴⁴

The Protestant community was not a space for social anarchy however, for the 'agency' held by individuals, to produce and engage with this new social system, was confined by the ideological structures found within American and Ottoman societies in addition to the symbolical inequalities that eventually defined the Protestant community. Although this structured agency affected all Protestants, one aim of this thesis is, as stated above, to uncover the activities of Protestant women and emphasise their role in creating this community. Applying aspects of Practice Theory allows me to recognise that Protestant women were influenced by the gendered and racial inequalities found within American and Ottoman societies, but were also active in creating and affirming these (unequal) symbolic structures within the Protestant community.⁴⁵ I employ the term 'negotiate' to emphasise that women, and men,

⁴¹ Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*: 17.

⁴² Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*: 17.

⁴³ New research on Ottoman port-cities has been fruitful in illuminating the multifarious references of identity, which challenged the European based, metropole-periphery model. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp and Stefan Weber, (eds.), *The Empire and the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag WürzBerg in Kommission, 2002): 1-21. Also see Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora': 227-237. Research on 'diaspora literature', such as Turkish-German literature, has all been fruitful in recognising the 'complex relations' of 'betweenness' experienced by both fictional and historical characters. Adelson, *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature*: 3. I thank Frauke Matthes for this reference.

⁴⁴ Anzaldúa, *Bordlerlands*; Hall, 'Cultural Identity': 222-237; Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: II*: 5; Ortner, *Making Gender*: 19-20.

⁴⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (trans. Matthew Adamson) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990): 13. Bourdieu applies the term 'habitus' to describe this active complicity on the 'non-conscious' level. Although some scholars have found the habitus to be a

constructed and juggled these different pulls, in light of the inequalities that limited their choices for social networking and the mediums to express their ideas.⁴⁶ While justifications for individuals' actions were rarely found within the sources, I occasionally propose the different available options for women in an effort to illuminate this negotiation process and the potential for contradictions and subversions. Thus, emphasising women's constrained agency is an important way to counter the narratives that relegate women, either American or Syrian, as the silent victims or marginal fixtures in history.⁴⁷

Inspired by the concept of fields, I refer to the Protestant community as the 'Protestant Circle'. This circular imagery is depicted in Appendix IV, which shows the members of Protestant community in a rounded chart. Employing the term 'circle' emphasises that Protestantism in Syria was unified by a specific ideological 'gravity' and concentrated on a central, elite group. For the period under review, this elite or 'dominate' group were the ABCFM missionaries, specifically the male missionaries. The individuals just beyond this central core occupied intermediate positions within the community and wielded varying levels of influence on this framework. Further out, along the margins or periphery were those who held tentative relations with other

useful tool, I am hesitant to apply this concept for it pushes the analysis too far into the psychoanalytic realm of the individual, which, like reflexivity, is difficult to gauge through the historical record. Bourdieu, *In Other Words*: 11-12; Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*: 138, 145; Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998): 56; McNay, 'Gender, Habitus and the Field': 95-117; Lois McNay, 'Agency, Anticipation and Indeterminacy in Feminist Theory', *Feminist Theory*, 4: 2 (2003): 139-148; Steph Lawler, 'Rules of Engagement: Habitus, Power and Resistance', in: L. Adkins and B. Skeggs, (eds.), *Feminism After Bourdieu* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004): 110-125

⁴⁶ This flexibility of structuralism draws upon de Certeau's 'walking in the city', where the constraints of the street, such as buildings and barriers, are affirmed by individuals who follow 'well-trodden' paths, although patterns of walking varies with each person, while some violate this order through jumping over fences or misusing space. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*: 91-130.

⁴⁷ Valentine M. Moghadam, 'Question: How Have Middle East Scholars Contributed to the Broader Field of Gender and Women's Studies: Pensée 1: States, Gender, and Intersectionality', *IJMES*, 40:1 (2008): 18.

Protestants and maintained strong cultural, social or political ties to those outside of the Circle. Using this circular language emphasises that Protestantism in Ottoman Syria was never a strict hierarchy, but an intricate dispersal of power emanating from the centre. While the central figures sought to regulate and control this distribution, subsequent chapters show that this system remained relatively fluid, so that tensions and subversions emerged and undermined the central position of the ABCFM by 1860.

The term, circle, was also found in the sources analysed for this thesis. During the 1830s, 'circle' was used by the ABCFM missionaries to describe themselves and their Mission Church. This was interchangeable with 'our little company' or 'communion and fellowship'.⁴⁸ As the number of Protestants increased, the scope of the circle widened, so that by the 1850s, 'our little circle', included the ABCFM missionaries, Syrian Protestants and the employees in the missionaries' households.⁴⁹ My use of the Circle widens this definition and encompasses the entire Protestant community, including members of the ABCFM's Mission Church and the ECB, as well as individuals who identified themselves to be Protestants but were not members of the Protestant churches. Many of the individuals who were included in my use of the term, Protestant Circle, are listed in Appendix I, II, and III. On the occasions when I solely discuss the ABCFM missionaries, who are listed in Appendix I, I will use the phrase 'Syrian Station', in order to emphasis my narrowing onto this smaller group.

Another concept of Practice Theory that influences my analysis is 'symbolic capital'. Refining Marxists' analysis, Bourdieu argued that societies can not be analysed through the sole lens of economic productivity and ownership, but through the categories used by individuals to mark the identity of their specific group and the social

⁴⁸ Hooker, *MSLS*: 51, 220-221.

⁴⁹ Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (Abeih, 30 August [1853]): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

stratification amongst its members.⁵⁰ The project for researchers is to uncover the capital that defined a field as distinct from others and its criterion for social distinction.

One type of capital is cultural capital. This pertains to the different facets of culture, such as art, education, food, music, fashion, that were produced and accumulated by people in a society.⁵¹ Certain types of cultural capital are affiliated with different levels of power and authority, and can be analysed as the tangible markers of individuals' positions within a field⁵² For example, the ability to dictate and define what is 'proper' or high culture is a characteristic of the elite, for their definition of capital was recognised and applied as the normative standard for all within the group.⁵³ This thesis identifies the terms for Protestant cultural capital that were embodied by the central members of the Protestant Circle, which were then employed, or at least recognised and adapted, by all Protestants.

Religious capital functioned as another form of capital for the Protestant Circle. Although Bourdieu posited religious capital as a subset of cultural capital,⁵⁴ a distinction emerged within the Protestant Circle where cultural knowledge and prestige was occasionally differentiated from religious qualifications. For example, being literate and possessing high levels of Protestant cultural capital did not guarantee that one would be considered a pious Protestant. While aspects of Protestant cultural and religious capital overlapped, they are analysed as distinct characteristics of the Protestant identity in order to explain such incongruities.

Social capital is the third type of capital examined in this thesis. This type of capital is less of something to possess and perform than a description of how capital

⁵⁰ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*: 171-183; Bourdieu, *In Other Words*: 75, 186-188; Bourdieu, *Practical Reason*: 2.

⁵¹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*: 184-185; Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*: 106-111.

⁵² Bourdieu, *Distinction*: 1.

⁵³ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*: 120-125. Bourdieu regards this to be a form of 'symbolic violence'. Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (trans. Richard Nice) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001): 42.

⁵⁴ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*: 88-90, 219 note 4.

affects social relations.⁵⁵ My analysis of Protestant social capital describes the different ways that individuals engaged with others in this field, which was affected by each person's accumulation of cultural and religious capital and thus his/her position in the community. Certain activities and locations functioned as important sites for these social interactions, where the characteristics of the Protestant identity were negotiated and performed, and where the social stratification amongst Protestants was manifested and reinforced.⁵⁶ This study demonstrates that kinship was an important facet of Protestant social relations, although the actual definition of the Protestant family and household was complex and in many ways open and flexible throughout the period under review. Nonetheless, ties of kinship, both biological and fictive, were elemental channels through which the Protestants defined, performed and reproduced their identity.

SOURCES FOR ANALYSIS

Outlining the sources that were investigated and the way that they were read, is crucial in understanding how the structures of the Protestant Circle, its definitions of capital and the paradoxes of constrained agency are presented. The ABCFM archives served as the primary source of material for this investigation. One section of this archive was identified as 'public' records. The ABCFM's Prudential Committee in Boston demanded constant updates from the field, which they filed and catalogued. At the start of each year, missionaries from each station compiled an 'Annual Report' in which they recounted the events of the previous year, and completed a standardised table, noting the number of converts and the cost of expenditures. Sporadic reports were also written

⁵⁵ Nan Lin, *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 25.

⁵⁶ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*: 233; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*: 187-189, 4-8; Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*: 135-136.

to provide additional information on the station's activities, its members and the people living in the region, as well as outlining any hindrances and dangers faced by the station. A number of these letters were edited and printed in the ABCFM's magazine, the *Missionary Herald*, as well as in various other publications funded by the ABCFM.⁵⁷ Some missionaries from the Syrian Station also wrote books that were published independent of the ABCFM, but which included information on the Protestant Circle and can be considered part of this 'public' record.⁵⁸ Such works included memoirs, which were published after the death of a missionary by his/her family.⁵⁹

These 'public' writings of the ABCFM were widely circulated throughout the United States, with some being referenced to by other American authors.⁶⁰ They served as the primary channel through which the American populace gained information on contemporary Syria and the Protestant Circle during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Many of the ABCFM missionaries recognised the 'public' nature of their writings and as a result, the narrative style and content of their letters resonate with

⁵⁷ These include Tracey, 'HABCFM'; Anderson, *HM Anderson*, MV. An invaluable resource for the biographical data of the missionaries was John Adams Vinton, *A Biographical Dictionary of ABCFM Missionaries and Assistant Missionaries: Volume I* (n.s.: n.s., 1869): HHL: ABC 9. 5. 3.

⁵⁸ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, [1910] (London: Garnet Publishing, 2002); Jessup, WA; Thomson, LB; Robinson and Smith, BR; Eli Smith and H.G.O. Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia: Including a Journey Through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (London: George Wightman, Paternoster Row, 1834).

⁵⁹ Alvan Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A.M.: Late Missionary to Palestine* [1828] (New York: Arno Press 1977); Hooker, MSLS; Edward Dorr Griffin Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire. Or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876).

⁶⁰ Eli Smith and Joseph Tracey served as sources for William D.D. Jenks, *The Explanatory Bible Atlas and Scripture Gazetteer; Geographical, Topographical and Historical...* (Fourth Edition) (Boston: Charles Hickling, 1849): 90, 97; Edward Hitcock, 'Notes on the Geology of Several Parts of Western Asia: Founded Chiefly on Specimens and Descriptions from American Missionaries', in: n.s. *Reports of the First, Second, and Third Meetings of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists, at Philadelphia, in 1840, and 1841, and at Boston in 1842* (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1843): 348-421.

⁶¹ Christine Lindner, 'From Rebecca to the 'Three Dancing Girls of Egypt': American Women's Encounters of Arab Women during the Nineteenth Century'. Presented at: Southwest-Texas Popular Culture and American Culture Associations 29th Annual Meeting (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 13-16 February 2008).

pieces of contemporary non-fiction literature, while some had clear agendas, such as describing the success or the correctable problems of schools in order to solicit funds to support such endeavours.⁶² Recognising the public nature of these letters and books allowed me to read them as both sources of data on the mission and channels through which the missionaries presented their views to wider audiences, while remaining aware of the limitations, in regard to content and perspective, that they encompassed.

'Public' letters differed from those intended for 'private' audiences. Some of the letters written by the missionaries to the ABCFM's Prudential Committee were marked as 'confidential' and were not to be published. Such letters informed the ABCFM's Prudential Committee about personal and sensitive events, which may have compromised the mission's work if publically circulated.⁶³ Correspondences with family members and friends in the United States and amongst the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire can also be regarded as 'private' in nature. Through these letters, the missionaries voiced their frustrations with the ABCFM's policies and presented opinions that differed from those found in the official, public reports. The 'private' label of these works is misleading however, for some letters were circulated amongst family members and saved for posthumous publication.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the fact that many are found within the ABCFM archives reveals their eventual public nature. Nevertheless, identifying these correspondences as 'private' is important for they provided details on the mundane activities of the mission that were excluded from the more 'public' sources and subsequent histories of the community.

⁶² Sarah Smith, 'Letter to Madam [Mrs. Anderson]' (Beirut, 11 April 1834): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537.

⁶³ Isaac Bird, 'Letter to Sir: Private' (Smyrna, 4 December 1835): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537: 231; Samuel Wolcott, 'Confidential: Letter to Sir' (Beirut, 8 November 1841): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 427-428; George B. Whiting, William M. Thomson, Charles V.A. Van Dyck, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 7 June 1845): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 540: 41-49.

⁶⁴ The public nature of these letters is emphasised through the intentionality of some missionaries to note when letters should not be circulated amongst family members. Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (n.s., 10 March 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17.

For this thesis, I investigated missionary letters, both 'public' and 'private', held by the Houghton Library at Harvard University and Yale Divinity School Library as well as those copied onto microfilm, specifically the ABCFM Unit 5: The Near East (1817-1919): Syrian/Assyria Mission (Reel 537-552).⁶⁵ These were compared to the articles printed in the *Missionary Herald*, copies of which were found at Andover-Harvard Theological Library, and the missionaries' reports, including Annual Reviews, found in the ABCFM Unit 5 microfilm. In addition, I studied the published memoirs of the ABCFM missionaries, which are available at most university and deposit libraries.⁶⁶ Comparing the information described in these different works offered a fuller, although not a complete, view of the Syrian Station and the Protestant Circle.

The writings of European and American residents and travellers to Syria were also analysed to provide another view of the Protestant community and situate the Circle within an international context. For example, information on the Protestant community was recorded by British diplomats, since Americans living in Syria were under British protection until 1834. Due to personal and political ties amongst the ABCFM missionaries, Syrian Protestants and the British consulates however, information on the Protestants were found in the British Foreign Office records for the entire nineteenth century.⁶⁷ In addition, published memoirs and travellers' accounts to the Middle East, which are available at most deposit libraries, provided additional details on the community and compliments those found in the ABCFM sources.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ I reviewed the microfilm held by the Lamont Library at Harvard University and Yale Divinity School Library. Copies of these reels are also available at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey.

⁶⁶ These include Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*; Hooker, *MSLS*; Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, and Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*.

⁶⁷ See the British Public Records Office FO 226; FO 615; FO 616.

⁶⁸ George Washington Chasseaud, *The Druses of the Lebanon: Their Manners, Customs, and History. With a Translation of their Religious Code* (London: Richard Bentley, 1855); Colonel Churchill, *Mount Lebanon: A Ten Year's Residence: From 1842 to 1852: Volume I, II, III* (Second Edition) (London: Saunders and Otley, 1853); John William DeForest, *Oriental Acquaintance; or, Letters from Syria* (New York: Miller and Holman, 1856); George Jones, *Excursions to Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Balbec from the United States Ship Delaware, during Her Recent Cruise* (New York: Van Nostrand and Dwight, 1836); William Francis Lynch, *Narrative of the United States'*

A frequent lamentation of scholars researching mission work pertains to the unevenness of sources. As Eleanor Doumato points out that '[t]he most vexing handicap...is lack of indigenous voices. Rare is the diary or collection of letters from former students or members of missionary churches'.⁶⁹ Doumato's complaint resonates with my own frustrations, for an important source of information on the Protestant Circe, the ECB's church records, were not found during my research. Contemporary sources noted that each presbyter of the ECB was to maintain a 'book in which he shall record the names of the born, baptized, communicants, married, and deceased among his flock, with such notices of time and place as shall be necessary for future reference'.⁷⁰ I did not find these records during my research in Lebanon, which may be due to my position as an 'outsider' to the present-day Protestant community. However, other researchers on this community do not mention analysing these sources for the period under review. This allows me to conclude that these records were either lost or destroyed when the National Evangelical Church was damaged during the recent civil war.⁷¹

In recognising a similar constraint to their own research, Jean and John Comaroff argued that 'the [targeted communities] speak through the European text; to the extent that "the other" is a construction of an imperializing imagination, s/he will always dwell in the shadows of its dominant discourse.'⁷² Employing a constructive and careful re-reading of missionary sources is thus another way to reconcile these gaps

Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1849); Andrew Archibald Paton, *The Modern Syrians: Or, Native Society in Damascus, Aleppo, and the Mountains of the Druses, from notes made in those parts during the years 1841-2-3. by an Oriental Student* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844).

⁶⁹ Doumato, 'Missionary Transformations': 373.

⁷⁰ Wortabet, *RRS*: 405.

⁷¹ While it has been suggested to me that archives for the ECB may exist for later periods, neither Habib Badr, the pastor of the National Evangelical Church in Beirut (the present day manifestation of the ECB), nor his nephew, Ussama Makdisi, mention examining these records in their studies on the community before 1860.

⁷² Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: I*: 38; Doumato, 'Missionary Transformations': 374.

and rediscover the people and events that have been overlooked or marginalised in previous histories of this encounter.⁷³ As this thesis will show, identifying the gaps and sites of conflict between the missionaries and Syrian Protestants within the ABCFM sources served as an important point for me to begin questioning the narratives on this community, even when no other information on the event is available.

It is important to note that some letters written by Syrian Protestants were found within missionary sources. These were primarily letters composed by Syrian Protestants to the ABCFM missionaries. They varied in content from the private details of familial activities to formal complaints logged against the ABCFM's policies.⁷⁴ Some Syrian Protestant men also wrote books and articles that were published and circulated within the United States and Europe, particularly during the 1850s and often independent of the ABCFM. Written in both Arabic and English, these publications were either academic studies or 'travellers accounts' and followed the narrative styles that were popular in contemporary Europe and America.⁷⁵ These works are available at most university and deposit libraries and often present a different perspective on the Protestant Circle and provide details that were not found in the ABCFM sources.⁷⁶ Like

⁷³ A criticism of the Comaroff's first volume was voiced by Peel, who argued that their lack of 'native' sources was problematic. J.D.Y. Peel, 'For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 37: 3 (1995): 581-607. This was refuted in Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: II*.

⁷⁴ For example, Jessup's *WA* reprints letters by some Syrian Protestant women that have not been found elsewhere. Other sources of information, such as property deeds and formal petitions, may be found in the Ottoman archives, which can be considered for future research. Compare Sarah al-Bustani, 'Letter to Hetty Smith' (n.s., 8 June n.d.): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 4; Butrus al-Bustani, 'Private: Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 30 May 1856): HHL: ABC 60 (12).

⁷⁵ See the lectures of the *al-Jam'iyya al-Sūriyya li-Iktisāb al-'Ulūm wa al-Funūn* (Syrian Society for the Arts and Sciences) printed in Yusuf Qizma Khuri, (ed.) *A'mal al-Jam'iyyah al-Suriyah lil-'Ulum wal-Funun, 1847-1852* (Beirut: Dar al-Hamra', 1990); Wortabet, *RRS*; Wortabet, *SS*; Habeeb Risk Allah Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*, [1854] (Reading: Garnet. 2001); Assaad Y. Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon, With The Life and Travels of Assaad Y. Kayat* (London: Madden & Co. 1847).

⁷⁶ For an analysis of al-Bustani's engagement with and modification of European and American ideologies and narratives styles see Stephen Paul Sheehi, 'Inscribing the Arab Self: Butrus al-

the content of missionary sources, the material presented in these letters and books were analysed in a manner that recognised the individual's position within the community and their possible intentions and motivations.

The gender of the work's author also affected the recording and cataloguing of these sources. Many of the 'public' letters were written by men to men, in a manner that emphasised the centrality of the ABCFM male missionaries and elite Syrian Protestant men within the community. While more research is needed to analyse how the *Missionary Herald*, Annual Reports and travel narratives were gendered as masculine outlets, reading these works 'against the grain' is one way to uncover the roles and activities of women in this encounter.⁷⁷ Some letters were written by women, but edited by men and published in collected volumes. This complicates how we interpret these letters and identify the author's gender.⁷⁸ Moreover, many of these edited letters were originally reports on schools or other institutions, which could be read as the women's 'public' view of the community, for they differed, in style and content, from the letters sent to family and friends, in which daily activities, living arrangements and interactions with others were discussed. Although very few letters written by Syrian Protestant women were found, their voices were not lost, particularly as incidents of conflict and sites of exchange amongst women were occasionally recorded by the missionaries. It was through examining these incidents of encounter and negotiation that the divergent interpretations of Protestantism, especially Protestant womanhood, were uncovered.

This research was further refined by examining non-written sources. Maps were invaluable in determining the locations for the Protestants' activities and the

Bustānī and Paradigms of Subjective Reform', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 27:1 (2000): 7-24.

⁷⁷ Works in Subaltern Studies have illuminated the benefits and problems with this approach. See Mary P. Sutphen and Bridie Andrews, (eds.), *Medicine and Colonial Identity* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2-4.

⁷⁸ This question arises in how to analyse the letters by missionary women and Syrian Protestant women within in Jessup, WA.

significance of these spaces. For example, Beirut was rarely specified in European and American maps before 1840. Missionary maps, particularly those printed by the ABCFM, were often the first to identify Beirut as an important city for the Mediterranean region during the mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁹ Such maps also revealed the changing demographics of Beirut and the Protestants' position within these transformations. The maps of 1840 show the houses inhabited by the ABCFM missionaries located in sparsely populated suburbs. Later maps depict the suburban sprawl of the city, and illustrate that the Protestants' house were then located in densely populated areas.⁸⁰ My interpretation of these maps and the changes they depict is presented in subsequent chapters.

Photographs served as another important source of information for this community. Even though photography was in its infancy during the period under review, some photographic portraits of the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants exist. These provide glimpses onto how the Protestants dressed and demonstrates their interest in innovative technologies.⁸¹ The written sources mention that daguerreotypes were taken of Syrian Protestant women, although copies of these images were not found, so that even though these women were willing to be photographed, their fashion and general appearances are presently unknown.⁸² The architectural development of Protestant buildings was also revealed in photographs. This was

⁷⁹ Compare Rev. J.L. Blake, *American Universal Geography, for Schools and Academics. On the Principles of Analysis and Comparison* (Boston: Lilly, Wait &c., 1833) with n.s., 'Map of Beyroot and Vicinity', in: Tracey, 'HABCFM'.

⁸⁰ Compare n.s., 'Plan of the Town and Harbour of Beirut: Ancient Berytus' (London: Jas. Wyld, 1840); n.s. (1841) 'Beirut in 1841', in: Michael F. Davie, 'Maps and the Historical Topography of Beirut', *Berytus*, 35 [online] (1987): 141-164, available at: <http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/900/930/930.1/beirut/reconstruction/davie/Davie-text.html>. [accessed on 30 November 2003] and C. Rochefort Scott, 'Sketch of Beyrouit and Vicinity' (1841), [British] PRO: WO: 78/1000/2 to Karl Baedeker, 'Beirut/Berytus', *Palestine and Syria: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publishers, 1898), AUB Library Archives.

⁸¹ These portraits can be found in the 1910 version of Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years*, the AUB Library Archives, Yale Divinity School Archives and Gebhardt, *HSSCB*: 404-405.

⁸² Sarah al-Bustani, 'Letter to Hetty Smith'.

particularly true for the Mission Compound, which functioned as the central point for the Circle, for it included the Mission House, various boarding schools, the Mission Press, the Protestants' graveyard and rooms for the ECB.⁸³

One hurdle for analysing both written and unwritten sources was the transliteration of Arabic words and names into Latin script. During the early to mid-nineteenth century this process remained unsystematised, so that the spelling of place names in Latin script varied. For example, the area in Beirut's suburbs known as *Zoqāq el-Blāṭ* was also written as *Zokak el-Blat*. In an effort to simplify these complications, I follow the transliteration system used by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, and employ the commonly accepted English spelling for popular place names, such as Beirut, Sidon and Tyre. For other locations, I use the spellings promoted by Lebanon's Ministry of Tourism.⁸⁴ Personal appellations are also difficult to follow, for in addition to deciphering previous systems of transliteration, changes in personal status, which resulted from marriage, death and the birth of children, often prompted a change of name. These were not always noted or explained within the ABCFM records. For example, Susan Wortabet's first name was also written as Sardas and Susanna, while her surname changed from Lafloufy, her maiden name, to Wortabet, the surname given to her first husband, to Fuaz, the surname of her second husband. Until her remarriage to Elias Fuaz however, Susan was often referred to by the ABCFM as 'the widow of Wortabet'. In other cases, individuals were identified by their popular appellations, such as 'Im Mouchair' or 'Abu Beshera' without contextualising these familial references.⁸⁵ As a result, I use commonly accepted English spelling of personal names,

⁸³ These images are found in Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years*, n.s., 'The American Mission Compound' [1874], in: *The National Evangelical Church of Beirut, 'The Rebuilding'* (Beirut: Al-Khal Printers, n.d); n.s., 'The National Evangelical Church of Beirut', [1890], in: *The National Evangelical Church of Beirut, 'The Rebuilding'* (Beirut: Al-Khal Printers, n.d.).

⁸⁴ These can be found at <<http://www.destinationlebanon.gov.lb/eng>> (accessed on 11 May 2008).

⁸⁵ While these changes compound the 'silencing' of women within the historical record, my difficulties at following such names changes pertained to both Syrian men and women, which reveals a race-based hurdle within the ABCFM sources.

such as Butrus al-Bustani, the spelling employed by an individual if they have published works, such as Assaad Kayat and Mikhayil Mishaqa, or the most frequently found appellation for a person within the ABCFM sources. A list of these individuals and their familial references are found in Appendix I, II and III. The *IJMES* transliteration system was also applied to the other Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish words that are found in this thesis. A glossary of these terms are found on pages xii to xv in the introduction.

Further clarification is needed to explain my use of other labels. I use the term 'Syria' to describe the geographic location of the Protestant Circle, which, although focused primarily upon on the present-day state of Lebanon, occasionally included areas to the north, like Homs and Aleppo and to the south, like Jerusalem.⁸⁶ This corresponds to the Ottoman province known in Arabic as *Bilād al-Shām*, but lacks the Arabic term's focus upon Damascus.⁸⁷ Rather, my use of Syria draws from the ABCFM missionaries' application of this name to describe their work in the region. A number of different appellations, like the 'Near East Station', were sampled by the ABCFM before the title, the 'Syrian Station', was agreed upon.⁸⁸ This title distinguished the Beirut-focused community from others within the Middle East region, such as the 'Western Asia Mission' to the Armenians in present-day Turkey and the 'Nestorian Mission' or the 'Mountain Nestorian Mission' to Assyrian Christians in present-day Iran. Likewise, the phrase 'Holy Land' was gradually dropped by the ABCFM to distance their work

⁸⁶ The Aleppo station was transferred from the Syrian Station to the Western Asia Mission to reflect its primary focus on the Armenian population. *MSM*: 16; *MH* (1856): 5.

⁸⁷ For a review of how the term *Bilād al-Shām* evolved during the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries see Philipp, 'Identities and Loyalties in Bilad al-Sham': 9-26.

⁸⁸ Zach argues that the ABCFM missionaries' use of Syria reflects their desire to create a 'New Syria' which was 'exclusive of Islam'. Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 133-134. Also see Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh, *American Missions in Syria: A Study of American Missionary Contributions to Arab Nationalism in 19th Century Syria* (Brattleboro, VT.: Amana Books., 1990); Fleischmann, 'Evangelization or Education': 264; Mahmoud Haddad, 'Syrian Muslims' Attitudes Toward Foreign Missionaries in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in: Tejirian and Simon, *AI*: 253-274.

from the English and Prussian missionaries in Palestine, especially after the establishment of the Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem in 1841.⁸⁹ The label Syria also distinguishes the ABCFM's work from the activities of the Free Church of Scotland, whose network of 'Lebanon Schools' on Mount Lebanon began in 1847, but was regarded as different from the ABCFM's activities.⁹⁰ Syria was also employed by the Protestant residents of this area.⁹¹ For example, the *al-Jam'iyya al-Sūriyya li-Iktisāb al-'Ulūm wa al-Funūn* (The Syrian Society for the Acquisition of Sciences and Arts) was found in 1847, while Gregory Wortabet explored *Syria, and the Syrians* for English reading audiences just as his brother, John, conducted *Researches into the Religions of Syria* during the late 1850s.⁹²

As a result, I use Syrian, instead of Arab or Lebanese, to describe the residents of this region, both Muslims and Christians, including Armenians. The term 'Arab' was used by the ABCFM to describe a particular race and culture, and was occasionally applied to the Syrian Protestants.⁹³ However, the ABCFM also used Arab as a pejorative label for the 'uncivilized' Bedouins and farmers living in the region.⁹⁴ It is because of this negative association that I do not use the term Arab to describe the Protestant community.

⁸⁹ Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine*: 10.

⁹⁰ Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayne, 'The "Lebanon Schools" (1853-1873): A Local Venture in Rural Education', in: T. Phillip and B. Schaebler, (eds.), *The Syrian Land: Process of Integration and Fragmentation: Bilad Al-Sham From the 18th to the 20th Century* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998): 205-220.

⁹¹ Philipp traces the history of the terms *Bilād al-Shām* and *Sūriyya* in his 'Identities and Loyalties in Bilad al-Sham': 19-26.

⁹² Wortabet, SS; Wortabet, RRS; Sheehi, 'Inscribing the Arab Self': 7-24.

⁹³ ABCFM, *Annual Review* (Beirut: 1842); William M. Thomson and George Whiting, 'Report on the Field' (n.s., 8 April 1844) ABCFM microfilm Reel 538: 50A-52B.

⁹⁴ Elias R. Beadle, 'Journal of Tour to Aleppo' (Syria, n.d.): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 217-241.

OUTLINE OF THESIS

The structure of this thesis represents different angles to view and analyse the ABCFM's missionary encounter in Ottoman Syria and the development of the Protestant community. Chapters one and two present the historical contexts for the Protestant Circle. The 'American field' during the early to mid-nineteenth century is the focus of chapter one. In this chapter, I trace the maturation of a distinct American identity through the emergence of a normative American identity, the changes unfolding within American Protestantism, the complexities of the United States' international standing, and the development of Americans' perceptions of the eastern Mediterranean and its inhabitants. This material explains the development of the ABCFM within the Antebellum United States and the desire of some to serve as missionaries to Ottoman Syria. This chapter thus presents the culture and theology that was embodied by the ABCFM missionaries, which was eventually conveyed to and negotiated by Syrians.

In a similar manner, chapter two explores the 'Syrian field' from the late eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth centuries. This chapter reviews the reconfigurations of political, economic and religious structures of Ottoman Syria in order to understand the development of Beirut as the primary port city within the region. The chapter also examines Syrian perceptions of the United States and Americans as a new foreign group. This material situates Syrians' relationships with the ABCFM missionaries and demonstrates that the Protestant community was one group within a very dynamic environment.

Chapters three, four and five narrows the focus of this analysis onto the Protestant Circle. The individuals who composed the Protestant Circle, their locations of residency and definitions of capital are introduced in chapter three. This chapter assesses the structural inequalities that emerged from the ABCFM missionaries' attempt to regulate and control the terms of Protestant social, cultural and religious

capital. It concludes with a review of the contestations presented by some Protestants to this structuring and the ABCFM's definitions of capital.

Women and the Protestants' gendering of womanhood are the topics of chapter four. This chapter maintains that gender is socially constructed and argues that the terms for Protestant womanhood emerged through the interactions amongst the missionaries and Syrian Protestants, both men and women, which changed over time and took into account the differences amongst women, such as race, marriage status and age. The first section outlines the idealised roles for women, while the second section examines the networks that emerged amongst women, which functioned as the primary channels through which women learned their appropriate roles. The final section investigates the activities performed by women to fulfil their associated role, which, as a result, emphasised the differences amongst women.

Chapter five explores Protestant mothering as a sub-characteristic of Protestant womanhood. This chapter investigates the different views on mothering held by the members of the Protestant Circle and the ways that women negotiated these different definitions. The first section outlines the Protestants' definition of the child, which functioned as the object to be mothered. This is followed by an examination of the different relationships that developed amongst mothers and children within Protestant families, which were based upon both biological and fictive ties of kinship. The last section explores the struggles amongst Protestants to define proper mothering and how this affected relations within the Circle. Baptism is presented as a specific site of tension, where divergent views of infant salvation and maternal responsibilities were negotiated, which affected women's mothering activities and how they were judged by others. In doing so, this chapter illuminates that mothering was a complex relationship that not only involved a mother and her biological child, but the entire community.

The material presented in these chapters demonstrates that from the 1823 to 1860, the centrality of the ABCFM male missionaries in the Protestant Circle was emphasised by different social relations and interactions. However, subversions and

challenges to this social structuring emerged as people engaged with individuals and ideas from outside the community and in reaction to the changes that developed during this period. Although the focus of this thesis is to delineate the culture of Protestantism in Ottoman Syria, such tensions and subversions are not overlooked, nor is it forgotten that the community fragmented by 1860. Thus, it is through recognising the complexities of this missionary encounter and situating the community within its dynamic historical context that the history of the Protestant Circle is fully understood.

**CHAPTER ONE:
THE AMERICAN CONTEXT:
CHANGES IN THE ANTEBELLUM UNITED STATES**

The Protestant Circle emerged during a period of transition within the history of the United States, when Americans sought to construct and assert a new and distinct identity. From the early to mid-nineteenth century, the population of the United States increased, due to both childbirth and immigration, which resulted in the urbanisation of the original states and the expansion onto the 'western frontier'. New technologies like the steam-engine train transformed economic and trade systems, while decreasing the cost and time of travel across the ever-expanding national territory. Christianity in the United States was altered by the pluralisation of denominational affiliations and the development of new theologies, which challenged the previously strong influence of New England-based Calvinism. It was in this dynamic environment that a foreign missions movement emerged and a group of Americans felt called to pursue an evangelical endeavour to Ottoman Syria.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the normative American identity that developed during this period. The first section reviews the changing demographics of the United States during the early to mid-nineteenth century and the creation of the 'American' identity as white, middle class and Protestant. The second section

concentrates upon Protestantism in the United States and examines the ways that the dominant New England-based Presbyterianism and Congregationalism were modified and challenged by the emergence of new theologies, individuals' explorations of revival experiences and the pursuit of social reforms. The third section investigates the imaginative and real encounters between white, middle class Americans and foreign 'others', and the fragile position of Americans abroad. This chapter concludes with a review of how Americans classified the inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean region as different groups of 'others'. This material contextualises the emergence of the ABCFM within the dynamic environment of the early nineteenth century United States and describes the culture that they embodied and presented to the residents of Syria during their missionary encounter.

DEMARCATING AN 'AMERICAN' IDENTITY

The Antebellum period can be regarded as the adolescence of the United States.¹ During these years, Americans sought a coherent and recognisable identity as they settled into the security of their nation's sovereignty. However, the actual definition of 'America' remained flexible, fluid and at times contradictory. This section investigates how Antebellum Americans' negotiated the shifting boundaries of the United States, as a nation and a culture, and in so doing, produced a normative definition of America as white and middle class. This chapter argues that social reform movements, which included foreign missions, were central to this definition process, so that, although the ABCFM missionaries in Syria represent a unique group of individuals, they played a role in actualising this new 'American' norm.

¹ The early to mid-nineteenth century is often referred to as the 'Antebellum' period, for although it followed the early years of the Republic and the War of 1812, it immediately preceded the American Civil War (1861 to 1865).

The War of 1812 solidified the sovereignty of then seventeen states of United States of America from its former coloniser, the United Kingdom.² By the commencement of the Civil War in 1861, the number of states increased to thirty-three, as the national boundary moved westward beyond the Mississippi River and included territories along Pacific coast.³ The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 codified Americans' imperial interests onto the western frontier and out over the entire hemisphere,⁴ while travellers' maps outlined potential routes over the wild spaces of the new territories.⁵

This territorial expansion affected the American identity and society. The 'west' was an ambiguous and amorphous term, which, depending on the person and the year, referred to areas in western New York State or the newly settled territories beyond the Mississippi River. Regardless of its actual location, the 'west' was a vacant space where innovative customs and institutions were formed through the adaptation of culture from the eastern states to the new environment.⁶ This liberality created the potential for moral, cultural and religious looseness, so that many in the eastern states feared that residents of the west would 'falter and fall back into a dark minded, vicious populace-- a poor, uneducated, reckless mass of infuriated animalism, to rush on resistless as the tornado, or to burn as if set on fire of hell.'⁷ One way to prevent this moral regression

² These were Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio.

³ In addition to the above were added Maine, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Kansas, Minnesota, Arkansas, Missouri, Oregon, California, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida.

⁴ Martin Bruckner, 'Literacy for Empire: The ABCs of Geography and the Rule of Territoriality in Early nineteenth-Century America', Michie and Thomas, *NCG*: 183

⁵ J. L. Hazzard and I.S. Drake, 'Mitchell's New Traveller's Guide Through The United States, Showing the Rail Roads, Canals, Stage Roads &c. With Distances From Place To Place' (Philadelphia: Charles, 1860).

⁶ Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 52-59.

⁷ Lyman Beecher, 'A Plea for the West' (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1835): 37

was through sending missionaries, social reformers and teachers to the new territories.⁸ This branch of mission work was labelled as 'Home' or 'Domestic' missions, which complemented the activities of the 'Foreign' missions to stations 'outside' United States.⁹

Although the residents of the frontier were targeted for missions, the communities that formed around 'Home' and 'Foreign' missions often developed and functioned in a manner similar to secular frontier towns and institutions.¹⁰ Like the libertarian stances and innovative culture expressed by frontiersmen and women, the mission field functioned as an open ecclesiastical space where missionaries articulated and pursued their unique religious and social callings.¹¹ Recognising mission communities as a type of frontier space helps us to understand the complexities that surrounded the ABCFM's work in Ottoman Syria and the hybrid culture of the Protestant Circle.

The movement and settlement of Americans on the frontier and mission field was encouraged by the technological advances that defined the Industrial Revolution of the early nineteenth century.¹² Innovations in steam ship technology and the extension of waterways eased the movement of both humans and goods.¹³ The mapping and regulation of the land was further extended through the introduction of rail roads and

⁸ Bird, *Aspects of Religion*: 30; Thomas A. Askew and Peter W. Spellman, *The Churches and the American Experience: Ideals and Institutions* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1984): 86.

⁹ n.s. 'Report of the Board of Missions for the Protestant Episcopal Church', *The American Christian Record: Containing the History, Confession of Faith, in the United States and Europe; A list of all Clergymen with their post office address, etc.* (New York: W. R. C. Clark and Meeker, 1860): 310-321.

¹⁰ For a description of the development and incorporation of the frontier city of Utica, New York see Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*.

¹¹ Genevieve McCoy, 'The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission and the Conflicted Language of Calvinism', *Church History*, 64: 1 (1995): 62-82.

¹² Jonathan Prude, 'Capitalism, Industrialization, and the Factory in Post-Revolutionary America', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 16: 2 (1996): 237-255.

¹³ Daniel Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815-1840* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1995): 18-19; 22-25.

the process of laying down track. Travellers' guides often compared the speed, destinations and possibilities for short excursions by stagecoach, canal and railroad, but were continuously upgraded, for the technological and transportation changes quickly made printed information outdated.¹⁴

The increased connectivity influenced changes in the economic and social systems of the United States. For example, goods previously made at home were increasingly produced en masse at factories and bought by the consumer at the market or through catalogues.¹⁵ The time saved in purchasing, not producing, goods increased the leisure time available to middle class men and women, which they often used to pursue an education or advocate societal reforms. These interests became important aspects of the middle class American identity,¹⁶ and were contrasted to the activities of poorer men and women, whose time was monopolised by work at factories or as servants in the homes where ready-made goods were displayed.¹⁷

This economic stratification increasingly defined Antebellum American society, in which the middle class emerged as the normative ideal for the American identity. For example, by mid-century, the middle class suburban cottage became the ideal American home,¹⁸ for it ensured the appropriate separation of activities into different

¹⁴ 'Excursions to the West [of northern New York State]', in G.M. Davidson, *The Traveller's Guide through the Middle and Northern States, and the Provinces of Canada* (Seventh Edition) (Saratoga Springs: G.M. Davidson, 1837): 193-194.

¹⁵ Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expressions* (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1964): 229. Prude, 'Capitalism, Industrialization, and the Factory': 237-255; Joan M. Jensen, 'Butter Making and Economic Development in Mid-Atlantic America from 1750 to 1850', *Signs*, 13:4 (1988): 819-825.

¹⁶ Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977): 42-55, 137-139; Bryan LeBeau, *Religion in America to 1865* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000): 114; Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America: 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999): 132.

¹⁷ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 206-210, 31-32; Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992): 73-74.

¹⁸ Geraldine Joncich Clifford, 'Home and School in 19th Century America: Some Personal-History Reports from the United States', *History of Education Quarterly*, 18:1 (1978): 15.

rooms, and provided access to fresh air and water.¹⁹ This home contrasted the residencies of the urban poor, who lived in poorly divided tenements located in dirty and dangerous cities.²⁰ The demands of work left tenement dwellers little spare time to educate their children, engage in family worship or attend religious services, which were requirements of 'properly pious living', which was believed to take place at the middle class suburban setting.²¹ As a result, middle class social reformers ventured into the city to provide free education, run Sabbath schools, embark on home visits and create trade-union linked church services, in the hopes that these services would elevate the culture of 'underdeveloped' Americans.²²

Members of the middle class also sought to improve the condition of the economic elite. Reformers argued that the vices of excess included the love of money, prostitution and the profanity of the Sabbath.²³ The danger caused by economic prosperity and the pursuit of wealth was a problem faced by the ABCFM missionaries in Syria and will be returned to in subsequent chapters. Thus, individuals on the frontiers, the urban poor and the economic elite were all designated as problematic 'others' within the United States, whose culture differed from the emerging norm of middle class Americans.

¹⁹ Catharine E. Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy, For the use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School* (Revised Edition) (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1854): 43-45.

²⁰ n.s., 'Sanitary Reform', *The North American Review*, 73:152 (1851): 121-122.

²¹ Rev. James Hughes, 'Family Religion: No. 154' (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, n.d.): 6-15.

²² Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Glouster, MA: Peter Smith, 1976): 63-77; Mary P. Ryan, 'The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Antebellum America', *Feminist Studies*, 5:1(1979), 66-85; Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*: 157-159.

²³ Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*: 157-158; Eli Smith, 'Letter to Parents' (Bennington, [New York], 10 August 1833): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 6.

Race was another influence on the social stratification of Antebellum American society and the construction of a normative American identity.²⁴ The race of a United States citizen was ambiguously defined during the nineteenth century.²⁵ In many geographic texts, the term 'American' referred to 'white Americans', who were the descendents of Europeans, primarily English, French, Spanish, Scotch or Dutch.²⁶ This association functioned as the common, but often silenced, default definition for 'Americans' within popular texts.²⁷

In some works however, the term 'American' pertained to what is presently referred to as 'Native Americans' or 'Amerindians'.²⁸ This 'American Race' was described as being 'of a red, or copper color, with sunken eyes, broad face, high cheek bones, a scanty beard, and long black hair.'²⁹ These native 'Americans' were positioned as 'barbarians' or 'savages' along the scale of humanity, which was a popular classification system for different cultures and societies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁰

²⁴ Ussama Makdisi, 'Rethinking American Missionaries and Nineteenth-Century Historiography of the Middle East', in: T. Philipp and C. Schumann (eds.), *From the Syrian Lands to the States of Syria and Lebanon* (Beirut: Orient-Institute, 2004): 211.

²⁵ Mary Louise Kete, *Sentimental Collaborations: Mourning and Middle class Identity in Nineteenth Century America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000): 105-112.

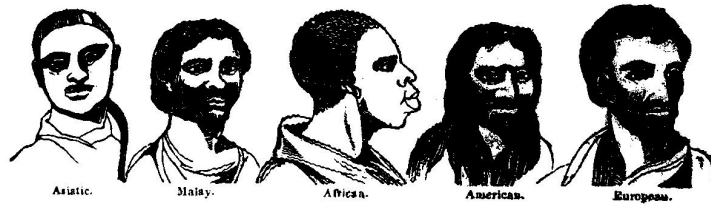
²⁶ Sylvester Bliss, *Analysis of Geography; For the use of Schools, Academics, &c.* (Fourth Edition) (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co, 1850): 33, 36-37; Bird, *Aspects of Religion*: 5-23; Wright in Blau, *Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy*: 282-28. Research on 'whiteness' in American culture is presented in Yiorgos Anagnostou, 'Forget the Past, Remember the Ancestors! Modernity, "Whiteness," American Hellenism, and the Politics of Memory in Early Greek America', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 22: 1 (2004): 25-71; Susan M. Ryan, 'Misgivings: Melville, Race, and the Ambiguities of Benevolence', *American Literary History*, 12: 4 (2000): 685-712.

²⁷ Ryan, 'Misgivings': 687; Lisa L. Zagumny and Lydia Miheli Pulsipher, "'The Races and Conditions of Men": Women in Nineteenth-Century Geography School Texts in the United States', *Gender Place & Culture* 15: 4 (2008): 411-429.

²⁸ Kete, *Sentimental*: 112. The number of Amerindians during the Antebellum period is difficult to determine, as it was only in 1860 that the US Census enumerated the group considered as 'Civilized Indians' to be 44,020. Joseph C. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eight Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864): 597-597.

²⁹ Bliss, *Analysis of Geography*: 33; Blake, *American Universal Geography*: 140.

³⁰ Wellington, 'Moral and Political Chart' in Bliss, *Analysis of Geography*: 33.



In 1830, the United States Supreme Court ruled that American citizenship was limited to those of European descent and designated Amerindians as non-citizens who should be removed from the western territories.³¹ Some white Americans, including missionaries from the ABCFM, disagreed with this stance and sought to ‘civilise’ Amerindians.³² Formal education was regarded as an important method for this reformation and assimilation process, so that a number of schools were established for this purpose, including the ABCFM’s ‘Foreign Mission School’ in Cornwall, Connecticut and those run by independent missionaries, such as Sarah Smith, who later served as an ABCFM missionary in Syria.³³ Motivating this reform was the belief that individuals could modify their racial/civility categorisation through changing their behaviour, location and/or educational qualifications.³⁴ However, those who actually contested their original categorisation were often chastised, so that interracial marriages between Amerindian students and white Americans were condemned by their white neighbours.³⁵ This reveals a conundrum faced by ‘non-white’ individuals who pursued

³¹ John Marshall, ‘Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States: Cherokee Nation v. Georgia: 30 US.1’ [1831]; David C. Lipscomb, ‘“Water Leaves No Trail”: Mapping Away the Vanishing American in Cooper’s Leatherstocking Tales’, in: Michie and Thomas, *NCG*: 67; Priscilla Wald, ‘Terms of Assimilation: Legislating Subjectivity in the Emerging Nation’, in: A. Kaplan and D.E. Pease, (eds.), *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993): 61-68

³² Hooker, *MSLS*: 40.

³³ Tracey, ‘HABCFM’: 25; Hooker, *MSLS*: 40-50; Sarah Smith, ‘Letter to Rebecca Williams’ (Beirut, 13 May 1834): HHL: ABC 60 (110).

³⁴ Duncan Faherty ‘“A Condition Perpetuated in America”: Race, Benevolence and Antebellum Culture’, *Reviews in American History*, 32:1 (2004): 29, 32.

³⁵ This pertains to the marriages between John Ridge and Sarah Northrop and Elias Boudinot and Harriett Gold. In both cases, the men were graduates of the ABCFM’s Foreign Mission School who converted to Christianity, while the women were from middle class, white families. For more on these marriages and how the white community’s negative reception and a

the social reforms organised by white, middle class Americans, but were nevertheless denied social equality because of their race. Subsequent chapters show how this problem plagued the Protestant Circle in Ottoman Syria and influenced its eventually disintegration.

White Americans were also confronted with a sizeable African American population, which, according to the 1860 census, included roughly 4,450,000 individuals or just over fourteen percent of the population.³⁶ Slavery was an important issue during the Antebellum years and divided many national organisations. The ABCFM neither publically advocated nor condemned slavery in the United States, but condoned the possession of slaves by converts at the Sandwich Islands (present day Hawaii), which instigated criticism from its abolitionist associates.³⁷ Many white Abolitionists were themselves divided on how to engage with former slaves. Some, like the members of the American Colonization Society (f. 1816), proposed that freed slaves and free-born African Americans should be relocated to Africa.³⁸ Underlying this recommendation was the belief that American citizens were to lack African ancestry. This stance was codified in the United States Supreme Court ruling, *Scott vs. Sandford*, also known as the 'Dred Scott Decision', which denied individuals of African descent from claiming American citizenship.³⁹ Nonetheless, this legal boundary was

collection of the couple's reaction see Joel Spring, *The Cultural Transformation of a Native American Family and Its Tribe: 1763-1995: A Basket of Apples* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1996): 52-55; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*: 145; Theresa Strouth Gaul (ed.), *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

³⁶ This number includes slave and free African Americans. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*: 597.

³⁷ Amos A. Phelps, *Letters to Professor Stowe and Dr. Bacon on God's Real Method with Great Social Wrongs in Which the Bible is Vindicated From Grossly Erroneous Interpretations* (New York: W. M. Harned, 1848): 12, 14; *MH* (1842): 424-425.

³⁸ Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise*: 64-65.

³⁹ Roger B. Taney, 'Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States: *Scott v. Sandford*: 60 U.S. 393', [1856], *Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School*.

problematized by the actions of fair-skinned 'blacks' who temporarily 'passed' as being white during social interactions.⁴⁰

Thus, the race of Antebellum American citizens was to have neither Amerindian nor African ancestry, but solely of 'white', European stock. This however, was a complex and problematic assertion. During the 1840s and 1850s, the number of Roman Catholic immigrants from Ireland increased substantially, so that roughly 1,600,000 Irish immigrants resided in the United States by 1860.⁴¹ Irish immigrants faced both religious and race-based discrimination. The prominent preacher, Lyman Beecher argued that Irish immigrants were of 'lower nature' and 'since the irruption of the northern barbarians, the world has never witnessed such a rush of *dark-minded* population from one country to another, as is now leaving Europe and dashing upon our shores.'⁴² Nativist associations, like the 'Native American Party' (note the irony of the name) sought to tighten American naturalisation laws against the inroads of these 'foreign criminals and paupers' and argued that 'the sons of the soil should rule the soil.'⁴³ Irish Catholics were often racialised as an 'other' who differed from normative white Americans within official documents.⁴⁴ The 1850 census of Kennet Township, Pennsylvania recorded that, of the domestic servants living in farm households, '38 percent were black or born in Ireland, and the remaining 62 percent were native-born white women.'⁴⁵ In a similar manner, the ABCFM missionary Hetty Smith wrote to her sister in Connecticut that her Arab servants 'are dirty but I doubt whether they are

⁴⁰ Mary Niall Mitchell, "'Rosebloom and Pure White," Or So It Seemed', *American Quarterly* 54: 3 (2002): 369-410.

⁴¹ Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*: xxxi.

⁴² Emphasis added. Beecher 'Plea for the West': 69-70. Also see John B. Perry, 'Full and Complete Account of the Late Awful Riots in Philadelphia', *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (1844): 4.

⁴³ n.s., 'The Sons of the Sires; A History of the Rise, Progress, and Destiny of the American party, and Its Probable Influence on the Next Presidential Election' (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855): v.

⁴⁴ n.s. 'Sanitary Reform': 122.

⁴⁵ cited in Jensen, 'Butter Making': 823.

more so than Irish.⁴⁶ Irish, and to a lesser extent German Roman Catholic immigrants, were thus perceived to be non-whites who were comparable to African Americans and Arabs, but contrasted to white 'Native Americans'. This was an important aspect of differentiation, for even if a person physically looked or dressed like a white American, this was regarded as a façade, which hid the true nature of the 'othered' person.

Thus, delineating a clear and unified definition for the American identity during the early to mid-nineteenth century is a difficult endeavour. Racial and economic boundaries were constructed by white, middle class 'Americans' to position themselves as different from various others living in the country. Such divisions proved to be porous however, for immigrants crossed the ever-expanding borders, while 'non-whites' challenged their racial categorisation through temporarily passing as 'white' or assimilating into normative American society.

MODIFICATIONS IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM

Protestantism was another important facet of the normative American identity. From the early to mid-nineteenth century, the doxa of American Protestantism centred upon New England-based Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, but was increasingly challenged by the pluralisation of Christian denominations, the emergence of a revival theology, the pursuit of 'millennialism' and the institutionalisation of Protestant education. This section examines these transformations and argues that the ABCFM emerged and functioned as a bastion of conservatism, although individual missionaries negotiated these new manifestations of American Protestantism. As a result, features of both the old and new were found in the Protestantism practiced by the missionaries at Syrian Station, which influenced the religious capital of the Protestant Circle.

⁴⁶ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 4 September 1852): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 22

The demographics of Protestant denominations reflected the environment of the young nation at the start of the nineteenth century. Churches with strong ties to the state, like the Anglican Church,⁴⁷ decreased in membership after the Revolutionary War, while non-conformist denominations, particularly the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, flourished. Despite differing on many points, including ecclesiastical structuring, Presbyterians and Congregationalists shared the Westminster Confession of Faith (1649) and were brought into communion through the Pact of Union in 1801.⁴⁸ This allowed for Presbyterian and Congregational members to work together and establish many of the nation's eminent educational institutions, such as Andover Seminary (f. 1808) and the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church (later Princeton Seminary) (f. 1812).⁴⁹ Many of the nation's prominent reform organisations were also jointly funded, Presbyterian-Congregational endeavours, such as the American Bible Association (f. 1816), the American Home Missionary Society (f. 1826) and the ABCFM (f. 1810).⁵⁰ Due to these academic and institutional associations, Presbyterian and Congregational leaders formed a new type of aristocracy within the United States during the early nineteenth century: a religious elite.⁵¹

This Presbyterian-Congregational stronghold was challenged however by the rise of the Methodist and Baptist Churches by the mid-nineteenth century. The Methodist Episcopal Church developed as a pious branch within the Anglican Church

⁴⁷ The Anglican Church also suffered from its perceived association with the British, which prompted a change of name, to the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1783.

⁴⁸ Glenn T. Miller, *Piety and Intellect: The Aims and Purposes of Ante-Bellum Theological Education* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990): 86; James H. Moorhead, 'The "Restless Spirit of Radicalism": Old School Fears and the Schism of 1837: Exploring a Time When Extreme Passions Led to the Rupture of American Presbyterianism', *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 78:1 (2000): 20-22.

⁴⁹ Bird, *Aspects of Religion*: 38; Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 416.

⁵⁰ The ABCFM was a joint venture amongst the Presbyterian, Congregational and Dutch Reform Churches, although the Dutch Reform influence was marginal.

⁵¹ James H. Moorhead, 'Between Progress and Apocalypse: A Reassessment of Millennialism in American Religious Thought, 1800-1880', *The Journal of American History*, 71: 3 (1984): 530-531; Bird, *Aspects of Religion*: 38.

in England and initially struggled to attract followers in the United States. By 1830 however, Methodism was one of the largest Protestant denominations in the United States, for its theology resonated with the culture materialising in the frontier territories and states.⁵² Despite its increasing popularity, Methodist churches remained geographically fragmented, while tensions and divisions arose over race and slavery.⁵³ The Baptist Church also expanded during the Antebellum period and was particularly popular in the southern states and on the frontier. Americans in these regions felt more comfortable with the Baptist preaching style, as opposed to the erudite preaching associated with Presbyterian and Congregational ministers.⁵⁴ Some of the Presbyterian-Congregational 'elite' regarded the rise in Methodist and Baptist denominations as a threat to their position, and to American Protestantism, so that the ABCFM withdrew funding from their earliest missionaries, Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, upon their conversion to the Baptist Church during their missionary travels.⁵⁵

Another perceived 'threat' to American Christianity arose with the waves of immigrants coming from Europe. Protestant immigrants often sought to transplant their home churches onto American soil, so that by 1859 Mennonite, Dutch Reformed, German Reformed and Lutheran churches were found in the United States, particularly in the mid-west states.⁵⁶ More troubling to American-born Protestants were the new Roman Catholic immigrants. In contrast to previous Catholics, who tended to be of French or English descent and who assimilated into American society, these new immigrants came from Germany and Ireland, and advocated a different culture of

⁵² Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 416-417; Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise*: 96.

⁵³ Bird, *Aspects of Religion*: 45-46; Askew and Spellman, *The Churches and the American Experience*: 120-121.

⁵⁴ Askew and Spellman, *The Churches and the American Experience*: 44; Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 162-163.

⁵⁵ Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 170, 318.

⁵⁶ Bird, *Aspects of Religion*: 42-45.

Catholicism.⁵⁷ For example, although the new Irish Catholics expressed loyalty to the United States, the candid displays of their unique identity, which included parades on St. Patrick's Day, jarred with the surrounding Protestant community, leading many to believe that Roman Catholicism was incongruent with American ideals.⁵⁸ This disjuncture was manifested in racialised, sectarian violence, including an attack on an Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Boston in 1836 as well as riots in New York and Philadelphia during the 1840s.⁵⁹

Anti-Catholic sentiment was not restricted to the Protestant masses, but was a noticeable trait found amongst Presbyterian and Congregational leaders during the Antebellum period. The well-known Presbyterian preacher Lyman Beecher warned against the influences of 'Papism' on the frontier states and argued that Catholic clerical structures ran counter to the American ideals of democracy.⁶⁰ In addition, Lazarist, Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries were argued to be the biggest challenge to the ABCFM's work, including their activities in the Ottoman Empire.⁶¹ For many Antebellum Americans, Roman Catholicism was not only a danger to America's religious identity, but also the spiritual well-being of the entire world.

The theological assertions of those within Presbyterian and Congregational churches were also challenged by the developments of the nineteenth century. The

⁵⁷ Kenneth Moss, 'St. Patrick's Day Celebrations and the Formation of Irish-American Identity, 1845-1875', *Journal of Social History*, 29: 1 (1995): 126 Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986): 13; Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise*: 115.

⁵⁸ Moss, 'St. Patrick's Day Celebrations': 125-146.

⁵⁹ Henry J. Browne, 'Catholicism in the United States', in: J. Smith and A. Jamison (eds.), *The Shaping of American Religion: Volume I: Religion in American Life* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961): 84.

⁶⁰ Lyman Beecher, 'The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher', [n.d.], in: B. Cross (ed.), *The Educated Woman in America: Selected Writings of Catharine Beecher, Margaret Fuller and M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965): 60-61.

⁶¹ Whiting, Thomson and Van Dyck, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 7 June 1845): 41-49; Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "'Simply by Giving to Them Maccaroni...': Anti-Roman Catholic Polemics in Early Protestant Missions in the Middle East, 1820-1860", in: Tamack and Marten, *CWBCNB*: 67-77.

New England-based Calvinism, particularly the ideas of the theologian John Edwards, formed the backbone of Presbyterian and Congregational theology at the start of the nineteenth century.⁶² Edward's theology maintained that God's revelation and goodness were mutually exclusive from the work of men.⁶³ Although humans could rationalise and try to understand God's will and human sin, particularly through educational and scientific endeavours, Edwards and many others believed that the inherent nature of a person determined his/her actions and eternal fate.⁶⁴

The influence of this Calvinistic theology was loosened as the nineteenth century unfolded. One aspect this change centred upon the increased role for human involvement in the eschatological positioning of the self. New theologies, like the 'Evangelical Calvinism' of Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney, and Samuel Hopkin's 'New Divinity', spread the belief that humans could affect God's selection of the elect.⁶⁵ For Evangelical Calvinists, individuals could secure his/her eternal fate through the 'personal revival' of the soul. This was an event (or a series of events) when the Holy Spirit instigated the consciousness of one's sinful state and the desire to forsake sinfulness for union with Christ.⁶⁶ It was through denouncing one's sinful past that a person hoped to be marked as saved. Election would be further verified through the

⁶² Sydney E. Ahlstrom, 'Theology in American: A Historical Survey', in: J. Smith and A. Jamison, (eds.), *The Shaping of American Religion: I: Religion in American Life*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961): 246; McCoy, 'The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission': 64.

⁶³ Joseph A. Conforti, 'Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity: Theology, Ethics, and Social Reform in Eighteenth-Century New England', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 34:4 (1977): 580.

⁶⁴ James H. Moorhead, 'The "Restless Spirit of Radicalism": Old School Fears and the Schism of 1837: Exploring a Time When Extreme Passions Led to the Rupture of American Presbyterianism', *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 78: 1 (2000): 23.

⁶⁵ Conforti, 'Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity': 572; Askew and Spellman, *Churches and the American Experience*: 53.

⁶⁶ *MH* (1856): 130. These revivals were 'quiet, orderly and restrained' events that contrasted the boisterous revivals experienced in Methodist and Baptist churches. Askew and Spellman, *Churches and the American Experience*: 79; Kathryn Long, 'The Power of Interpretation: The Revival of 1857-58 and the Historiography of Revivalism in America', *Religion and American Culture*, 4:1 (1994): 77-105.

successful performance of 'disinterested benevolence' or the 'Christ-like disposition to self-denial' through opposing any act of 'self-love'.⁶⁷ This new theology resonated with the culture associated with white, middle classes Americans and became a feature of the religion practiced by the ABCFM missionaries at the Syrian Station.

Another characteristic of nineteenth century American Protestantism was personal interaction with the Holy Scriptures, which I refer to as 'Biblical literacy'. The American Bible Society sought to provide each family with a Bible for daily study, while the American Home Society and the American Tract Society (f. 1825) ensured that the Bible was properly interpreted.⁶⁸ For many, the 'Bible became not only a revered text but a sacred object' itself, for it occupied an elevated position amongst family heirlooms and occasionally acquired talisman qualities.⁶⁹ Sabbath services centred upon the Scripture readings, while the homily was often an exegesis of these passages. Seminarians were taught Hebrew and Greek, for it was believed that reading the Bible in its original language granted clearer insight onto its revelations.⁷⁰ This investigation was complemented by explorations of the 'Holy Lands', for many Americans believed that the behaviour and culture of contemporary residents of the Middle East were unchanged from Biblical times.⁷¹ As a result, the works of the ABCFM missionaries and other travellers to the Ottoman Empire became important pieces for the 'Biblical Literacy' of literate, lay Americans.⁷²

Some of these Bible-reading Americans were influenced by 'end times' accounts, particularly those found in the Revelation of John. The majority of American

⁶⁷ Conforti, 'Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity': 583.

⁶⁸ Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America*. (New Haven and London, 1995): 71; Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise*: 101; Catherine Sedgewick quoted in Sally McMurry, *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988): 141.

⁶⁹ McDannell, *Material Christianity*: 67-102.

⁷⁰ Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 13.

⁷¹ e.g. Robinson and Smith, *BR*; and Thomson, *LB*.

⁷² Badr recognises that the ABCFM missionaries to Syria 'played a crucial role in the rise of modern Biblical scholarship in American seminaries.' Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians":

Protestants, including the members of the ABCFM, upheld a post-millennial theology and argued that, at some unknown point, the world will enter into a millennium of God's rule on earth.⁷³ It was believed that after this millennium, the Second Coming of Christ would occur along with its associated prophecies and the judgement of the saved and the damned. The uniqueness of nineteenth century Americans' post-millennial theology was with the agency granted to humans to encourage the millennium.⁷⁴ The large number of personal and group revivals was thought to be a sign of the approaching commencement of the millennium. Human instigation of revivals affirmed the view that people could assist in God's eschatological plans. In addition, it was believed that a person's immediate choice to accept or reject the revival message determined his or her 'sometime in the future' standing within Christ's judgement.⁷⁵

Drawing from these theological points, many felt 'called' to immediate action in reforming the ills of this world and commit it to God's plan.⁷⁶ The ABCFM asserted that 'the kingdoms of this world' shall eventually become 'the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ' through the help of human missionary activities. Similar to other benevolent organisations, the ABCFM argued that it was 'God's providence' for humans to advance technology, such as the steam engine and printing press, which would alleviate the tasks and broaden the impact of missionary labours and reform movements.⁷⁷

⁷³ Moorhead, 'Between Progress and Apocalypse': 525.

⁷⁴ Moorhead, 'Between Progress and Apocalypse': 526.

⁷⁵ Timothy Dwight in *Panoplist* (1819): 486-91; James H. Moorhead, *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War: 1860-1869* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978): 524-542; Moorhead, 'Between Progress and Apocalypse': 526-527.

⁷⁶ Richmond, *The Dairyman's Daughter*: 62-63; Moorhead, *American Apocalypse*: 526-7; Harrison, *The Second Coming*: 6-7.

⁷⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 'Missionary Tract No. 10: The Missionary Age: A Half Century Sermon: By One of the Secretaries of the Board' (Boston: n.s., 1852): 2-3.

A different perspective on Christ's Second Coming was asserted by the advocates of pre-millennial theology. These Christians believed that the Second Coming would predate God's millennial rule and warned that the Apocalypse was imminent. They argued that this was forewarned by recognisably cataclysmic events, such as the French Revolution and the increased presence of Europeans in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁸ Unlike the more-common post-millennialism, pre-millennialism was advocated by heterodox Christians, such as John Humphrey Noyes's Oneida Community (f. 1847), the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints [the Mormon Church] (f. 1830) and the followers of William Miller, who calculated the Second Coming initially for 23 April 1843, which was recalculated for 22 October 1844.⁷⁹ Some advocates of this theology established colonies in Palestine, but, because of their unorthodox views, were regarded by the ABCFM as different, distinct and possibly threatening to their work, and as a result, were not encompassed by the Protestant Circle.⁸⁰

It was in the United Kingdom that pre-millennial theology was more vigorously advocated and associated with mainstream missionary organisations. In 1830, the English John Darby founded the Plymouth Brethren, who promoted the ideology of the Rapture, or the mystical 'taking up' of those who were saved to announce the Second Coming. Darby argued that after the Rapture, God's millennial rule would commence with a Jewish kingdom.⁸¹ A similar theology was espoused by the LJS (f. 1809), who

⁷⁸ Rev. E. Bickerteth, 'The Apostolic Benediction: or, The Heart Directed into the Love of God, and the Patient Waiting for Christ' (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1837): 43-44; Loraine Boettner, *The Millennium* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Company, 1958): 43.

⁷⁹ Miller's calculations proved, in both cases, to be erroneous. A. Leland Jamison, 'Religions on the Christian Perimeter', in J. Smith and A. Jamison (eds.), *The Shaping of American Religion: I: Religion in American Life* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961): 162-231; LeBeau, *Religion in America to 1865*: 124-5; Boettner, *The Millennium*: 337-351.

⁸⁰ V. D. Lipman, *Americans and the Holy Land Through British Eyes: 1820-1917: A Documentary History* (London: V.D. Lipman, 1989): 19-21, 119-137.

⁸¹ Boettner, *The Millennium*: 6, 141-144.

supported and encouraged Jews to return to the Holy Land.⁸² Branches of the LJS operated in the United States, some of which were auxiliaries for the ABCFM. While the ABCFM was affiliated with the LJS, in both the United States and Palestine, the ABCFM did not affirm the LJS's pre-millennial theology, for it was cautious of all overt millennial movements. One ABCFM missionary wrote:

I know that some talk as of current events show plainly, that we are advancing with rapid strides towards the millennium...At any rate, I cannot clearly see the grounds for the congratulations that some indulge and I fear they are founded more upon what is hoped for, than upon what actually has been done.⁸³

Thus, the ABCFM presented a specific theology within a diverse and vibrant Protestant environment.

Similar to secular campaigners, educational reform was one channel through which many post-millennial advocates sought to improve American society, by increasing both literacy rates and access to formal schools. However, such reforms required a change in the methods of educational instruction. At the start of the nineteenth century, formal education, for both boys and girls, was provided by small, private boarding schools with attendance limited to those capable of paying the tuition fee or receiving sponsorships.⁸⁴ In 1805, the Lancastrian system of instruction was developed in England and quickly spread to the United States. Under this system, older students monitored the scholastic development of their younger peers, thus allowing a

⁸² Paul Charles Merkley, *The Politics of Christian Zionism 1981-1948* (London and Portland, OR.: Frank Cass, 1998): 13-14, 40; Reeva Spector Simon, 'The Case of the Curse: The London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews and the Jews of Bagdad', in: Tejirian and Simon, *AI*: 51-52.

⁸³ Eli Smith, 'The Missionary Character: An Address Delivered Before the Society of Inquiry into the Theological Seminary in New Haven. (April 1, 1840)' (New Haven: B.L. Hamlen, 1840): 33.

⁸⁴ Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society: 1650-1850* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1985): 93.

large number of children to be instructed by one teacher.⁸⁵ In addition, following Massachusetts in 1820, a number of states opened free common schools, which granted those previously denied, because of cost, access to formal education.⁸⁶ Volunteers from secular societies, like the Board of National Popular Education (f. 1846), raised money to sponsor teachers from New England to run schools in southern and western states.⁸⁷ Due to the changes in economic systems, many young adults were freed from the confines of their family farms or rural villages and took up this 'mission' to be school teachers.⁸⁸ As a result, while literacy did not become universal, the ability to read and write became a trait of the normative American identity by mid-century.⁸⁹

Many Evangelical Protestants argued that this secular education should be infused with 'moral' instruction. Although the church and state were officially separated, some reformers proposed that 'school [should commence] every day with reading the Bible and prayer'.⁹⁰ Lyman Beecher's aforementioned 'Plea for the West' was a call for Americans to monetarily support school planting in the western frontier, for he asserted that 'the safety of our republic depends upon the intelligence, and moral principle, and patriotism, and property of the nation the entire moral and political stability of the country', which he argued was formed at schools.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Bruckner, 'Literacy for Empire': 177; Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise*: 150. By the mid-1840s, the Lancasterian system was also being used in Egypt. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 69-71.

⁸⁶ Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise*: 151; Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*: 93.

⁸⁷ Barbara M. Cross (ed.), *The Educated Woman in America: Selected Writings of Catharine Beecher, Margaret Fuller and M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965): 76: note 4.

⁸⁸ Clifford, 'Home and School in 19th Century America': 19.

⁸⁹ The 1850 Census states that just under five percent of the white, native-born population was illiterate. J.D.B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States, ...Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1854): 152. Scholars have identified the ways that black slaves were intentionally prevented from becoming literate by their white slave owners. Reem M. Hilal, 'African Muslim Slave Writings and Muslims in America: Identities in Transition', Presented at: Middle East Studies Association (of North America) Annual Conference (Boston: 20 November 2006).

⁹⁰ Beecher, 'An Essay on the Education of Female Teachers': 77.

⁹¹ Beecher, 'A Plea for the West': 48.

Protestant educational reformers also believed that this moral instruction should be reinforced at home. Preachers and lay members of benevolent organisations, like the American Home Missionary Society, proposed that families should commence their days with prayers and spend their evenings reading the Family Bible or listening to a sermon delivered by the father or another invited (male) guest.⁹² Images and descriptions of family worship were printed in both religious and secular texts, and served as examples for how this domestic worship should be conducted. Some showed the entire family (including servants) encircling the family patriarch who read from the Bible, while others portrayed an intimate scene of a mother sharing the Scriptures with her children.⁹³ These images illuminated the domestication of Christianity through family worship and how these religious practices fused literacy with active religiosity. Family worship was also practiced by Americans living abroad, including the ABCFM missionaries in Ottoman Syria, so that the 'Monthly Concert of Prayer', which was held on the first Monday of each month, was an occasion when Americans, both home and abroad, united in prayers and convocation, not at churches, but within the comforts of their family parlours.⁹⁴

While the work of educational reform was pursued by members of secular and Protestant organisations alike, the nation's educational leaders continued to hold Presbyterian and Congregational affiliations.⁹⁵ Although open to men from all Christian denominations, Andover and Union Seminaries, and Yale, Princeton and Oberlin Colleges remained the strongholds of the Presbyterian and Congregational male elite.⁹⁶

⁹² The American Home Mission Society was founded by Congregational, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Associate Reformed congregants.

⁹³ The latter image became increasingly popular during the mid-century. McDannell, *Material Christianity*: 72-84.

⁹⁴ Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969): 294.

⁹⁵ Schools were also organised by Roman Catholic organisations and parishes during this period. Browne, 'Catholicism in the United States': 85-88.

⁹⁶ Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 146-148.

Prominent seminaries for women were also organised by those with Congregational or Presbyterian associations, such as Catherine Beecher's Hartford Seminary (f. 1824) and Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke (f. 1837). It was from these elite academic institutions that the ABCFM found many of its missionaries, both male and female, for the ABCFM believed that 'the work of missions requires a character disciplined by a thorough education'.⁹⁷ Thus, America's religious leaders, prominent missionaries and educational elite remained concentrated around Presbyterian and Congregational establishments, despite the pluralisation of theology, religious denominations and educational systems.

Historical analysis of Protestantism in nineteenth century America often focuses upon the way that men interacted with these changes. Recent research onto the gendering of Antebellum society however, has illuminated the complexities of women's social and religious experiences during this period. This research problematises the binaries of gender and the public/private divide that defined early histories of women in the United States.⁹⁸ Drawing from these revisionists' accounts, the following section re-examines the material presented above and explores how women experienced and negotiated the transformations within American Protestantism. This is done in order to contextualise the religious practices that encouraged women to become missionaries for the ABCFM and introduce the definitions of womanhood and motherhood that were promoted by the ABCFM missionaries to Ottoman Syria.

Mainstream Protestantism was, in many ways, a restrictive space for American women during the early nineteenth century. Women could neither serve as ministers

⁹⁷ Smith, 'The Missionary Character': 6.

⁹⁸ For a review of these revisions see Mary Kelly, 'Beyond the Boundaries', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 21:1 (2001): 73-78. Compare with Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*: 126-159; S.J. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* (London: Macmillan, 1999): 80-102; Barbara Welter, 'The Feminization of American Religion: 1800-1860', in: J. Butler and H. S. Stout (eds.), *Religion and American History: A Reader* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 157-179; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977); Barbara Welter, 'The Cult of the True Womanhood: 1820-1860' [1966], in: M. Gordon (ed.), *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (Second Edition) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978): 313-333.

nor as part of the leadership committees within Presbyterian and Congregational churches. Women were prohibited from voting at church councils and could not elect new ministers.⁹⁹ Despite this patriarchal control of church leadership, the church body was often dominated by women, for they occupied the majority of pew space during worship services.¹⁰⁰ Occasional discord erupted between male clergy and the female congregation, so that while men remained at the head of mainstream Protestant churches, the actions of the female-body did not always follow their lead.¹⁰¹

Similar to the feminisation of church membership, the gradual relaxing of Calvinism has been theorised as the feminisation of Protestant theology. Evangelical Calvinists believed that all, regardless of gender, were receptive to the call of the Holy Spirit, since God spoke directly to humans through the reading of Scriptures, prayer and personal revival.¹⁰² With this came the risk that direct communion with the divine could occur beyond the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical (male) leadership. Some women employed this shift in theology to justify their challenges to ministerial authority.¹⁰³ Evangelical theology was also used by women to justify their participation in social reform movements. Women, such as the missionary Sarah Smith, interpreted their unique calling from God, which for Smith, meant praying for her brother's spiritual revival and serving as a missionary to Native Americans in New York and the residents of Ottoman Syria.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Carolyn J. Lawes, 'Trifling with Holy Time: Women and the Formation of the Calvinist Church of Worcester, Massachusetts, 1815-1820', *Religion and American Culture*, 8:1 (1998): 133.

¹⁰⁰ Richard D. Shiels, 'The Feminization of American Congregationalism, 1730-1835', *American Quarterly*, 33:1 (1981): 46-62.

¹⁰¹ A schism tore apart the Congregational Church of Worcester, Massachusetts in the late 1810, when three wealthy women who, after they were denied access to the pastoral selection committee, rejected the authority of a new pastor and started a rival congregation. Lawes, 'Trifling with Holy Time': 119.

¹⁰² Jane Haggis, 'White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non-Recuperative History', [1998], in: R. Lewis and S. Mills (eds.), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 180.

¹⁰³ Lawes, 'Trifling with Holy Time': 127.

¹⁰⁴ Hooker, *MSLS*: 13.

The diversity of benevolent organisations demonstrate the manifold ills that both women and men perceived to be plaguing American society. A woman could join a monthly 'cent society' that fundraised for missions; a weekly sewing group to sponsor seminary students; a female prayer group; or even serve as a missionary to a foreign country. This diversity, of both focus and commitment, granted women the ability to accommodate their interests in social reform to the demands of their daily lifestyles.

More narrowly, female education was promoted by both men and women as the means to create a useful (and for religious reformers, pious) population.¹⁰⁵ Differences arose over the type of education girls should receive. Some advocated basic literacy to be given at mixed gender common schools, while others demanded specific regiments of domestic instruction and proper 'moral' education for girls at single sexed institutions.¹⁰⁶ This curriculum for girls often included Needlework, Mathematics, Rhetoric, Poetry, in addition to Mental and Moral Philosophy, the Bible, Geography, History and Natural Sciences. Wealthier young woman studied at academies and seminaries, where they resided with distant relatives, close friends or as a boarding student.¹⁰⁷ These seminaries were the highest level of formal education available to women during the Antebellum period. Although there was a cap to the academic knowledge taught at these schools, when compared to male seminaries and colleges, the graduates of female seminaries were regarded as the cultural and religious elite amongst their peers. Many became teachers and some were employed in foreign missions. The latter group included the aforementioned Sarah Smith as well as Harriet Newell and Harriet Boardman, whose bio(hagio)ographies were widely read forms of

¹⁰⁵ Beecher, 'An Essay on the Education of Female Teachers': 70.

¹⁰⁶ Catharine Beecher actively promoted a specific type of female education that emphasised domestic training, given primarily by the mother but refined by a seminary. Catharine E. Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy, For the use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School* (Revised Edition) (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1854): 48-67; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*: 62-65.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph F. Kett, 'The Stages of Life', in: M. Gordon (ed.), *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (Second Edition) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978): 171-176.

popular literature.¹⁰⁸ The writings of these women encouraged others to fuse high levels of educational training with religious piety, turning these educated missionaries into role models of Protestant womanhood.¹⁰⁹

AMERICANS WITHIN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

The above sections traced the development of a normative 'American' identity through a process of identifying and classifying those who were designated as 'others' living in the United States. This section investigates the ways that Americans delineated their normative identity within the larger global context, by engaging with individuals who resided outside of the country, through both imaginative and real encounters.

The increase in literacy rates, coupled with the decreased cost of printing granted a large number of Americans, particularly those of the middle class, access to print culture during the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ World maps and atlases composed one facet of this literature, which were used at homes and in schools to explore the geography, government, religions and 'civility' of locations around the world.¹¹¹ These works illustrated for Americans that the United States (regardless of its ever expanding borders) was one location within a larger, global context.¹¹² As the position of the Prime Meridian was not standardised until 1884, sites within the United States, like

¹⁰⁸ Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice: The Modern Mission Era, 1792-1992: An Appraisal* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press., 1996): 97; Hill, *The World Their Household*: 42-43; Mary Kelly, 'Reading Women/Women Reading: The Making of Learned Women in Antebellum America', *The Journal of American History*, 83: 2 (1996): 404, 415-419; Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*: 147-148.

¹⁰⁹ McCoy, 'The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission': 73.

¹¹⁰ For literacy rates see note 91. Michie and Thomas, *NCG*: 2, 10.

¹¹¹ Zagumny and Pulsipher, 'The Races and Conditions of Men': 413-414. e.g. Bliss, *Analysis of Geography*: 33-37. For examples of how maps and atlases were used at home see Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin or, Life Among the Lowly* [1852] (ed. Ann Douglas) (New York: Penguin, 1981): 245; Hooker, *MSLS*: 78.

¹¹² Zagumny and Lydia Miheli Pulsipher, "'The Races and Conditions of Men": 411.

Washington or Philadelphia, were often presented as the central point in this world-wide geographic study.¹¹³

The proliferation of printed literature allowed many to become armchair travellers. Reading or listening to certain novels granted Americans the opportunity to explore different lands, cultures and times, but from the comfort and safety of their family parlour.¹¹⁴ For example, Captain Samuel Foote retold stories of his navel expeditions to his nieces, Catherine and Harriet Beecher, which he accompanied with excerpts from novels and poems by the Scottish Walter Scott and the English George Byron and Thomas Moore.¹¹⁵ Works by these authors were regarded as appropriate for the Beecher girls, for they taught lessons and were perceived to be different from other pieces of fiction, which encouraged 'vice and crime.'¹¹⁶

Other acceptable publications were works of Evangelical Literature, which were allegorical accounts that drew upon contemporary Protestant theology. One of the most popular pieces was *The Dairyman's Daughter* written by the Englishman Legh Richmond about his interactions with a woman on the Isle of Wight.¹¹⁷ Richmond's vivid descriptions allowed Americans the opportunity to imagine living on this south English island and ignited the desire of some to pilgrim to the United Kingdom, while objects owned by 'the dairyman's daughter' were displayed for audiences in New York.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ e.g. Jenks, *Explanatory Bible Atlas and Scripture Gazetteer*: 97-98. Ronald R. Thomas, 'The Home of Time: The Prime Meridian, the Dome of the Millennium, and Postnational Space', in: Michie and Thomas, *NCG*: 23-39.

¹¹⁴ Lipscomb, "'Water Leaves No Trail'": 55-59; Kelly, 'Reading Women/Women Reading': 402-403.

¹¹⁵ Beecher, 'The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher': 51-62; Constance Rouke, *Trumpets of Jubilee: Henry Ward Beecher, Harried Beecher Stowe, Lyman Beecher, Horace Greely, P.T. Barnum* (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963): 18-19.

¹¹⁶ Novel reading was often regarded as a potentially dangerous form of enjoyment that should be regulated by teachers and clergymen. Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy*: 249-251; Kelly, 'Reading Women/Women Reading': 419 note 38, 420; Roberts, 'Locating Popular Religion': 261; Diana Walsh Pasulka, 'A Communion of Little Saints: Nineteenth-Century American Child Hagiographies', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 23:2 (2007): 55-56.

¹¹⁷ Roberts, 'Locating Popular Religion'.

¹¹⁸ Roberts, 'Locating Popular Religion': 262-263.

Travellers' accounts were also popular amongst Antebellum Americans. Works in this genre conflated ethnographic studies, geographic observations and guide-book advice with anecdotal tales written in an approachable, personal narrative.¹¹⁹ Some travelogues were penned by Americans who toured their own country or foreign lands, while others were written by non-Americans who visited the United States and analysed its society.¹²⁰ Books were also written by travellers to the 'Holy Lands', including the ABCFM missionaries as well as by Syrians who, after visiting or residing in Europe or the United States, recounted their return in English.¹²¹ These books were not only regarded as pieces of entertainment, but as theological expositions, which complemented the Bible and catechisms in providing information on how to interpret the lands and inhabitants of the Bible.¹²²

Just as developments in print technology alleviated the costs of production and increased the distribution of books, advances in steamship and railroad technology expanded transportation links within the United States and to destinations abroad. This allowed for more Americans, particularly those from middle class backgrounds, to breach the confines of their parlour armchair and travel to the foreign lands that they studied.¹²³ For example, Appendix I and III shows an increase in the number of Americans who travelled to Syria to serve as missionaries, for varying lengths of time,

¹¹⁹ William W. Stowe, 'Conventions and Voices in Margaret Fuller's Travel Writing', *American Literature* 63: 2 (1991): 244.

¹²⁰ Bayard Taylor *Eldorado: or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* (London: George Routledge, 1850); Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America: Four Volumes* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835-1840); Bird, *Aspects of Religion*.

¹²¹ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*; Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*; Wortabet, *SS*.

¹²² Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 'William McClure Thomson's *The Land and the Book* (1859): Pilgrimage and Mission in Palestine', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*: 46; A catalogue of contemporary texts within this genre is printed in 'Sampson Low, Son and Co.'s List of Publications', in: Bird, *Aspects of Religion: Addendum*; Jones, *Excursions to Cairo*; Robinson and Smith, *BR*; John Mason Neal, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church: Part I: General Introduction* (London: Joseph Masters, Aldersgate-Street, 1850); Thomson, *LB*; Paton, *The Modern Syrians*; Lynch, *Narrative of the United States*; Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*; Chasseaud, *The Druses of the Lebanon: Their Manners*.

¹²³ Michie and Thomas, *NCG*: 1-2.

during the 1840s and 1850s, when compared to earlier decades. Maps, guide-books and travelogues assisted such travellers in planning their journeys, for they compared the cost of transport, recommended hotels to patronise, gave the names and location of the American consular agents, and described interesting places to visit.¹²⁴

During the Antebellum period however, the frailty of the United States' diplomatic authority impinged upon the activities of these American tourists and residents abroad. The sovereignty of the nation was granted through the War of Independence in 1776 and affirmed through various battles, such as the War of 1812, and laws like the Naturalization Act of 1790.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, the United States proved to be ineffective in enforcing this sovereignty and protecting its citizens outside of the nation's borders.¹²⁶ As a result, many Americans pursued diplomatic affiliations and protection by other nations, particularly Great Britain during the nineteenth century.¹²⁷ This was particularly true of American citizens travelling and living in Ottoman Syria. A distinct American Vice-Consulate was established at Beirut in 1834,¹²⁸ while the diplomatic protection granted to American merchants under the 1830 Ottoman-American trade agreement was broadened to include all American citizens by 1842.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Wortabet, *SS*.

¹²⁵ This law recognised children born to naturalised citizens living abroad as American citizens. Wald, 'Terms of Assimilation': 63.

¹²⁶ This was illustrated in the difficulties of the United States government at recovering the hundred American sailors who were abducted by Berber pirates in the late eighteenth century. Marr, *Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*: 29-34.

¹²⁷ e.g. n.s., 'Passport given to the Rev. Samuel Cooper, American Catholic', (n.s.: 20 February 1824). [British] PRO: FO 615/5; Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*: 4; R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmann, 1980): 49.

¹²⁸ Americans were previously under the diplomatic jurisdiction of Great Britain. See Peter Abbott, 'Patent Given to W. Jasper Chasseaud' (Beirut: 1 January 1824), [British] PRO: FO 616/1; n.s., 'Passport of Sheikh Assad and Rev. Sig. Isaac Bird' (n.s., 21 December 1825): [British] PRO: FO 615/5; Gabriel Chasseaud, 'Notice of Death for Peter Abbott' (Ehden: 18 July 1834), [British] PRO: FO 616/2.

¹²⁹ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*: 84; Caesar E. Farah, 'Protestantism and British Diplomacy in Syria', *IJMES*, 7:3 (1976): 325 note 12; Daniel Webster, 'Letter to David Porter' (Washington: 2 February 1842): HHL: ABC 60 (112); Farah, 'Protestantism and British Diplomacy': 325.

Nevertheless, the actual power wielded by the American Vice-Consul proved to be inadequate, so that the ABCFM missionaries and many Syrian Protestants (some of whom were classified as American protégés and under American jurisdiction), sought the protection of other diplomats, particularly British consular agents, as well as Prussian officials, during periods of crisis.¹³⁰ In addition, the acting American consul in Beirut, J. Hosford Smith, returned to the United States in 1857, so that the official protection of Americans fell under jurisdiction of the British Consul, although Tibawi argues that daily activities of the American Consulate were organised by the Syrian Protestant, Butrus al-Bustani.¹³¹ This 'official' return to British protection occurred during a period of insecurity for Americans and Brits living on foreign soil, which stemmed from the Sepoy Rebellion in India and the increased instability of Ottoman Syria.¹³²

Thus, while the number of Americans travelling to and residing abroad continued to increase throughout the nineteenth century, their standing, as Americans, within international politics and diplomacy remained precarious and undefined, despite the efforts of many literate Americans to engage with and categorise the foreign 'other'.

CATEGORISING SYRIA

Reading novels, examining maps and venturing on overseas journeys granted many Americans the opportunity to encounter individuals from different racial, religious and

¹³⁰ George B. Whiting, 'Letter to American Consulate' (n.s., 6 December 1840): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 540: 116-119A; al-Bustani, 'Private: Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 30 May 1856); See the exchange of letters between Commodore Smith, Jasper Chasseaud, the ABCFM missionaries and Sheikh Effendi (July–October 1845): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 540: 78B; *MH* (1843): 282-284.

¹³¹ Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut': 167.

¹³² Lindner, 'From Rebecca to the 'Three Dancing Girls of Egypt'.

cultural backgrounds. From imaginary and physical interactions, certain groups were identified and categorised as different from each other and from the emerging norms of the American identity.¹³³ This section examines how one group, the residents of the eastern Mediterranean region, were represented within American popular culture.¹³⁴ Outlining these perceptions is important for they were upheld by the ABCFM missionaries and were refined by the ABCFM's own publications.

One group identified as residing in the eastern Mediterranean region were the Turks. The label 'Turk' was primarily linked to the Ottoman Empire and was used to describe its government and army.¹³⁵ Turk was also liberally applied by many Americans to any person of the Muslim faith.¹³⁶ As a result, the Turks were inconsistently positioned within the scale of humanity printed in American geographic texts. In some books, Turks were regarded as part of the 'civilised' 'European race',¹³⁷ while in others they were classified as 'half-civilised'.¹³⁸

¹³³ Zagumny and Pulsipher, 'The Races and Conditions of Men': 411-429; Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', in: N. Dirks, *et al*, (eds.), *Cultural Power/ History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994): 123-154; Lipscomb, "'Water Leaves No Trail'": 55-73.

¹³⁴ Although inquiries onto 'American Orientalism' have increased in recent years, this research tends to focus upon the late-nineteenth century, so that the material presented in this section grants new insights onto this discourse. Holly Edwards, (ed.), *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000).

¹³⁵ e.g. Isaac Bird, 'Letter to Rufus Anderson' (Beirut, 27 May 1831): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537; William M. Thomson, 'The Political Institutions of Lebanon and Their Probable Influences on the Prosperity of the Mission' (Beirut, 6 April 1844): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 538: 100B-102B; Whiting, Thomson and Van Dyck, 'Letter to Rufus Anderson' (Abeih, 7 June 1845).

¹³⁶ E.g. Beecher, 'The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher': 54.

¹³⁷ Blake, *American Universal Geography*: 141.

¹³⁸ William Woodbridge, 'Moral and Political Chart of the Inhabited World' [1830], in: Michie and Thomas, *NCG*: 57.

This ambiguous definition of the Turk was rigidified as other groups living the eastern Mediterranean region were identified and categorised by Americans. The 'Greeks' were one group who were increasingly differentiated from the Turks, although like the term Turk, the Greek label encompassed a number of different attributes. Americans used this appellation to refer to the nation that struggled for independence from the Ottomans in 1821. It also described ancient Greek culture and society, which was of particular interest to Antebellum Americans, for many considered the United States to be a continuation of the ancient Athenian democracy. Works of high art, such as Hiram Power's sculpture, *The Greek Slave* (pictured), toured the United States and elicited sympathetic responses from white American spectators, who (cautiously) identified with enslaved Greek woman.¹³⁹ A 'Greek Revival' shook American architecture from the 1820s to 1850s, so that Americans lived and work in Greek inspired temples-homes.¹⁴⁰ This label was not limited to the 'Greek' national association however, for it was also used to describe the Greek Orthodox Church, whose congregants held a distinct position within the ecclesiastical structures of the Ottoman Empire and were recognised by Americans as residing throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴¹



The 'Egyptians' were identified as another group and governing body who lived along the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁴² In addition to the 'Greek Revival', Ancient Egyptian motifs decorated both domestic and public architecture during the

¹³⁹ Identifying with an enslaved woman problematised white Americans' assertions of difference from African-American slaves within their own country. Joy S. Kasson, 'Narratives of the Female Body: *The Greek Slave*', in: S. Samuels (ed.), *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992): 172-191; Mitchell, 'Rosebloom and Pure White': 387.

¹⁴⁰ Gerald L. Foster, *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Books, 2004): 219-220.

¹⁴¹ Beadle, 'Journal of Tour to Aleppo'.

¹⁴² Hooker, *MSLS*: 132.

Antebellum period and were reflected in reservoir walls, cemetery gates and battle monuments.¹⁴³ Edward Lane's *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836) was an important source of information on contemporary Egyptian culture, although Lane's analysis was refined by the accounts of American travellers, such as George William Curtis, during subsequent years.¹⁴⁴

Americans also differentiated other, smaller groups (or 'nations') who lived in the region. The 'Ansari' and 'Nestorians' were two Shi'a communities identified as residing near Aleppo, while on Mount Lebanon were found the 'Maronites' and the 'Druze'. The 'Armenians' were recognised as a separate community, whom the ABCFM referred to as 'really a *nation*', due to their distinct ecclesiastical and political position within the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁵ While the use of these labels reflect the heterogeneity of religious and ethnic identities of those living in the Syrian region, this perception of diversity was gradually eroded into a binary of 'Muslim' and 'Christian' by the mid-nineteenth century. As Makdisi shows, this change was most clearly manifested in the accounts written by Americans, including ABCFM missionaries, of the civil wars on Mount Lebanon and in Damascus during 1860, which, they argued, pitted Muslims against Christians.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Richard A. Fazzini, and Mary E. McKercher, "'Egyptmania" and American Architecture', in: J. Humbert and C. A. Price (eds.), *Imhotep Today: Egyptianizing Architecture* (London: University College of London, 2003): 136-138.

¹⁴⁴ Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians Written in Egypt During the Years 1833-1835* [1836] (London: East-West Publications, 1978); Elias R. Beadle, 'Letter concerning books' (Aleppo, 1841): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 145-6; Naim Tabet, 'Inventory of the Effects of the Late F. W. A. Bromfield' (Beirut: 31 December 1851): [British] PRO: FO 616/4. George William Curtis, *Nile Notes of a Howadji* [1851] (New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1856).

¹⁴⁵ *MH* (1851): 135.

¹⁴⁶ Makdisi, 'Reclaiming the Land of the Bible': 703-704; n.s. (1860). *The Massacres in Syria: A Faithful Account of the Cruelties and Outrages Suffered by the Christians of Mount Lebanon, During the Late Persecutions in Syria: With A Succinct History of Mahometanism, and the rise of the Maronites, Druses, Wahabies, Yezidees, or Devil-Worshippers, and Other Oriental Sects; including "The Old Man of the Mountain," And his Tribe of Assassins.* Robert W. De Witt, New York.

Despite being an island in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, persons from Malta were viewed as middlemen, who, through language and culture, linked people from the eastern Mediterranean to the United States. Moreover, Malta was as a place where these different cultures mingled and, being a stopping point en route to the Ottoman Empire, was an important location where American travellers first encountered individuals from the abovementioned groups.¹⁴⁷

Although I argue that the Syrian Station commenced in 1823, it was only after 1840 that the region of Syria and the port city of Beirut were clearly identified on American maps as noteworthy locations along the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁴⁸ Unlike earlier works, Jenks included a specific section and map of 'Modern Syria' in his *Biblical Atlas*,¹⁴⁹ while Tracey printed a 'Map of Beyroot and Vicinity' in his history of the ABCFM.¹⁵⁰ For many Americans, Syria became distinguished from Palestine, which was also known as the Bible Lands or Holy Lands.¹⁵¹ This division was emphasised after the founding of the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of Jerusalem in 1841, which divided the region according to missionary endeavours, as American-Syria, British-Palestine.¹⁵² This definition of Syria was comparable to the region known in Arabic as *Bilād al-Shām*, which included the present-day nations of Lebanon and Syria.¹⁵³ Zachs argues that Americans employed the English term 'Syria', instead of the Arabic term, since it drew upon Biblical and Phoenician references, while distancing Syrians from their Turkish and Arab neighbours.¹⁵⁴ Whether this justification is true or not, 'Syria' was recognised

¹⁴⁷ Abby Bliss quoted in Bliss, *RDB*: 94-95.

¹⁴⁸ For example Beirut is not listed in the 'Cities and Towns in Asia' in Blake, *American Universal Geography*: 113.

¹⁴⁹ Jenks, *Explanatory Bible Atlas and Scripture Gazetteer*: 87-90.

¹⁵⁰ n.s., 'Map of Beyroot and Vicinity'.

¹⁵¹ Lipman, *Americans and the Holy Land*: 19.

¹⁵² Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine*: 10.

¹⁵³ Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*. Due to demographics and geographic location, Aleppo was also affiliated with and transferred to the Armenian-Turkish station by the ABCFM. *MH* (1856): 3.

¹⁵⁴ Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 132-133.

as a distinct location on the eastern Mediterranean and within the Ottoman Empire by mid-century.

As part of this identification process, certain characteristics and tropes were linked to the groups living along the eastern Mediterranean Sea. A Biblical association was the primary trope employed by Americans to the eastern Mediterranean region and its inhabitants during the early nineteenth century. The deep knowledge of Scripture held by many American Protestants during this period allowed them to become familiar with the locations found in the Bible without visiting the region. One American commented that:

[f]rom his earliest years the child is there accustomed not only to read the Bible for himself; but he also reads or listens to it in the morning and evening devotions of the family, in the daily village-school, in the Sunday-school and Bible-class, and in the weekly ministrations of the sanctuary. Hence, as he grows up, the names of Sinai, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the Promised Land, become associated with his earliest recollections and holiest feelings.¹⁵⁵

This strong association was emphasised through the naming of American towns after Biblical locations or references, so that Americans lived in Canaan, Salem, Lebanon, Mount Sinai and Providence.¹⁵⁶

Moreover, many Americans believed that the proper understanding of the Holy Bible was found in understanding the context in which it was written. While theologians studied Hebrew and Greek in order to investigate the original meaning of Scriptural texts, others argued that ethnographic research of the Holy Lands and its inhabitants granted further insight onto Biblical events, since, it was argued that ‘the

¹⁵⁵ Robinson and Smith, *BR*: 31.

¹⁵⁶ Noll, ““Christian American” and “Christian Canada”: 377. Two ABCFM missionaries of the Syrian Station, Rebecca Williams and Story Hebard, who were eventually married, were born and raised in Lebanon, Connecticut and Lebanon, New Hampshire, respectively. Samuel H. Williams, ‘Rebecca Williams Hebard of Lebanon, Connecticut: Missionary in Beirut, Syria and to the Druze of Mount Lebanon, 1835-1840’ (n.s., 1950): 12.

mode of life' in this region 'remained unchangeable from age to age'.¹⁵⁷ The ABCFM missionary William Thomson asked '[do] the customs of the East in such matters throw any light upon [Bible verse 1 Corinthians xi: 3-15]?'¹⁵⁸ Even if an American was unable to investigate the region herself through travel to the Holy Lands, listening to lectures given by missionaries or reading their publications granted deeper insight on to 'the history, the geography, the dress, mode of life, domestic and civil institutions' of both contemporary inhabitants and, more important for the Antebellum American, their Biblical foremothers and forefathers.¹⁵⁹

Despite Americans' stance that the region was unchanged since Biblical times, many regarded contemporary inhabitants of the region as possessing an amendable ignorance. Syrians, Egyptians and Turks were often classified as 'half-civilized' within the scale of humanity found in geographic texts. The *Missionary Herald* urged its readers to remember 'that however unlike our own the manners and the customs of the oriental Christians may be, they are not barbarians; nor are they heathens.'¹⁶⁰ Drawing from the ideas of early nineteenth century thinkers, like Samuel Stanhope Smith, many Americans held that the ignorant and degraded state of these groups resulted from their fall from a previously enlightened state, which could be rejuvenated through proper cultivation.¹⁶¹ This prompted Americans to label Christians in Syria as 'nominal', which linked them to the 'lukewarm' Church of Laodicea described in Revelation 3:14-22.¹⁶² It became the duty of 'every enlightened Christian' to pray for and assist in enacting 'a wholesome and enduring reformation [of the Christians in Syria]', through

¹⁵⁷ Jenks, *Explanatory Bible Atlas and Scripture Gazetteer*: 49; Hooker, *MSLS*: 109-110. Jesuit missionaries in the eighteenth century held a similar perception. Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 428-431.

¹⁵⁸ Thomson, *LB*, I: 34.

¹⁵⁹ *MH* (1842): 429.

¹⁶⁰ *MH* (1839): 41-42.

¹⁶¹ Samuel Stanhope Smith, *An Essay on the Causes and Variety of Complexion and Figure of the Human Species* (Second Edition) (New Brunswick: J. Simpson and Co., 1810): 24; Cornelius V.A. Van Dyck, 'On the Present Condition of the Medical Profession in Syria', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1:4 (1849): 559.

¹⁶² Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 9.

the 'revival of spiritual religion by the republication of the doctrines of grace', which was encouraged through the missionary endeavours of the ABCFM.¹⁶³

Some Americans argued that Syrian women were in particular need of reform. Syrian women were described as 'disgusting compound[s] of childish ignorance, foolish superstition, impertinence and vulgarity.'¹⁶⁴ Similar to the poor in the United States, formal education was presented as an important channel to elevate these women. Many supported the work of the ABCFM missionaries, who organised schools for girls as part of their missionary labours. The positive fruits of this labour and additional calls for monetary support, were presented to the American populace through missionary publications and private correspondences, which demonstrates that although the ABCFM was reluctant to focus solely on secular activities, these schools were some of the more popular and enduring aspects of their work.¹⁶⁵

Another trait that Americans attributed to Syrian women was ornateness. Comparable to the vices of the American economic aristocracy, women in Syria, both Muslim and Christian, were regarded as being excessive and eccentric in their attire and customs. Syrian wedding feasts provided notorious examples of this perceived abundance, for the 'ornaments' of the bride were 'beyond description or enumeration'.¹⁶⁶ Mourning rituals were viewed in a similar light, for the wailing and intense emotions displayed by Syrian women were perceived to be unkempt, disruptive and even a false performance of loss.¹⁶⁷ Americans' criticism against Syrian women's ornateness and excess was grounded upon the belief that true enlightenment

¹⁶³ *MH* (1842): 430, 432.

¹⁶⁴ *MH* (1834): 128.

¹⁶⁵ *MH* (1826): 258; Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 'The Middle East: Western Missions and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism', in: S. Gilley and B. Stanley (eds.), *World Christianities c. 1815-1914: The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 8* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006):108-110.

¹⁶⁶ Hooker, *MSLS*: 209-210.

¹⁶⁷ *MH* (1837): 206; Bliss, *RDB*: 123.

and modernity was demonstrated through modest and regulated behaviour.¹⁶⁸ This illuminates the contradictions found within the white, middle class, Protestant American identity, for it was through upholding specific standards of behaviour that one demonstrated their inner embodiment of this ideal.

It was from this dynamic environment that members of the ABCFM felt called to leave the United States and evangelise the residents of Ottoman Syria. The culture performed by these missionaries embodied the normative American identity that emerged during this period. The environment in Syria was not a blank slate for these Americans to simply transfer their culture and faith however, for the ABCFM missionaries had to present Protestantism to the residents of this location. It is through situating the emergence of the ABCFM and the Protestant Circle within this historical context, that one can begin to understand the dynamics of this negotiation and adaptation process. The history of the ABCFM in the Antebellum United States is thus only one piece of this story, for the other half of the Protestants' history is found in the equally vibrant society of contemporary Ottoman Syria.

¹⁶⁸ Zagumny and Pulsipher, 'The Races and Conditions of Men': 412.

CHAPTER TWO:
THE SYRIAN CONTEXT:
THE DYNAMIC SPACE OF MOUNT LEBANON AND BEIRUT

Nineteenth century Ottoman Syria was a dynamic space, where previous distributions of power unravelled, as new social, political and economic identities emerged. This was the period of the Ottoman *Tanzimat*, which reformed the relationships amongst the Sultan, his subjects and the other residents of the Empire. Civil disputes broke out across Syria, which sent refugees fleeing to Beirut and Damascus, and, when coupled with the movement of individuals in pursuit of economic opportunities, transformed the demographics of the region. It was within this vibrant environment that some residents of Ottoman Syria forged relationships with the ABCFM missionaries and, in turn, created the Protestant Circle.

The aim of this chapter is to examine different aspects of Ottoman Syria in order to further contextualise the history of the Protestant Circle. The first section analyses the alterations in the political power that governed Ottoman Syria, focusing specifically

on the jurisdiction of Mount Lebanon and Beirut during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ This section shows that by 1860, the previous structure of the *iqṭā'* was undermined by pursuits of regional autonomy, the modifications of economic networks and the assertions of Ottoman imperial interests. The second section focuses upon the Christian communities of the region and examines how both established and newer Churches redefined their identities, as to distinguish themselves from each other and in relation to European forms of Christianity. Women's religious spaces are specifically addressed to uncover the true complexities of this redefinition process. The third section studies the emergence of Beirut as the primary port city within the region. The transformation of Beirut, from a small village to a cosmopolitan city, sheds light onto how the changes discussed in the first two sections were actualised within this physical space. The fourth, concluding section, reviews Syrians' perceptions of the United States and Americans during the early nineteenth. Outlining these perceptions reveals why some Syrians chose to associate with the ABCFM missionaries and create the Protestant Circle. It is only through considering these different facets of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ottoman Syria that we can explain the emergence of the Protestant Circle, determine how this new group fit into the functioning, but shifting, structures of the region and decipher how the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian members of the Protestant community were perceived by their Syrian neighbours.

RECONFIGURING POLITICAL POWER

Three systems of political power governed the inhabitants of Ottoman Syria during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the *iqṭā'* upon Mount Lebanon; the

¹ Following Khater, my use of the term Mount Lebanon includes Jabal Lubnan, Jabal Kiswran and Jabal al-Shuf. Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 440 note 16.

Ottoman imperial authority; and the increasing influence of European, and later American, nations. The first two political structures are introduced in this section, while the latter is examined in other sections of this chapter. This material demonstrates that various struggles and events disrupted the structures of the *iqtā'*, which produced new political identities and the innovative governmental structure, the double *Qa'im maqāmat*, by the mid nineteenth century.²

Political governance of Mount Lebanon during the eighteenth century was organised according to the *iqtā'* (tax-farming) system. Although comparable to the *iltizam*, which was found in other areas of the Ottoman Empire, the *iqtā'* was specific to the Syria region,³ for it drew upon local vertical and horizontal alliances, which often breached religious affiliations.⁴ Within this system, the *muqata'jīyyah* (landed tax-collectors) held contracts, granted by the Porte, to collect taxes in a specified district or *muqata'āt*. The *muqata'jīyyah* also provided judicial services and organised military units to protect the inhabitants of his *muqata'āt*.⁵ Ceremonial gift were exchanged between

² Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000): 6-7; Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 2-3; Michael F. Davie, 'La "Maison Aux Trois Arcs" Et La Construction Ideologique du Patrimont au Liban', in: M. Davie, (ed.), *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise du Levant* (Beirut et Tours: ALBA, 2003): 12.

³ Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society*: 37.

⁴ Samir Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of Internationalization of Communal Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002): 65-67; Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*: 29; Samir Khalaf, 'Communal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon', in: B. Braude and B. Lewis, (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society: Volume II: The Arabic-Speaking Lands* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982): 107; Yasar Eyup Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City: Nineteenth Century Beirut, its Hinterland, and the World-Economy' (Ph.D. Thesis) (New York: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990): 23-24; Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provencal Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005): 16; Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*: 35.

⁵ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 23-24; Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 64; Caesar E. Farah, *The Politics of Interventionalism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830-1861* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000): Annex C: 764; Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society*: 62-63; Malcolm Kerr, *Lebanon in the Last Years of Feudalism, 1840-1868: A*

residents and their *muqata`jī* revealing that this was a link of both loyalty and authority.⁶ The *muqata`jīyyah* were tied to the religious elite, and together, were regarded as the *a`yān*, or notables, on Mount Lebanon.⁷ Although jurisdiction within each *muqata`āt* was distinct, a political hierarchy emerged amongst the *muqata`jīyyah*, which was referred to as the emirate.⁸ Disputes over the emirate during the early eighteenth century resulted in the Shihab family becoming the dominate *muqata` jī* by 1750.⁹ While the Shihabs sought to assert autonomous control over Mount Lebanon, the entire *iqṭā`* system remained under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman governor (*wālī*) of Damascus or Sidon (Sayda), depending on the political climate. The governor was the provincial representative of the Sultan and monitored the efficiency of this governmental structure.¹⁰

Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this distribution of power was transformed and eventually undermined. One cause of change resulted from the policies of Ahmed Pasha (al-Jazzar), the *wālī* of Sidon from 1775 to 1804. During his reign, Al-Jazzar moved the centre of provincial power away from Damascus towards Acre, which (temporarily) became the focus of economic and political power

Contemporary Account by Antun Dahir al-'Aqīqi and Other Documents (Beirut: American University of Beirut, Oriental Series No. 33, 1959): 3.

⁶ Zeina el-Khouri Klink, 'Beyond the Tantur: Female Attire Traditions in 19th Century Mount Lebanon' (Ph.D. Dissertation) (Oxford: Oxford University, 1999): 270; Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society*: 64.

⁷ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 33; Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 12. Although this does not appear to have existed upon the Lebanon, the *aghawat* or military leaders formed a third division of the notable strata in other areas of Ottoman Syria. 'Adel Manna', 'Continuity and Change in the Socio-Political Elite in Palestine During the late Ottoman Period', in: Philipp, *SL*: 71.

⁸ The top three families, the Shihab, Abil-lama and Arslan, were bestowed with the title of emir, followed by the single Muzhir family, who were regarded as *muqaddam*. Below these were the Druze families of Junblat, Imad, Abu Nakad, Talhaq, Abd al-Malik, and the Christian families of Khazin, Hubaysh and Dahdah, who held the title of *sheikh*. Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 68.

⁹ Albert Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (London, 1981): 130.

¹⁰ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 24; Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 13 note 5

upon the eastern Mediterranean coast. Al-Jazzar's goal was twofold: to limit the Porte's rule over the Syrian region and subvert the autonomy of the *iqṭā'* through challenging the authority of the Shihabs. This was done through consolidating the flow of regional taxes and coastal trade through Acre and controlling the then small city of Beirut, which was the closest port for Mount Lebanon.¹¹

The *iqṭā'* rebounded after the death of Al-Jazzar. The Shihab family, under the charge of Emir Bashir Shihab II (r. 1788-1840), re-established their dominance over the *muqata'jīyyah* and the entire Mount Lebanon. Cracks within the *iqṭā'* began to emerge, however. Some peasants on Mount Lebanon protested against their subordinate position within this hierarchy and in 1821 engaged in the Ammiyya Revolt.¹² Haveman argues that this revolt was a reaction to the taxation demands made by Emir Bashir Shihab II, although Khalaf reveals the role of the lower Maronite clergy, particularly Bishop Yusuf Istfan, in spurring the protest against the Maronite elite.¹³ Regardless of who instigated the revolt, a group of lower-ranked Maronite clergy and peasants organised themselves into a *wakīl* (representative assembly) and remonstrated against the fiscal abuses enacted by the secular and religious notables.¹⁴ This was one of the

¹¹ Dick Douwes, *The Ottomans in Syria: A History of Justice and Oppression* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000): 56-57; Thomas Philipp, 'Highways and Sea Lands in Southwest Syria in the 18th Century', in: T. Phillip, and B. Schaebler, (eds.), *The Syrian Land: Process of Integration and Fragmentation: Bilad Al-Sham From the 18th to the 20th Century* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1998): 4-5; Thomas Philipp, 'Social Structure and Political Power in Acre in the 18th Century', in: T. Philipp, (ed.), *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Record* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992): 91-108; Phillip K. Hitti, *History of the Arab: From the Earliest Times to the Present* (Tenth Edition) (London: Macmillan Press, 1970): 729; Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 71; James A. Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria: Ottoman Hama in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002): 67.

¹² Axel Haveman, 'The Impact of Peasant Resistance on Nineteenth-Century Mount Lebanon', in: F. Kazemi and J. Waterbury, (eds.), *Peasants & Politics in the Modern Middle East* (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991): 89; Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 77.

¹³ Haveman, 'The Impact of Peasant Resistance on Nineteenth-Century Mount Lebanon': 89; Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 71-74; Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society*: 208-222.

¹⁴ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 32; Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 75.

earliest hints that at *iqtā'* structure was fragmenting, for residents of Mount Lebanon organised themselves into new, alternative forms of alliances.

In 1831, Muhammed Ali, the *wālī* of Egypt sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha, to attack Acre in an effort to secure his elevated and autonomous position within the Ottoman Empire. Although Muhammed Ali's stance against the *wālī* of Sidon was initially supported by many of the *a`yān* on Mount Lebanon, by 1832 the whole of Syria was under Egyptian control.¹⁵ It can be argued that Muhammed Ali's rule of Mount Lebanon was similar to that of Al-Jazzar, in that his assertion of provincial authority curtailed and manipulated the structures of the *iqtā'*, although the impact of the Egyptian occupation was more profound and longer-lasting. For example, one of Muhammed Ali's goals was to reform the economic structures of Mount Lebanon. This was done through applying tax exemptions and resettling farmers to encourage the production of cash crops.¹⁶ Tax collection was also reformed, so that Egyptian troops accompanied the *muqata`jīyyah* during their work.¹⁷ Although this increased revenue, it changed the vertical alliances between the land-tilling peasants and their *muqata` jī* from a personal to a more detached and increasingly confrontational relationship.

While social prestige remained with the *a`yān*, these changes, coupled with the costs of repeated warfare, left many of the *muqata`jīyyah* economically desolate. In contrast, Muhammed Ali's policies encouraged the emergence of a new middle class.¹⁸ Literate polyglots were employed by the new European and American residents, which enabled many Syrian to secure *berāt*, or letters of protection that placed them under the

¹⁵ Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 61-67; Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon*: 12-14; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 159-177.

¹⁶ Navin Moore, 'Letter to HM Ambassador at Constantinople' (Beirut, 26 August 1835): [British] PRO: FO 195/127; Douwes, *The Ottomans in Syria*: 192, 204-206; Khalaf, 'Communal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon': 110, 124; Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 80, 110.

¹⁷ Douwes, *The Ottomans in Syria*: 204-205.

¹⁸ I use the term 'class' recognising the inadequacies of this term to describe this diverse group and the economic environment of early nineteenth century Syria. Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 16-18, 25, 29; Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*: 116.

legal jurisdiction of their affiliated foreign nation and exempt from certain taxes.¹⁹ Other Syrians established commercial firms, particularly for silk production and trade, in which they forged independent links to European markets and also secured *berāth* status (one who holds *berāt*).²⁰ These new roles not only increased a person's private wealth, but encouraged a change in residency, for many relocated from their mountain villages to coastal cities, such as Beirut and Sidon. As Philipp argues in regards to eighteenth century Acre, such mobility frustrated the depths of both established and new political alliances.²¹ Thus, a new middle class emerged while the functioning political hierarchy of Mount Lebanon unravelled.

Another change implemented by Ibrahim Pasha during the Egyptian occupation was the inclusion of Christian and Druze men in corvée and conscription policies. Classified as *dhimmi*, Christians living in the Ottoman Empire paid a head tax, which often exempt them from state military service.²² Throughout the 1830s however, foreigners reported that young Christian men were seized to work in new factories or conscripted into the Egyptian army.²³ These men were often released, but only after prolonged protestation that they were indeed Christian, leaving many with a lingering fear of subsequent imprisonment. The Egyptians also conscripted a number of Druze men who were previously exempt from military service due to their position as

¹⁹ Albert Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947): 24-25; Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993): 85.

²⁰ M. James Quilty, 'Bridging the Dichotomy: Socio-Economic Change and Class Consideration in Ottoman Beirut and Damascus' (M.A. Thesis) (Burnaby, British Columbia: Simon Fraser University, 1992): 45; Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*: 67; Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 20.

²¹ Philipp, 'Social Structure and Political Power in Acre': 101.

²² Stanford Shaw, 'The Nineteenth Century Ottoman Tax Reforms and Revenue System', *IJMES*, 6:4 (1975): 421.

²³ Hooker, *MSLS*: 138, 133; Navin Moore, 'Letters to HM Ambassador at Constantinople' (Beirut, 25 October 1837): [British] PRO: FO 226/12.

heterodox Muslims.²⁴ Many Druze remonstrated against their change of status, so that some 'rejected' their Muslim identity and converted to Christianity,²⁵ while others engaged in open revolt. In 1834, the Druze of northern Palestine aligned with groups of Bedouin and revolted against the Egyptian policies.²⁶ This resulted in Ibrahim Pasha disarming Mount Lebanon.²⁷ In 1838, the Druze from Hawran instigated a separate revolt, which prompted the repeal of the disarmament programme and the enlistment of Christians and 'pro-Christians Muslims' from the Shihab family to fight against the insurgent Druzes.²⁸ Although ending in negotiation, this revolt, and the Egyptians' response, was important for religious commitment, instead of geographic-personal loyalties, was employed to create military alliances, which pitted Syrians against Syrians.²⁹

The 1838 revolt also revealed the limits of Muhammed Ali's power over Syria. In May 1840, lower ranked Maronite clergy near Deir al-Qamar revolted against Egyptian rule.³⁰ This group eventually gained the support of the Maronite Patriarch, other Christian *muqata'jiyyah*, the Druze Abu Nakad family and possibly some groups

²⁴ The Druze, like the Nusayris/Alawis and many Shi'a, occupied tenuous positions within Ottoman society, so that both the Druze and Nusayris were granted certain legal rights, but were exempt from military services. Douwes, *The Ottomans in Syria*: 80; Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria*: 114-115. Although numbers are difficult to ascertain, some figures suggest that in 1846 the Maronites represented sixty-two percent of the population on Mount Lebanon; Greek Orthodox at eight percent; Greek Catholic at twelve percent; Druze at ten percent; and both Sunni and Shi'a at three percent. J.M. Wagstaff, 'A Note on Some Nineteenth-Century Population Statistics for Lebanon', *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 13:1 (1986): 32.

²⁵ Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*: 270; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1835).

²⁶ Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 80-82.

²⁷ Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 22; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 179-180.

²⁸ Navin Moore, 'Letter to Lord Ponsonby' (Beirut, 11 January 1838): [British] PRO: FO 195/127; Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 22; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 181-187.

²⁹ Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*: 55-58.

³⁰ Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 83; Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*: 58.

of Druze, Sunni and Shi'a.³¹ Troops were sent by Muhammed Ali from Egypt to contain this latest insurgence.³² Instigated by fears that Muhammed Ali's consolidation of political power and assertions of military strength threatened their own imperial interests, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria formed a Quadruple Alliance, and, with the support of the Porte, agreed to expel the Egyptians from Syria.³³ In turn, the Europeans supplied arms to those already engaged in revolt and bombarded Beirut in September 1840, which forced Ibrahim Pasha and Muhammed Ali's army back to Egypt.³⁴

Douwes recognised that '[the] occupation of Syria...by the armies of Muhammed Ali Pasha served as a strong impetus for the central [Ottoman] authorities to formulate new policies, partly in order to mobilise foreign support for their cause.'³⁵ While many of the ideological tenets that defined the period of reforms referred to as the *Tanzimat* can be found in earlier imperial decrees,³⁶ the pronouncement of the *Hatt-ı Sherif* of Gülhane in 1839 marked a new attempt by the Porte to centralise Ottoman control over its subjects and curtail future assertions of regional autonomy through multifarious processes of centre-periphery integration.³⁷ The recovery of the Syria was

³¹ Haveman, 'The Impact of Peasant Resistance on Nineteenth-Century Mount Lebanon': 90; Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 35; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 211.

³² Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 37.

³³ Khalaf *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 84; Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 37; Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*: 62.

³⁴ Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 212; Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 37. The American missionaries received prior warning about the bombardment and had temporarily fled the city for Cyprus. Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 174.

³⁵ Douwes, *The Ottomans in Syria*: 60.

³⁶ Donald Quataert, 'Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829', *IJMES*, 29:3 (1997): 413. Also see Astrid Meier, 'Waqf Only in Name, Not in Essence: Early Tanzimat Waqf Reforms in the Province of Damascus', in: J. Hanssen, T. Philipp and S. Weber, (eds.), *The Empire and the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002): 201-218.

³⁷ Jens Hanssen, 'Practices of Integration-Centre-Periphery Relations in the Ottoman Empire', in: J. Hanssen, T. Philipp and S. Weber, (eds.), *The Empire and the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002): 50-51; Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1789-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970):

an early manifestation of these *Tanzimat* goals, which encompassed four strategies: (1) 'dispatching fact finding and inspection missions to the troubled provinces'; (2) 'encouraging local petitions and delegations to Istanbul'; (3) 'setting up local councils to channel the centre-periphery relations into *in situ* institutions'; and (4) 'setting up model provinces which were then applied as blueprints to other provinces'.³⁸ Subsequent events reveal that through carrying out these strategies, the Ottoman government reasserted its presence in the region, but in a manner that further eroded the structures of the *iqtā'*.

In 1842, Selim Bey was sent by the Porte to 'talk to the inhabitants [of Mount Lebanon], record peculiarities...investigate the administration of taxes, the operation of the local councils and their relationship with the governors', draw maps and inspect the land for future public works.³⁹ Based upon Selim Bey's findings, the Porte proposed a restructuring of the Syrian province, which abolished the emirate on Mount Lebanon, placed the *wālī* of Tripoli under the jurisdiction of Damascus and relocated the capital of the Sidon province from Acre to Beirut.⁴⁰ Although this was an attempt to place the region under the Porte's direct control, the immediate result was a power vacuum that was manifested in a series of violent disputes.

Subsequent changes were made by the Ottoman government to mollify this new violence. The result was the double *Qa'im maqāmat*, which divided the administration of Mountain Lebanon between a Christian *Qa'im maqāmat* in the north and a Druze *Qa'im maqāmat* in the south, with Beirut and Deir al-Qamar being separately governed. Both

46; Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998): 9-10; Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861: The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968): 30; Ussama Makdisi, 'Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism: Modernity, Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform', in: J. Hanssen, T. Philipp and S. Weber, (eds.), *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002): 29-39.

³⁸ Hanssen, 'Practices of Integration-Centre-Periphery Relations': 56.

³⁹ Hanssen, 'Practices of Integration-Centre-Periphery Relations': 58-59.

⁴⁰ Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 55.

Qa'im maqāms were subordinate to the *wālī* of Sidon who resided in Beirut. Although each *Qa'im maqām* was selected from *muqata`jī* families,⁴¹ the previous alliances amongst the *muqata`jīyyah*, religious leaders, peasants and the new middle class were disrupted. As a result, the authority of the *Qa'im maqāms* proved to be unstable while their legitimacy was challenged by different groups who vied for political power. Nevertheless, this 'temporary' system lasted for nearly two decades and must be regarded as an attempt by the Ottoman government to reconfigure the political structures of Syria in order to integrate the region under their direct control.⁴²

Warfare continued to plague Mount Lebanon throughout the 1840s and 1850s, however. In the southern *Qa'im maqāmat*, which was more religiously heterogeneous than the north, Druze and Christian *wakīls* were established to collect taxes and provide judicial rulings.⁴³ These assemblies were composed of representatives from each community, but remained under the authority of the southern *Qa'im maqām*.⁴⁴ Despite this increased representation, violence continued to plague the areas, so that in 1845, the Porte sent Shakib Effendi to investigate and resolve the causes of the lingering civil strife. Reflecting the four strategies of the *Tanzimat* discussed above, Shakib Effendi's solution was to reform the power of the *Qa'im maqāms* through expanding the use of *mecils* (administrative councils). These councils brought together the leaders of six different religious communities in order to allocate taxes and hear judicial cases.⁴⁵ This

⁴¹ Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 256.

⁴² Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 256; Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 52-53.

⁴³ Reliable population statistics for Mount Lebanon and Beirut during this period are difficult to ascertain, for the numbers given by the Ottoman Government in their 1828 and 1831 census do not agree with the estimates made by foreign residents and consular agents (which, Wagstaff argues, was an important influence on the political configurations of the dual *kaim makate* system). Wagstaff, 'A Note on Some Nineteenth-Century Population Statistics for Lebanon': 27-28.

⁴⁴ Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994): 29-30.

⁴⁵ Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*: 84-86; Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine*: 92-94.

was done to address the mounting tensions within religiously 'mixed' cities, where residents distrusted their *Qa'im maqām* because of differences in religious affiliation.⁴⁶

Although the *Qa'im maqāms*, *wakīls* and members of the *mecils* were often selected from amongst the *muqata'jī* families, the peasants and other non-notables were not silenced in these reforms, for they harnessed other aspects of the *Tanzimat* in order to improve their position within regional power structures. Throughout the 1850s, residents of the Keserwan, in the northern *Qa'im maqāmat*, asserted their right to select a functionary for tax collections and a representative to sit on the local *mecil*. In 1858, Tannous Shahin, a former blacksmith, filled this position and became a recognised fixture with regional politics.⁴⁷ Another reform of the *Tanzimat* was to encourage the use of petitions. Although this was created as a way for the Porte to gain information on the social conditions throughout the Empire, numerous residents of Syria sent petitions to the Porte, particularly in demand that their newly defined rights be protected.⁴⁸

Thus, the *Tanzimat* era was a period of negotiation between the Ottoman Porte and his subjects (and amongst the subjects) to navigate and delineate the ever-shifting distributions of political power.⁴⁹ The new policies that emerged neither accommodated the different groups who vied for power, nor the new social and political identities that emerged. As a result, war plagued Ottoman Syria throughout this period, which climaxed during the summer of 1860, and marked the end of both the *iqtā'* and the *Qa'im maqāmat* political systems.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*: 84; Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine*: 23.

⁴⁷ Havemann, 'The Impact of Peasant Resistance': 89-95; Makdisi, 'Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism': 33; Kerr, *Lebanon in the Last Years of Feudalism*: 19-23, 114, 121-143.

⁴⁸ Hanssen, 'Practices of Integration-Centre-Periphery Relations': 62.

⁴⁹ Resat Kasaba, 'Do States Always Favor Stasis? The Changing Status of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire', in: J. Migdal, (ed.), *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 43.

⁵⁰ Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*: 84-87; Kerr, *Lebanon in the Last Years of Feudalism*: 6-19.

THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

The *madhābiḥ al-sittīn* (Massacres of the 1860s) are often remembered as a conflict between religious groups: the Druze against the Christians.⁵¹ Revisionist historians have demonstrated that the use of religious identity, as the primary marker of social difference, was a gradual development that intertwined with the political transformations discussed above.⁵² These changes not only reflected the reconfiguration of political and economic systems, but also, the transformations developing within religious communities. This section examines two aspects of these changes and how they affected Christians in Syria: the fragmentation of the *Rum*, as the primary political-ecclesiastical unit for Ottoman Christians under the authority of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, and the changes in the spaces for 'religious' women within specific Churches. This chapter maintains that, similar to and intertwined with the political transformations discussed above, the religious environment of Ottoman Syria underwent modification during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which allowed for new religious groups to emerge, new forms of piety to be practiced and new identities to be articulated.

While the details of the millet structure before the eighteenth century are debated by historians, the political representatives of the different Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch and Armenian Patriarch.⁵³

⁵¹ Edward Atiyah, *An Arab Tells His Story: A Study in Loyalties* (London: John Murray, 1946): 10; Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*: 6-7.

⁵² Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*; James A. Reilly, 'Inter-Confessional Relations in Nineteenth-Century Syria: Damascus, Homs and Hama Compared', *ICMR* 7:2 (1996): 213-224.

⁵³ Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 61-67; Benjamin Braude, 'Foundation Myth of the Millet System', in B. Braude and B. Lewis, (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society: Volume I: The Central Lands* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982): 73; Andrea Pacini, (ed.), *Christian Communities in the Arab Middle*

Although a number of Armenians became Protestants throughout the Ottoman Empire, this section focus upon the communities who composed the *Rum* and fell under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch, for the changes within the Greek Orthodox, Maronite and Greek Catholic churches of Syria had a more significant impact on the development of the Protestant Circle, than those affecting the Armenian community.⁵⁴

Although the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch was the official representative of the *Rum*, his jurisdiction was curtailed by the authority wielded by regional patriarchs, bishops and priests over local communities. These ecclesiastical leaders influenced their congregants' daily lives through conducting and sanctifying activities that are presently considered aspects of 'personal status', such as marriages, baptisms and burials.⁵⁵ Moreover, while the criterion for excommunication, or dismissal from a church, was determined by official cannon, the effect of being excommunicated (or even the threat of excommunication) by a local church leader, resulted in the person being socially and economically ostracised from his/her neighbours.⁵⁶ In effect, local priests, bishops and patriarchs controlled who was included or excluded from their communities, despite the identification of all non-Armenian Christians by the Ottoman authorities as members of the larger *Rum*.⁵⁷

East: The Challenge of the Future (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 5-7; Amnon Cohen, 'On the Realities of the Millet System', in B. Braude and B. Lewis, (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society: Volume I: The Central Lands* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982): 7-18.

⁵⁴ For more on Armenian Protestants see Jeremy Salt, 'Trouble Wherever They Went: American Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the Nineteenth Century', in: Tejirian and Simon, *AI*: 143-166. The differences between Armenian-Protestant and Syrian-Protestants communities are discussed in Badr, 'American Protestant Missionary Beginnings': 211-239. This analysis will not consider other communities within the *Rum*, like the Syrian Orthodox, due to their limited contact with the ABCFM and role in the Protestant Circle.

⁵⁵ Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 39.

⁵⁶ Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 308.

⁵⁷ Bernard Heyberger, 'The Development of Catholicism in the Middle East (16th -19th Centuries)', in: Badr, *CHME*: 639.

The denominational divisions amongst Christians also challenged the consolidated authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch.⁵⁸ While the Armenians were recognised by the Porte as a separate community, other denominations had to apply for *ṭā'ifah* status within the *Rum*. A *ṭā'ifah* (pl. *ṭāwā'if*) was a communal association organised around a designated religious and/or secular identity, which was noted in court records and used to allocate taxes.⁵⁹ For example, in eighteenth century Hama, European merchants were identified as members of the '*ta'ifat* al-Afranj [*sic*], "the corporation of Franks"'.⁶⁰ Applications to establish a *ṭā'ifah* were registered with the local *qadi* and were geographically specific. As a result, although churches were unified by shared religious practices, their official positions within the Ottoman system were as separate *ṭā'ifah* within the *Rum*, at least before the nineteenth century.⁶¹

A number of communities sought distinction from this collective categorisation.⁶² One form of distinction occurred through the 'latinization' of some religious practices and theology. From the seventeenth century onwards, French-supported Roman Catholic missionaries of the Franciscans, Capuchins, Lazarites, Carmelites and Jesuits Orders expanded their work in the Ottoman Empire, which appears to have been initially condoned by Ottoman officials.⁶³ The Roman Catholic

⁵⁸ Heyberger *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*: 66-68; Robert M. Haddad, *Syrian Christians in Muslim Society: An Interpretation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970): 26-27.

⁵⁹ Elyse Semerdjian, 'Sinful Professions: Illegal Occupations of Women in Ottoman Aleppo, Syria', *Hawwa*, 1:1 (2003): 66-67; Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria*: 57, 68.

⁶⁰ Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria*: 86-87; Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 61

⁶¹ Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 61-65; Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient: Au Temps de la Réforme Catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Rome: École Française de Rome: 1994): 63-64.

⁶² Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 129.

⁶³ Eli Smith, 'The Papal Sects of Syria are the Maronites, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Syrian Catholics and Latins' (n.s., n.d.): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 540: 49B-69; Joseph Maila, 'The Arab Christians: From the Eastern Question to the Recent Political Situation of the Minorities', in: A. Pancini, (ed.), *Christian Communities in the Arab Middle East: The Challenge of the Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 36; Bernard Heyberger and Chantal Verdeil, 'Spirituality and Scholarship: The Holy Land in Jesuit Eyes (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*: 33-39; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*: 4; Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 84-85.

Church pursued the conversion of Eastern-rite Christians to offset the losses of European Christians by the Protestant Reformation, while the *Terre Sainte* of Syria was of particular spiritual interest to many Latin missionaries.⁶⁴ This connection was reinforced through the travel of Maronite and other 'Rome-linked'⁶⁵ Christians to Rome for study at the Maronite College (f. 1584) and the Collegio Urbano (f. 1627).⁶⁶

Two ecclesiastical movements emerged from this missionary encounter. Firstly, Latin-rite churches developed as outposts under the auspices of European missionaries. These 'Frank' churches were directed by Latin missionaries and were recognised as different from the 'Native', Rome-linked churches.⁶⁷ A second affect was the creation of new churches within the *Rum*, such as the Greek Catholic (also referred to as Melchite), and the strengthening of other Rome-linked communities, like the Maronites.⁶⁸ These 'Native' churches negotiated the different influences on their communities, for they amalgamated Roman Catholic and Orthodox theologies and practices into their specific Syrian-Arab contexts.⁶⁹ It was through this process of negotiation and adaptation that the *Rum* fragmented.

Examining the emergence of the Greek Catholic Church illuminates details of this fragmentation. The Greek Catholic Church originated as a Rome-linked branch within the Greek Orthodox Church. A dispute over the Antioch Patriarchate in 1724 resulted in the splintering off of the Greek Catholic community, although the

⁶⁴ Giuseppe Buffon, 'Les Franciscans en Terre Sainte: De L'Espace au Territoire, Entre Opposition et Adaptation', in: Murre-van den Berg, *NFAL*: 66-68; Heyberger and Verdeil, 'Spirituality and Scholarship': 21-8; Fr. Salim Daccahe, 'Catholic Missions in the Middle East', in: Badr, *CHME*: 688-705.

⁶⁵ I use the term 'Rome-linked' to describe these communities, instead of 'Uniate', to emphasise that the Syrians' relationship with the Pope and Roman Catholic missionaries was a complex negotiation of theology, culture and practices.

⁶⁶ Makdisi argues that through studying in Rome, Maronite ecclesiastics, like Jibra'il ibn al-Qila'i and Istifan Duwayhi functioned as Latin missionaries 'to his own people'. Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*: 37-47.

⁶⁷ Smith, 'The Papal Sects of Syria.'

⁶⁸ Smith, 'The Papal Sects of Syria'.

⁶⁹ Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free' 422-424; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 116.

denomination was not officially recognised by the Porte until 1839.⁷⁰ Greek Catholics fused many Eastern-rite traditions with Latin practices to create a hybrid worship style. For example, icons were used as part of their worship, particularly during the *theosis* (divinisation) experience, even though the use of icons was not endorsed by the Pope.⁷¹ Arabic became the language of worship, instead of Latin, Greek or Syriac, which distanced this church from both Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism.⁷² Tensions occasionally erupted within the community between Eastern-rite and Latin-rite branches, such as the conflict over replacing the Julian with the Gregorian calendar during the 1850s.⁷³ Nonetheless, in 1839, the Porte recognised the authority of the Greek Catholic Patriarch and in 1845, a distinct Greek Catholic millet was created.⁷⁴ In doing so, the Greek Catholic community was established as a unique ecclesiastical community that was separate from both the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

The Maronite community underwent a similar process of negotiation between the *Rum* and Rome. The Maronites' affiliation with Rome commenced in 1182 and was renewed through the Council of Florence in 1439 and the founding of the Maronite College in Rome in 1584. Despite this longevity of communion however, Maronite 'rites and Liturgies present a chequered patchwork' of Orthodox and Latin influences.⁷⁵ For example, although the upper echelon of the Maronite clergy were celibate monastics (both a Latin and Orthodox practice), the parish priests could be married and were elected amongst the congregation (an Orthodox practice).⁷⁶ The Maronite liturgy was performed in Syriac, although after the seventeenth century some aspects of the service,

⁷⁰ Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 89-91.

⁷¹ Wessels, *Arab and Christian*: 58-59.

⁷² Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 108.

⁷³ Wortabet, *RRS*: 98-100; *MH* (1856): 378-379.

⁷⁴ Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 109-111.

⁷⁵ Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*: 414.

⁷⁶ Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*: 413.

including the Gospel reading and chants, were conducted in Arabic.⁷⁷ The Church's unique position was demarcated at a number of synods. The Lebanese Synod, held in 1736, at the Monastery of Saiyidat al-Luwayah, north of Beirut was an important meeting that deepened the latinization of the Maronite Church, but in a manner that emphasised the Maronites' unique status within the *Rum*.⁷⁸ At this meeting, the Maronites accepted the *Filioque*, a Latin catechism and the inclusion of prayers for the Pope during the liturgy. Clerical marriages were limited to parish priests, while regulations for monastic orders were established, including the separation of men and women within religious orders and at convents.⁷⁹ Subsequent synods were organised, where the Maronites carved their position amongst the European-Latin and Greek Orthodox-*Rum* churches.⁸⁰

The fragmentation of the *Rum* was contemporaneous with other assertions of regional, ethnic and religious autonomy by groups around the Ottoman Empire, so that the reforms of the *Tanzimat* can be interpreted as an attempt by the Porte to regulate independent reconfigurations of political and religious identities. For example, it was shortly before or during the *Tanzimat* that new churches were recognised as distinct ecclesiastical-political structures or *millets*: the Armenian Catholics in 1831, Greek Catholics in 1848 and the Protestants in 1850.⁸¹ Such distinctions were affirmed through the pronouncement of the *Hatt-ı Humayan* in 1856, which asserted that the 'heads of each community' were to be organised directly under the Sublime Porte, not through

⁷⁷ Louis Hage, *Maronite Music* (London: Longman Group, 1973): 3; Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*: 414; Marie Keyrouz, *Chant Byzantin/Chant Traditionnel Maronite* (compact disc) (n.s.: Harmonia Mundi Fr.: 2004).

⁷⁸ Maila, 'The Arab Christians': 37.

⁷⁹ Wortabet, *RRS*: 113-116; Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*: 401; Wessel, *Arab and Christian*: 104.

⁸⁰ Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*: 402.

⁸¹ Kasaba, 'Do States Always Favor Stasis': 43; The Armenian Catholic millet was granted authority over the other Rome-united Churches the separate patriarchs and/or millets were recognized by the Porte. Heyberger, 'The Development of Catholicism in the Middle East': 646.

the previous two patriarchs.⁸² These different communities thus challenged the centralised and collective categorisation of Christians, through breaching the narrow confines of their individual *ṭā'ifah* and negotiating new interpretations of faith and piety, which allowed them to be recognised as distinct Churches under the direct authority of the Porte.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE 'ABIDĀT

The dissolution of the *Rum* also affected the gendering of religious spaces within Christian communities. Examining how the activities of 'religious' women in the Greek Catholic and Maronite churches changed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reveals the complex link between gender and the construction of religious identity,⁸³ which not only affected these two Christian communities, but also the definitions of gender promoted by the Protestant Circle in the nineteenth century.

The history of religious women in Ottoman Syria has become a focus of academic research during recent years, as scholars seek to retell the 'lost' and often misconstrued stories of these women.⁸⁴ In such work, the 'religious women' of the Maronite and Greek Catholic churches are referred to as 'abidāt or devotees,⁸⁵ although some joined or established convents and were labelled by their contemporaries as nuns (*rahibāt*; sing. *rahibah*). Others were called *btul* (virgin) for they pursued celibate lives

⁸² *MH* (1856): 184.

⁸³ Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 422.

⁸⁴ e.g. Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free'; Avril M. Makhour, 'Hindiyya Anne 'ajaymi and Her Spiritual Journey: The Essential Lightness of Being' *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 4:2 (2001), [online]; Bernard Heyberger, *Hindiyya: Mystique et Criminelle: 1720-1798* (Paris: Aubier 2001); Bernard Heyberger, 'Individualism and Political Modernity: Devout Catholic Women in Aleppo and Lebanon Between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in: A. Sonbol, (ed.), *Beyond the Exotic: Women's History in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005); Heyberger and Verdeil, 'Spirituality and Scholarship'; Murre-van den Berg, 'Generous Devotion'; Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*.

⁸⁵ Following Khater, 'abidat will be used for both the singular and plural of religious women-devotees. Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 421.

within their families' homes and were tangentially associated with recognised confraternities.⁸⁶ The lives of these women weaved between the Greek Catholic, Maronite and Latin communities, illuminating the complexities of this fragmentation process, which makes it difficult to link the `abidāt to only one church. In this section, three generations of `abidāt will be reviewed: the Aleppine `abidāt under Maria Qari; Hindiyya 'Uyagmi and her Order of the Sacred Heart; and Boutrosiya (Pierina) Shabaq al-Rayes, or the Blessed Rafqa. Following their histories shows that despite (or possibly, due to) the women's independent pursuits of piety, they were either relegated to subordinate positions within their communities or deemed heretical by male ecclesiastics.

The story of the `abidāt begins in Aleppo, which became an important site for Latin missionary activity during the seventeenth century. The religious practices and theologies presented by European missionaries added another element to this vibrant city.⁸⁷ It was from Aleppo that a group of Greek Catholic monks relocated to Mount Lebanon and founded the Shuwayrite Order at their Deir Mar Yuhanna al-Shuwayr in 1710. These innovative monks embodied the new Latin theologies, but followed the Eastern-rite monastic rule of Saint Basil and resisted direct Latin supervision.⁸⁸ A similar plan was pursued by a group of Greek Catholic Aleppine women who, twenty years after their Shuwayrite brothers, moved to Mount Lebanon and established a monastery. Before moving, these `abidāt formed a confraternity, which was lead by Mari Qari and associated with the Jesuits. Although their proposed convent was to be linked with their Shuwayrite brothers, the `abidāt desired to follow the Latin Salesian-Visitandine Order and be under Jesuit spiritual authority.⁸⁹ The `abidāt's aspiration to

⁸⁶ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 'Generous Devotion: Women in the Church of the East between 1550 and 1850', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 1:1 (2004): 8.

⁸⁷ Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 423-427.

⁸⁸ Haddad, *Syrian Christians in Muslim Society*: 54-55.

⁸⁹ Founded in France by Francois de Sales and Jeanne de Chantel during the early-seventeenth century, the Visitandine Order was originally designated as an open community for wealthy, lay women, but became cloistered and accepted only visits from lay women on pilgrimage.

follow the Visitandine Order was ill-received by both the Shuwayrite monks and the Greek Catholic authorities in Aleppo. After a series of written confrontations, the `abidāt retracted their original proposal and, in 1736, submitted to the authority of the Shuwayrites. Using money from their dowries, the `abidāt consecrated their new monastery as Deir al-Bishara. However, discord again erupted amongst the `abidāt, the Jesuits, the Shuwayrites monks and the Greek Catholic clergy, which was resolved only through the intercession of Rome. The Pope ruled that the `abidāt were to follow the Eastern-rite rule promoted by the Shuwayrites and be under Shuwayrite, not Jesuit, authority. In reaction, the `abidat left their Greek Catholic convent and relocated to the Maronite convent of Deir Mar Yuhanna at Hrash.⁹⁰

Meanwhile, a second generation of `abidāt formed in Aleppo. Central to this group was Hindiyya `Uyagmi, who was born Anne (Hanne) to a Maronite family in 1720. During her childhood, Hindiyya investigated Christian penitence, had mystical visions of Christ and, at the age of fifteen, joined a Jesuit sorority. Although Hindiyya asserted that Christ told her, through visions, to start a new religious community, the Order of the Sacred Heart, she joined a Jesuit-run monastery in Aintoura, Mount Lebanon, which followed the aforementioned Visitandine Order. After residing at this convent for several months, Hindiyya rejected the Visitandine Order and was sent to the Deir Mar Yuhanna at Hrash.⁹¹

It was at Mar Yuhanna that Hindiyya met her `abidāt foremothers.⁹² Despite their similarities, Hindiyya pursued her own desire/calling to form the Order of the Sacred Heart, which was eventually sanctioned by the Maronites on Mount Lebanon and which distanced her from Qari. The Khazin *muqata` jī* bestowed a *waqf* near Bkirki for Hindiyya to build a convent. This location was close to the residency of the

Susan E. Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief in Seventeenth Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006): 27-28.

⁹⁰ Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 426-431; Heyberger, *Hindiyya*: 78, 101.

⁹¹ Heyberger, *Hindiyya*; Makhmour, 'Hindiyya Anne `ajaymi'; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*: 77-78.

⁹² Heyberger, *Hindiyya*: 40-108; Makhmour, 'Hindiyya Anne `ajaymi'; Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 437.

Maronite Patriarch, who took an interest in Hindiyya and her proposed Order, which he saw as consistent with the Papal endorsement of the theology of the Sacred Heart.⁹³ Hindiyya's convent opened in 1753 and various women joined her Order. Some were Hindiyya's upper-class sisters from Aleppo, while others were women from Mount Lebanon, including Theresa al-Khazin. This second 'abidāt community strove for spiritual perfection and direct communion with Christ, which they claimed was granted through episodes of ecstasy and in the blessing of the stigmata to Hindiyya.⁹⁴

Hindiyya's attempt to receive Papal recognition for her Order was challenged by some (male) ecclesiastics in Syria, both Maronite and Jesuit. Although some defended Hindiyya's work, the Pope ruled that the Order be abolished in 1780. After the dissolution of her Order, Hindiyya removed to a secluded monastery on Mount Lebanon and died in 1798.⁹⁵ The story of Hindiyya continued after her death however, as various nineteenth century travel writers retold the story of (the notorious) Hindiyya and the 'abidāt of the Order of the Sacred Heart, possibly to criticise other women's assertions of autonomous spirituality.⁹⁶

The third generation of the 'abidāt is represented by the life of the Blessed Rafqa, born Boutrosiya (Pierina) Shabaq al-Rayes in 1832, who was a contemporary of the Protestant Circle.⁹⁷ After a disagreement with her father and step-mother over marriage proposals, Boutrosiya, then aged fifteen, fled to a convent run by the Maronite Mariannette (Daughters of Mary of the Immaculate Conception) in Bikfayia.⁹⁸ Boutrosiya

⁹³ For more on the history of the Virgin Mary and the Sacred Heart in nineteenth century Ottoman Syria and Palestine see Jansen 'Visions of Mary': 137-154.

⁹⁴ The image of the stigmata and the crown of roses were two religious symbols that increased in popularity amongst Christians in Ottoman Syria due to the work of French missionaries. Heyberger, *Hindiyya*: 61.

⁹⁵ Heyberger, *Hindiyya*: 114-143; 184-306.

⁹⁶ e.g. Wortabet, *SS*: 104-107; Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*: 78-85.

⁹⁷ For an interesting comparison see the bio/hagiography Mary Alphonsus in Jansen, 'Visions of Mary': 138-148.

⁹⁸ Francis M. Zayek, *Rafka: The Blind Mystic of Lebanon* (Still River, Massachusetts: St. Bede's Publications, 1980): 11-13.

remained at this convent and accepted the Marianne's vows in 1856.⁹⁹ At this convent, Rafka, then named Anissa, 'was in charge of the kitchen and was studying in preparation for teaching the rudiments of culture'.¹⁰⁰ Sister Anissa also taught 'religious instruction in a spinning-mill in Scerbanieh', a nearby town.¹⁰¹ After accepting her final vows, Anissa relocated to a Jesuit convent in Ghazir, then to Deir al-Qamar in order to teach school children. She was residing at this city when war broke out in 1860.¹⁰²

Although the rest of her story unfolds after the timeframe for this thesis it will be briefly reviewed in order to follow the history of the *'abidāt*. Crises arose for Sister Anissa in the early 1870s when her Maronite Marianne Order was dissolved by/subsumed within the Jesuit Order of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Granted the option to either recant her vows and return to the laity or join the newly established Order of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, Sister Anissa followed a vision/dream and joined the Baladiya branch of the Maronite Lebanese Order.¹⁰³ Similar to the Greek Catholic Shuwayrite Order, the Maronite Lebanese Order was founded by Aleppines who moved to Mount Lebanon in 1695 and was instrumental in delineating Maronite theology during the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ It was within the Maronite Baladiya Order that Anissa was renamed Rafqa, took the vows of celibacy, chastity and obedience, and suffered from various ailments that left her bed-ridden. Rafqa asserted that her ailments were '[for] the glory of God, in communion with Christ's Passion!'¹⁰⁵ Many argue that it was her acceptance of suffering that marked Rafqa as being blessed by

⁹⁹ Zayek, *Rafka*: 14-16; Guita G. Hourani, 'Blessed Rafqa: A Maronite Model in How to Love Christ, The Bridegroom of the Church', *The Journal of Maronite Studies*, 3:1 (1999); Guita G. Hourani, 'The Canonization of Saint Rafqa: "Model for Mideast"', *The Journal of Maronite Studies*, 5:2(2001); n.s., 'Canonization of the Blessed Rafqa June 10th 2001' (n.s., n.d.), [online], Available at: <<http://www.bkerke.org.lb/Rafqa/index2.htm>>, [accessed on 22 April 2006].

¹⁰⁰ n.s., 'Canonization of the Blessed Rafqa June 10th 2001'.

¹⁰¹ n.s., 'Canonization of the Blessed Rafqa June 10th 2001'.

¹⁰² Zayek, *Rafka*: 17.

¹⁰³ Zayek, *Rafka*: 19-22.

¹⁰⁴ n.s., 'The Lebanese Maronite Order'.

¹⁰⁵ n.s., 'Canonization of the Blessed Rafqa'.

God, and which, along with other miraculous associations, resulted in her canonisation in 2001.¹⁰⁶

Tracing these narratives grants further insight onto the transformations within Christian communities, specifically the complex process through which Christian communities became distinct from each other during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first and second generations of `abidāt explored the spaces and theologies offered by Jesuit, Greek Catholic and Maronite communities. It was only with Rafqa, in the mid to late nineteenth century, after distinct millets were established, that the `abidāt's activities were contained within one Syrian *tai'fa*/church. However, even Rafqa's struggles were not limited to a homogenous group, for she negotiated the different branches within the Maronite Church and the influence of Jesuit missionaries.

The histories of the `abidāt also reveal how these changes affected the gendering of Christian communities, which problematises historical perceptions on women in the Middle East. For example, the *`abidāt* were remarkably mobile, for they moved to various locations around Ottoman Syria in pursuit of their own spirituality. These women also challenged the authority of their parents and rejected the custom of marriage, which necessitated the construction of new, 'kinship' alliances with others in their Orders.

Despite this mobility and autonomy, the activities of the `abidāt became increasingly regulated and confined by (male) ecclesiastic authorities.¹⁰⁷ For example, the 'acceptable' locations for the `abidāt changed from the parental home and mixed sex monastery to the more formalised religious home, single sex monastery and schools by the nineteenth century, which placed the *`abidāt* under the tighter control of (male) ecclesiastical leaders.¹⁰⁸ Although the *`abidāt* pursued individual union with Christ,

¹⁰⁶ Zayek, *Rafqa*: 23-59; Hourani, 'Blessed Rafqa'; Hourani, 'The Canonization of Saint Rafqa'; n.s. 'Canonization of the Blessed Rafqa'.

¹⁰⁷ Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 437-438.

¹⁰⁸ Wortabet, *RRS*: 113-116; Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*: 401; Wessel, *Arab and Christian*: 104; Smith, 'The Papal Sects of Syria'.

these women were criticised when their activities did not affirm the 'official' changes promoted by their male colleagues or the 'appropriate' gender roles for women.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries represent a dynamic phase, when new religious identities were formulated through the mixing of theologies and practices, while gender roles within Christian groups were negotiated and reconstructed.

THE RISE OF BEIRUT AS A SPACE FOR NEW IDENTITIES

The abovementioned political, economic and religious changes significantly affected the population distribution of Ottoman Syria, as previous centres of power competed with new locations to be the nexus of regional activity. This section explores how the transformations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were manifested in the changing cityscape and domestic architecture of Beirut, as it became the prominent port-city in Syria by the mid-nineteenth century.

When the ABCFM missionaries first anchored off Beirut in 1823, they discovered a port in need of redevelopment. Contemporary accounts explained that it was not uncommon for '[the] harbour [to be] deserted for some few days; [as] there was not even an Arab boat at the anchorage'.¹¹⁰ The empty state of the port reflected the relatively insignificant position of Beirut along the eastern Mediterranean coast during the early nineteenth century. The city was easy to overlook when compared to the other ports, such as Acre, Sidon and Tripoli, and it paled in both size and importance to Jerusalem, Aleppo and Damascus, which were the centres of religious, economic and political networks within Ottoman Syria.

¹⁰⁹ Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 438.

¹¹⁰ Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 14.

At this time, Beirut's population numbered between 4,000 and 6,000 residents and was a mixture of Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic and Sunni families.¹¹¹ This population was not divided into confessional quarters, but formed a multilayered and complex arrangement of neighbourhoods. This created a 'tapestry' of activity, where social relations influenced residency patterns more so than confessional or even economic affiliations.¹¹² As a result, Beirut's architecture was fairly homogenous, for religious buildings, both mosques and churches, were unimposing structures that blended with neighbouring buildings, while the city lacked a prominent seraglio and mosque to focus the city's traffic.¹¹³ Moreover, residential architecture necessitated informal interaction amongst neighbours, for cooking, toilet and water facilities were located in external spaces, while the inner rooms were reserved for sleeping and storage.¹¹⁴

Beirut's social tapestry was primarily confined to the space within the city walls, for before the nineteenth century, few residential buildings were constructed beyond this boundary.¹¹⁵ Rather, the suburbs were reserved for the harvest of mulberries, olives, figs, carob and other vines, and were only spotted by watchman towers, depots and farmers' workshops.¹¹⁶ The sparseness of suburban development may be explained by the difficulty in proving private ownership of suburban plots as

¹¹¹ May Davie, *Beyrouth: Un Siècle et Demi D'Urbanisme* (Beirut: Publications de l'Orde des Ingenieurs et Architectes de Beyrouth, 2001): 13; Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*: 1.

¹¹² Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria*: 57; Davie, *Beyrouth*: 26.

¹¹³ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 96, 98; Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*: 12.

¹¹⁴ Friedrich Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon: The Lebanese House During the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Beirut, Lebanon: American University of Beirut, 1974): 19, 45.

¹¹⁵ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 96; May Davie, *Atlas Historique Des Orthodoxes de Beyrouth et du Mont Liban: 1800-1940* (Balamand: University of Balamand, 1999): 36, 48.

¹¹⁶ Davie, *Atlas Historique*: 38; Ralph Bodenstein, 'The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat: The History of an Urban Fabric', in Gebhardt, *HSSCB*: 39-41.

milk land rather than state-owned (*miri*) property; the latter being liable to confiscation at whim.¹¹⁷

This began to change during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when Beirut emerged as the focus of regional power. Beirut served as the base for Muhammed Ali's government during the Egyptian occupation of Syria. This choice was significant for Beirut replaced Acre and Damascus as the site of provincial authority.¹¹⁸ Consistent with other aspects of his rule, Muhammed Ali systematised the government within Beirut. A consultation council, the *diwān al-mushawarah*, was formed, which brought together Beirut's community leaders and it divided the governance of the city into eight districts.¹¹⁹ Efforts were also made to improve the port, both in the water and at the quarantine and customs houses along the waterfront. Although these improvements were slow to materialise, they nevertheless encouraged the movement of goods, people and communication between Beirut and Egypt, and encouraged the development of a new middle class of merchants, translators and bureaucrats, many of whom relocated to this city.¹²⁰

Beirut also played an important role in the Porte's recovery/reconfiguration of Syria. Following Muhammed Ali initiative, the capital of the Sidon province was moved from Acre to Beirut, as noted above.¹²¹ In 1843, the plans for the double *Qa'im maqāmat* were announced in Beirut, with the supervision of this structure being held by

¹¹⁷ Meier, 'Waqf Only in Name, Not in Essence': 201-218; Kenneth M. Cuno, 'Was the Land of Ottoman Syria *Miri* or *Milk*? An Examination of Juridical Differences within the Hanafi School', *Studia Islamica*, 81 (1995): 121-152; Bodenstein, 'The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat': 50-51, note 46; Hanssen, 'From Social Status to Intellectual Activity': Some Prosopographical Observations on the Municipal Council in Beirut, 1868-1908', in: T. Philipp and C. Schumann, (ed.), *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon* (Beirut: Orient-Institute 2004): 62-63.

¹¹⁸ Davie, *Beyrouth*: 34.

¹¹⁹ Davie, *Beyrouth*: 35; Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*: 32.

¹²⁰ Davie, *Beyrouth*: 34-36; Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*: 31. Records of arrivals, departures and protests in Beirut's port, including lists the cargo and descriptions of maritime voyages from 1822 to 1939 are kept in [British] PRO: FO 616/1-5.

¹²¹ Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 256; Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon*: 89

the *wālī* of Sidon who resided in Beirut.¹²² The Porte emphasised his return through imperial projects, such as the building of new military barracks. Although finished after 1860, these barracks ‘annonçait le début d’une métamorphose urbanistique’ and exhibited a new, Ottoman imperial architectural design, which was a trend that continued throughout the late nineteenth century.¹²³

A wave of immigration added another element of vitality to the evolving city. With the improvement of steamship technology and the growing desire for empire, the number of European and American merchants, military officers and missionaries who resided at this location increased during the 1840s and 1850s.¹²⁴ By 1856, both Austrian and French postal ships made regular stops at Beirut. This connected the residents of Beirut to locations around the Mediterranean (and points further west), for it eased the movement of goods, information and humans, which was vital in maintaining and monitoring imperial interests.¹²⁵ In addition, many European and American travellers argued that Beirut was the best place to commence a tour of the region, many of whom found ‘comfortable’ respite at the various hotels that opened near the port.¹²⁶

The expansion of trade links between Beirut and Europe was particularly evident during this period. Both French and Syrian merchants invested in the silk trade and encouraged the immigration of French merchants to commission silk factories near Beirut.¹²⁷ Other goods such as ‘Syrian olive oil, timber, nuts and specimens of dried and preserved fruit’ were produced specifically for export to Europe, including Great

¹²² Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge, London, New York and Melbourn: Cambridge University Press, 1977): 134.

¹²³ Davie, *Beyrouth*: 40; Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*: 3-6.

¹²⁴ Ozveren, ‘The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City’: 159.

¹²⁵ *MH* (1856): 56-57.

¹²⁶ Wortabet, *SS: I*: 5-7, 66.

¹²⁷ Ozveren, ‘The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City’: 106-146; Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 55; Akram Fouad Khater, ‘“House” to “Goddess of the House”: Gender, Class, and Silk in 19th-Century Mount Lebanon’, *IJMES*, 28 (1996): 325-348.

Britain.¹²⁸ A group of merchants specialised in this Anglo-Beirut trade, some of who are listed in Appendix III:A, for they were affiliated with the Protestant Circle, although not all were members of the Protestant Church.¹²⁹ New European consulates were established or relocated to Beirut during the 1840s and 1850s in order to protect these economic interests. While the consuls provided political and economic protection for their own citizens, many Syrians benefited from receiving protégé status as employees of foreign agents, and fell under the diplomatic jurisdiction of these new consults.¹³⁰

In addition to the interests and investments of foreigners, including Egyptians, Ottomans and Europeans, Beirut was transformed by the activities of Syrians. Beirut was increasingly regarded by Syrians as an important link between the Mediterranean, Mount Lebanon and cities further inland. For example, goods arriving into Beirut were transported by Syrian traders to Mount Lebanon and Damascus, then along the pilgrimage and trade routes further east into Persia and Asia.¹³¹ Some merchants resettled in Beirut and formed the backbone of the new middle class.¹³² Educational opportunities drew many towards Beirut, particularly those seeking apprenticeships with tradesmen, language skills from merchants and the 'liberal arts' education offered by missionaries.¹³³ These 'pulls' towards Beirut reached beyond Mount Lebanon, for residents of Sidon, Aleppo and Damascus also relocated to Beirut.¹³⁴ One 'push' towards Beirut for residents of Mount Lebanon was war, so that refugees flooded the city at various times during 1840s and 1850s.¹³⁵ Until 1860 however, many of the regional immigrants

¹²⁸ Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 53.

¹²⁹ See the folders within [British] PRO: FO 616/2; FO 612/3; FO 612/4; HO 1/29/912.

¹³⁰ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City':104; Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 92-95.

¹³¹ Davie, *Beyrouth*: 39; Faruk Tabak, 'Local Merchants in Peripheral Areas of the Empire: The Fertile Crescent during the Long Nineteenth Century', *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center*, 11:2 (1988): 190-193; Philipp, 'Highways and Sea': 7-8.

¹³² Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*: 123.

¹³³ For example see, Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*: 8-42.

¹³⁴ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*: 35-36.

¹³⁵ Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 41; Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 45-49.

regarded their stay in Beirut as temporary and returned home once they received their education or after the dispute had calmed.¹³⁶

This foreign and local immigration affected the layout of the city. Although Fawaz argues that by 1830 half of Beirut's population resided outside the city walls, maps of Beirut produced between 1838 and 1841 illustrate only a scattering of houses in the suburbs.¹³⁷ It was during the 1840s and 1850s rather, that Beirut's city limits were clearly breached, for the aforementioned wave of immigration instigated a boom in construction.¹³⁸ Although some of the temporary residents found homes within the city centre, many of the new permanent residents and relocated Beirutis developed new neighbourhoods in the suburbs of Al-Achrafiya, Mazraa, al-Basta and Moussaitbe. This created an 'amphitheatrical form' around the old city and port.¹³⁹ Hotels, foreign consulates and the residencies of wealthy European and Syrian merchants were frequently built on the coast or near Ras Beirut, while the schools and homes of the new middle class were often found in Zoqāq el-Blāt.¹⁴⁰ Even the Ottomans followed this

¹³⁶ Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*: 39-42.

¹³⁷ Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*: 32. For example C. Rochefort Scott, 'Sketch of Beyrouit and Vicinity' (1841): [British] PRO: PRO/WO/78/1000/2.

¹³⁸ Davie, *Atlas Historique*: 48-49.

¹³⁹ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 99, 190; ; Davie, *Atlas Historique*: 38, 52; Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*: 118; Hanessen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*: 3. Compare with the historical development and layouts of Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul in Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁴⁰ Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 171-172; Jens Hanssen, 'The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zokak el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World', in: Gebhardt, *HSSCB*: 143-174. It was not until 1867 when foreigners were able to directly purchase and own real estate in the Ottoman Empire. Abdulkarim Rafeq referenced in Bodenstein, 'The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat': 60; Marc Aymes, 'The Port-City in the Fields: Investigating an Improper Urbanity in mid-19th Century Cyprus', presented at: Eight Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting, Florence & Montecatini Terme, 21-25 March 2007, Organised by the Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute (Montecatini Terme, 2007).

suburban trend, for although the new 'palace' was built next to the city jail within the city walls, the *wālī*'s residency during the 1850s was located in the suburbs.¹⁴¹

At the turn-of-the-nineteenth century, most houses in Beirut were made of locally quarried stone and followed a modified *līwān* design.¹⁴² These were two and three stories houses with south-facing gardens on the ground floor and terraces on the upper floors, which were surrounded by the family's living spaces. This gave the building an internal 'L' or 'U' shape and allowed the building to appear externally similar to its neighbours.¹⁴³ Davie proposes that *ḥarāt* structures were also found within the city centre of Beirut during the early nineteenth century. These were larger living spaces, composed of 'chambres modestes (*oudah*) ou de réduits exigus (*khirbat*)', which, like the *līwān* design, opened onto communal courts. Davie argues that *ḥarāt* structures were the first to be abandoned by native Beirutis, but were quickly re-inhabited by new Syrian immigrants.¹⁴⁴

It was in the relatively open spaces of the suburbs that architects and homeowners experimented with new domestic designs.¹⁴⁵ Although blossoming after 1860, the 'Triple-Arched' or 'Centre Hall' house first emerged in Beirut's suburbs during the 1850s.¹⁴⁶ Amalgamating Ottoman, Venetian, Arab and French designs, this style centred upon the central hall (*dār*) on the upper floor, which had a double-arched (and later triple-arched) façade of windows, which faced north onto a panoramic of the sea.¹⁴⁷ It

¹⁴¹ Wortabet, *SS: I*: 75-77.

¹⁴² Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*: 182.

¹⁴³ Davie, *Beyrouth*: 21-22.

¹⁴⁴ Davie, *Beyrouth*: 22.

¹⁴⁵ Semaan Kfoury, 'La Maison a Hall Central au Liban: Origines, Influences, Identities', in: M. Davie, (ed.), *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise du Levant* (Beirut et Tours: ALBA, 2003): 50; Davie, *Beyrouth*: 47. Compare with Pollard's study of houses in nineteenth century Egypt. Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923* (Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005).

¹⁴⁶ Kfoury, 'La Maison a Hall Central au Liban': 49.

¹⁴⁷ Anne Mollenhauer, 'Reading Late Ottoman Architecture: Exterior Expression and Interior Organization of Central-Hall Houses Between Beirut and Lattakia', in: M. Davie, (ed.), *La*

appears that the enclosed central hall replaced (and reoriented) the *līwān*, while the triple-arched façade differentiated this home from its neighbours.¹⁴⁸ While the glass façade opened the family to the outside world, the buildings elevation and distance from its neighbours reinforced the family's privacy.¹⁴⁹ This design also discouraged the spontaneous informal interactions amongst neighbours, but in a manner that facilitated the exchange of formal gatherings and convocations, which blossomed in late nineteenth century Beirut.¹⁵⁰ Thus, building a house in this design demonstrated the ingenuity, wealth and hybrid culture of its owners, and in so doing, reveals the political, economic and social shifts that allowed for this structure to be erected not in Beirut's city centre, but its suburbs.¹⁵¹

THE OPTION OF 'AMERIKA'

The ABCFM missionaries argued that they first 'came into [Syria] as strangers and foreigners. They had no friends here. They had no character. They had no influence.'¹⁵² In 1823, many Syrians did not know who the Americans were and they were unsure of

Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise du Levant (Beirut et Tours: ALBA, 2003): 130-131; Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*: 106. A later aspect of the Triple-Arched house was red-tiling roofing, which, although not originating with the Protestant Circle, became a symbol of the Syrian Protestant College (later AUB).

¹⁴⁸ Kfoury, 'La Maison a Hall Central au Liban': 34, 45.

¹⁴⁹ Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*: 113.

¹⁵⁰ May Davie, 'Maisons Traditionnelles de Beyrouth: Typologie, Culture Domestique, Valeur Patrimoniale. Volume 1: Le Secteur de Rmeil-Médawwar' (Beirut: APSAD and CEHVI, 2004): 33-36.

¹⁵¹ Mollenhauer, 'Reading Late Ottoman Architecture': 129; Christine Lindner, 'Problematising the "Modern": An Exploration of the Homes and Families of the American Protestant Missionaries and Syrian Protestants in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860', Presented at: 'New Directions in Studies of the Arab World': The First Annual Graduate Workshop. CASAW-University of Edinburgh, 13 September 2007.

¹⁵² Emphasis in original. George Whiting and William M. Thomson 'On the Results of Past Labours in the Mission' (Beirut, 10 April 1844): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 538: 53B-56B.

how to define and engage with American culture and religion.¹⁵³ It was during this vibrant period of reshaping political alliances, modifying religious identities and re-settling populations that 'Amerika' emerged as an 'option' for Syrians' social, religious and political alliances.

One of the first appellations used by Syrians to describe this new group was 'Franji' or 'Frank'/French. This term was applied to all Europeans, as seen with the abovementioned 'ta'ifat al-Afranj' in eighteenth century Hama. Some Americans accepted this label for it allowed them to appropriate the favourable social, political and economic arrangements granted to Europeans before official treaties were constructed between the Porte and the American government.¹⁵⁴ As a result, many Americans were addressed as, *Signor* and *Signora*, which were the titles associated with the *Franji*. During the early nineteenth century, Italian, not French, was the language of commerce throughout the Mediterranean, so that these titles were used by Syrians, Americans and other Europeans to address each other.¹⁵⁵ The importance of knowing Italian was recognised by many Syrians, who sought *Franji*, including the ABCFM missionaries, to teach them this trade language.¹⁵⁶ After 1840 however, the use of Italian was replaced by English, French and Arabic as the languages of communication amongst foreigners and Syrians, which ignited a demand in the education of these languages. It is important to recognise that while the ABCFM missionaries employed the term *Franji* and the associated titles of *Signor* and *Signora*, they were hesitant of being too closely linked with or mistaken for their French contemporaries.¹⁵⁷ This

¹⁵³ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 8.

¹⁵⁴ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*: 84; Caesar E. Farah, 'Protestantism and British Diplomacy in Syria', *IJMES*, 7:3 (1976): 325 note 12.

¹⁵⁵ *MH* (1826): 5; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 205. Eli Smith's bills from 1838-1839 were written in Italian, see HHL: ABC 60 (128).

¹⁵⁶ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*: 35; *MH* (1834): 412; Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut': 147.

¹⁵⁷ Henry DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 550B-562; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 15 March 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17.

tension was displayed in the Annual Report of 1835, in which the ABCFM missionaries crossed out the word 'Frank' and replaced with the term, 'European'.¹⁵⁸

Syrians also labelled the Americans as '*Inglizi*' or 'English'. The ABCFM missionaries affirmed this association and often employed the term 'English' to describe themselves, for it allowed them to harness the political prestige granted to the British residents of the region. Recalling an attack on Beirut, William Goodell wrote that '[m]any parties of [Greeks sailors] came to my door, but on my telling them I was English, they departed (note: As we had English protection, we are known in no other character, in this country, than as English).'¹⁵⁹ Tellingly, Jonas King, a rather polemical early missionary for the ABCFM, wrote his famous 1825 'Farewell Letter' as a response to the question 'whether the English did have a religion?'¹⁶⁰ This 'English' label persisted throughout the period of review, despite the American government's assertion of political autonomy, due to the shared English language, Protestant faith and similar culture that unified many American and British residents of the region.¹⁶¹

Although not all American residents of Syria were Protestant,¹⁶² this thesis argues that Protestantism in Syria before 1860 was affiliated with American culture, particularly that presented by the ABCFM missionaries. For example, Syrians also used the Protestant-linked term '*Biblishiyyûn*' or 'Biblemen' to describe Americans. This reference may have originated with the activities of the ABCFM missionaries themselves, for the dispensation of Arabic Bibles and Scriptural tracts was a vital aspect of the ABCFM's work in Syria.¹⁶³ The Protestants' contrasted their practice of giving out Bibles to the activities of Latin missionaries, who distributed 'gifts' of Marian

¹⁵⁸ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1835).

¹⁵⁹ *MH* (1826): 354.

¹⁶⁰ Jonas King in Murre van-den Berg, 'Simply by Giving to Them Maccaroni': 75.

¹⁶¹ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 96.

¹⁶² For example, an American catholic was given a British passport in 1824. n.s., 'Passport given to the Rev. Samuel Cooper, American Catholic'.

¹⁶³ Badr, 'American Protestant Missionary Beginnings': 214; Salt, 'Trouble Wherever They Went': 148-149; *MH* (1837): 444.

medallions and Rosaries.¹⁶⁴ Until the ABCFM missionaries printed their own translation however, their 'English Bible' was an Arabic version based upon the 1671 Catholic translation from the *Vulgate*, which was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹⁶⁵ Although similar to the Bible used by Latin missionaries and Christians in Syria, the omission of the Apocrypha marked this Protestant Bible as different and at times problematic for Syrians.¹⁶⁶

Another source for the term '*Biblishiyyûn*' and its link with both the Americans and Protestantism was the theology and religious practices of the ABCFM missionaries. A central feature of their theology was 'the Bible alone as the rule of faith and manners'.¹⁶⁷ The ABCFM missionaries argued that their emphasis on the Bible distinguished their Christianity from that practiced by Latin missionaries and 'nominal' Christians in Syria, whom (the ABCFM argued) followed traditions 'not mentioned in the Scriptures' including:

the infallibility of councils, image-worship and invocation of saints, transubstantiation and the sacrificial nature of the mass, auricular confession and the power of the priest to absolve from sin, and other articles of faith which are either not mentioned in the Word of God or are expressly forbidden by it.¹⁶⁸

This Biblical-Protestant association thus buttressed the ABCFM missionaries' (mis)perception that the other Christian communities in Syria dispelled or wrongly interacted with the Holy Scripture.

As the nineteenth century unfolded however, 'America' developed into a more distinct option for Syrians' social and political affiliations. As noted above, the sovereignty of the United States was emphasised through the recognition of an

¹⁶⁴ Jansen, 'Visions of Mary': 140.

¹⁶⁵ Wortabet, *RRS*: 370-372; Badr, 'American Protestant Missionary Beginnings': 214 note 8.

¹⁶⁶ Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*: 322.

¹⁶⁷ Whiting and Thomson, 'On the Results of Past Labours in the Mission'; Wortabet, *SS: I*: 44 note 1.

¹⁶⁸ Wortabet, *RRS*: 17.

American Vice-Consulate at Beirut in 1834. Subsequent events, including the landing of US naval ships and the extension of diplomatic protection to all American citizens in 1842, marked the United States as a distinct player within regional politics. As a result, some Syrians pursued alliances with Americans in the hopes that they would receive American protégé status. However, these hopes were often frustrated by the limited power actually wielded by American diplomats. As explored in the previous chapter, the United State's political pull within the Ottoman Empire was relatively weak throughout the period under review.¹⁶⁹ For example, Butrus al-Bustani sharply criticised the ABCFM missionaries and the United States government for not protecting his colleague, Jurgis Gemmal, the United States vice-consul in Acre, after his diplomatic position was questioned by the Ottoman authorities during the mid 1850s.¹⁷⁰

In contrast to these political and diplomatic frustrations, aspects of American culture were more favourably and consistently received by Syrians. Although the ABCFM missionaries repeatedly emphasised their evangelical motives, it was their work in providing formal education, language training and medicine that attracted many Syrians and which left a deep impression upon Syrian society. By the late nineteenth century, many Syrians recognised the Americans' educational and cultural contributions to the region, more so than their religious or even political stances. The remaining chapters will delineate how this change in perceptions affected the dynamics within the Protestant Circle and were regarded as a problem for the ABCFM missionaries.

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the transformations in Ottoman Syria during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to fully contextualise the emergence of the Protestant Circle. It demonstrated that changes in political alliances, economic opportunities, personal theology, ecclesiastical identities and perceptions of foreigners

¹⁶⁹ Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition*: 73-80.

¹⁷⁰ al-Bustani, 'Private: Letter to Eli Smith'; Wortabet, *SS: I*: 27.

altered all aspects of Syrians' lives. Through these changes, new groups emerged, such as the 'abidāt and the Americans, while others groups and structures were fragmented, such as the *iqta'* and the *Rum*. Reviewing this history illuminates that the context in which the ABCFM missionaries arrived into was a dynamic environment, where Protestant culture and faith resonated with some individuals who were on their own religious and social journeys, and negotiating the different changes unfolding around them.

CHAPTER THREE: THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE

Isaac and Ann Bird landed at the port of Beirut alongside their colleagues, William and Abigail Goodell, on 7 November 1823.¹ Their arrival followed three years of 'exploratory missions' conducted by Pliny Fisk, Levi Parsons and Jonas King along the coast of the eastern Mediterranean.² The rise of a missionary movement and the development of a mobile middle class in the early nineteenth century encouraged the missionaries to pursue their evangelical mission, while the disintegration of the *iqta'* and the pursuit of alternative definitions of religious identity allowed for some residents of Syria to receive the ABCFM missionaries and support their work in the region. It was from this and subsequent points of contact that the Protestant Circle gradually emerged and developed into a distinct community of diverse individuals.

This chapter introduces the Protestant Circle through presenting the individuals who formed the community and the characteristic that described their faith and culture. The first section delineates the members of the Protestant Circle and outlines the symbolic structuring that defined this community. This distribution is drawn in Appendix IV and depicts the relative power and influence that each person or group held over other members of the community. The second section examines the spaces for

¹ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 100.

² Anderson, *HM*: 9-40; Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut': 140-144.

the Protestant Circle, particularly those found in the suburbs of Beirut. The third section investigates the characteristics that defined this community, specifically the normative terms for Protestant social, cultural and religious capital. It argues that these terms were based upon the male ABCFM missionaries' definitions of Protestantism and reflects their central position within the Circle. Subversions to this structuring and alternative definitions of Protestantism also emerged, which are explored in the final section of this chapter. Taken together, this material demonstrates that in a relatively short period of time, the Protestant Circle emerged, established itself as a new and distinct social-religious group within Ottoman Syria, but was nevertheless transformed and fragmented due to individuals' pursuit of independent and alternative forms of Protestantism by 1860.

MEMBERS OF THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE

The Protestant Circle encompassed a diverse group of individuals who were born in the United States, Syria, England, Scotland, Prussia and Italy, but were united in a shared commitment to Protestantism. Social prestige and influence was not evenly divided amongst the members of this community, for it followed a circular pattern that centred upon the male ABCFM missionaries. This section examines this circular distribution through introducing the different groups and individuals who composed Protestant Circle and their relative position within the community.

The central position in the Protestant Circle was occupied by the male missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who functioned as the dominate or elite within the community.³ During the early nineteenth century, the official title of missionary for the ABCFM was restricted to men, either

³ The activities of these men have been the focus of various histories, including Tracey, 'HABCFM'; Anderson, *HM*; Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*; Bliss, *RDS: Tibawi, American Interests*; Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"'; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*.

single or married.⁴ Ordination to this position occurred after the man received ecclesiastical or medical training from elite American colleges and seminaries, such as Yale, Andover and Princeton.⁵ Once ordained as missionaries by the ABCFM and upon arrival in Syria, these men became ‘spokespersons’ for the Syrian Station, for the books they published and the speeches they delivered were held by both the American and Syrian populace, as well as the ABCFM’s Prudential Committee, to be the official views of the community. In addition, the doctrines advocated by these men served as the standards for Protestant culture and faith, which was recognised by all in the Circle. Through serving as head presbyters, educators and medical doctors, these men not only personified their definition of Protestantism, but regulated how their faith and culture were disseminated to others in Syria, although not always how it was received and performed.



Despite the missionary men’s central position in the Protestant Circle, this group was neither homogeneous nor harmonious. Tensions emerged amongst the missionaries, such as that between the Congregational and Presbyterian missionaries

⁴ McCoy, ‘The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission’: 78.

⁵ n.s., ‘Missionaries: Colleges and Degrees’ (n.s., n.d.): HHL: ABC 77: Box 1.

over church polity at the station, but were often silenced in the official records.⁶ The transformations within the United States and Ottoman Syria, also affected the culture and faith promoted by the male missionaries. The details of these changes will be examined below, but included a modification in conversion policy and the gendering of mission work. Thus, while the male missionaries were central to the Protestant Circle and desired to regulate and monitor the theological development of this community, their influence and control was powerful, but never fully absolute.

Challenges to the male missionaries' central position emerged from within the Protestant Circle, particularly from those who occupied 'dominated-dominate' positions just outside the central core. Individuals from this stratum engaged with the male missionaries' definitions of Protestantism, but followed beliefs that differed slightly from this standard. One such group were the women missionaries of the ABCFM. Before commencing missionary service, most of the women acquired high levels of formal education at American institutions,⁷ while some were relatives of religiously or politically prominent Americans.⁸ Despite this, their standing at the Syrian Station was determined by their relation to male missionaries: as either wives or single 'assistant' missionaries. This affected the financial support given by the ABCFM, for women were designated as either dependents of their missionary husbands or as assistant missionaries who were paid less than their male colleagues. The details of women's activities in the Protestant Circle and their performance of gender will be fully discussed in subsequent chapters.

Another group within the dominated-dominate stratum were the children of the ABCFM missionaries. The missionary archives identify some, but not all, of the children born to missionary parents in Syria, so that those listed in Appendix I:B should be considered as only a partial list. Positioning this group within the Protestant Circle is

⁶ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 155-170, 189-210, 225, 232-268.

⁷ McCoy, 'Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission': 77.

⁸ n.s., 'Missions to Syria' (n.s., n.d): HHL: ABC 90.5, v. 3; Bliss, *RDS*: 113.

a difficult task since each child's relationship with others in the community differed, although a few general comments can be made. The children's relatively central position reflects their 'inherited' access to Protestant capital. The definition of mothering advocated by the Protestants encouraged the indoctrination of Protestant culture and faith to missionary children, through educational, religious and social interactions. However, as each child grew up, he or she negotiated the different national and religious identities that surrounded them, particularly if they were 'retuned' to the United States for formal education as teenagers.⁹ As a result, some left the community to pursue lives in the United States, while others returned to work as missionaries at various locations around Ottoman Empire.¹⁰

European and American residents of Ottoman Syria who were not employed by the ABCFM also held dominated-dominate status within the Protestant Circle.¹¹ These were often British and American citizens who were members of the Mission Church, but not financially supported by the ABCFM. They included the British and American consuls, their family members, other government agents and merchants who resided in Syria. Also included in this stratum were the Protestant missionaries and travelling preachers who were either independently funded or sponsored by other, non-ABCFM organisations. Some of these missionaries became part of the Circle when their theology and religious practices were perceived (by the ABCFM) to be congruent with the ABCFM's definition of Protestantism. A few of the ABCFM missionaries' family members also visited Syria and assisted in the activities of the Syrian Station, but were independently funded from the ABCFM. The culture performed by members of these groups differed, on varying degrees, to that promoted by the ABCFM male

⁹ n.s., 'Missionaries' Children Returned to the United States: Questionnaire Circulated by R. Anderson' (n.s., 1866): HHL: ABC 77.8.3; n.s., 'Missionaries' Children Returned to the United States. Ca. 1832-1881: Records of Grants, Etc.' (n.s., 1881): HHL: ABC 77.8.2.

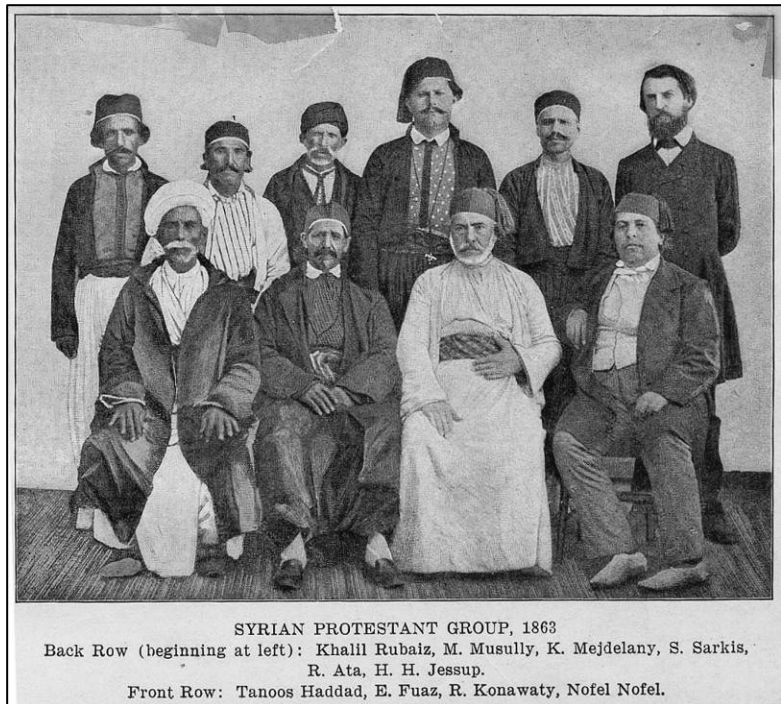
¹⁰ For example, William Bird served as a missionary in Syria, while his sister, Emily became a missionary in Turkey.

¹¹ A list of some of these individuals is found in Appendix III:A, while their position within the Circle is depicted in Appendix IV.

missionaries, so that their social standing within the Circle was scattered amongst other Protestants. Despite such differences, these individuals were often the daily associates of the ABCFM missionaries and many Syrian Protestants.

Syrian Protestants were other, fundamental members of the Protestant Circle. The geographic, economic and religious background of these individuals varied considerable. Nevertheless, the culture and faith promoted by the ABCFM missionaries resonated with these individuals, who pursued Protestantism as a definition for their own social, religious

and/or political identity. However, the racial and gendered inequalities that underlined the ABCFM missionaries' definitions of Protestantism limited the roles available to Syrians within this new community.¹² Although often marginalised within the community,



SYRIAN PROTESTANT GROUP, 1863
Back Row (beginning at left): Khalil Rubaiz, M. Musully, K. Mejdely, S. Sarkis, R. Ata, H. H. Jessup.
Front Row: Tanoos Haddad, E. Fuaz, R. Konawaty, Nofel Nofel.

this did not silence Syrian Protestants for contestations against the consolidation of power by the male ABCFM missionaries and the normative definitions of Protestantism were articulated throughout the period under review. Thus, it is necessary to separate Syrian Protestants into small sub-groups, in order to determine their position within the Protestant Circle and the varying ways that they engaged with the normative terms of Protestantism.

¹² Ussama Makdisi, 'Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity', *The American Historical Review*, 102:3 (1997): 683.

Some Syrian Protestant men functioned as ‘Native Assistants’ to the Syrian Station and were highly regarded within the Protestant Circle. These men linked the ABCFM missionaries to other Syrians, particularly through their work as preachers, teachers, book distributors and translators, for which they occasionally received payment from the ABCFM. Native Assistants also created and participated in many of the institutions that defined the Protestant Circle, such as the Mission Press, which relocated from Malta to Beirut in 1834,¹³ and *al-Jam`iyya al-Sūriyya li-Iktisāb al-`Ulūm wa al-Funūn* (The Syrian Society for the Acquisition of Sciences and Arts), which was a literary and scientific salon that ran from 1847-1852.¹⁴ The Native Assistants were key figures in organising and administering the ECB (f. 1847) and were fundamental in translating Protestantism to other Syrians.¹⁵ While the ABCFM missionaries maintained a supervisory position over Syrian ‘presbyters’, the ECB was recognised as a separate entity from the ABCFM’s Mission Church by 1850, for it focused upon Arabic-language services, while the Mission Church provided English services.¹⁶ Thus, Native Assistants formed an elite amongst Syrian Protestants, but were marginalised by the ABCFM male missionaries away from the central most position within the Circle.

Syrian Protestant children can be identified as another group within the Protestant Circle. These were either the children of Protestant parents (or one parent), or the children of non-Protestants who were educated by the ABCFM missionaries. Most of the boys in this group studied at the Protestant Seminary, which was first located in Beirut, but relocated to Abeih in 1846. The girls (who will be referred to as

¹³ Anderson, *HM: I*: 230. For more information on the functioning of the press during the 1850s see *MSM*: 24-28

¹⁴ A list of this group’s members is printed in Appendix II:B. Butrus al-Bustani, *Al-Jam`iyah al-Suriyah lil-`Ulum wa-al-Funun, 1847-1852* (Beirut: Dar al-Hamra, 1990); Edward E. Salisbury, ‘II. Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 3 (1853): 477-486. Also see Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*: 194-196; Sheehi, ‘Inscribing the Arab Self’: 7-10; Stephen Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004): 17.

¹⁵ *MH* (1848): 266-270; Wortabet, *RRS*: 402-421.

¹⁶ Eli Smith, ‘Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird’ (Beirut, 27 November 1850): *YDS*: ES Box 6: Folder 10; Wortabet, *RRS*: 404-405; Robinson and Smith, *BR: III*: 26.

'young' women) were often 'adopted' boarding students who lived in the homes of the missionaries or studied at the Female Boarding School or Female Seminary, which was first organised by Henry and Catherine DeForest in 1849.¹⁷ Due to their formal and informal education, Syrian Protestant children, both male and female, acquired high levels of Protestant capital, which included a secular, academic knowledge. When compared to missionary children however, Syrian Protestant children had to repeatedly demonstrate their Protestant religious commitment, reflecting the inequality based upon race that plagued the Protestant Circle.¹⁸ Noticeably, it was often with the Syrian Protestant children (when they were adults) that alternatives and challenges to the ABCFM were articulated and pursued. During the period under review however, the social and familial networks of Syrian Protestant children focused upon the Protestant Circle.

Often positioned beyond Syrian Protestant children in this stratification were the Syrian Protestant women who converted to Protestantism as adults. These women either joined the Circle after the conversion of their husbands or sons, or were employed by the Protestants, often as maids. As members of the Protestant Circle, these women participated in church activities, assisted in educational services and occasionally resided in the households of the ABCFM missionaries. It appears that many of the normative characteristics for Protestantism that were articulated by the Protestant elite were more difficult for these women to embody and as a result, they were often relegated to marginal positions within the Circle.

Beirut served as the geographic focus for the Protestant Circle, so that the Syrian Protestants who lived outside of this city were often designated to peripheral positions within the Protestant Circle. Nonetheless, a number of residents on Mount Lebanon voiced their desire to become Protestants, particularly during the 1840s and 1850. This

¹⁷ *MH* (1846): 83-84; Elshakry, 'The Gospel of Science': 183-189.

¹⁸ For example see the biography of Lulu Araman written by Catherine DeForest in Jessup, WA: 88-90.

allowed for Protestant communities to be found in Abeih, Hasbaya, Sidon, Bhamdoun, Kfarchima, Rashiya, Ibel, Khizem, Souq al-Gharb, Alma, Homs and Duma by 1860. This geographic distance reflected a social and cultural distance that separated these converts from the residents of Beirut, particularly the ABCFM missionaries and elite Syrian Protestants. For example, some of the Syrian Protestants on Mount Lebanon sought affiliations with the ABCFM missionaries and Native Assistants during periods of war. The ABCFM missionaries questioned the integrity of these conversions so that the converts were forced to repeatedly prove their Protestant commitment. Proof of commitment included membership of the ECB, which was granted to the few, who, after a rigorous evaluation process conducted by the ABCFM missionaries and Native Assistants, 'properly' performed the Protestantism outlined in the ECB constitution.¹⁹ As a result, the number of the Syrians who proclaimed to be Protestants outnumbered those actually admitted as members to the ECB and officially recognised as Protestants.²⁰ This inconsistency represented an important challenge to the ABCFM missionaries' control over Protestantism in Syria.

The Syrians who associated with the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants, but rejected the Protestant faith, are regarded as being along the edges of the Protestant Circle. These were members of the economic and political elite of Mount Lebanon, including the Druze and Maronite *muqata'jīyyah* and the Ottoman officials who resided in Beirut. Despite their differences in faith, some of these individuals befriended the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants, called upon the ABCFM missionary doctors, invited the Protestants to celebrate marriages and occasionally sent their children to Protestant schools.²¹ Such individuals were considered by the Protestants as enlightened and modern, but not evangelical, thus justifying their peripheral position along the Protestant Circle.

¹⁹ Bliss, *RDS*: 131-132. The full constitution was printed in Wortabet, *RRS*: 402-413 and found in Appendix V. An edited version was reproduced in *MH* (1848): 266-270.

²⁰ Wortabet, *RRS*: 413.

²¹ e.g. DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842).

Likewise, non-Protestant Syrian employees of the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants were also located along the periphery of the Circle. While some hired help converted to Protestantism and became active members of the community, most employees maintained commitments to their original churches, families and social customs.²² Their inclusion in the Protestant Circle is due to their knowledge of Protestant culture and their ability to assist the Protestants in performing their various activities. For example, non-Protestant employees often participated in Protestant ceremonies, prepared appropriate foods and ensured that Protestant homes were suitably cleaned and arranged.²³ In addition, the protégée system operating in the Ottoman Empire allowed for the employees of 'Franks' to be regarded as members of the foreigner's household and receive diplomatic protection by the employer's government. Providing this protection was important, since working for the Protestants occasionally ignited negative reactions against the Syrian employees from their families and religious communities.²⁴

Certain groups were excluded from the Protestant Circle during the period of 1823 to 1860. The ABCFM missionaries and some Syrian Protestants argued that the culture, as well as religion, of Roman Catholic missionaries was antagonistic to Protestant endeavours, despite the comparable emphasis on literacy and personal conversion.²⁵ Similarly, many of the leaders and congregants of the Maronite, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches, including the *'abidāt*, were regarded as different from the Protestants. The ABCFM also argued that the culture of heterodox Protestant missionaries, like the Mormons, was inherently different from their own and they were not included within the Circle. Another group who were positioned outside the Protestant community were the 'Levantines'. These were the European, American

²² e.g. Hooker, *MSLS*: 277.

²³ Hooker, *MSLS*: 276-278.

²⁴ *MH* (1828): 48; Salt, 'Trouble Wherever They Went': 153-154.

²⁵ The ABCFM's relationship with Latin missionaries was examined in Murre-van den Berg, 'Simply by Giving to Them Macaroni': 63-80.

and Syrian merchants, who resided in Beirut and other port cities, and engaged in secular and 'debased' activities.²⁶ Lastly, heterodox Muslims were also excluded from the Protestant Circle. Due to the difficulties faced by the ABCFM missionaries in the Middle East stemming from the Ottoman prohibition against apostasy from Islam, especially Sunni Islam, the ABCFM narrowed their focus onto witnessing to the Christian and occasionally Druze and Jewish residents of the region soon after their arrival.²⁷ As a result, most of the Protestants' Muslim neighbours were not regularly engaged with and function as a silenced group within the history of Protestantism in Ottoman Syria.

Identifying these groups and their position within or excluded from the Protestant Circle is an essential starting point for analysing this community. Subsequent sections will examine how this structuring was manifested in the lives of these different individuals and at specific locations within Ottoman Syria.

LOCATING THE CIRCLE

Beirut was the geographic centre of the Protestant Circle, for it was at this location that many Protestants resided and where their important institutions were located or originated.²⁸ This section examines the Protestants' relationship with Beirut, exploring how the emergence of Beirut as the prominent port city of the region, allowed for the development of the Protestant Circle.

Although a shift in focus by Syrians towards Beirut commenced in the eighteenth century, when a number of Aleppine Christians established convents on

²⁶ For more on Levantines see Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World*: 385; Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 252; Makdisi, 'Reclaiming the Land of the Bible': 694.

²⁷ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1830); ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut 1835).

²⁸ Two exceptions were the (male) Seminary, which was moved from Beirut to Abeih in 1847 and the Female Seminary, which moved from Beirut to Souq el-Gharb in 1856. However, both were founded in Beirut and continued to maintain a strong link to this city.

Mount Lebanon, it was during the Egyptian occupation of the 1830s that Beirut became the political and economic focus of the Syrian region. Internal immigration to this location expanded during the 1840s and 1850s, when many Syrians pursued the new social, political and economic opportunities that arose at this location, particularly those connected to Ottoman and European imperial interests, such as merchants, dragomen and government administrators. Although war forced some to flee to this city, the choice of permanent resettlement in Beirut, instead of Damascus, Acre, Sidon or Aleppo, resulted from Syrians' belief that Beirut offered the best opportunities for their social, political and/or economic development.

In contrast, the selection of Beirut by the ABCFM missionaries, as a base for their Syrian Station, was a somewhat haphazard choice. The 'Near East mission' was originally planned for Palestine, but was quickly reconsidered due to a number of factors. The aim of the ABCFM was to target all 'who are destitute of the knowledge of Christianity'.²⁹ As a result, the exploratory travels of Pliny Fisk, Levi Parsons and Jonas King reached beyond Palestine and included Malta, Alexandria, Cairo, Jerusalem, Smyrna, the Greek Islands, as well as Beirut and Mount Lebanon.³⁰ It was from these explorations, and upon the advice of the British CMS and LJS, that Beirut was chosen, in 1823, as the most advantageous location for the settlement of Bird and Goodell.³¹ Other justifications for this choice were Beirut's favourable climate and its being the residency of the then British Consul, Peter Abbott, who served as the diplomatic representative for all British and American residents in Syria from 1822-1834.³²

²⁹ Anderson, *HM*: viii.

³⁰ Anderson, *HM*: 9-24.

³¹ Anderson, *HM*: 40.

³² Anderson, *HM*: 40-41.

Once Beirut became the central location for the Syrian Station, buildings were needed to conduct evangelical work and for the residences of the new missionaries. During the 1820s, land and buildings throughout the Ottoman Empire could not be purchased by foreigners.³³ Instead, property was rented through Ottoman subjects for extended periods of times.³⁴ Being a new group within the region, the ABCFM was limited in both the individuals to employ as brokers and the buildings to rent. Despite these difficulties, both Goodell and Bird secured two different houses outside of Beirut's city walls by the late 1820s. It appears that the Goodells' house was in the eastern suburbs, while the Birds' house was located to the south of *Bab Ya'qoub* (Jacob's gate). Although neither information on the original brokers, nor the owners of these buildings has been found within the missionary sources, it appears that the ABCFM's connection



to the Birds' house commenced before 1825, for it was in the adjacent garden that the body of Pliny Fisk was buried.³⁵ Both of these houses may have been originally 'depots, workshops or watchmen's houses', which were scattered around Beirut's suburban

³³ Bodenstein, 'The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat': 60.

³⁴ An analysis on how this was negotiated by Europeans in Cyrus was presented in Aymes, 'The Port-City in the Fields'.

³⁵ n.s., *Cemetery Record: American Presbyterian Mission* (Beirut, Syria: n.s., 1903): AUB Library Archives

plantations.³⁶ Although the Bird family temporarily relocated to the Goodell house in 1831,³⁷ it was the Bird family's original house that became known as 'Burj Bird' (the tower of Bird) or the 'Mission House', which affirms its original function as a garden watchtower and its new role as the central space for the Protestant Circle.³⁸

Subsequent rent renewals for these properties reinforced the development of the Protestant Circle and reveals Syrian customs on property 'ownership'. In 1831, two notes were logged in the British consular records. On 1 February, Gabriel Chasseaud, 'deemed it *necessary* to take into the service of this our consulate, Tannous El Haddad, to take [illegible word: possession of] the Protestant Burying Ground and adjoining premises, and [I] do hereby [illegible word: grant] him to that change.'³⁹ The following day it was recorded in Arabic and translated into English, that:

[t]he above is the personal declaration of Tannoos el Haddad [*sic*] purchaser of a place consisting of a house and garden in this vicinity called Beit Mikdash, which declaration shows that the said purchase was not for his own benefit but for that of the Rev. Isaac Bird, his heirs and assigns or successors, with whose money the said purchase was made.⁴⁰

This 'deed' for Burj Bird was reissued in 1844, when Tannous al-Haddad repeated his role as broker for 'Mr. Bird "The American"', while Butrus al-Bustani and Elias Fuaz served as witnesses.⁴¹ By the mid-1840s, these three men were the most important Native Assistants at the station, while Burj Bird continued to be the focus of the

³⁶ Bodenstein, 'The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat': 40.

³⁷ It is unclear why, after a short stay in Malta, the Birds stayed in the Goodells' old house and not *Burj Bird*. *MH* (1831): 148.

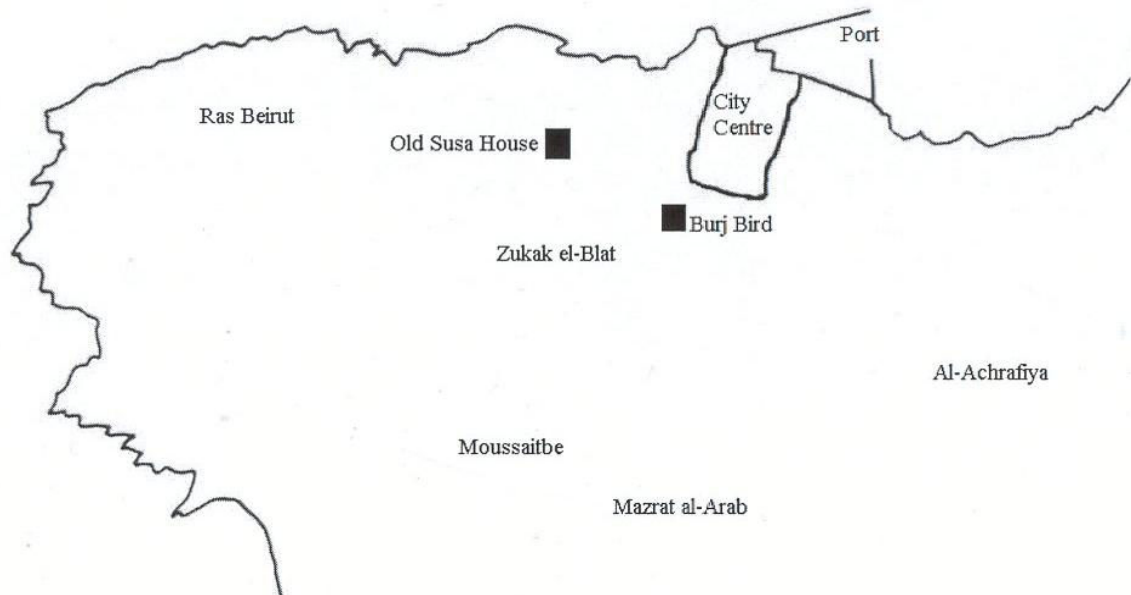
³⁸ Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*: 45; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 18 January 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 16; Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*: 91.

³⁹ Emphasis in original. Gabriel Chasseaud, 'Entry in Record' (Beirut: 1 February 1831): [British] PRO: FO 616/1. Although not verified, the 'necessity' for this purchase may have been the arrival of the Egyptian army and the fear that Muhammad Ali would confiscate this property.

⁴⁰ Gabriel Chasseaud, 'Registration of deed and transfer of deed for Beit Mikdash' (Beirut: 2 February 1831): [British] PRO: FO 616/1. It can be inferred from the context that 'Beit Mikdah' refers to the space of the Mission House.

⁴¹ n.s., 'Deed of Tannous el-Haddad for Mission House and Garden' (n.s., 19 April 1844): HHL: ABC 8.2.17, Box 4, Folder 26.

Protestant Circle, for, by this time, it included spaces for the Mission Press, common schools, boys and later girls' boarding schools, and a chapel.



The 'Old Susa House' was another important location for the Protestant Circle in Beirut, or more accurately, its suburbs. This house was located to the west of the city centre, near Ras Beirut and was owned by the wealthy Susa family, whose land is more commonly associated with the *Zoqāq el-Blāt* area.⁴² The 'Old Susa House' was the residency for various missionary households, including the Eli-Sarah Smith family in 1835 and the Eli-Hetty Smith family in the early 1850s.⁴³ This was also the location of the Mission Press, before it was moved to Burj Bird.⁴⁴ While the 'Old Susa House' was

⁴² The exact location of this house is unclear, but I disagree with those who argue that it is the 'Abdallah Soussa House', which was the home of Henry Harris Jessup during the late nineteenth century and is currently located near the Patriarchal School. Ralph Bodenstein, *et al.* 'Walking Through Zokak el-Blat: A Rhythmanalysis of the Quarter', in Gebhardt, *HSSCB*: 29. Other properties owned by the Susa family were rented by the ABCFM missionaries and British consuls throughout the nineteenth century. Bodenstein, *et al.*, 'Walking Through Zokak el-Blat': 29.

⁴³ Hooker, *MSLS*: 180-181; Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird'. The first name of this woman is unclear. Some sources label her 'Henrietta', while others call her 'Mehitable' (Yale Divinity School, Harvard Houghton Library). She is most frequently regarded as 'Hetty', the name she employed for herself, which is used throughout this thesis.

⁴⁴ Hooker, *MSLS*: 182; Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird'.

about a mile from the Mission House,⁴⁵ it was close to the American consulate at 'Feteipah's house'.⁴⁶ Like Burj Bird, the original agreement between Susa and the ABCFM missionaries is unknown, although the contract for this house continued after the death of Old Susa in 1838.⁴⁷

Locating these residences is important for it grants insight onto the development of Protestantism within the changing layout of this city. The scattering of missionary homes around Beirut suggests that the ABCFM could not find space within the established city centre when they first arrived in 1823. Rather, the only available spaces were those in the still underdeveloped suburbs. This may have resulted from the shifting classification of the land outside of Beirut's walls, as either *milk* (private) or *miri* (public) property. Although suburban areas outside other cities were often considered *milk*, agricultural land was generally regarded as *miri* and its use subject to confiscation and regulation by the Porte and local officials.⁴⁸ The latter appears to be the case of Beirut's suburbs during the early nineteenth century, so that, until the land reforms of the 1850s and 1860s, renting to foreigners, or others with (perceived) political leverage, may have been a way for Syrian homeowners to decrease the risk of their extra mural investment in lands still considered *miri*.⁴⁹

The Protestants often conflated the spaces within these homes to conduct domestic, religious and educational activities. Although emphasising their initial marginality in Beirut, this conflation of space nevertheless resonated with the ABCFM missionaries' views of evangelism. In contrast to some Latin and earlier ABCFM

⁴⁵ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 16; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Brothers and Sisters' (n.s., Early February 1850): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20.

⁴⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird'. No further information is available on this house or its owner.

⁴⁷ William M. Thomson, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 28 December [1838]): HHL: ABC 60 (83); John William DeForest, *Oriental Acquaintance; or, Letters from Syria* (New York: Miller and Holman, 1856): 41-42, 56-58.

⁴⁸ Meier, 'Waqf Only in Name, Not in Essence': 204.

⁴⁹ Hanssen, 'From Social Status to Intellectual Activity': 62-63.

missionaries, particularly Jonas King, who overtly challenged Syrian ecclesiastical leaders through writing polemics,⁵⁰ most ABCFM missionaries were careful not to incite 'jealousy' from their Syrian neighbours.⁵¹ Instead of building imposing church structures, the Protestants used rooms within their houses for religious worship. They were also cautious of ringing bells and promised to do so only in a manner that 'would not interfere with [Muslim] hours of prayers, if we could help it'.⁵² It was only in 1858 that a free-standing Protestant church was built, not in Beirut, but in Alma, a small village on Mount Lebanon. This relatively small, 'simple, unadorned structure' replaced the 'private house' that was previously used for religious worship, 'where, as the one room was appropriated in part as a stall for animals, the lowing of cattle was often mingled with the accents of devotion'.⁵³

Another way that jealousy and persecution was avoided was through appropriating Syrian customs in the Protestants' use of these multifunctional buildings. For example, the Protestants separated sacred space by gender, for as Gregory Wortabet recognised:

[t]his being the custom of the land for ages, the missionaries have not thought fit to trespass upon it, but have adapted themselves to the customs, and hence you will see on entering a Protestant church in this part of the country, a division by a red screen, which separates the sexes.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ These include the 'Farewell Letter of Jonas King to his friends in Syria, in 1825' and 'Mr. Bird's Reply to the Maronite Bishop of Beirut', both of which were translated into Arabic by the Mission Press. Anderson, *HM*: 514. Jonas King, *The Oriental Church, and the Latin* (New York: John A. Gray and Green, 1865): 1-93.

⁵¹ Some incidents of persecution did occur and are described in Salt, 'Trouble Wherever They Went': 143-166; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*.

⁵² Henry Harris Jessup, 'Journal from June 23 to July 6, 1858' (Tripoli, June/July 1858): YDS: HHJ Box 1: Folder 5; Henry Harris Jessup, 'Letter to Brother Sammy' (Tripoli, 7 May 1858): YDS: HHJ Box 1: Folder 5; Wortabet, *SS: II*: 4. Compare with the Jesuit's bell ringing in Beirut, which was silenced by the Ottoman authorities. Smith, 'The Papal Sects of Syria'.

⁵³ The new building measured thirty two by twenty two feet. *MH* (1859): 76-77.

⁵⁴ Wortabet, *SS: II*: 2; Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar*: 293.

Renovations to the chapel in the basement of the Mission House maintained this gendered division through replacing a dividing wall with the screen described by Wortabet, which functioned like the trellised panel found in other churches.⁵⁵ Different from some Syrian churches however, the Protestants did not relegate women to a separate, overhead gallery, for the space for Protestant women's worship was adjacent to the area for men.⁵⁶

The Protestants' suburban location also resonated with their views of health. Many Protestants' believed that exercise and access to fresh air and water encouraged good health.⁵⁷ Morning walks in gardens, excursions upon Ras Beirut and horse rides along the seaside provided this fresh air.⁵⁸ The healthful benefits of the suburbs contrasted the 'narrow' and 'dirty' environment located in the city walls.⁵⁹ In addition, it was hoped that houses rented at high locations, like the 'Old Susa house', would counter the dangerous effects of the hot 'sirocco winds'.⁶⁰ If suburban houses were not successful in this objective, seasonal removal to Mount Lebanon was also feasible from the Protestants' homes around Beirut.

Noticeably, the areas surrounding the Protestant's multifunctional residencies underwent significant transformation during this period and became important hubs of economic and social activity by the mid-nineteenth century. For example, the first paved street in Beirut's suburbs, *zoqāq el-blāṭ* (the cobbled lane), was located near the central Mission House. This street was paved during the Egyptian occupation and

⁵⁵ Wortabet, *SS: II: 2*.

⁵⁶ Wortabet., *SS: II: 2*.

⁵⁷ DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s.: 1842): 550B-562. Eli Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Bhamdoun: 14 August 1834): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 3; Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (Beirut, August 1845): YDS: ES Box 3: Folder 111.

⁵⁸ Hooker, *MSLS: 182*; Henrietta Smith, 'Fragment Letter' (n.s., [late] 1850): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20; Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (Beirut, 11 June 1856): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 12.

⁵⁹ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (n.s., 23 April [1852]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 22; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 January 1849): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 19; Hooker, *MSLS: 182-183*.

⁶⁰ Hooker, *MSLS: 181*; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 11 May 1857): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17.

illuminates the importance of this area within the changing patterns of trade and population resettlement, for paving a road eased and encouraged the movement of both goods and people.⁶¹ However, the location of the Protestants' residences distanced them from other groups that also emerged in Beirut during this period. The Protestants' buildings were removed from the Levantine merchants, who were concentrated near the port, as well as the Latin missionaries, who worked at their churches throughout the city. This geographic distance reinforced the social and cultural differences that marked these groups within the dynamic environment of mid-century Beirut.⁶²

However, the development of Beirut granted the ABCFM missionaries access to items that they perceived to be essential for their daily living and evangelical work. During the early years of the Syrian Station, the missionaries were recommended to bring with them all necessary items, for it was difficult to purchase these goods in Syria or have them shipped from the United States.⁶³ Trade routes to Beirut became increasingly standardised as the century unfolded, which made it easier for the missionaries to procure goods from the United States. This allowed Hetty Smith to repeatedly ask her family to send desired objects, such as certain foods and clothing,⁶⁴ while other missionaries placed orders for scientific apparatus from American catalogues.⁶⁵ As a result, a specific, but hybrid culture developed amongst the Protestants, which reflected their emergence within this dynamic port city.

⁶¹ Bodenstein, 'The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat': 37-41.

⁶² Davie, *Beyrouth*: 24.

⁶³ Beadle, 'Letter concerning books'; Elias R. Beadle, 'Letter to the Brethren Who Shall Be Designated to Aleppo' (Aleppo, 22 May 1841): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 147-148; Smith, 'Letter to Rebecca Williams'; Elias R. Beadle, 'Letter to Rev. and Sir' (Beirut, 3 November 1839): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 121-124.

⁶⁴ e.g. Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 8 May 1850): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20; Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 8 May 1850); Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (20 February 1847); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister: attached to Eli Smith's letter to Brother' (Bhamdoun, 29 June 1849): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 7; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 11 March 1848): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 18.

⁶⁵ Beadle, 'Letter concerning books'.

PROTESTANT CAPITAL

The circular distribution of members within the Protestant Circle, which was described in the first section of this chapter, was based up personal acquisition and performance of Protestant capital. During the period of 1823 to 1860, the normative terms for Protestantism were defined by the male ABCFM missionaries, which reflected and reinforced their central position within the community. This section analyses how these normative terms were defined through dividing Protestantism into three forms of capital: social, cultural and religious capital. Although some attributes overlapped, maintaining these divisions is important for it reveals the ways that the male missionaries sought to control and regulate how Protestantism developed as well as the alternatives and subversions that also emerged, which will be discussed in the final section of this chapter. These challenges were often reactions to the racial and gendered inequalities that were inherent to the male missionaries' definition of Protestantism, so that this analysis will also consider the racial dimensions of normative Protestantism, with the gendering of the Circle discussed in chapters four and five.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is defined as an 'investment in social relationships with expected returns in the market place.'⁶⁶ Social capital for the Protestant Circle in Ottoman Syria modifies this definition slightly, for it pertains to individual investment in the relationships that formed and reinforced the Protestant community. This section investigates the different channels through which Protestants interacted with each other, in order to create this new social-religious identity and delineate the boundaries of the community. These

⁶⁶ Lin, *Social Capital*: 19.

avenues included letter writing, conducting visitations and attending Protestant ceremonies, such as religious worship, school examinations and other celebrations.

The exchange of letters was an important medium through which members of the Protestant Circle constructed and strengthened their community. The use of letters to convey information was not a new concept introduced by the ABCFM missionaries to Ottoman Syria.⁶⁷ Rather, the novelty of the Protestants' letter writing resided in their wide-spread use of letters, for written correspondences were exchanged by most members of the Circle, not just its elite members. This also highlights the importance of literacy to this group, which will be examined below.

Written correspondences linked Protestants to those who resided at different locations within Syria, those on pilgrimage and members of different households within a city.⁶⁸ The ABCFM missionaries and many Syrian Protestants used letters to register complaints with the American and British consuls in Syria as well as Ottoman officials, particularly when the Protestants felt that their political or religious freedoms were under threat.⁶⁹ During the 1840s and 1850s, European, Ottoman and American postal services expanded in the region, which eased the exchange of written communication between the Protestants in Syria and their colleagues in Europe and America.⁷⁰ For example, letters from the missionaries to the Prudential Committee in Boston were increasingly sent on a more regular and frequent basis, which allowed the ABCFM to better monitor the work of its missionaries and the development of the

⁶⁷ Compare with the use of letters to by Latin missionaries and the *'abidāt*. Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 421-443. An interesting criticism against female education in Syria was the fear that women would 'write letters'. Jessup, *WA*: 17.

⁶⁸ Butrus al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Abeih, 27 June 1853): HHL: ABC 60 (12); Rahil al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., n.d.): HHL: ABC 60 (12); Jasper Chasseaud, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 5 October 1841): HHL: ABC 60 (15); Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (Beirut, 11 June 1856).

⁶⁹ William M. Thomson, 'Letter to Solyman Pasha' (Beirut, 1 July 1840): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 361-362; Hanssen, 'Practices of Integration-Centre-Periphery Relations': 61-63.

⁷⁰ *MH* (1856): 56-57.

Protestant community.⁷¹ The ABCFM missionaries also maintained regular correspondences with family and friends in the United States in order to alleviate homesickness, place orders for American goods, ascertain information (and gossip) on events in the United States, and secure guardianship of returned missionary children.⁷² It was through letters that greetings and 'salaams' were sent from friends in Syria to missionaries on furlough or those returned to the United States.⁷³ The ABCFM missionaries also wrote to churches and other organisations in the United States, asking for prayers and financial assistance to support specific projects, and encourage others to pursue missionary careers.⁷⁴

Visitations were other channels through which the Protestant Circle was created and strengthened.⁷⁵ Daytime and evening visitations were customs already practiced in Syria, when information was exchanged and friendships forged.⁷⁶ The Protestants, particularly the ABCFM missionaries, used such occasions for evangelical purposes and discuss religious doctrines.⁷⁷ Both missionaries and Syrians visited the residences of colleagues and family members during their travels around the region. This often occurred without prior notice, which prompted a quick reshuffling of daily activities and sleeping arrangements, but was important in maintaining or renewing amiable and familial bonds.⁷⁸

⁷¹ Badr, 'American Protestant Missionary Beginnings': 223-239.

⁷² Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut: 18 January 1847).

⁷³ Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., 9 September 1845): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

⁷⁴ Sarah Smith quoted in Jessup, WA: 128-131; Smith, 'Letter to Rebecca Williams' (Beirut, 13 May 1834).

⁷⁵ The Jesuits also conducted 'door-to-door' campaigns during their missionary activities in eighteenth century Aleppo. Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free': 425.

⁷⁶ Leila Hudson, 'Networks: The Ottoman Empire', in: S. Joseph, (ed.), *EWIC: II: Family, Law and Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 530.

⁷⁷ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*: 108; Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 18 January 1847); Henry DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850), in: J. Yazigy, 'American Presbyterian Mission Schools in Lebanon' (M.A. Thesis) (Beirut: University of Beirut, 1964): 138-142.

⁷⁸ Bliss, *RDS*: 127-128; Robinson and Smith, *BR*: 461; Wortabet, *SS: I*: 140, 310.

Special ceremonies were important events in which individuals interacted and asserted their connection to the Protestant Circle. These included public examinations, which were held at the end of school terms. Attendance at such events brought to light those who supported the Protestants' definition of culture by sending their children to receive a Protestant education.⁷⁹ By the late 1850s, public examinations became 'semi-annual' events that were attended by 'one hundred and fifty spectators, among them the Turkish governor'.⁸⁰ This rise in popularity did not reflect an elevation in conversion rates, but rather, the increased acceptance of the Protestants' educational activities amongst Syrians.

More frequently, Protestants were brought together through the celebration of religious worship.⁸¹ Due to the limited availability of space, these services were conducted within Protestant homes until the late 1850s. For example, Sabbath services in Beirut were held at the British, and later at the American consul's house for English speaking Protestants, while Arabic speakers worshipped at Tannous al-Haddad's home or at the chapel in the Mission House.⁸² Daily prayer and evening convocations were also organised at various locations around the city.⁸³ As these homes were not easily recognised ecclesiastical structures, individuals had to gain previous knowledge of the houses' dual function, as well as the time and language of the worship, in order to participate. While hosting such events revealed the 'homeowner's' commitment to the Protestant Circle, entering and exiting from these church-houses also allowed neighbours to see which individuals interacted with the Protestants and participated in these services.

Baptisms were particularly important occasions where individuals displayed their commitment to this new social and religious community. All churches in Syria

⁷⁹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 181.

⁸⁰ *MH* (1857): 147-148; *MH* (1859): 137.

⁸¹ *MH* (1859): 76-78.

⁸² *MH* (1836): 419; Hooker, *MSLS*: 133; Samuel Wolcott, 'Letter to Sir' (n.s., 9 May 1840): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 341.

⁸³ For example see Hooker, *MSLS*: 129, 182, 215-216, 277-278.

recorded baptisms, marriages, deaths and burials in order to verify the numbers and activities of their congregants.⁸⁴ Documenting a baptism indicated that a 'child ha[d] been admitted within the pale of the Church, and in the case of any untoward event, would be entitled to Christian burial.'⁸⁵ Baptising a child into a specific church marked the child as a member of that Christian community, which affected the political protection and social support given to the child (and possibly his/her parents). This was particularly important as Christian communities in Syria became increasingly distinct from each other during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Baptising a child into the Mission Church or the ECB was also an important event for the parents to affirm their commitment to the Protestant Circle.⁸⁶ Protestant baptismal ceremonies were often conducted when a large congregation could be gathered to both witness the event and hear the Protestants' message.⁸⁷ For example, nearly a hundred 'sympathizing friends chiefly natives' witnessed the baptism of Charlie Smith, which was held in conjunction with his mother's funeral. At this ceremony, Eli Smith pledged to raise his now motherless child in the Protestant community with the help of other Protestants.⁸⁸ Likewise, Dionysius Carabet reinforced his conversion through baptising one of his children on Christmas day in 1826, while the baptism of Protestants in Alma was celebrated as part of the inauguration

⁸⁴ Wortabet, *RRS*: 405. The constraints of analysing baptismal records in Syria are investigated in Patricia Mihaly Nabti, 'Gendering Sources in Ethnohistorical Research: The Study of Emigration from a Lebanese Village', in: A. Sonbol, (ed.), *Beyond the Exotic: Women's History in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005): 53-68.

⁸⁵ Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 235

⁸⁶ Eli Smith, 'Baptism Note' (n.s., n.d.): HHL: ABC 60 (126). The Protestant Baptismal ceremony was based upon the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. See 'The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants', 'The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children' and 'The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years', in: n.s., *The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church* (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1790).

⁸⁷ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 9 September 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17.

⁸⁸ Eli Smith, 'Letter to Parents' (Beirut, 30 May 1842): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 6.

ceremonies for their church building in 1858.⁸⁹ These were all important ceremonies where the parents displayed their own Protestant commitment through promising to raise the child within the Protestant Church.

The name chosen to christen a child emphasised the parent's commitment to the Protestant Circle.⁹⁰ Tannous and Im Beshera al-Haddad as well as Rahil and Butrus al-Bustani named their daughters after the missionary Sarah Smith. In a similar manner, Catherine and Henry DeForest inspired Lulu and Michael Araman to name their children Katie and Henry. Thus, baptisms were publicly attended ceremonies where the parents exhibited their own affiliations to the Protestant Circle and when the entire community prayed that the christened child would grow to share this commitment.

Weddings were other celebrations that reinforced the Protestant Circle. Most of the ABCFM missionaries married other Americans either before their original departure or during furlough in the United States. Appendix I shows that some missionaries were also united on the mission field, such as Storey Hebard and Rebecca Williams and Edward Aiken and Sarah Cheney.⁹¹ Regardless of where missionary weddings were celebrated, these marriages united individuals who felt independently called to mission work and resulted in the missionaries' physical separation from their

⁸⁹ *MH* (1827): 111; *MH* (1859): 77; *MH* (1838): 475. It appears that the ABCFM missionaries minimised their celebrations of religious feast, such as Easter and Christmas, which were only marked with passing reference in letters. This may have been a way to contrast their Christianity to that practiced in Syria, where religious feasts and fasts were important aspects of Christian spirituality. The occasions when Protestant baptisms coincide with religious holidays, such as Christmas, were for Syrian Protestant children and non-ABCFM Protestants, like Chasseaud families. Gabriel Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for Adelaide Charlotte Abbott' (Beirut, 25 December 1830): [British] PRO: FO 616/1; Gabriel Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for William Peter Augustus Chasseaud' (Beirut, 25 December 1830): [British] PRO: FO 616/1; Gabriel Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for Alfred Augustus Barker Chasseaud' (Beirut, 8 January 1832): [British] PRO: FO 616/1.

⁹⁰ Naming was part of 'The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants', 'The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children' of the n.s., *The Book of Common Prayer*.

⁹¹ Samuel H. Williams, 'Rebecca Williams Hebard of Lebanon, Connecticut: Missionary in Beirut, Syria and to the Druze of Mount Lebanon, 1835-1840' (n.s., 1950): 12.

biological families in the United States. The bonds that formed within the Protestant Circle can thus be regarded as replacements to this loss of biological-familial support.⁹²

Most Syrian Protestants married other Syrians who were members of the Protestant Circle. These marriages marked the persons' rejection of previous familial and religious commitments, but reinforced the links within the Protestant Circle.⁹³ For example, Rahil Ata refused a marriage proposal arranged by her family, which resulted in her severing ties with her biological family.⁹⁴ A few years later, Rahil wed Butrus al-Bustani, a Syrian Protestant with a Maronite background.

Marriages united other members of the Protestant Circle. The ABCFM missionary William Thomson wed Maria Abbott, the widow of Peter Abbott. One of Maria's daughters, Julia, married the ABCFM missionary Cornelius Van Dyck, while another, Eliza, wed the Protestant British merchant, James Black.

While these marriages tightened the 'kinship' bonds within the Protestant Circle, a noticeable divide, based upon race, affected matrimonial choice. Before 1860, Americans married other Americans, or Europeans, while Syrians married other Syrians. The sources do not reveal how the one exception to this norm, the marriage between Hannie Wortabet and Henry Reichardt, a German missionary, was perceived by the ABCFM missionaries and their Protestant colleagues, in light of this custom.⁹⁵

The ceremonies performed for American Protestant weddings in Syria upheld American traditions and were 'in the form of the established Church of England' which employed the vows of the Anglican (Episcopal) *Book of Common Prayer*.⁹⁶ Less

⁹² See Hooker, *MSLS*: 53, 57.

⁹³ *MH* (1827): 19.

⁹⁴ *MH* (1843): 282-284.

⁹⁵ For an analysis on how marriage and conversion continued to affect Christian communities in the Levant see Willy Jansen, 'Conversion, Marriage, and Gender: Jordanians and the Christian Mission', *Swedish Missiological Themes* (2004): 99-122.

⁹⁶ Gabriel Chasseaud, 'Register of Marriage between Fredrick Catherwood Esq. and Gertrude Abbott' (Beirut: 5 March 1834): [British] PRO: FO 616/2. Compare 'The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony', n.s., *The Book of Common Prayer* with and Eli Smith, 'Marriage Note' (n.s., n.d.): HHL: ABC 60 (126).

information is available on the type of ceremonies conducted for Syrian Protestant weddings. While Syrian marriage customs were criticised by the ABCFM missionaries as being ornate and excessive,⁹⁷ it is unclear if Syrian Protestants also rejected the manifold activities that composed Syrian wedding celebrations.⁹⁸ In 1851, Hetty Smith noted that two unnamed Syrian Protestants wished to be 'married after our fashion out here', for which she 'prepared a cake and lemonade; [while the groom] sent in Arab sweetmeats and we had quite a time.'⁹⁹ Although Hetty's description marked this hybrid ceremony as exceptional, it can be assumed that other Syrian Protestants modified their wedding ceremonies in order to accommodate for the different facets of their identity: Protestant, Syrian Maronite, Armenian, Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic. Marriages and wedding ceremonies thus illuminate the different alliances that unified Protestants, the importance of kinship in strengthening the Protestant Circle, as well as the hybridity that these individuals embodied.

The abovementioned exchanges also marked the boundaries for the Protestant Circle. Informal visitations with individuals who were outside of the Circle were infrequent, while letters were channels through which the Protestants criticised the activities of those outside of or marginal to the Protestant Circle. Although non-Protestants were invited to school exams and religious services, their intended role was to be an audience and receive the Protestant message. Likewise, Protestant baptismal and marriage ceremonies were argued to be different from those conducted by Latin missionaries and Syrian non-Protestant clergy.¹⁰⁰

Another important boundary for the Protestant Circle was with the (perceived) intent of performing these activities. The ABCFM missionaries asserted the ideal of 'political disinterestedness', which is the phrase I use to describe the pursuit of alliances

⁹⁷ e.g. Hooker, *MSSL*: 207-211; Smith, 'Letter to Brothers and Sisters' (Early February 1850).

⁹⁸ The wedding ceremonies conducted on Mount Lebanon during the nineteenth century are examined in Klink 'Beyond the Tantur': 186-239.

⁹⁹ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 3 May 1851): *YDS*: ES Box 1: Folder 25.

¹⁰⁰ Whiting, Thomson and Van Dyck, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 7 June 1845).

as void of overt, ulterior motives, such as for economic wealth, social prestige or political security.¹⁰¹ For the ABCFM, all interactions were to be conducted with the goal of advancing Protestantism and to reform the ills of the world. One way that this was (believed to be) achieved was for the individual to not perceive him/herself as an agent of a particular nation or trading company, but 'to feel himself [as] a citizen of the world'.¹⁰² The ABCFM cautioned that 'should ours become a political mission, we should have little reason to hope for God's further blessing upon our labours.'¹⁰³

The missionaries contrasted their political disinterestedness to the (perceived) motivations of others. During the nineteenth century, Great Britain, France and Russia, and to a lesser extent the United States, strengthened their influence in the Ottoman Empire through securing letters of protection for their citizens living in the region and affiliated Ottoman subjects. This protection was based upon the economic capitulations previously granted by the Porte to merchants as a way to encourage trade, but were gradually expanded to include all foreign citizens and Ottoman subjects with certain religious or ethnic backgrounds.¹⁰⁴ The ABCFM argued that the abuses of this system were rampant and alleged that Latin missionaries in particular, violated political disinterestedness through their work in encouraging French imperialism.¹⁰⁵

Problematising their assertion of political disinterestedness however, the ABCFM missionaries were close acquaintances of the British and American consuls in the region. These relationships were not constructed around political goals however,

¹⁰¹ My use of 'disinterestedness' differs from Bourdieu's use of the term, to describe an aspect of bourgeois capital in France. Bourdieu, *Distinction*: 41.

¹⁰² Eli Smith, 'The Missionary Character: An Address Delivered Before the Society of Inquiry into the Theological Seminary in New Haven. (April 1, 1840)' (New Haven: B.L. Hamlen, 1840): 14; Hooker, *MSLS*: 2, 28; Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 3.

¹⁰³ *MH* (1842): 229.

¹⁰⁴ Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism*: 19-20.

¹⁰⁵ This perceived difference underlined the ABCFM's accounts of civil disputes on Mount Lebanon. See Thomas Laurie, 'Letter to Mr. Josiah Olgood' (Beirut, 19 May 1845): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 540: 225-230; Whiting, Thomson and Van Dyck, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 7 June 1845).

but a shared commitment to the Protestant faith and culture.¹⁰⁶ It was already mentioned that the English-language Sabbath services were conducted at the British and later American consulates in Beirut. During the 1850s, the American consulate was located near the 'Old Susa house', so that the missionary Hetty Smith became close friends with the consul's wife, Mrs. J. Hosford Smith.¹⁰⁷ The friendly nature of the ABCFM missionaries' 'political' alliances was emphasised through their reaction to the arrival of the *USS Cornelius*, in 1850: which they celebrated with a party. Although one could argue that this demonstrated the missionaries' encouragement of American imperialism, descriptions of the party illuminate that the missionaries' were more interested in sharing American food and discourse with the sailors than promoting America's military presence in the region.¹⁰⁸

Changes in the religious-political structures of Ottoman Syria also problematised the ABCFM's demand for political disinterestedness. A number of Syrians applied their Protestant or American affiliations to pursue non-religious activities, like trade. These individuals were chastised by the missionaries and even expelled from the Protestant Church. To prevent such abuses, the application process for the ECB was made especially stringent in the hopes that it would limit the number of Syrians who were officially recognised by Ottoman officials as Protestants to those who passed this rigid theological boundary.¹⁰⁹

This conservative stance limited the avenues for political recourse available to members of the Protestant Community, including recognised members of the Mission Church and the ECB. Being affiliated with a new Christian community and a relatively powerless nation meant that Syrian Protestants occupied precious and potentially

¹⁰⁶ Differences within this relationship need to be recognised so that some consuls, like J. Hosford Smith, were closer to the ABCFM missionaries, while others, like Jasper and Gabriel Chasseaud held friendly, but more distant associations.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird' (Beirut, 27 November 1850); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 31 August 1851): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 21.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, 'Fragment Letter' (n.s., [late] 1850).

¹⁰⁹ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians": 222, 226-227, 241-243

dangerous positions within Ottoman legal structures. This necessitated their negotiation of different social and political affiliations, which is illuminated in the conflict between Rahil Ata and her family over her marriage. Upon receiving news of Rahil's troubles, the ABCFM missionaries sought help from 'our kind neighbour and very kind friend, the Prussian consul-general [Major L. de Wildenbruck]'. In opposition, the Ata family sought assistance from a Russian dragoman, for they were members of the Greek Orthodox Church and fell under Russian protection. The Ottoman governor in Beirut also became involved in the dispute and 'sent his dragoman to the American consul, and demanded that Rahil should be brought before him.' However, '[the American] consul [Jasper Chasseaud] declined [involvement] on the ground that she was not now under his command, being in the Prussian consulate'. This conflict was resolved when the *wālī* granted Rahil the right to refuse her family's marriage contract and remain within the Protestant community.¹¹⁰ Although the outcome of this story is interesting, more telling were the different alliances employed by Rahil and the ABCFM missionaries to maintain their position. The Prussian Consulate-General, whose affiliation was as a 'neighbour and friend', was the first to offer help. In contrast, the American Consul refused to protect Rahil, despite the fact that she was a paid employee of the ABCFM, which made her eligible of American protection. In this case, the weak political pull of the American consulate resulted in Rahil's reliance upon a 'friend' for political security.

One way to alleviate similar problems was for a Protestant millet to be established as a distinct religious-political body within the Ottoman structures. Many in the ABCFM were reluctant to support this initiative, for they argued that it countered their original, 'disinterested' intent 'not to pull down or build up a [new] sect', but to reform individuals within their own churches.¹¹¹ However, a number of the

¹¹⁰ *MH* (1845): 282-284.

¹¹¹ *MH* (1830): 177; *MH* (1839): 41; Churchill, *Mount Lebanon: I*: 210; Whiting and Thomson, 'On the Results of Past Labours in the Mission'. The British Foreign office was also hesitant of

'reformed' Syrians were excommunicated from their original religious-political communities, due to their new Protestant beliefs and commitments, thus cutting them off from previous sources of political protection.¹¹² This was particularly evident in 1844, when roughly a hundred Christians from Hasbaya approached the Protestants in Beirut with a desire to break from the Greek Orthodox Church and join the Protestant community. These self-proclaimed Protestants were excommunicated by the Patriarch, criticised by their local Druze emir and cut off from their neighbours.¹¹³ While the ABCFM debated a response, the now isolated Hasbaya Protestants petitioned the Pasha of Damascus and the Porte in Constantinople, asking for the Ottomans to uphold the *Hatt-ı Sherif* and protect their religious and civil rights.¹¹⁴ Three years later, in 1848, a *firman* was pronounced in Constantinople (addressed to the British government) stating that Protestantism was a recognised faith and protected by 'civil authorities' 'from any illegal interference with their rites and ceremonies'.¹¹⁵ In essence, a new Protestant millet was created under the authority of the Porte who elected 'a civil head of Protestantism' in Constantinople,¹¹⁶ despite the reluctance of the ABCFM to politicise the Protestant movement. In other words, although political disinterestedness functioned as a standard to judge the motives of individual Protestants, it became necessary to violate this ideal in order to protect those who formed the Protestant Circle.

supporting a new millet for fear that it would unsettle the region. [George Hamilton Gordon], 'Dispatch entry' (n.s., 19 September 1844): [British] PRO: FO 615/2.

¹¹² *MH* (1836): 463; *MH* (1848): 123-124.

¹¹³ *MH* (1844): 320.

¹¹⁴ *MH* (1845): 148-149, 205; Anderson, *HM*: 367-368.

¹¹⁵ Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*: 187-188.

¹¹⁶ Wortabet, *RRS*: 399.

CULTURAL CAPITAL

The culture of the Protestant Circle identified this community from others in Ottoman Syria. One of the major facets of their cultural capital was education.¹¹⁷ In 1840, the ABCFM missionary Eli Smith asserted that ‘the work of missions requires a character well disciplined by a thorough education’.¹¹⁸ Smith’s requirement was gradually expanded, so that the normative terms for Protestantism encompassed a specific definition of education that was to be enacted by all in this community. This section examines two facets of Protestant education: Biblical and scientific knowledge. It analyses how these forms of knowledge were defined and displayed, showing that individual acquisition of Protestant education affected the relationships within the Circle, but in a manner that often reinforced the centrality of the ABCFM male missionaries.

Knowledge of the Bible was an important feature of the Protestant Circle. Members of the Protestant Church held ‘[t]he Bible, as the only rule of faith and duty, the plan of free salvation by grace through faith in Christ alone, and the way of access to the Father by the Son only.’¹¹⁹ The Protestants’ contrasted their Bible-centred culture to other Christian denominations, which, the Protestants argued, advocated non-Biblical practices, such as the invocation of the saints and the rigid performances of feasts and fasts. It was through conflating secular education with religious studies that

¹¹⁷ Adna Abu-Ghazaleh, *American Missions in Syria: A Study of American Missionary Contributions to Arab Nationalism in 19th Century Syria* (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1990); Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*; Habib Badr, ‘The Protestant Evangelical Community in the Middle East: Impact on Cultural and Societal Developments’, *International Review of Missions* 79: 352 (2000): 60-69; Rao Humphreys Lindsay, *Nineteenth Century American Schools in the Levant: A Study of Purposes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Education, 1965); Makdisi, ‘Reclaiming the Land of the Bible’: 680-713; Murre-van den Berg, ‘Nineteenth-Century Protestant’: 103-126.

¹¹⁸ Smith, ‘The Missionary Character’: 6.

¹¹⁹ Wortabet, *RRS*: 414.

the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants sought to dispel 'superstitious' beliefs and make individuals 'wise unto salvation'.¹²⁰

Although the ABCFM asserted that it was only through engaging with the Bible that salvation was realised,¹²¹ the Protestants modified Scripture to ensure that individuals properly understood the message of salvation through Christ alone.¹²² These modifications altered the way that religious education was taught and, in turn, performed by Protestants. On the most basic level, the Bible had to be accessible to all. While some American seminarians studied the Bible in its original Greek and Hebrew, the ABCFM and other reformers supported the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages.¹²³ During the early nineteenth century, the Arabic Bible available in Syria was an edition printed in Rome or at Syrian monasteries. Being originally produced for monastic use, this translation was in classical Arabic, which confounded many lay listeners and readers. One Protestant commentator argued that this version 'follow[ed] the Vulgate, [had] many inaccuracies, and its Arabic [was] often quite ungrammatical'.¹²⁴ As a result, an early endeavour for the Syrian Station was to publish their own translation of Biblical passages, including the 'Sermon on the Mount' and 'The Passion of Christ, as in Matt. xxvii'.¹²⁵ A full translation was commenced in 1848 under the supervision of Eli Smith and Butrus al-Bustani, which was finished by

¹²⁰ MSM: 9-12.

¹²¹ Hooker, MSLS: 6; Samuel Wolcott, 'Letter to Sir' (Beirut: 31 October 1841): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 423-426; Wolcott, 'Confidential: Letter to Sir' (Beirut: 8 November 1841); MH (1835): 52-53.

¹²² Compare with the tensions faced by French missionaries in promoting standardised French, but nevertheless accepting a hybridisation of the language in the colonies. Mathew Burrows, 'Mission civilisatrice': French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860-1914', *The Historical Journal*, 29: 1 (1986): 128.

¹²³ Merze Tate, 'The Sandwich Islands Missionaries Create a Literature', *Church History*, 31:2 (1962), 188-190. Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 13.

¹²⁴ Wortabet, RRS: 372.

¹²⁵ Anderson, HM: 514-516.

Cornelius Van Dyck.¹²⁶ Nasif el-Yaziji assisted in correcting the Arabic grammar while other American, European and Syrian Protestants independently assessed the work.¹²⁷ It was hoped that through this arduous process, a version of Scripture would be produced that was 'acceptable in the style, to the common [Arabic] readers', thus increasing both the number of those possessing Biblical knowledge and those saved by its message.¹²⁸

A second modification in the Protestants' Biblical scholarship was the use of Evangelical books and tracts for educational instruction. These works employed simplified language and allegory to convey the Gospel message.¹²⁹ Reading Evangelical literature was regarded as appropriate steps 'suitable to the capacity' of children and other 'young' Christians, for they nurtured religious knowledge until it could be properly comprehended.¹³⁰ Evangelical books and tracts were either brought with the missionaries from the United States or printed at the Mission Press and circulated by the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian 'Bible and Tract distributors'.¹³¹ Missionary children and Syrian students alike, read the *Pilgrim's Progress*, 'Little Henry and his Bearer' and the 'Dairyman's Daughter'.¹³² As a result, Melita Carabet 'traced [her] conversion to the reading of ['The Blacksmith's Wife']', another of these publications.¹³³ Knowledge of these works became as important as Scripture, for it was from

¹²⁶ This 'Smith-Van Dyck' or 'Van Dyck' version of the Bible continues to be a popular Arabic edition and is available online, accessible through various Arab Christian sites.

¹²⁷ Anderson, *HM*: 369; *MSM*: 33-35.

¹²⁸ *MSM*: 35.

¹²⁹ Roberts, 'Locating Popular Religion': 236-237.

¹³⁰ Arthur P. Davis, *Isaac Watts: His Life and Works* (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1948): 89.

¹³¹ Beadle, 'Journal of Tour to Aleppo' (Syria: n.d.); *MSM*: 28-30; Wortabet, *RRS*: 389-90. Some of these works, including the 'Dairyman's Daughter' were also printed by the ABCFM Mission Press into 'Armeno-Turkish'. Roberts, 'Locating Popular Religion': 258.

¹³² Sada Barakat in Jessup: *WA*: 85; Wortabet, *RRS*: 389-390; William M. Thomson and Story Hebard, 'Report of the Female School for 1838' (n.s., 1838): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 538: 121B-123B.

¹³³ Melita Carabet quoted in Jessup, *WA*: 66.

Evangelical literature that the missionaries and some Syrian Protestants found models of Protestant behaviour as well as the symbolism to describe their own faith journeys.

Due to the varying levels of literacy rates in Ottoman Syria, it was also argued that knowledge of the Bible could be gained through listening to the Gospel and discussing religious ideas.¹³⁴ Congregants at the Arabic Sabbath service

read two or three chapters in the New Testament, with brief practical and expository remarks—each individual who can read having a book and reading a verse, in rotation with the liberty, also of asking questions, and making remarks as pleased; this exercise affords a good opportunity for preaching the Gospel in the hearing of 12 to 20 individual, who usually listen with the most respect and attention than formerly characterized at meetings.¹³⁵

The ability to read or write was not necessary to memorise simple Bible verses, the Lord's Prayer and passages from Watt's or the Assembly's Catechisms, nor to perform the behaviour depicted in Evangelical literature. All of these activities were important expressions of Protestant faith, regardless of the person's literacy capabilities.¹³⁶

Science was another facet of Protestant culture and education.¹³⁷ The Protestants' specific definition of science reflected the liberal arts education possessed by both male and female ABCFM missionaries.¹³⁸ Grounded upon the theories of the Scottish Common Sense philosophers and the English Isaac Watts, the Protestants'

¹³⁴ Whiting and Thomson, 'On the Results of Past Labours in the Mission'; Roberts, 'Locating Popular': 234.

¹³⁵ Isaac Bird and George Whiting, 'Letter to Jeremiah Evert' (Beirut, January 1831): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537.

¹³⁶ Hooker, *MSLS*: 180.

¹³⁷ The history of the Protestants' relationship with science, including the tensions surrounding religious and secular opinions, is presented in Elshakry, 'The Gospel of Science': 173-214.

¹³⁸ A proposed educational schedule for the future missionary Hetty Butler (later Smith), included the study of the Bible, Botany, Arithmetic, Composition, Algebra and Latin. n.s., 'To Miss Butler' (n.s., n.d.): YDS: ES Box 3: Folder 9.

believed that it was only after gathering scientific facts (which included the Bible as a primary source) that proper judgments and opinions could be formatted.¹³⁹

The ABCFM missionaries who were certified medical doctors regulated the scientific knowledge advocated by the Protestant Circle.¹⁴⁰ These doctors, including Asa Dodge, Henry DeForest and Cornelius Van Dyck, demonstrated their scientific qualifications through recognising and treating the various ailments that plagued patients in Syria.¹⁴¹ Missionary doctors were also important in transferring medical knowledge to Syrian students. For example, Dr. Van Dyck and Dr. DeForest were credited with training John Wortabet, who earned an honorary doctorate of medicine from Yale College in 1853 and became the senior lecturer of medicine at the SPC when this department opened in 1867.¹⁴²

While the ABCFM missionary doctors exemplified scientific knowledge within the Protestant Circle, other medical missionaries worked in Ottoman Syria and were perceived by the Protestants as possessing a commendable understanding of science. The Protestants' approved the medical services provided by the French doctors and nuns at the Sisters of Charity hospital (f. 1847) as well as the doctors at the orphanage, boarding house and hospital complex run by the Prussian Knights of St. John (f. 1860).¹⁴³ While the acceptance of the Prussians was not exceptional (for they were also Protestants), the Circle's affirmation of the French doctors contrasted their normal hostility against Roman Catholic culture and mission work.¹⁴⁴ This illuminates the

¹³⁹ Miller, *Piety and Intellect*: 89-93; Isaac Watts, *Logick: or, the Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth with a variety of Rules to guard against Error, in the affairs of Religion and Human life, as well as in the sciences* (Twentieth Edition) (Glasgow: William Smith, 1759).

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix I:C for a list of these doctors.

¹⁴¹ DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842): 550B-562.

¹⁴² This degree was earned after the publication of an article on the fevers in Syria, which was published in the *American Journal of Medical Science*. MSM: 29; Anderson, HM: 377.

¹⁴³ Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*: 121; Jessup, WA: 206-207; Henry A. DeForest, 'Letter to C.W.M. van de Velde' (Abeih, 7 March 1854), in: C. van de Velde, *Narrative of a Journey Through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1854): 493.

¹⁴⁴ Murre-van den Berg, 'Simply by Giving to Them Macaroni': 63-80.

Protestants' view that religious differences could be dissolved (or at least appeased) through the pursuit of science and education.¹⁴⁵

Medical missionaries were not the only doctors operating in Ottoman Syria during the early to mid-nineteenth century. A number of medical schools were established by the Ottoman government during the early nineteenth century in an effort to create a body of medical experts amongst its subjects. After 1839, these schools were opened to non-Muslim students and began issuing certificates of training.¹⁴⁶ 'Modern' medical schools were also established by Muhammed Ali in Egypt. Emir Bashir Shihab II sent a number of Syrians to Egypt for medical training, although the ABCFM missionaries questioned the qualifications of these Syrian doctors upon their return.¹⁴⁷ Others, like Mikhayil Mishaqa, were educated by French doctors working for the Egyptian army during Muhammed Ali's occupation of Syria.¹⁴⁸ It is important to emphasize that, with the exception of Mikhayil Mishaqa, who later converted to Protestantism, the medical knowledge held by Ottoman doctors was relegated by the ABCFM missionaries to an inferior rank when compared to the knowledge held by American and European medical missionaries.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Sheehi, 'Inscribing the Arab Self': 10.

¹⁴⁶ Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, 'Ottoman Educational Institutions during the Reform Period' (Manchester: Manchester: Foundation for Science Technology and Civilisation, 2004): 6-8, [online], Available at: <<http://www.muslimheritage.com/uploads/ReformOttomans.pdf>> (access on: 2 February 2008).

¹⁴⁷ Part of the missionaries' criticism centred upon translation. Van Dyck argued that new Arabic terms were created instead of researching existing terms already in use, resulting in a problematic hybrid medical language. Cornelius V.A. Van Dyck, 'On the Present Condition of the Medical Profession in Syria', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1:4 (1849): 570.

¹⁴⁸ During the late 1830s, Mishaqa was appointed as the Chief Physician of Damascus, although the nature of his work in this city is unclear. Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 158, 193.

¹⁴⁹ Van Dyck, 'On the Present Condition': 571-591. In contrast, Chasseud retold a story when the wife of the French consul rejected the advice of European doctors for the treatment given by a Syrian doctor. George Washington Chasseaud, *The Druses of the Lebanon: Their Manners, Customs, and History. With a Translation of their Religious Code*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1855): 381.

Despite the increased number of certified doctors in the region, numerous uncertified doctors continued to treat Syrian patients. These included 'traditional' *hakeems*, midwives, monks in convents and the often dubiously-certified 'Frank *hakeems*'.¹⁵⁰ In 1849, Cornelius Van Dyck wrote an article, 'On the Present Condition of the Medical Profession in Syria' for the secular *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, where he contrasted the knowledge held by these doctors to the scientific standards developing in the United States.¹⁵¹ He argued that '[although] the means of acquiring an adequate knowledge of modern medical sciences are altogether wanting in Syria...this does not prevent any individual, high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, from setting up as a practitioner at any moment'.¹⁵² The ABCFM missionaries concluded that the medical knowledge held by uncertified 'doctors' was invalid and potentially dangerous, for as Dr. Van Dyck reflected, 'the patient [of these doctors either] dies, or gets well in spite of the efforts of his physician to kill him.'¹⁵³ Nonetheless, such 'doctors' continued to treat patients, thus challenging the attempts of the ABCFM (and Ottoman officials) to regulate medical knowledge in the region.¹⁵⁴

While certificates of medicine were not offered by the Protestants during this period,¹⁵⁵ general sciences were taught at Protestant schools.¹⁵⁶ Students studied

¹⁵⁰ Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar*: 377-378; Wortabet, *SS: I*: 323.

¹⁵¹ Noticeably, it was during the nineteenth century that laws requiring medical certification were being passed throughout the United States. Barbara Ehrenreich, and Deirdre English, *Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1973): 40-50.

¹⁵² Van Dyck, 'On the Present Condition': 570.

¹⁵³ Van Dyck, 'On the Present Condition': 572.

¹⁵⁴ Paton wrote that residents of Damascus rejected European doctors claiming 'that they do not know the climate (*hawa el belled*, -lit., the air of the town) and the local diseases.' Paton, *The Modern Syrians*: 199.

¹⁵⁵ One of the six proposed departments for the Syrian Protestant College in 1863 was for medicine. The medicine department was eventually founded in 1867. Elshakry, 'The Gospel of Science': 192-193.

¹⁵⁶ George B. Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families' (Beirut: 20 March 1844): Reel 538: 80-82A.

'natural philosophy or chemistry',¹⁵⁷ and explored scientific apparatus, such as the camera obscura.¹⁵⁸ The ABCFM missionaries, both doctors and preachers, investigated the physical climate and geological history of Syria through recording temperatures, collecting fossils and illustrating the flora and fauna of the region.¹⁵⁹ The missionaries shared their findings through sending artefacts to the United States and publishing articles in scholastic journals.¹⁶⁰ Due to these displays of scientific knowledge, the Protestants who were not trained as medical doctors were sought after for medical treatment and advice by their Syrian neighbours. Although the Protestants recognised their limitations in dispensing medicine (which also undermined their own criticisms of uncertified doctors) these exchanges were regarded by the ABCFM missionaries as a positive branch of evangelical activities.¹⁶¹

One of the most important expression of the Protestants' culture and views of science was the formation of *al-Jam'iyya al-Sūriyya li-Iktisāb al-'Ulūm wa al-Funūn* in 1847.¹⁶² Members of this salon included the elite men of the Protestant Circle, both ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants, as well as other residents of the region.¹⁶³ The aims of this group were to acquire a knowledge of sciences and arts 'by means of mutual communication, tracts, discourse, and reports' and collect 'books, and papers' that would awaken 'a general desire for the acquisition of sciences and arts, irrespective of disputed questions relative to religious rites and doctrines, with which this Society

¹⁵⁷ DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 138-142.

¹⁵⁸ These are optical devices where images pass through small a pin-hole and are reproduced in correct proportions, although smaller and upside-down, on a blank surface.

¹⁵⁹ DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842); *MH* (1837): 442-443; *MH* (1841): 30.

¹⁶⁰ Edward Hitcock, 'Notes on the Geology of Several Parts of Western Asia: Founded Chiefly on Specimens and Descriptions from American Missionaries', in: n.s., *Reports of the First, Second, and Third Meetings of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists, at Philadelphia, in 1840, and 1841, and at Boston in 1842* (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1843): 348-349, 358-362.

¹⁶¹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 197; Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 4 September 1852).

¹⁶² See al-Bustani, *Al-Jam'iyah al-Suriyah*.

¹⁶³ A list of these individuals are printed in Appendix III:B. Edward E. Salisbury, 'II. Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 3 (1853): 478; al-Bustani, *Al-Jam'iyah al-Suriyah*: 17-18.

does not concern itself'.¹⁶⁴ In addition to private monthly discussions and book exchanges, the Society held public lectures (it is unclear if women were invited as audience members) and published its reports.¹⁶⁵ This society emphasised the Protestants' belief in the ecumenical nature of science, for men from all faiths were invited to participate while efforts were made not to criticise different religious opinions.¹⁶⁶ Due to the large representation of Protestants in this society however, its activities were popularly linked to the Protestant Circle.

The Protestants' specific interpretation of science also affected their daily activities. The Protestants' definition of good health not only supported their suburban location, but resulted in their modifications of their houses. For example, windows were cut into walls to ensure the circulation of air, the ventilation of smoke and to decrease internal dampness.¹⁶⁷ The Protestants also applied 'scientific reasoning' when considering food and clothing choices. Some foods, like 'Arab' butter, were cautiously consumed or avoided altogether, for they were perceived to be dirty and the cause of illness.¹⁶⁸ Likewise, the missionaries declined to take off their shoes while visiting Syrian households, for they argued: 'as it was not our custom, we should endanger our health' if they did so.¹⁶⁹

While American customs were often regarded as the 'healthy option' in these decisions, the Protestants' application of science allowed them to occasionally breach this American standard.¹⁷⁰ Although they avoided 'dirty foods', the ABCFM missionaries consumed other regional items, such as carob molasses (*dibs*), sweetmeats,

¹⁶⁴ Quoted in Salisbury, 'II. Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences': 477-478.

¹⁶⁵ Butrus al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 6 January 1852): HHL: ABC 60 (12). Eli Smith quoted in Salisbury, 'II. Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences': 482.

¹⁶⁶ Eli Smith quoted in Salisbury, 'II. Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences': 482.

¹⁶⁷ *MH* (1858): 143.

¹⁶⁸ DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842); Thomson, *LB:I*: 393.

¹⁶⁹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 208.

¹⁷⁰ This differs from the argument presented by Makdisi, who asserts that 'the Americans in Syria dressed, furnished their homes and ate according to the American style...there was no need to adopt to native clothes'. Makdisi, 'Reclaiming the Land of the Bible': 690.

labneh and stuffed vine leaves. Speaking of ‘tufuddal’, which may have been *fooliyyah*, William Thomson wrote that ‘our Frank children born in this country are extraordinarily fond of this *adis* [lentil] pottage.’¹⁷¹ Subsequent chapters will examine how the knowledge of cooking was acquired (or not) by women within the Protestant Circle, as part of this negotiation process and demonstration of education.

However, the acquisition of education problematised the culture asserted by some Protestants. The ABCFM’s Prudential Committee repeatedly voiced concerns over how secular education was balanced with religious refinement at Protestant schools in Syria. They criticised the use of English and the teaching of science as a means to ‘enlighten’ Syrians, for they argued that this knowledge could be used for personal profit.¹⁷² The challenge for the ABCFM missionaries was to ensure that the ‘solid Christian education’ they provided did not result in the students’ rejecting their ‘calling’ to serve the Protestant Circle in order to follow the lures of trade and wealth.¹⁷³

Despite their efforts, some former students employed their linguistic skills and cultural flexibility to pursue activities that were not supported by the Protestants, or at least, not the ABCFM missionaries.¹⁷⁴ This included Gregory Wortabet, Assaad Kayat and Habeeb Allah Effendi, whom I label as ‘Protestant Levantines’, for they applied their Protestant affiliations and culture to secure social and economic gains. For example, Gregory Wortabet, was a son of the early converts, Jacob Gregory and Susan Wortabet. Although raised within the Protestant community and educated at the Protestant Seminary, Gregory caused ‘trouble’ for the Protestant Circle when he worked at the World’s Fair in London and assisted a show of dancing girls from Damascus during the 1850s.¹⁷⁵ This was followed by a lecture tour of the United States, where Gregory emphasised his link with the Protestant Circle to legitimise his

¹⁷¹ Thomson, *LB, II*: 397.

¹⁷² *MH* (1842): 430-432.

¹⁷³ *MH* (1847): 83; Badr, ‘Missions to “Nominal Christians”’: 206.

¹⁷⁴ Tibawi, ‘The American Missionaries in Beirut’: 160.

¹⁷⁵ Smith, ‘Letter to Sister’ (Beirut, 1 May 1854).

knowledge (and presumably to draw a larger audience).¹⁷⁶ Wortabet's actions prompted Hetty Smith to write to her sister in the United States, in order to clarify Gregory's problematic position in the Protestant Circle and to dissuade her sister from wrongly supporting Gregory's 'interested' activities.¹⁷⁷

It was in this context that many Syrian Protestants were forced to defend their Protestant commitment and their pursuits of secular education and careers. For example, during the 1850s, the ABCFM mounted criticisms against both Butrus al-Bustani and John Wortabet (Gregory's brother) due to their engagements in secular education, which were beyond the control of the ABCFM missionaries.¹⁷⁸ It was feared that these two prominent men would reject their religious callings and choose careers that were not affiliated with Protestant Circle, or at least, not sanctioned by the ABCFM.¹⁷⁹ As time progressed, this 'fear' became a reality, for al-Bustani organised an independent school and pursued a noteworthy literary career, while Wortabet rejected his position as a Native Pastor for the ABCFM and became a medical missionary for the Scottish UPC. It is important to recognise that despite these breaches and the ABCFM's criticism, both al-Bustani and Wortabet's later activities affirmed many aspects of the Protestant culture described above, while also maintaining their commitments to the Protestant religion.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ For a review of Wortabet's lecture see n.s., 'Lectures on Syria', *New York Times* (29 May 1852).

¹⁷⁷ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 1 May 1850): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20.

¹⁷⁸ Butrus al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 6 January 1851): HHL: ABC 60 (12); Eli Smith, 'Letter to Rufus Anderson' (Beirut, 19 October 1855): HHL: ABC 60 (105).

¹⁷⁹ Eli Smith, 'Letter to Rev. Trotter, Esq.' (Beirut, 16 October 1855): HHL: ES Box 2: Folder 105/18. For more on al-Bustani's relationship with the ABCFM see Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut': 137-182.

¹⁸⁰ Tibawi, 'American Missionaries in Beirut': 168; Marten, *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home*: 49.

RELIGIOUS CAPITAL

The theology of the Protestant Circle was initially defined and regulated by the ABCFM missionaries, although Syrian Protestants played an important role in shaping the Circle's religious practices. Through this negotiation process three characteristics emerged to define the Protestant faith in Ottoman Syria before 1860: religious disinterestedness, Biblical literacy and evangelical revivalism. While some of these characteristics overlap with those presented in the above section, separating religious from cultural capital allows us to identify the nuances that the Protestant Circle introduced to the theological and spiritual environment of Ottoman Syria. Upholding this division also emphasises that the structural distribution within the Circle was based upon different combinations of Protestant cultural and religious capital; so that while some were educated, they were not spiritually revived, just as others were pious, but not literate.

An important attribute of the Protestants' faith was 'religious disinterestedness'. This is the term I use for the belief that all encounters and activities should encourage the salvation of others. This is based upon the eighteenth century American theologian Samuel Hopkin's concept of 'disinterested benevolence'.¹⁸¹ For Hopkins, the holiness of God resulted in His selfless love for human kind; even for the unsaved who were His enemies.¹⁸² In becoming part of the elect, an individual became like God and was selfless. This selflessness reached so far that 'a regenerate person must be willing to be damned for the glory of God.'¹⁸³ For the ABCFM missionaries, the purpose of preaching, visitations, dispensing medical treatment and reading Evangelical literature was to instigate the revival of others' immortal state, which would lead them onto

¹⁸¹ Smith, 'The Missionary Character': 27-30.

¹⁸² Hopkins, *True Holiness*: 13-14, 51-53. The use of the masculine for the divine reflects Hopkins' gendering of God.

¹⁸³ Conforti, 'Samuel Hopkins': 582.

salvation.¹⁸⁴ Success in producing converts not only brought more humans into God's flock,¹⁸⁵ but also revealed the true holiness of the evangelising Protestants.¹⁸⁶

Certain individuals were promoted as notable examples of religious disinterestedness. The missionary Sarah Smith was repeatedly praised for her '[d]isinterestedness and self-denial for the benefit of others'.¹⁸⁷ One account proclaimed that '[Sarah's] labours of disinterested benevolence for [the Syrian] people, great endeared her to all who knew her'.¹⁸⁸ Smith's memoirs recounted her acts of religious disinterestedness, as well as the costs of this disinterested work, which included personal discomfort, separation from family and bodily death.¹⁸⁹ It was due to her sacrificial behaviour that Sarah was promoted as a model for other women (and men) within the Protestant Circle.¹⁹⁰

A second characteristic of the Circle's religion was the centrality of the Bible to individual salvation. John Wortabet explained that:

[t]he Bible, as the only rule of faith and duty, the plan of free salvation by grace through faith in Christ alone, and the way of access to the Father by the Son only, are known by many to form the distinctive features of the evangelical religion.¹⁹¹

This Bible-centred theology was strongly advocated by the ABCFM missionaries, but, as Wortabet's comment suggests, became an important characteristic of both Protestant culture and faith in Ottoman Syria.

¹⁸⁴ Wortabet, *RRS*: 394.

¹⁸⁵ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 39.

¹⁸⁶ McCoy, 'The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission': 70, 80-81.

¹⁸⁷ Hooker, *MSLS*: 2.

¹⁸⁸ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1836).

¹⁸⁹ More research is needed to clarify how works of Protestant Evangelical literature, which included biographies of missionaries, such as Hookers, *MSLS*, compared with contemporary Roman Catholic hagiographies.

¹⁹⁰ In 1894, Sarah was memorialised by a monument that marked her activities as a teacher for girls in Syria. Although the pillar was destroyed, its base with the engraving, still stands outside the National Evangelical Church in Beirut.

¹⁹¹ Wortabet, *RRS*: 414.

The Protestants believed that redemption was available to all persons who sought 'the way of salvation by the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ'.¹⁹² Although this salvation could be gained through 'simply reading the Scriptures',¹⁹³ some argued that listening to the Bible was just as effective. For John Wortabet, 'the Bible read and the Bible heard are one and the same means, though the way of its application to the understanding is different in mode, the Holy Spirit blessing the way which seemeth [*sic*] good to Him'.¹⁹⁴ Salvation was thus achieved through believing in the (specifically defined) Gospel message, regardless of how this message was acquired.

This openness of access to salvation was undermined by the view that only a few, highly educated individuals could fully understand the theological complexities of the Protestant triune God. While salvation was not necessarily dependent upon full understanding of religious conundrums, a certain level of theological comprehension was expected from those who applied for membership into the Mission Church and ECB.¹⁹⁵ This admission process entailed a lengthy examination, conducted by the ABCFM missionaries and Native Assistants, who considered the candidates' 'knowledge of the evangelical doctrines, and...piety'.¹⁹⁶ This standard of doctrine was formalised in the ECB's 'Confession of Faith' and 'Covenant'.¹⁹⁷ These were based primarily upon contemporary American Protestant theology, which was difficult to translate to many Syrians, despite the use of vernacular Arabic and the employment of Evangelical literature. Although many Syrians proclaimed to be Protestants, it appears that they did not fully absorb or advocate the details of this reformed theology, so that they failed the application process and remained marginalised along the perimeter of

¹⁹² DeForest, 'Journal' (9 October 1842).

¹⁹³ *MH* (1846): 384.

¹⁹⁴ Wortabet, *RRS*: 375.

¹⁹⁵ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 109-110.

¹⁹⁶ Wortabet, *RRS*: 404-406; *MH* (1848): 269.

¹⁹⁷ Copies of the 'Confession of Faith', with notes, and 'Covenant' are found in Appendix V.

the Protestant Circle.¹⁹⁸ Conversely, members of Congregational, Presbyterian or Anglican churches easily transferred their membership to the Mission Church, under the assumption that they were knowledgeable of and upheld these theological doctrines.¹⁹⁹ As a result, neither the ABCFM missionaries nor other European-American Protestants suffered through the humiliations of the examination process, but only the Syrian members of the Protestant Circle.

The third characteristic of the religion practiced by the Protestant Circle was Evangelical revivalism. This refers to the belief that the Holy Spirit prompted an individual to recognise his/her sinful state, which triggered the person to seek forgiveness and redemption through Christ.²⁰⁰ It was believed that revival by the Spirit was possible for all humans, as the Holy Spirit was free to speak to whomever it chose. The responsibility was placed upon the individual to accept the Spirit's calling. Evangelical literature, such the 'Dairyman's Daughter', were examples of this revival narrative and functioned as channels through which the ABCFM missionaries conveyed this theology to Syrian Protestants. As a result, applicants to the ECB were asked: '[d]o you believe that by reason of the total depravity of human nature, it is indispensable, in order to obtain salvation, that everyone shall be born anew by the work of the Holy Spirit?'²⁰¹

Although revival was possible for all humans, a Protestant had to prove his or her revived state. For the Protestant Circle, those who embodied the abovementioned characteristics of Protestant social, cultural and religious capital were believed to have experienced revival and were regarded as true Christians. Conversely, engaging in 'sinful' acts suggested that a person lacked remorse over his/her sinful state and had

¹⁹⁸ Daniel Bliss recalled that, after being denied membership to the ECB, one Seminary student 'said that he would like to unite with the Protestant Church, but he thanked God that the gate of Heaven was always open and that all who loved the Lord Jesus could enter, who never said, "Wait a while." He was admitted, lived and died a constant Christian.' Bliss, *RDS*: 131-132.

¹⁹⁹ Wortabet, *RRS*: 407.

²⁰⁰ Hooker, *MSLS*: 6.

²⁰¹ See Appendix V.

not been revived, even if they proclaimed to be a Protestant.²⁰² Sinful acts included the use of improper language, especially the casual employment of 'God'-'Allah', lying, fighting, and imbibing excessive alcohol. The various dietary restrictions upheld by the different Christian and Muslim communities in Syria were criticised by the ABCFM missionaries and elite Syrian Protestants as being unnecessary for redemption. As a result, many of the Syrian Protestants who joined the Protestant Circle under 'interested' circumstances, like political upheavals, sought to dispel suspicions of their Protestant commitment through publicly violating these dietary customs. Speaking of the Protestants in Hasbaya, the *Missionary Herald* printed that:

[t]hey were in the midst of the great fast of Lent, during which all Greeks [*sic*] are strictly forbidden to eat animal food; and nothing could indicate a more fixed determination on their part to secede from the Greek church to Protestantism, than breaking this fast. So bringing a dish of *leben* [*sic*] before the American Consul's door, where they happened to be sitting, all but one or two partook of it, each, as he dipped his bread in the dish, saying, 'In this religion I will live, and in this religion I will die.'²⁰³

This scene, which elicits the imagery of the Last Supper, suggests the potential of the converts to become true Protestants believers. However, as the years progressed, many of these Protestants were reluctant to fully perform other aspects of Protestant faith and culture, so that these 'babes in Christian' remained marginalised within the Protestant Circle.²⁰⁴

More successful at displaying evidence of revival were the Syrian Protestants who were raised as adopted boarding students and attended Protestant seminaries. The theological struggles of these Protestants often mirrored the spiritual journeys of the ABCFM missionaries and the characters in Evangelical literature, for they included

²⁰² Guidelines for the discipline of 'spiritual, 'personal' and 'public' offences were established by the ECB and printed in *MH* (1848): 270; Wortabet, *RRS*: 411-413.

²⁰³ Emphasis in original. *MH* (1845): 15.

²⁰⁴ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 109-110.

periods of self-doubt and the yearning for personal communion with Christ.²⁰⁵ There was a perpetual fear amongst the ABCFM that, despite years of Biblical and religious instruction, these students would become enlightened, but never experience a true revival of spirit.²⁰⁶ This fear was slightly abated in 1846, when 'there was a great awakening among the young girls in some of the Mission families'.²⁰⁷ As these students matured however, many became frustrated with the limits placed upon their theological, social and cultural development by the ABCFM and pursued alternative definitions of Protestantism, thus problematising their position in this religious framework.

This section introduced the three forms of capital that defined Protestantism in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860. It showed that the ABCFM male missionaries functioned as the central figures within this community, for they defined the normative terms for Protestantism during this period. Syrian Protestants and other members of the Protestant Circle gradually adopted aspects of the ABCFM missionaries' Protestantism, but in a process where they negotiated and assimilated these practices and opinions. The following section investigates the alternatives to the ABCFM's definition of Protestantism that emerged during this negotiation process and which eventually challenged the centrality of the missionaries.

DECENTRING THE ABCFM MISSIONARIES

In 1860, John Wortabet analysed the different Christian communities in Ottoman Syria. Speaking of Protestantism, he wrote that the members of the ECB numbered 'a little

²⁰⁵ See Sada (Sabunjy) Barakat in Jessup, *WA*: 85-87; Rufka Gregroy in Jessup, *WA*: 102-103.

²⁰⁶ Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families': 80-82A; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Abeih, 1844).

²⁰⁷ Melita Carabet in Jessup, *WA*: 66.

over a hundred' and were concentrated at Beirut, Abeih, Hasbaya and Sidon. Wortabet added that:

[o]f the actual number of the whole Protestant community in Syria, it is not in our power to give more than an approximate estimate, as it is so widely scattered, and generally is on the increase every day. It cannot, however, be very far from one thousand souls, old and young: of this, some five or six hundred are in connexion with the missionaries of the American Board; and the others with the Anglican, Irish, Presbyterian, and Associate Reformed mission.²⁰⁸

According to Wortabet, the seed planted by the earliest missionaries had grown beyond the boundaries constructed by ABCFM.

One challenge to the ABCFM's control of Protestantism emerged from the disunion amongst the ABCFM missionaries. Although differences in missiology and church structure always troubled the ABCFM missionaries, early conflicts were publicly minimised or quickly resolved in order to focus upon the primary goal of establishing Protestantism in Syria.²⁰⁹ During the 1850s however, this public concord was noticeably undermined. A number of new missionaries arrived during the mid-1850s, including J. Lorenzo and Catherine Lyons in 1855, Edward and Susan Aiken, Daniel and Abby Bliss and Henry Harris Jessup in 1856.²¹⁰ The ideas and culture introduced by these missionaries reflected the changes unfolding within the United States and differed from those held by the missionaries already at the station. In addition, the senior member of the station, Eli Smith died in 1857, after roughly twenty five years of missionary service, while the influential Henry and Catherine DeForest returned to the United States during the same year.

²⁰⁸ Wortabet, *RRS*: 413.

²⁰⁹ These conflicts are thoroughly examined in Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 155-170, 189-210, 225, 232-268.

²¹⁰ This group can be regarded as a third wave amongst the missionaries, whose ideas and activities differed from the pioneering first wave during the 1820s and 1830s and the second wave from 1839 to the mid-1850s.

These changes affected the activities pursued by the ABCFM in Syria and the missionaries' relationships with other Protestants. Firstly, evangelical work was increasingly defined by gender, so that the activities performed by women, both missionary and Syrian Protestant, were narrowed to services solely for other women and children. The causes and impact of this change is examined in chapters four and five. Another change resulted from the increased animosity voiced against Syrians by the new ABCFM missionaries. With the exception of some Druze and Ottoman officials, Muslims in Syria occupied external positions to the Protestant Circle due to the ABCFM's failed attempts to proselytise amongst Muslim communities during the pioneering years of their work. Thus, by 1839, the ABCFM advocated its primary goal to be the revival of Christian communities in the region, who would then serve as examples for their Muslim neighbours.²¹¹ While the polemical stances taken by some of the earlier missionaries against Syrians, particularly Syrian Christians, abated in the 1830s,²¹² the new missionaries of the 1850s reignited this confrontational approach, but reconfigured it as to situate the world into a binary of 'West' against a homogenised 'East'.²¹³ Even before arriving in Beirut, Henry Harris Jessup penned the verses:

O prosper, Lord, their mission,
 With grace and power divine,
 And show to darkened Asia.
 They great and good design.
 From Islam's cruel darkness,
 From Romish fraud and guile,
 From Satan's fierce devices,
 From all that can defile.²¹⁴

²¹¹ See *MH* (1839): 39-44.

²¹² Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"': 119.

²¹³ This argument has been thoroughly discussed in Makdisi, 'Reclaiming the Land of the Bible': 702-707.

²¹⁴ Stanza III of Henry Harris Jessup, 'The Syrian Mission' (Montrose, Massachusetts, 1 November 1855): YDS: HHJ Box 6: Folder 19. Compare with Lydia Sigourney's 'Monody to Mrs. Sarah L. Smith', which employed Biblical tropes for Syria. Hooker, *MSLS*: 301-302.

For Jessup, all inhabitants of the 'East', whether Muslim or Christian, were 'corrupt and immoral.'²¹⁵ Thus, while the opinions and policies of the earlier missionaries created an inequality based upon racial difference, the opinions of the later missionaries were more patronising and hostile against their Syrian neighbours, which stirred tensions within the Protestant Circle.

The policies of the ABCFM's Prudential Committee in Boston also created disunity amongst the male ABCFM missionaries in Syria. This was particularly true for the years that Rufus Anderson served as Corresponding Secretary, 1833 to 1866, but especially during the 1850s. Through letters of instruction, the restriction of funds and direct visitations,²¹⁶ Anderson asserted his view that the 'governing object of every mission and of every missionary should not be to liberate, to educate, to enlighten, to polish, but to *convert* men'.²¹⁷ This was a direct criticism of the educational services employed by the missionaries to engage with Syrians, which, instead of producing more converts and Native Pastors, created a body of well-educated, but questionably revived Syrians.²¹⁸ To correct this perceived problem, Anderson demanded in 1854 that the missionaries scatter from their central station at Beirut to locations across Mount Lebanon, in order to better spread the Gospel message, but which effectively pulled resources away from educational services. Some missionaries disapproved of this change, so that by 1857, Henry and Catherine DeForest returned to the United States, while Abby and Daniel Bliss voiced frustrations at being relocated to Souk el-Gharb, 'where no missionary had ever been stationed before.'²¹⁹ These tensions persisted after 1860, for John and Loanza Benton were released from their missionary appointments in

²¹⁵ *MH* (1860): 85.

²¹⁶ Anderson visited Syria on two occasions: first in 1843 and again in 1854. This latter visit was particularly important in changing the policies and activities of the Syrian Station. The report of his visit was published in *MSM*.

²¹⁷ *MSM*: 9.

²¹⁸ By 1855, the only ordained Syrian Native Pastor was John Wortabet.

²¹⁹ Bliss, *RDS*: 128.

1861 and the Syrian Protestant College founded by former ABCFM missionaries in 1863.

Other problems challenged the centrality of the male ABCFM missionaries in the Circle. Throughout the 1850s, Butrus al-Bustani articulated his frustrations with the ABCFM and the functioning of the Circle. Despite his central role as an important Native Assistant, al-Bustani wrote to Eli Smith in 1852 stating that: 'I take the liberty to inform you that my present *reservation* is to accept of no office either religious as secular' that would place him under the supervision of the ABCFM.²²⁰ Four years later, al-Bustani penned a scathing criticism of the ABCFM missionaries and American consuls, who were either reluctant or unable to protect his colleague Giorgior Gemmal, the American Vice-Consul at Jaffa.²²¹ In light of these frustrations, al-Bustani pursued a number of activities that were independent of the ABCFM, such as organising educational societies such as *al-Jam'iyya al-'Ilmiyya al-Sūriyya* (Syrian Scientific Society) in 1857 and *al-Jam'iyya Bairut al-Injiliyya* (Beirut Bible Society) in 1862; establishing *al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya* (the National School) in 1863; and founding the journal *Al-Jenin* (1870-1883), which was published by his son, Selim.²²² While these activities were separate from the ABCFM, they nevertheless affirmed aspects of the Protestant capital examined above. Al-Bustani did not reject the new hybrid culture that defined this community, but rather, the constraints placed upon him by the ABCFM missionaries. It is important to remember that al-Bustani's wife, Rahil, was herself deeply connected to the Protestant Circle. One can surmise that even if Butrus distanced himself from the ABCFM missionaries (especially after Eli Smith's death), that his wife would find it

²²⁰ al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 6 January 1852; John Wortabet, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Hasbaya, 20 October 20 1854): HHL: ABC 60 (98); Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut': 164-169.

²²¹ al-Bustani, 'Private: Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 30 May 1856). Gemmal's problematic position is indirectly mentioned in Wortabet, *SS: II*: 158

²²² For more on al-Bustani's secular and educational activities see Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut': 166-174; Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*: 15-75. For information on Selim al-Bustani see Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*: 76-106.

difficult to completely break her connection to the Protestant community, which was fundamental to her own social and religious identity.

Another challenge to the normative definitions of Protestantism arose with the Protestant Levantine community. As introduced above, these individuals proclaimed to be Protestants due to their education at ABCFM schools, work for the Protestants, or employment by American or British diplomats. The ABCFM missionaries argued that these men were not truly revived Protestants for they pursued 'interested' activities by applying their knowledge of the English language and Protestant culture to gain wealth and prestige.²²³ Although chastised by the ABCFM, the independent evocation of a Protestant identity by Protestant Levantines, particularly in printed works and public lectures, challenged the ABCFM's control over how Protestantism was defined within the Syrian region, and how this Protestantism was presented to the world.²²⁴

While both Butrus al-Bustani and the Protestant Levantines advocated alternative definitions of Protestant culture, novel definitions of Protestant theology were introduced by non-ABCFM Protestant missionaries, which also challenged the centrality of the ABCFM missionaries. Until the late 1850s, many of the non-ABCFM Protestant missionaries and travellers to Syria functioned as members of the Protestant Circle, for they worked with the ABCFM missionaries, participated in the Circle's religious services and, if they died in Syria, were buried in the cemetery adjacent to Burj Bird.²²⁵ By 1860 however, the number of non-ABCFM missionaries in Syria increased substantially and challenged the monopoly previously held by the ABCFM over Protestant theology and religious practices in Syria. Some of these 'alternatives' promoted a culture and faith that was similar to the normative terms presented above,

²²³ For example, although Assaad Kayat studied with the ABCFM missionaries, an unknown source of tension separated him from the missionaries. Isaac Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands; Or, Events in the History of the Syria Mission* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872): 271.

²²⁴ It is due to this complicated relationship that the Protestant Levantines are not listed in Appendix IV.

²²⁵ n.s., *Cemetery Record: American Presbyterian Mission*.

such as the English Elizabeth Bowen-Thompson and the Prussian Deaconesses. Others however did not resonate with the Protestantism of the ABCFM and were perceived as threats to the Circle. This included the Free Church of Scotland, whose missionaries worked with the Saleeby family to run schools upon Mount Lebanon, and missionaries from heterodox Protestant Churches, such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (also called the Mormons).²²⁶

Another challenge to the ABCFM's control of Protestantism emerged with the independent assertion of Protestantism by groups and individuals living in Syria. The ABCFM missionaries were surprised when Syrians, previously unknown and not associated with the Circle, proclaimed to be Protestants. The ABCFM was cautious of accepting such converts and questioned their true intentions.²²⁷ However, the number of these incidents increased, and included mass conversions at Hasbaya, Cana and Alma during the 1840s and 1850s, which forced a change mission policy in order to address the problems they faced as a result of their conversion.²²⁸ It is important to recognise that the ABCFM missionaries considered these locations as too dangerous for them to relocate to and sent Native Assistants to guide the religious reformation of the new converts.²²⁹ As a result, the Protestantism taught to the new converts was not directly controlled by the ABCFM missionaries, but was channelled through the Syrian Protestants, like Butrus and Rahil al-Bustani and John and Salome Wortabet.

This chapter introduced the Protestant Circle that developed in Beirut and on Mount Lebanon from 1823 to 1860. It presented the different groups that composed the

²²⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Rev. Trotter, Esq.' (Beirut, 16 October 1855). For more on the Free Church of Scotland's mission to Lebanon see J. Robertson Buchanan, 'The Story of the Lebanon Schools and the Free Church of Scotland' (n.s, n.s., 1957) and Marten, *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home*.

²²⁷ See *MH* (1836): 462-463; *MH* (1842): 362-364; ABCFM, *Station Report* (Mount Lebanon, 1845).

²²⁸ Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut: 159; *MH* (1845): 14-21; *MH* (1847): 184-188; *MH* (1849): 324-325; *MH* (1859): 76-77; *MH* (1859): 261-263.

²²⁹ *MH* (1845): 14-21; Hannie Wortabet, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Hasbaya, 7 October 1852): HHL: ABC 60 (98); Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 15 May 1844): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

Protestant Circle and the spaces where these persons met and interacted. It was shown that Beirut, particularly its suburbs, was an important location for these encounters and activities. This chapter also highlighted the structured relationships that emerged amongst the members of this new community, which reflected and reinforced the central position of the ABCFM male missionaries. A division based upon race was shown to have significantly affected the relationships amongst Protestants and the ways in which Protestant culture and religion were expressed. Nevertheless, while the ABCFM missionaries' definition of Protestant social, cultural and religious capital functioned as the normative terms for this community, their control was never total. Alternatives and contestations emerged throughout the period under review, so that the culture and religion of this community reflected the hybridity of its members, despite the persistence of structural inequalities.

CHAPTER FOUR: PROTESTANT WOMANHOOD

The Protestant Circle was a distinct space, where individuals from different backgrounds shared the hybrid culture and faith that defined this community. Although united in a Protestant identity, divisions and differences amongst members affected the way that the Circle functioned. Individuals varied in the reasons for joining the Circle, maintaining their Protestant commitment and the ways in which they embodied Protestant faith and culture. The previous chapter outlined the structural distribution of these differences and argued that a person's acquisition of education, expression of religion and social networks were affected by his/her race. The gender of a person also influenced his/her experience and expression of Protestantism. Analysing how gender was defined and negotiated within the Protestant Circle demonstrates that the inequalities of both race and gender shaped the ways that Protestantism was personally articulated and performed, through uncovering other important details of this community and the relationships that it encompassed.

Gender is defined as the attributes designated to differently sexed bodies within a specific society. Although gender is often identifiable, as male or female, it is

nevertheless unstable, multifarious and ever-changing.¹ Gender also acts like a form of capital, for the characteristics and roles that defined womanhood and manhood reflect the ideals of the elite within a society, which are then articulated and negotiated by all within the group.² While individuals are attributed a gendered identity, personal embodiment of these gender norms differs, so that subversions and alternative performances of womanhood and manhood can also be found. This results in a gendered hierarchy where those who 'properly' perform their gender are contrasted to those who 'improperly' represent their associated gender.³

This chapter investigates the definition of Protestant womanhood that emerged during the early to mid-nineteenth century. The choice to examine Protestant womanhood reflects my desire to explore women's relationship with Protestantism, as a religious and social identity, and the activities performed by women to demonstrate their Protestant commitment. Historical analyses of missionary and colonial encounters often concentrate upon the activities of men.⁴ Although some noticeable exceptions exist,⁵ women's voices within such histories, including that of the ABCFM's work in

¹ Judith Lorber and Susan A. Farrell, (eds.), *The Social Construction of Gender* (London: Sage, 1991): 1.

² Although Feminists differ on whether gender acts as a distinct, autonomous field, or as a characteristic within fields, this chapter draws upon both of these attributes of gender in order to fully understand the development and negotiation of womanhood within the Protestant Circle. Adkins and Skeggs, (eds.), *Feminism After Bourdieu*: 6; Moi, 'Appropriating Bourdieu': 1017-1049.

³ Lawler, 'Rules of engagement':110-125.

⁴ Although Said investigated gender in his later works, compare the Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Third Edition) (London: Penguin, 2003) to Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) and Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

⁵ These exceptions include, for the ABCFM: Fleischmann, 'Our Moslem Sisters'; McCoy, 'The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission'; for the United States: Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*; Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*; For Ottoman Syria and Lebanon: Khater, "'House" to "Goddess of the House"'; Khater, 'God has Called Me to be Free'; Margaret L. Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999); Jean Said Makdisi, "The Mythology of Modernizing: Women and Democracy in Lebanon", in: M. Yamani, (ed.), *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1996): 231-249.

Syria, tend to be silenced or relegated to marginal roles, often with the details of women's lives referenced to only in footnotes.⁶ In addition, much of this work overlooks the influence of gender on the missionary encounter even when focusing solely upon the activities of men. For example, the different definitions of masculinity that were performed by the missionaries and Syrian Protestant men are not thoroughly investigated and explained, nor are they compared/contrasted to the gendered identities of their female colleagues and the normative terms of masculinity operating in both Syria and the United States. I have chosen to concentrate upon womanhood in order to reposition women as central figures within this community, while leaving the analysis of Protestant masculinity for a future study. I also believe that employing a gendered lens to analyse the Protestant Circle is essential to uncover the activities of these women and identify the definitions of Protestantism that they embodied and subverted. This will emphasise the true complexities and dialectic nature of the Protestant community, and reveal new details of how the Protestants lived and performed their identity.

The first section of this chapter outlines the idealised roles for women within the Protestant Circle. These roles were based upon the normative definitions of Protestantism that were articulated by the ABCFM missionaries, which relegated women to positions outside of the Circle's central elite. The roles for women were also determined by the (perceived) differences amongst women, the most important being race, but also included marriage status and the age at which the woman joined the Circle. The second section investigates women's social networks as the sites where women learned and negotiated their associated role and judged others' gendered performances. The third section examines the activities performed by Protestant women to fulfil their gender roles. These included housekeeping and the acquisition of a Protestant education.

⁶ For example, Rahil (Ata) al-Bustani is mentioned only in a footnote in Tibawi, 'The American Missionaries in Beirut': 159 (note 80).

The Protestants' definitions of womanhood were affected by the changes unfolding in both the United States and Ottoman Syria, for which the mid-1840s served as an important turning point. During the 1840s, Syrian society was transformed by the expulsion of Muhammed Ali's government, the return of Ottoman authority, the emergence of a middle class and the modifications of religious identities. This prompted a rise in the number of Syrians within the Protestant Circle.⁷ Historians have also argued that the 1840s witnessed a rise in the suburban middle class, wide-spread use of mass-production and the loosening of Calvinism, all of which changed the gendering of American society.⁸ These new views were brought to the Syrian Station by the new missionaries who arrived after the mid-1840s, but particularly those who joined during the 1850s. In order to emphasise the effects of these changes on the definition of Protestant womanhood, the phrase 'early years' is used to describe the period from 1823 to the mid-1840s, while the 'later years' describes the period from the mid-1840s to 1860.

THE ROLES FOR PROTESTANT WOMEN IN OTTOMAN SYRIA

Evangelical work during the nineteenth century was a gendered activity, just as Protestantism was a gendered faith. Men and women were designated to certain roles, which were deemed necessary for the successful functioning of the evangelical endeavour. The primary role for all Protestant women in Syria was to strengthen the

⁷ Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in*: 30; Makdisi, 'Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism': 29-39; Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*: 6; Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*: 130-168; Ozveren, 'The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City': 159; Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity*: 45-49; Klink, 'Beyond the Tantar'.

⁸ McDannel, *Material Christianities*: 67-102; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*: 145-185; Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*: 126-159; KleinBurg, *Women in the United States, 1830-1945*: 80-102; Welter, 'The Feminization of American Religion': 157-179; Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*.

Protestant Circle. Despite this shared objective, divisions amongst women affected how this role was individually defined and pursued. The primary division amongst women was by race, with the roles for 'missionary women' differing from those for 'Syrian' women. Other distinctions were based upon marriage status and the age at which a woman joined the Protestant Circle. This section outlines the different roles for women and argues that these roles functioned as the normative standards for women's identities and activities, so that the women who properly fulfilled their associated role functioned as role models for others to emulate.⁹

THE ROLES FOR MISSIONARY WOMEN

The roles for women in missionary encounters were not clearly articulated during the early years of the ABCFM's work in the Ottoman Empire. The initial sending of missionaries by the ABCFM to the 'Near East' predated the establishment of the Syrian Station by four years. The unmarried Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk were sent in 1819 to investigate the region and were joined in 1822 by the then single Jonas King.¹⁰ The founding of the Syrian Station at Beirut occurred in 1823, when the two missionaries, William Goodell and Isaac Bird settled in this city with their wives, Abigail and Ann. A letter written by Goodell and Bird in 1829 illuminates that, although the ABCFM preferred to send married missionary couples to establish permanent stations, this stance was flexible, for their letter explains that William was originally scheduled to serve as a single missionary. Shortly before William's departure however, he married Abigail. The unexpected change in Goodell's marriage status (and the new cost of sending another person to Syria) 'called forth an expression of surprise from some of the members [of the ABCFM's Prudential Committee]'.¹¹ This suggests that the station

⁹ Compare with the use of female authors and biographical subjects as models for readers in late nineteenth century Egyptian literature. Booth, *May Her Likes be Multiplied*.

¹⁰ Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*: 98; Tracey, 'HABCFM': 80

¹¹ Bird and Goodell, 'Letter to Jowett' (n.s., 4 February 1829).

in Syria was to be founded regardless of the number of women sent with the (male) missionaries.

During subsequent years, the commissioning of missionaries, gendered as male, was not affected by the men's marriage status. From 1830 to 1840, three of the eight new missionaries were unmarried when they arrived at the station. Although two returned to the United States to find a wife, two of the originally married missionaries became widowers at the station. The acceptance of missionary men's single status during these early years suggests that the ABCFM perceived missionary women to be unnecessary for the early development of the Syrian Station.¹² In contrast to the 'problems' of interracial sexuality at other colonial encounters, Syrian women were not regarded as sexual threats or distractions to the ABCFM missionaries during the early period.¹³ No reports of ABCFM missionary men engaging in sexual relations with Syrian women before 1860 were found in the material researched for this thesis, although a German missionary, Henry Reichardt married the Syrian Protestant, Hannie Wortabet, in the early 1850s. If Syrian women had been perceived as sexual threats it is likely that there would have been a call for each male missionary to be accompanied by an American woman to serve as a wife and properly satisfy the missionaries' needs.¹⁴ It is also

¹² Different opinions on the marriage of missionaries were articulated by members of the ABCFM. See Bird and Goodell, 'Letter to Jowett' (n.s., 4 February 1829); Rufus Anderson in *MH* (1842): 422-424; Smith, 'Letter to Rufus Anderson' (Beirut, 19 October 1855).

¹³ Compare this to the 'problem' faced by British merchants who were 'offered' services by Hawaiian women during the late nineteenth century and British officials who married and/or enslaved Indian women during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Sahlin, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities*: 40-41; 47-48; Clancy-Smith, 'Methodologies: Colonialism: 18th to Early 20th Century': 102. For an analysis on interracial marriages in the United States during the nineteenth century see Margaret D. Jacobs, 'The Eastmans and the Luhans: Interracial Marriage between White Women and Native American Men, 1875-1935', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 23:3 (2002): 29-54. Further research is needed to explain the argument that the Female Seminary 'should not be [reopened] in Abeih because the male Seminary is there'. n.s., 'Report of Female Seminary' (n.s., 1855): PHS: RG 115 Box 3-1:B: 8.

¹⁴ Compare with the ABCFM's stance in 1863, when wives were regarded as 'a protection among savages, and [missionary] men can not there long make a tolerable home without them'. Anderson, *MV*: 272.

important to note that the sexual vulnerability of missionary women, either single or married, was not an overt concern for the Syrian Station until the late 1850s. Nancy Stockdale argues that it was only after the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 in India and the attack on Matilda Creasy outside Jerusalem in 1858, that the vulnerability of white women living the 'East' was exposed, or as Stockdale posits, created.¹⁵ The publicity of these events and 'risks' of white women in foreign lands reflected a new phase in gender construction that included the exoticisation of Syrian women, which increased after 1860.¹⁶

Nonetheless and despite this lack of perceived necessity, many missionary men married American women. Most marriages took place shortly before embarking to the station and brought together like-minded Christians. Similar to their husbands, many of the future missionary women were active in the religious and social reform organisations that emerged in the United States during the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ Before her marriage to Eli Smith, for example, Sarah Huntington engaged in a variety of religious activities, which included service as an independent missionary to Amerindians in New York.¹⁸ During her pre-ABCFM years, Sarah wrote:

I have more than once, of late, wished myself a young minister. The triumphs of Divine grace, and the presages of millennial glory, sometimes induce such overpowering impulses in my soul, that I want to burst the confines of my sex, and go forth a public ambassador for Christ.¹⁹

Through mission work, Sarah blurred (but could not erase) the confines placed upon her by American gender norms and pursued her evangelical calling through conducting devotional exercises at female prayer meetings and instructing Bible

¹⁵ Stockdale, 'Danger and the Missionary Enterprise': 113-132.

¹⁶ Syrian women became objects of sexual desire in missionary and missionary-approved literature during the late 1850s. Lindner, 'From Rebecca to the 'Three Dancing Girls of Egypt'.

¹⁷ McCoy, 'The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission': 70; Williams, 'Rebecca Williams Hebard': 9; Hill, *The World Their Household*: 10-14.

¹⁸ Hooker, *MSLS*: 38-50

¹⁹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 30.

Classes.²⁰ 'Domestic' mission work also allowed women meet others who faced similar struggles and the men whom they could marry and pursue, together, their missionary callings.

After their marriage and upon arrival in Syria, the primary role for missionary women was to support the evangelical endeavour and the new Protestant community.

The activities performed by married missionary women to fulfil this role during the early years reflected the women's individual interests and qualifications. Similar to her work in the United States, Sarah Smith organised and taught at mission schools, trained boarding students, participated in female prayer meetings and exchanged visitations with Syrian woman. As a result, Sarah spent between three and four hours each day outside of her house, leaving her with little time to perform domestic chores.²¹ Other married missionary women organised schools during this



period in order to educate their own children as well as Syrian children.²² This may have been a continuation of their previous teaching experiences, for it can be argued

²⁰ Hooker, *MSLS*: 273. Historians have shown that white women's exploration of gender during colonising and missionary encounters were complex and at times contradictory experiences. Compare the articles in Huber and Lutkenhaus, (eds.), *GM*; Chaudhuri and Strobel (eds.), *Western Women and Imperialism*.

²¹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 206, 266-268.

²² *MH* (1834): 127-128, 411-412; *MH* (1836): 8.

that, due to their high levels of formal education,²³ most missionary women taught at home, Sabbath or common schools in the United States before commencing their missionary careers.

During the 1830s and early 1840s, single missionary women were employed by the ABCFM to serve as 'assistant missionaries' at the Syrian Station. Their role was to work with married missionary women in providing for the Protestant community. Like married missionary women, the activities pursued by single missionaries to fulfil this role were determined by the women's own interests and health, but often included teaching at schools and assisting in managing Protestant households. Numerous letters were sent from the missionaries in Syria to the ABCFM's Prudential Committee in Boston requesting that female relatives or close friends be hired for such positions. Sarah Smith supported the application of Rebecca Williams, who was her former co-missionary to Amerindians in New York,²⁴ while Elias Beadle requested that his cousin, Eliza Foate, join his family in 1841.²⁵ Despite these numerous requests, the ABCFM hired only a few single women to serve as assistant missionaries. This hesitancy was reinforced by the precariousness of the women's position, for many wed single missionary men, became ill and returned to the United States, or died at the station.²⁶ One interesting 'assistant missionary' for the Syrian Station was 'Miss Badger'.²⁷ Unlike other missionaries, she was an English citizen who was raised in Malta, along with her

²³e.g Gilman, 'Candidate Letter for Sarah Lanman Huntington' (Norwich, 11 May 1833): HHL: ABC 6, v.12; Henry Ely, 'Candidate Letter for Maria M. Chapin' (n.s., 28 January 1841): HHL: ABC 6, v.17.

²⁴ Williams, 'Rebecca Williams Hebard': 10-11; Smith, 'Letter to Rebecca Williams' (Beirut, 13 May 1834).

²⁵ Elias R. Beadle, 'Letter to Rev. R. Anderson' (Beirut, 16 January 1841): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 133B-134A; Leander Thompson, 'Letter to Dr. Anderson' (Beirut, 25 January 1841): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 474-475; Charles A. Sherman, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Beirut, 3 April 1841): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 250B.

²⁶ These are noted in Appendix I.

²⁷ The first name of this woman is unknown.

brother George, a printer and translator for the CMS.²⁸ Miss Badger was hired by the ABCFM due to her knowledge of both English and Maltese. Her assigned role was to run common schools for Syrian children in Beirut; a role in which she received praises from the ABCFM missionaries for successfully fulfilling.²⁹

Although the activities of missionary women, single or married, were not strictly delineated by the ABCFM during the early years, their position within the community was affected by their gender. Men were regarded as the official missionaries by the ABCFM, while their wives and single female colleagues were designated as their 'assistants'. The majority of the 'official' work at the Syrian Station was performed by men, which was reported to the Prudential Committee through 'Annual Reviews' and conveyed to the American populace through the *Missionary Herald*. These reports show that, similar to practices in the United States and Ottoman Syria, Protestant women did not conduct religious services or lead prayers over large, mixed-sex audiences. Rather, women held convocations with other women and children, and possibly servants, both within their homes and during private visitations.³⁰ Women were prohibited from attending official missionary meetings, except for when they were invited to sit as 'silent spectators'.³¹ This gendered hierarchy affected the monetary support given by the ABCFM to the Syrian Station. While the Protestants regarded female education to be an important channel to engage with and reform Syrian women, their petitions for more money and female teachers were laced

²⁸ For more on George Badger, especially his relationship with Faris al-Shidyaq, see Geoffrey Roper, 'George Percy Badger (1815-1888)', *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)*, 11: 2 (1984): 140-155.

²⁹ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1837); Thomson and Hebard, 'Report of the Female School for 1838'; *MH* (1838): 475.

³⁰ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "'Dear Mother of My Soul": Fidelity Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth Century Iran', *Exchange*, 30:1 (2001): 47.

³¹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 219.

with the fears that this branch of work would be closed in order to focus upon the 'real' missionary work of evangelism and training pastors.³²

During the late 1840s and 1850s, the idealised roles for missionary women were limited by the narrowing of gender within the Protestant Circle to a more rigid binary. The new role for a married missionary woman was to support her husband in conducting his missionary work. One way that a missionary wife performed this role was to maintain a well-run household. In 1848, Hetty Smith wrote:

I do not intend to forget the instructions I received in Boston—"first of all it is your duty to take care of your husband." The work he has undertaken is one of such importance and his life and health are so valuable to the church I must do all I can for his comfort—for this reason I give more thought to providing for the table and such like things than I otherwise should-not to make nice things but to see that all things are prepared so that they will not injure him.³³

Hetty's role, as a missionary wife, contrasted that performed by Eli's first wife Sarah, whose 'commitment to mission preceded [her] commitment to the husband' during the 1830s.³⁴ Instead of being concerned, like Sarah, with how domestic responsibilities drew her away from engaging with Syrians, Hetty argued in 1847 that 'the care of my husband...is most agreeable missionary work'.³⁵

However, this new role for married missionary women was viewed by the ABCFM as problematic for the evangelical goals of the Syrian Station. As early as 1842, Rufus Anderson, the Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM, lamented that the demands of missionary families restricted the amount of work carried out on the mission field. Anderson argued that missionary wives and mothers were hesitant to reside at

³² Cornelius V.A. Van Dyck, 'The Governing Object in Missions to the Heathen', in: *MSM*: 9-12; Robert, *American Women in Mission*: 117.

³³ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 9 May 1848): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 18; Robert, *American Women in Mission*: 61.

³⁴ Robert, *American Women in Mission*: 21.

³⁵ Emphasis in original. Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 'Monday Eve'g' [Winter 1847-8]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 21 July 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17.

locations that did not have certified doctors, while the number of deaths and missionaries returned to the United States was higher for wives than for single missionaries (the latter's gender was not specified).³⁶ Although Anderson maintained that women 'in her appropriate sphere...is as courageous and self-denying as man', he perceived the (increasingly narrowed) work of women to be a liability for the ABCFM, which also reveals the burgeoning tensions between the ABCFM and women missionaries, which erupted after 1860.³⁷

To correct the 'problem' of married missionary women, the roles for single female missionaries was also reconfigured. While married missionary women limited their work to providing for their families, the few single missionary women who were hired by the ABCFM or affiliated with the Syrian Station, served as teachers for Syrian women and children, and occasionally for missionary children.³⁸ These single missionary women were classified as part of married missionary women's household, emphasising that their work complimented that provided by their married colleagues.³⁹

However, circumstances in Syria often prevented these changes from being fully actualised. The single missionary Anna Louisa Whittlesey died roughly a year after arriving in Syria,⁴⁰ while the school run by Amelia Temple was disrupted by the outbreak of war in 1860.⁴¹ Like all new missionaries, single female missionaries lacked the language skills needed to conduct schools and visit Syrian women upon arrival. As a result, married missionary women, such as Catherine DeForest and Matilda Whiting, continued to provide educational services for Syrian women. However, as Catherine

³⁶ The demographics of missionaries at the Syrian Station do not support Anderson's hypothesis. See Appendix I.

³⁷ *MH* (1842): 422-424. This resulted in the breaking away of independent missionary organisations for women in the 1860s. See Robert, *American Women in Mission*: 115-133.

³⁸ *MH* (1852): 146; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Syria, 1854); Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 3 May 1851); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 31 January 1856): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 23; Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird' (Beirut, 27 November 1850).

³⁹ n.s., 'Report of Female Seminary' (n.s., 1855).

⁴⁰ Anna Louisa Whittlesey may have been the sister of Roxana Whittlesey Foote.

⁴¹ *MH* (1853): 191; Bliss, *RDS*: 130; Jessup, *WA*: 97.

and Matilda's works was focused primarily upon those living in their households (and other close associates), their activities upheld the narrowing of married missionary women's work to that for the members of their households.

These (idealised) changes reinforced the gendered hierarchy already functioning within the Protestant Circle. The 'official' work of missions continued to be conducted by men, with missionary women marginalised to assistant and auxiliary positions.⁴² Missionary women were also denied access to the new leadership positions that developed within the community, including that of presbyter and elder for the ECB.⁴³ Despite the persistence of this gendered hierarchy, the activities of missionary women in constructing and nurturing the Protestant Circle can not be overlooked.

THE ROLES FOR SYRIAN WOMEN

Like missionary women, the primary role for Syrian women in the Protestant Circle was to encourage Protestant conversion and the development of the new community. The principle means through which Syrian women fulfilled their role was through serving as models for Protestantism to others. The divisions amongst Syrian women affected the ways that this role was defined and actualised. The age at which a woman joined the Protestant Circle was the most important criterion of distinction amongst Syrian Protestant women. In this section, 'old' refers to the women who joined the Circle when they were adults. These women served as exemplars through maintaining a Protestant commitment despite the difficulties that it created for them. 'Young' defines those who joined the Circle when they were children and were raised primarily within the Protestant community. These women embodied Protestant womanhood

⁴² Compare the proposed roles for Sarah and William Bird in Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird' (Beirut, 27 November 1850).

⁴³ Wortabet, *RRS*: 403; *MH* (1848): 268-269.

more completely than older women, which they demonstrated through serving as teachers and becoming the wives and mothers of Protestant families.

The Syrian women who joined the Protestant Circle as adults embodied a culture that was similar to their non-Protestant Syrian neighbours through the clothing they wore, the food they ate and the mannerism they upheld. Participation in the Protestant Circle however, demanded that these women reconfigure their lifestyles and adapt to the new culture of the community; which they did so in varying degrees. Although the women asserted a Protestant commitment, the ABCFM often viewed older women with caution and feared that they would 'backslide' to their previous religious and social practices.⁴⁴ As a result, many older Syrian Protestant women were relegated to peripheral positions within the Protestant Circle.

Nonetheless, some older Syrian Protestant women were positively received and promoted as examples of Protestant commitment for others. Most of these women were initially affiliated with the Protestants through their husbands or children,⁴⁵ but became members of the Mission Church or the ECB through their own activities.⁴⁶ They pursued the Protestant faith by attending Protestant Sabbath services and weekly prayer meetings.⁴⁷ Some were employed by the ABCFM missionaries as servants or assistants in schools, while most sent their children to acquire a Protestant education.⁴⁸ Even if illiterate, these older women enacted proper Protestant behaviour at church by quietly listening to sermons and reciting Bible stories.⁴⁹

Some of the older Syrian Protestant women faced discrimination because of their conversion. Threats of excommunication were voiced by ecclesiastical leaders against the women who worked in the homes of the missionaries or who sent their

⁴⁴ *MH* (1846): 414.

⁴⁵ *MH* (1828): 51; *MH* (1846): 414-415.

⁴⁶ *MH* (1845): 148-149; *MH* (1854): 134.

⁴⁷ *MH* (1857): 152.

⁴⁸ Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Rochester, [N.Y.], 7 October 1857): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 2; *MH* (1835): 93; *MH* (1847): 183; *MH* (1850): 258.

⁴⁹ *MH* (1849): 324-325; *MH* (1851): 238.

children to Protestant schools.⁵⁰ Some were even targeted with violence by their non-Protestant neighbours.⁵¹ It was through maintaining their commitment to the Protestant Circle despite their struggles in learning Protestant religious practices and in persevering through incidents of persecution that some older Syrian Protestant women were promoted as models of Protestant womanhood to their neighbours.⁵²

The women who joined the Protestant Circle when they were children embodied another standard of Protestantism for Syrians. Some of these women had Protestant parents, although their defining characteristic was being educated at the boarding and common schools run by the ABCFM missionaries. Due to this education, the culture and religion of these young women were better regulated by the ABCFM missionaries and more consistently upheld their ideals of Protestant womanhood.⁵³ This allowed for young Syrian women to serve as 'female helpers in the great work of evangelizing this community'.⁵⁴

One channel through which these women fulfilled their role was through teaching. Educating others was an important medium through which women, like Rahil Ata, Salome Carabet, Hanne Wortabet and Sada Sabunjy, demonstrated their high levels of formal education and language proficiency, and encouraged others to uphold Protestant ideals.⁵⁵ Young Syrian Protestant women not only taught Syrian children, but were sent to out-stations to instruct new converts on how to behave like Protestants and to prevent them from blacksliding.⁵⁶ In 1844, the then single Rahil Ata told the missionaries that she was willing to move to Hasbaya, presumably to teach the new

⁵⁰ *MH* (1828): 48; Hooker, *MSLS*: 115-116.

⁵¹ William Eddy wrote that Protestant women in Cana were beaten and almost poisoned by unnamed assailants in *MH* (1859): 262.

⁵² *MH* (1846): 414-415.

⁵³ Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 435.

⁵⁴ *MSM*: 21.

⁵⁵ Henry DeForest in Jessup, *WA*: 75; Catherine DeForest in Jessup, *WA*: 80; Sada Barakat in Jessup, *WA*: 86-87. Henry Harris Jessup, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 3 April 1857): *YDS*: HHJ Box 1: Folder 4; Jessup, *WA*: 115; *MSM*: 21.

⁵⁶ DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 15 May 1844); Wortabet, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Hasbaya, 7 October 1852).

converts at this location.⁵⁷ A few years later, Hanne Wortabet, her brother John and his wife Salome continued Rahil's work in Hasbaya. While John functioned as a 'native minister', Hannie and Salome organised schools and religious meetings for Syrian Protestant women and children.⁵⁸

A second channel through which young women served as models for others was as the wives of Syrian Protestant men.⁵⁹ The number of men who joined the Protestant Circle exceeded the number of women throughout the period under review. In 1848, Hetty Smith lamented that one Syrian Protestant man married an uneducated, non-Protestant woman, who Hetty felt compromised the man's Protestant lifestyle and commitment.⁶⁰ Syrian Protestant women were sought after for marriage by Syrian Protestant men, since it was believed that these women would ensure that their homes would be well-run, healthy environments where Protestant values were upheld and conveyed to children.⁶¹

This 'need' for Syrian Protestant women to marry Syrian Protestant men reflected the changes in the gendering of the Protestant Circle during the 1840s and 1850s.⁶² During these years, many Protestant men argued that the primary focus for women's activities should be the home, even if it created problems like those

⁵⁷ DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 15 May 1844).

⁵⁸ Jessup, *WA*: 66.

⁵⁹ *MH* (1842): 114.

⁶⁰ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Beirut, 27 November [1848]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17; Jessup, *WA*: 74.

⁶¹ Eli Smith, 'Letter to My Dear Parents [Mr. and Mrs. Lanman]' (Beirut, 7 June 1842): YDS: ES Box 6: Folder 2.

⁶² Similar sentiments were presented as justifications for a contemporary Nestorian (Assyrian) Protestant, Oshana, to wed another Protestant, Sarah. This suggests that the emerging role for educated woman to be wives and housekeepers was part of a larger trend within missionary encounters and other 'civilising' reforms. Murre-van den Berg, 'Dear Mother of My Soul': 43-44; Robert, *American Women in Mission*: 111-114; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*: 135; Jane Haggis, "'Good Wives and Mothers" or "Dedicated Workers": Contradictions of Domesticity in the "Mission of Sisterhood", Travancore South India', in: K. Ram and M. Jolly (eds.), *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 81-106.

articulated by Rufus Anderson for missionary women discussed above. In 1849, Butrus al-Bustani presented a paper to the Syrian Society for Arts and Sciences entitled 'Khitab fi T`alim al-Nisa' ('Discourse on the Education of Women').⁶³ In this paper, al-Bustani called for the increase in educational services for Syrian women, which he justified by asking '[how] can she be an intelligent wife, a kind companion, a wise counsellor, a faithful spouse, aiding her husband, lightening his sufferings, training his children, and caring for his home, without education?'⁶⁴ For al-Bustani, and many other Protestants, women were to serve as models of Protestantism through guiding the moral development of their children, caring for their husband's needs and managing a well-run household. As this ideal was being constructed and articulated however, Syrian Protestant women continued to negotiate the different influences on their activities, which, as the rest of this chapter will illuminate, problematised this narrowing of women's roles.

PROTESTANT WOMEN'S NETWORKS

Social networks are important channels through which idealised gender roles are transferred to individuals and where the appropriate activities to fulfil these roles are encouraged and negotiated. Although the interactions amongst men and women influence the development of gender, this section investigates the networks formed by Protestant women in order to uncover the relationships that emerged amongst women and to emphasise their function in constructing and negotiating their gendered identity. Many of these networks were based upon real and discursive ties of kinship, which

⁶³ Butrus Al-Bustani, 'Khitab fi T`alim al-Nisa' [1849], in Y. Qizma Khuri (ed.), *A`mal al-Jam'iyah al-Suriyah lil-`Ulum wal-Funun, 1847-1852* (Beirut, 1990): 45-53.

⁶⁴ Translated in Jessup, WA: 161.

emphasises the important (but not the sole) influence of the family on Protestant women's identities.

As Protestant womanhood was neither singularly defined nor a static concept, this analysis divides women's networks into two sections: those formed by missionary women and those created by Syrian Protestant women. While some of these relationships overlapped, this separation is maintained to emphasis that race divided women in the Protestant Circle. Other factors are also recognised as influencing women's social interactions including their position in the Circle, marriage status, the age at which they joined the community and their length of residency in the region. This investigation not only examines how Protestant women interacted with each other, but also how they engaged with the 'non-Protestant' women who were positioned along the perimeter or outside of the Protestant Circle.⁶⁵ In so doing, this section re-considers, with a gendered lens, the boundaries that defined the Protestant Circle and the divisions that fragmented this community.

MISSIONARY WOMEN'S NETWORKS

Mission work necessitated the construction of new alliances. Separation from home demanded that missionary women construct new support networks, while relationships were forged as part of the evangelical endeavour. These new bonds were often fictive ties of kinship, which were reinforced through marriage and/or shared living arrangements.

One set of networks created by the ABCFM missionary women were with other American and European residents and missionaries in Beirut. In addition to the ABCFM missionaries, this group included the missionaries' relatives who visited the region, the wives of the American, British and Prussian Consuls, and the missionaries

⁶⁵ See Appendix IV.

(or wives of missionaries) from other 'acceptable' organisations, such as the CMS.⁶⁶ The women in this group regarded each other as equals, so that the bonds they formed were comparable to those between sisters, which was how the missionaries viewed these relationships.⁶⁷ For example, 'sisterly attentions' were given to a woman during her pregnancy, child birth and in caring for young children.⁶⁸ These women also exchanged emotional support during periods of trial. After the death of her son, Hetty Smith noted that '[d]ear Mrs. Whiting and Mrs. Sergeant [the mother of Catherine DeForest] came to me at once and Mrs. [Whiting] took from me my babe to prepare him for his last resting place.'⁶⁹ These 'sisters' also helped a widow prepare the funeral for her late husband and offered advice on how to navigate her now precarious position within the ABCFM. In 1835, Sarah Smith wrote to Martha Dodge and asked her to remain in Syria after the death of her husband, Asa. Through the tone of this letter, Sarah emphasised Martha's own importance to the station. Sarah wrote:

I have imagined your sainted husband, now more of a missionary at heart than ever before, as speaking thus:-"My dear Martha, you have passed through many trials, it is true, in this foreign land, but perhaps the worst are over; and if you can preserve your health, and devote yourself to the poor females of Syria, whose language you have just acquired, and train up our little daughter to love and labour for them too, I would rather be your ministering spirit here, than in that land which is surfeited with religious privileges [meaning the United States]."⁷⁰

With Sarah's help and assurance, Martha remained in Syria for a number of years and fought the ABCFM to keep her husband's private medical supplies as her own assets.

Sisterly care was also offered when a woman faced challenges to her missionary services. In 1835, Sarah Smith affirmed Matilda Whiting's missionary calling after

⁶⁶ See Appendix I:A and III:A. Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 31 August 1851); *MH* (1835): 46-53; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 31 July 1856): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1.

⁶⁷ Sarah Smith, 'Letter to Rebecca Williams' (Beirut, 5 August 1835): HHL: ABC 6 (110).

⁶⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Parents' (Beirut: 30 May 1842).

⁶⁹ Henrietta Smith, 'Incomplete Letter' (n.s., May 1850): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20.

⁷⁰ Hooker, *MSLS*: 140-141.

Susan Wortabet refused to send her daughter, Hannie, to live and be educated by Matilda. Sarah's letter was also written to mollify the tensions between Susan and Matilda. Sarah commented that:

I have thought of you, dear sister, in your lonely situation and hope and pray that accordingly to your warm desires God will put work into your hands to do speedily. Aside from higher results, I think some appropriate [means] of work would promote your health and cheerfulness.⁷¹

It is important to recognise that while Sarah addressed Matilda as 'sister', she did not consider Susan to be an equal. Rather, as in other occasions, Susan was relegated to another, lower position by the missionary women, illuminating the racial divide that excluded Syrian women from this 'kinship' of sisters.

The exchange of material goods reinforced the 'sisterly' bonds amongst the American-European women of the Protestant Circle. Until the restructuring of the Syrian Station in 1855, missionary women often resided in the same household or within short walking distance of others in this group.⁷² Consequently, items of food were often shared, especially those produced in the United States. If a missionary received a package of 'American flour', which was described as less coarse than flour in Syria,⁷³ she divided the bag and shared it amongst the other women at the Syrian Station.⁷⁴ This flour was used sparingly, to bake cakes on special occasions or when the missionary was homesick. These baked goods were fed not only to the woman's family, but were shared with others residing in the household or partaking in the meal.⁷⁵ In a similar manner, Mrs. J. Hosford Smith, the wife of the American consul in Beirut, distributed piglets to the missionary families.⁷⁶ Although not employed by the ABCFM, this Smith couple was active in the Protestant Circle and were close neighbours of

⁷¹ Sarah Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (Beirut, 4 June 1835): HHL: ABC 60 (110).

⁷² This change was the result of Rufus Andersons' visit in 1854.

⁷³ DeForest, 'Journal'; Bliss, *RDS*: 120.

⁷⁴ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847).

⁷⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847).

⁷⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 31 August 1851).

Hetty and Eli Smith.⁷⁷ Reflecting upon her gift, Hetty Smith wrote: '[you] will think Mrs. [J. H.] Smith is a good neighbour. She is indeed. She is a most excellent pious woman and a good friend to me'.⁷⁸

These edible exchanges were important for they emphasised the racial boundary of this network. The items shared amongst 'sisters' were based upon American-European cuisine, which was argued to be different from Syrian cuisine. Although ABCFM missionary women occasionally consumed Syrian dishes, there was a repeated emphasis that these were 'foreign' foods.⁷⁹ The aforementioned exchange of pigs illuminates this boundary, for the consumption of swine was prohibited, or at least discouraged by many Syrians, including Muslims, Jews and some Christians.⁸⁰ The ABCFM missionaries and other travellers to the region commented on their difficulty in acquiring pigs during their travels,⁸¹ so that the exchange and consumption of swine can be regarded as a practice that set Euro-American women apart from their Syrian colleagues and neighbours, while illuminating an emotion that was shared by these women: a craving of pork.

This network amongst ABCFM missionary women and European-American Protestant women was often presented as harmonious within the official records of the Syrian Station and the *Missionary Herald*. However, the private correspondences of missionaries reveal cracks and tensions within this group. One source of tension emerged with the living arrangements within missionary households, which were often shared by different families. Contestations arose over the title (and power) given to the 'housekeeper', or the primary matron of the shared households, despite the emphasis placed upon the equality of missionary 'sisters'. Hetty Smith also voiced frustration in having to provide for the Martin family, who were American travellers to the region

⁷⁷ Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 1 May 1850).

⁷⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 31 August 1851).

⁷⁹ Abby Bliss in Bliss, *RDS*: 129-130.

⁸⁰ Thomson, *LB*: 287.

⁸¹ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 31 August 1851); Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird' (Beirut, 27 November 1850); Thomson, *LB*: 22.

and resided in Hetty's household for a number of weeks. Although she complained about the additional burden on her time and money, Hetty felt obliged to provide suitable space and food for her guests as part of her housekeeping duties.⁸² Supervising children's lessons served as another source of strain amongst women in this group. In 1856, Hetty Smith argued that the reason for her daughter Sarah's difficulties at school was that Sarah was 'naughty and partly because Miss Watson [who was running a school for missionary children] does not love children well enough to manage them.'⁸³

Personality differences were other strains on these sisterly bonds. Caroline Jessup appears to have been a difficult woman to associate with. Her marriage to the missionary Henry Harris Jessup and initial sending to Syria was delayed due to a psychological illness, most likely depression.⁸⁴ Upon receiving news of this situation, Eli Smith wrote that '[in] view of such a disease in his lady, I should think Mr. [Jessup] would give up his engagement to marry her', and thus serve as a single missionary.⁸⁵ Despite these admonitions, Henry and Caroline were wed in 1858. When Caroline joined the Syrian Station however, Eli's caution became reality, for Caroline's relationship with the other women at the station was both trying and uncomfortable. In a letter to a friend, Caroline wrote (in a somewhat confusing language) that 'Mrs. Lyon is not great so much reserved as used to be but I have been a long time trying to make her acquaintance. Do not mention it.'⁸⁶ Caroline's tension with Catherine Lyon was unusual considering that her husband was close friends of both Catherine and J. Lorenzo Lyon. This awkwardness sharply contrasted the sisterly bonds that developed

⁸² Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (n.s., 27 June [1856]): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 11 July 1856): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 19 July 1856): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1; Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 31 July 1856).

⁸³ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 24 July 1856): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1.

⁸⁴ Although Henry Harris Jessup was very verbose about his activities, his relationship with Caroline during her illness was only briefly mentioned in his public writings, while large sections of his private diaries have been removed. See YDS: HHJ Box 2, 6 and 8.

⁸⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Rufus Anderson' (Beirut, 19 October 1855).

⁸⁶ Caroline Jessup, 'Letter to Brother Samuel, [attached to Henry Harris Jessup]' (Duma, 18 January 1859): YDS: HHJ Box 1: Folder 6.

amongst other missionary women and Euro-American residents of the region, which were emphasised in the public accounts of the community.⁸⁷

The relationships between ABCFM missionary women and Syrian Protestant women reflected a hierarchical relationship, such as mother-daughter or teacher-student, more so than the sisterly bonds discussed above.⁸⁸ Regardless of her elevated position amongst Syrian Protestant women, Rahil (Ata) al-Bustani was repeatedly situated in a mother-daughter relationship by the ABCFM missionary women. In their eyes, Rahil was not an equal, for she was 'almost Frank'.⁸⁹ Similarly, Susan Wortabet was never regarded as an equal, for she was an 'assistant' teacher who was 'very young and giddy and unpromising'.⁹⁰ Her unequal status was emphasised during Susan's conflict with Matilda Whiting. The missionaries assumed that Susan would automatically and unreservedly place her daughter Hannie under Matilda's care and were shocked when Susan refused to do so. Despite Susan's contestation however, Hannie was relocated to Jerusalem and resided with Matilda Whiting. From this point, the ABCFM referred to Hannie, not as Susan's daughter, but as 'one of Mrs. Whiting's well-trained pupils'.⁹¹

Despite this inequality and occasional discord, fondness developed between the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestant women.⁹² 'Salaams' were exchanged between missionary women and Syrian Protestant women, often through letters sent to members of the Protestant Circle.⁹³ For example, 'Um Mansour'⁹⁴ asked Sarah al-

⁸⁷ Compare with Bliss, *RDB*: 99; Hooker, *MSLS*: 198-199.

⁸⁸ Murre-van den Berg, 'Dear Mother of my Soul', 37; Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 427-448; Fleischmann, 'Our Moslem Sisters': 307-323; Fleischmann, 'The Impact of American Protestant Missions': 411-426.

⁸⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 15 March 1847).

⁹⁰ *MH* (1828): 51.

⁹¹ *MH* (1850): 258; Jessup, *WA*: 57; ABCFM, *Station Report* (Beirut, 1850).

⁹² Hooker, *MSLS*: 128.

⁹³ al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., n.d.); Butrus al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Souq el-Gharb, 16 August 1855): HHL: ABC 60 (12).

⁹⁴ The identity of this woman is unclear. In this letter, her name appears as either 'Um Chansour' or 'Um Mansour', with the latter being the most likely name. She may be the wife of Shaheen

Bustani, to transcribe a letter to Hetty Smith and thank her for the previous note and daguerreotype of Hetty and her children.⁹⁵ Um Mansour's dictation ended: 'I wish you would give my salaams to Charles [Hetty's stepson], and kisses to the younger children. I want to see you and them very much.' A post-script was added by Sarah, who wrote: '[w]e miss you and Charles very much but when we see your pictures we think of you both and wish you were here to see us'.⁹⁶ This letter is significant for it shows the tender feelings exchanged between Syrian Protestant women and missionary women, as well as the medium through which this affection was expressed: through the exchange of letters and daguerreotypes.

The amicable (but unequal) bonds that linked missionary women and Syrian Protestant women often developed through their shared religious experiences. From the early to mid-nineteenth century, Sabbath worship was conducted in spaces that separated men from women by curtains or walls.⁹⁷ This gendered division was continued at other religious services, such as the 'Female Prayer Meetings', where Protestant women prayed with each other and shared personal concerns.⁹⁸ Bible Classes were other occasions that brought together missionary and Syrian Protestant women. In 1853, Loanza Benton organised a Bible Class in Bhamdoun, which was attended by both missionary women and women from the village, some of whom eventually became members of the ECB. In 1857, this class was 'regarded [by the ABCFM] as the most promising movement among the women which as yet appeared in the history of

Barakat, who was once referred as 'Abu Mansour', although she may be the cleaner for the Smith family, who was called 'Im Mouchiar'. Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands*: 420; Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847).

⁹⁵ Neither of these daguerreotypes were found in the ABCFM archives. For a history of photography in Lebanon see Fouad Debbas, *Mount Lebanon: Early Photographs* (London: Folios, 1996).

⁹⁶ al-Bustani, 'Letter to Hetty Smith' (n.s., 8 June n.d.).

⁹⁷ *MH* (1859): 137. One account suggests that only the Arabic services were divided by gender. Robinson and Smith, *BR: III*: 26. Little information is available to determine the types of prayers performed at these female only services.

⁹⁸ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut: [late 1849]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 19.

this mission'.⁹⁹ Young Syrian Protestant women also organised Bible Classes to instruct new Protestants on the basic concepts of their new faith.¹⁰⁰ Although Bible Classes were opportunities for women, both missionary and Syrian, to reflect upon their spiritual state,¹⁰¹ a noticeable hierarchy of power and religious capital underlined the structure of these meetings, for the teacher (either missionary or young Syrian) instructed and guided the religious development of the new converts.¹⁰² Nevertheless, feelings of empathy and tenderness emerged amongst Protestant women through these religious experiences.

Missionary women also forged associations with the 'Frank' residents of Syria, who they referred to as 'nominal' Protestants,¹⁰³ for although many proclaimed to be Protestant, they advocated a culture and faith that differed from that defined by the ABCFM missionaries.¹⁰⁴ Women in this group included Clairece Chasseaud and her sister-in-law Eugenie, who were the wives of the British and American consuls respectively, during the 1830s and 1840s. Also befriended were the British residents of Mount Lebanon, such as the wife of Charles Churchill, her daughter Julia, and Isabella Carnacheau Scott. Associations between the ABCFM missionaries and Frank women were formed through visitations, which often occurred at meal-times;¹⁰⁵ during the celebration of special events, such as baptisms,¹⁰⁶ marriages,¹⁰⁷ funerals¹⁰⁸ and school

⁹⁹ *MH* (1857): 152.

¹⁰⁰ DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Beirut, 15 May 1844).

¹⁰¹ Sada Barakat's conversion story includes a point where she struggled with teaching religious texts. Barakat in Jessup, *WA*: 86.

¹⁰² Hooker, *MSLS*: 142.

¹⁰³ As Badr describes, '[a] nominal Christian in the nineteenth century was any person who did not embrace the evangelical Protestant faith held in common by all those who claimed to be converted Christians in American and Europe.' Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians": 9. Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 4 February [1850]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20.

¹⁰⁴ Hooker, *MSLS*: 274-275.

¹⁰⁵ Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 18 January 1847).

¹⁰⁶ Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for Adelaide Charlotte Abbott'; Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for William Peter Augustus Chasseaud'; Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for Alfred Augustus Barker Chasseaud'; George B. Whiting, 'Notice of Baptism for Giorgiana Gordon' (Shemlan, 31

examinations;¹⁰⁹ and at the balls hosted by the Franks living in Beirut.¹¹⁰ Although Frank women were targeted for evangelical reform,¹¹¹ they followed their own views of etiquette and fashion, which caused missionary women, like Hetty Smith, to question their own refinement.¹¹² Despite her insecurities, Hetty asserted that ‘for the sake of the mission, we are on friendly terms with these people, although we cannot of course devote much time to the cultivation of their acquaintance’.¹¹³ Thus, the ABCFM missionary women forged friendships with Frank women as a means to secure the precarious political and social position of the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants, which undermined the disinterestedness that they demand from others.

Missionary women also interacted with ‘non-Protestant’ Syrian women. As this label encompasses most women living in Ottoman Syria, the nature of these relationships varied considerably. Missionary women occasionally accompanied their husbands on visits to the sheiks and emirs who lived on Mount Lebanon and recorded that they were warmly welcomed into the households of these elite women.¹¹⁴ Missionary women also interacted with numerous women when they celebrated the weddings of their Syrian neighbours.¹¹⁵ Dispensing medical advice and treatment was another channel through which ABCFM missionary women engaged with non-

January 1848): [British] PRO: FO 616/3; Eli Smith, ‘Notice of Baptism for Juliet Churchill’ (Pera, 15 May 1830): HHL: ABC 60 (126).

¹⁰⁷ Chasseaud, ‘Register of Marriage: Frederick Catherwood and Gertude Abbott’ (Beirut, 15 March 1834); Horace Winbolt, ‘Register of Marriage: James Black and Eliza Fanny Abbot’ (Beirut, 29 April 1847): [British] PRO: FO 616/3; William Thomson, ‘Register of Marriage: John Gordon Scott and Isabella Carnacheau’ (Beirut, 5 May 1847): [British] PRO: FO 616/3.

¹⁰⁸ Wolcott, ‘Letter to Sir’ (Beirut, 30 October 1841).

¹⁰⁹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 181.

¹¹⁰ Smith, ‘Letter’ (Beirut, 18 January 1847). For a description of Frank balls in Aleppo see Paton, *The Modern Syrians*: 259-260.

¹¹¹ Smith, ‘Letter to Sisters’ (Beirut, 4 February [1850]).

¹¹² Henrietta Smith, ‘Letter to Mother’ (Beirut, 10 April 1848): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 18; Hooker, *MSLS*: 218.

¹¹³ Smith, ‘Letter’ (Beirut, 18 January 1847).

¹¹⁴ *MH* (1839): 377.

¹¹⁵ Hooker, *MSLS*: 208; Smith, ‘Letter to Brothers and Sisters’ (n.s., Early February 1850).

Protestant Syrian women. Some missionary women and non-Protestant women also exchanged informal visitations. During the mid-1830s, Sarah Smith regularly visited Druze women and the mothers of the students as part of her missionary work.¹¹⁶ By the late 1840s and 1850s, however, some missionary women, like Hetty Smith, limited their interactions with non-Protestant Syrian women, due to their belief that the behaviour of these Syrian women was injurious to their daughters' manners and development of Protestant womanhood.¹¹⁷

The above networks differed from the ABCFM missionary women's relationships with their contemporary Roman Catholic missionaries and Syrian *'abidats*. While the services provided by these women were in many ways similar to those performed by the Protestant Circle, the ABCFM deemed the work of Latin missionaries to be antithetical to their own.¹¹⁸ Interestingly, no mention of direct interaction between female Roman Catholic or Maronite nuns with ABCFM missionary women was found in the ABCFM sources despite the increasing number of these women in Beirut and on Mount Lebanon. The only encounters recorded by the ABCFM before 1860 were between men.¹¹⁹ Thus, it is unclear if any channel of association linked these women, who competed for the salvation of Syrians. This silence is a sharp contrast to the ABCFM missionary women's interactions with other Protestant missionaries, such as Elizabeth Watson, Mrs. Nicolayson and the Prussian Deaconesses, which suggests that the networks created by ABCFM missionary women, at least those recorded by the ABCFM, affirmed and supported their specific definitions of womanhood.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Hooker, *MSSLS*: 294.

¹¹⁷ Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 11 July 1856); Eli Smith, Letter to Wife' (Off Sinope, 16 June 1856): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 10.

¹¹⁸ Smith, 'The Papal Sects of Syria'; Murre-van den Berg, 'Simply by Giving to Them Macaroni': 63-80.

¹¹⁹ Jonas King, 'Farewell Letter', Isaac Bird 'The Thirteen Letters'; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 236-238.

¹²⁰ Although working primarily at their respective institutions and homes, it is unlikely that women from these groups never met, considering the relatively small size of Beirut.

SYRIAN PROTESTANT WOMEN'S NETWORKS

Many of the networks constructed by Syrian Protestant women overlapped those forged by the ABCFM missionary women. Female prayer meetings, Sabbath services and educational activities were occasions when Syrian Protestant women interacted with missionary women and other Syrian women. Unlike the ABCFM missionary women however, whose reflections on these interactions can be found in their journals and letters, Syrian Protestant women's views of their relationships with others are more difficult to uncover. For example, although the missionaries asserted that Syrian Protestant women 'loved' them, it unclear if these were genuine expressions of affection, the intentional negotiation of alliances, or the product of unequal power and dependency.¹²¹ Moreover, it is difficult to fully accept the rosy picture promoted by the missionaries considering the hints of disharmony that leaked through, such as the conflict between Susan Wortabet and Matilda Whiting discussed above.

The unequal dynamics within missionary encounters must be taken into consideration when analysing the relationships between Syrian Protestant women and ABCFM missionary women.¹²² Many of the young Syrian Protestant women were children when they joined the Protestant Circle. 'Sitt Abla', Sada and Rufka Gregory, Sada (Sabunjy) Barakat and Lulu Araman were young orphans when they were 'taken' or 'placed' in missionary households.¹²³ Likewise, some of the older Syrian Protestant women converted after their husbands or sons joined the Circle, which suggests

¹²¹ For example Sada Barakat in Jessup, *WA*: 85-87; Murre-van den Berg, 'Dear Mother of My Soul': 41, 44-45; Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 427-448.

¹²² I have to thank the participants of Christian Missionaries in the Middle East: Re-Thinking Colonial Encounters conference (Raleigh, North Carolina, 4-5 May 2007) for illuminating this point.

¹²³ Jessup, *WA*: 30-33, 60-62, 85-87, 88-90.

patriarchal pressure on their conversions.¹²⁴ Other women were servants in missionary households when they first learned about the Protestant faith and joined the community.¹²⁵ Despite the 'vulnerability' of these women when they initially joined the Circle, their continued engagement with the ABCFM missionaries and pursuit of Protestantism must be perceived as an act of agency, for other women rejected Protestantism and 'returned' to their previous social and religious communities.¹²⁶

The biography of Susan Wortabet reveals the complexities faced by Syrian Protestant women. It appears that Susan's father, Nichola Laloufty, became affiliated with the ABCFM, when William Goodell moved to Sidon to study 'Armenian-Turkish'.¹²⁷ In 1825, the still young¹²⁸ Susan married Gregory Wortabet, an Armenian monk who had converted to Protestantism.¹²⁹ Despite her connections with the missionaries, Susan did not become a Protestant until 1828.¹³⁰ For unknown reasons, the Wortabets distanced themselves from the ABCFM missionaries and returned to Sidon in 1829 or 1830 to pursue independent work.¹³¹ After the death of her husband in 1832, the ABCFM missionaries commented that Susan was 'left entirely without any temporal resources whatsoever. Her relatives have long considered and treated her as a perfect alien, because she had left their communion'.¹³² To resolve this crisis, Susan

¹²⁴ *MH* (1828): 51; *MH* (1846): 414-415; *MH* (1848): 202. One exception was the mother of Anis Khouri al-Makdisi, who was the first within her family to convert to Protestantism from the Greek Orthodox faith, at the age of forty, and was then followed by her husband. Jean Said Makdisi, *Teta, Mother and Me: An Arab Woman's Memoir* (London: Saqi, 2005): 148-149.

¹²⁵ e.g. Hooker, *MSLS*:129, 273-279; Bliss, *RDB*: 125.

¹²⁶ *MH* (1846): 414.

¹²⁷ n.s., 'Deed of Suzan the daughter of Nichola' ([Beirut], [28 February 1831]: 15 Ramadan 1246): HHL: ABC 8.2.17, box 4, folder 26; Tracey, 'HABCFM': 130. This refers to the Turkish language written in Armenian Script, which was a popular form of communication during this period.

¹²⁸ One letter stated that Susan's age in 1834 was 'being little more than twenty'. If this is correct, than Susan would have been eleven years old when she was married. *MH* (1835): 92-93; *MH* (1836): 52

¹²⁹ *MH* (1826): 11-12; *MH* (1827): 19-20; Wortabet, *SS: I*: 334.

¹³⁰ *MH* (1828): 51. Before this, the ABCFM missionaries labelled her as 'less promising' to convert. *MH* (1827): 178-179.

¹³¹ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1831); Wortabet, *SS: I*: 56.

¹³² *MH* (1833): 78.

actively engaged with the Protestant Circle and served as an assistant teacher at their school for girls in Beirut.¹³³ It was during this period that Susan agreed to have her sons, John and Gregory, educated at the new Protestant Seminary for boys in Beirut,¹³⁴ but fought against sending her daughter, Hannie, to be educated by Matilda Whiting in Jerusalem.¹³⁵ In 1836, Susan remarried another Syrian Protestant, Elias Fuaz, which reinforced her ties to the Protestant Circle.¹³⁶ Susan's history with the Protestant Circle reflects the complex mixture of agency and vulnerability embodied by other Syrian Protestant women.

Due to these complexities, the relationships amongst Syrian Protestant women were diverse. The young Syrian Protestant women who were boarding students in missionary families viewed each other as equals and treated one another as sisters.¹³⁷ This was particularly true for those educated in the same household, such as Hannie Wortabet, Salome and Melita Carabet, and Rufka and Sada Gregory. Some of these ties of created kinship were strengthened by marriage, for Salome Carabet married John Wortabet and became the sister-in-law of Hannie Wortabet.¹³⁸

The missionary sources provide less information on the relationships amongst Syrian Protestant women in other contexts. Although Rahil Ata was presented as a role model for other Syrian Protestant women, little information is available on how her

¹³³ Smith, 'Letter to Madam [Mrs. Anderson]' (Beirut, 11 April 1834); *MH* (1836): 93; Sarah Smith, 'Letter to Mrs. Hallock' (Beirut, 1 June 1835): *HHL*: ABC 60 (110).

¹³⁴ Wortabet, *SS*: *I*: xiv, 70; *II*: 1-5; Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (Beirut, 4 June 1835).

¹³⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (Beirut, 4 June 1835).

¹³⁶ n.s., 'Letter to Sir' (Smyrna, 17 May 1836): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537: 237. Little information is available on Susan after this point, with the exception of a brief reference to her residence with her daughter, Hannie during the mid-1850s. Robinson and Smith, *BR*: *I*: 377.

¹³⁷ Jessup, *WA*: 54-58, 60-62; Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*: 411. Although beyond the time frame for this thesis, this sisterly bond was most clearly expressed in a poem written by Werdah al-Yaziji, which lamented the death of Sarah al-Bustani. This poem is printed in Arabic and English in Jessup, *WA*: 156-157.

¹³⁸ This is demonstrated in the intertwining of names found in Appendix II:B. Fleischmann, 'Our Moslem: 310; Makdisi, *Teta, Mother and Me*: 151.

contemporaries actually perceived and reacted to her.¹³⁹ Likewise, it is unclear if a gap emerged between the different generations of Syrian Protestant women, such as one separating Susan Wortabet and Im Beshera al-Haddad from the students taught at the DeForests' Female Seminary.¹⁴⁰ It is also unknown if tensions emerged between the Syrian Protestant women living in Beirut and those from Sidon, Hasbaya or Bhamdoun, comparable to the rift between the Aleppine and Baladiyya Maronites during the eighteenth century. Or did the details of Protestant womanhood nullify such geographic divisions, while creating new ones based upon Biblical literacy and ECB membership?

Despite these uncertainties, the irony that younger Syrian Protestant women embodied the ABCFM's normative definitions of Protestantism better than older Syrian Protestant women was often emphasised in the missionary sources. Due to their fluency of both Arabic and English, young Syrian Protestant women became teachers, even at a relatively young age. Sarah Smith described 'an affecting sight' when she saw 'a little girl, six years in age, standing by her mother's knee, and [perform] the office of a teacher' through instructing her mother to read.¹⁴¹ While the ABCFM missionaries were encouraged by such sights, it is unknown how this and other reversals of a mother-daughter hierarchy were perceived by Syrian Protestant women.

The bonds between Syrian Protestant women and their non-Protestant family members were similarly complicated. The conflict between Rahil Ata and her family illuminates that although her family consented to have her educated by the ABCFM missionaries, they did not intend for Rahil to become a Protestant and reject both their guardianship and religious-social identity. Other accounts recall that the women who joined the Protestant Circle faced hardships from their non-Protestant family

¹³⁹ Later perceptions on Rahil (Ata) al-Bustani are presented in 'Isa Iskandar al-Ma'luf, 'Rahil 'Ata zawjat al-mu'allim Butrus al-Bustani', *Fatat al-sharq*, 14:1 (1919): 1-2, cited and analysed in Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 432-438.

¹⁴⁰ Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 435.

¹⁴¹ Hooker, *MSLS*: 233. Compare with Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*: 77; Goodrich in McDannell, *Material Christianity*: 80.

members.¹⁴² The women who persevered through familial discord were praised by the Protestant Circle, for in rejecting their *ṣilat al-rahim* (bonds of the womb) or kinship alliances, they strengthened their ties to the Protestant Circle. These women were 'orphaned' because of their Protestant commitment, making them more dependent upon the Protestant Circle, which functioned as a new family. However, the sources also reveal that some Syrian Protestant women remained connected to their biological families, despite their conversion and even after experiencing discord. For example, Susan Wortabet returned to Sidon in 1835, to attend her brother's wedding, which contradicts the ABCFM's argument that she was shunned by her family because of her conversion.¹⁴³ Susan desired to participate in this familial celebration and affirm her relationship with her non-Protestant family members, despite her close connections to the ABCFM missionaries, thus revealing another aspect of this woman's complicated life and social network.

The relationships between Syrian Protestant women and other non-Protestant women, European, American or Syrian, are also difficult to determine from the sources. Although the ABCFM missionaries associated with the economic and political elite of Syria, including those with Frank, Ottoman and Syrian backgrounds, it is hard to imagine Syrian Protestant women interacting with such women. Judging from the personalities and tastes of Syrian Protestant women, it can be argued that very few of them were invited to the Franks' balls, although it is possible that their 'Levantine' contemporaries attended such events.¹⁴⁴ Conversely, non-Protestant women 'examined' the progress of Syrian students during the public examinations held at the end of school terms, thus displaying their prestige (within secular Beirut society) over Syrian Protestant women.

¹⁴² Jessup, *WA*: 151-156.

¹⁴³ Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (Beirut, 4 June 1835).

¹⁴⁴ Makdisi, *Teta, Mother and Me*: 152.

The ABCFM sources do suggest that Syrian Protestant women had limited contact with Latin missionaries and other Christian ecclesiastics before 1860. The only sites of contact between these groups are presented as negative encounters: when the women 'fell back' to their old faith and rejected Protestantism. However, if Syrian women's participation in the Protestant Circle is to be regarded as a negotiation of culture and theology, than it can not be automatically assumed that these women cut all ties with their previous religious communities or with other religious organisations. Rather, these women engaged with individuals from different, non-ABCFM organisations, including the Prussian Deaconesses and the Sisters of Charity, during their work as teachers during the late nineteenth century.¹⁴⁵ In other words, although the Syrian Protestant women formed important bonds and tight links with others in the Protestant Circle, it appears that their social networks reached beyond this narrow sphere, even if these connections were not recorded by the ABCFM.

PROTESTANT WOMANHOOD AS A FORM OF CAPITAL

A specific definition of womanhood emerged within the Protestant Circle due to women's negotiations of the idealised gender roles that defined this community and through women's interactions with others. This section explores how two characteristics of Protestant womanhood, education and 'housekeeping', developed through the daily activities of ABCFM missionary and Syrian Protestant women. Although these two characteristics were embodied by all women in the community, each woman's articulation of Protestant womanhood reflected her specific position within the community, which affirmed the divisions presented in the above sections.

¹⁴⁵ Jessup, WA: 67; Henry Harris Jessup, 'American Mission Work in Syria', *The Missionary Magazine* (Boston: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1865): 187-188.

WOMEN, PROTESTANTISM AND EDUCATION

Education was an important aspect of Protestant culture and was defined as the ability to read and write, personal knowledge of the Bible and Protestant theology, and the understanding of certain scientific concepts. Specific activities served as channels through which Protestants acquired and demonstrated this education. These included studying and/or teaching at Protestant schools, reading the Scriptures and Evangelical literature, working at the Mission Press, and writing letters. Acquiring an education and performing these services however, were affected by a person's gender. This section examines how the education of Protestant women was both gendered and gendering, and created the ideal of, what I call, 'educated Protestant womanhood'.

Missionary women received high levels of formal education during their childhood in the United States. Abby Wood, the future Mrs. Bliss, studied at Amherst Academy and Maplewood Academy, where she was a classmate of the author Emily Dickinson.¹⁴⁶ The candidate recommendation letters for both Sarah Huntington and Maria Chapin, Eli Smith's first and second wives respectfully, described them as possessing 'mind[s] capable of the studies which would enable her to acquire a difficult language with more faculty than most females.'¹⁴⁷ While deliberating Eli Smith's offer of marriage, his third wife, Hetty considered the usefulness of her training in 'metaphysics and poetry' to her future role as a missionary wife.¹⁴⁸ Although Sarah Smith occupied an elevated position in the Protestant Circle, these other women were considered typical amongst their colleagues, so that high levels of formal education was a normative trait for all missionary women.

However, the education held by missionary women was also gendered. Academies were the highest level of formal education available to women in the United

¹⁴⁶ Bliss, *RDS*: 62.

¹⁴⁷ Ely, 'Candidate Letter for Maria M. Chapin'; Gilman, 'Candidate Letter for Sarah Lanman Huntington'.

¹⁴⁸ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (n.s., 22 September [1846]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 15.

States during the early nineteenth century, since female scholars were banned from attending colleges. The curriculum taught at academies varied and was determined by the qualifications of its instructors and the ideological confines placed upon the school by its trustees.¹⁴⁹ While these schools provided a liberal arts training and taught Sciences, Reading, Languages and Geography to both boys and girls (sometimes co-educationally), topics such as Oratory and Speech-Writing were more commonly taught to boys, while Embroidery was more often found in the curriculum for girls.¹⁵⁰ Although some suggest that these differences should not outweigh the similarities,¹⁵¹ this gendering of curriculum determined the qualifications held by the students and influenced the gender roles that developed by the mid-nineteenth century, including the 'domestication' of women's activities. Thus, while missionary women formed part of the American educated elite, the level and character of their education was limited by a gendered hierarchy that defined academia in the United States, which was continued in the Protestant Circle.

The channels through which missionary women demonstrated their education in Syria were also gendered. Even though teaching was narrowed to be the role of single missionary women and Syrian Protestant women by the 1850s, all missionary women taught at common schools, Sabbath schools and/or for the children in their households.¹⁵² It was through teaching that missionary women displayed their (gendered) liberal arts education. Reading, Sewing and Religion were subjects offered by all missionary women, which were occasionally supplemented by other subjects,

¹⁴⁹ Kim Trolley, 'The Rise of the Academies: Continuity or Change?', *History of Education Quarterly*, 41:2 (2001): 227, 233-236.

¹⁵⁰ Margaret A. Nash, "'Cultivating the Powers of Human Beings': Gendered Perspectives on Curricula and Pedagogy in Academies of the New Republic', *History of Education Quarterly*, 41:2 (2001): 244, 246-247.

¹⁵¹ Nash, 'Cultivating the Powers of Human Beings': 241.

¹⁵² *MH* (1834): 127-8; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1835).

such as Italian and 'the globe and orrery'.¹⁵³ These credentials allowed for different women to assist at the DeForests' Female Seminary and provide classes in History, Arithmetic, Composition, Astronomy, Science, Geography, Drawing and Singing.¹⁵⁴

Educated Protestant womanhood was also performed by missionary women outside of the classroom. Missionary women were often perceived by Syrians as possessing high levels of medical knowledge and were sought for medical advice and treatment.¹⁵⁵ Hetty Smith reflected that she was 'often called upon by the sick and I very much regret my ignorance of such matters, still as was the case this morning, I venture sometimes upon simple remedies to afford relief'.¹⁵⁶ Missionary women tended to provide medical service to women and children, although it appears that Rebecca Hebard also treated Syrian men.¹⁵⁷ Protestant women also shared medical advice with each other, particularly their 'homespun' treatments.¹⁵⁸ Although dispensing medicine was an important channel through which missionary women engaged with Syrians, missionary women's medical activities were regarded by the ABCFM to be inferior to that provided by their male colleagues: both doctors and non-doctors. The ABCFM's treatment of Loanza Benton emphasises this gendered hierarchy of medical services. Before becoming a missionary, Loanza studied medicine under Dr. Samuel Griggs, in whose house she was a boarder during her years as a teacher in Ware, Massachusetts.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ *MH* (1834): 412; Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Bhamdoun, 14 August 1834); *MH* (1837): 445; *MH* (1840): 52; *MH* (1837): 445. The orrery is a device that uses a mechanical clock to illustrate relative position and movement of the planets around the sun.

¹⁵⁴ Jessup, *WA*: 76-82; Lindsay, *Nineteenth Century American Schools*: 128.

¹⁵⁵ Murre-van den Berg recognises 'health care' as characteristic of Protestant missionary women's activities in the Middle East. Murre-van den Berg, 'Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions': 110.

¹⁵⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 4 September 1852).

¹⁵⁷ Rebecca Williams 'Letter to brother James' (Abeih, 5 October 1838), in: Williams, 'Rebecca Williams Hebard': 15.

¹⁵⁸ DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (Abeih, 30 August [1853]).

¹⁵⁹ Miriam Clark Potter, 'Biographical Sketch of Loanza Goulding Benton' in: Loanza Goulding Benton, *A Diary and Some Reminiscences of Loanza Goulding Benton: Mrs. William Austin Benton Missionary to Syria: 1847-1869* (unpublished memoir): Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Religion Collection: Box 5: Folder 56: 3; Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*: 154. For more on the

Despite her medical training, the ABCFM did not designate her as a 'medical missionary', but rather, as an 'assistant missionary' alongside other married missionary women.¹⁶⁰ Thus, the ABCFM's perception of missionary work affirmed a gendered hierarchy that positioned men as the official workers at the Syrian Station and regulators of medicine, with women in marginal, assistant positions.

Educated Protestant womanhood was also performed by Syrian women, but in a manner that emphasised the differences amongst women in this group. The primary distinction amongst Syrian Protestant woman was the age at which the woman joined the Protestant Circle, with 'younger' Syrian women possessing higher levels of Protestant education than 'older' Syrian women.

Many of the older Syrian Protestant women, who joined the Protestant Circle as adults, were initially illiterate, unfamiliar with the Scripture and did not possess 'scientific' knowledge.¹⁶¹ Rather, the education held by these women reflected their gendered upbringing in Syria.¹⁶² For example, most older Syrian Protestant women were knowledgeable of the foods needed to participate in the different feasts celebrated by their previous churches, as well as the foods to be avoided during fasts. While this was important for social interactions, particularly when engaging with non-Protestant servants and colleagues, the ABCFM deemed this knowledge superfluous and argued that the basis of Protestant education should be the Bible; not religious 'traditions'.¹⁶³ As many of these women were initially illiterate when they converted, they became 'hearers' of the Scripture during their regular attendance at Sabbath services and

development of medical training in the United States and the gendering of this training, see Ehrenreich and English, *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*: 44-45.

¹⁶⁰ *MH* (1856): 5; Vinton, *A Biographical Dictionary*: 104, 110-111.

¹⁶¹ The Protestants recognised that some girls in Syria were also educated at schools independent of the ABCFM. *MH* (1835): 132; Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder*: 190.

¹⁶² For an analysis of the different influences on Syrian women's knowledge, such as place of residency and economic wealth, see Klink, 'Beyond the Tantur': 88-103, 275-293, 317-358.

¹⁶³ Ironically, differentiating between the dietary regulations for each church's celebrations was a source of frustration for the ABCFM missionaries. Hooker, *MSLS*: 143-144.

Female Prayer meetings.¹⁶⁴ While some, like John Wortabet, argued that listening to the Bible was an important way to gain Biblical knowledge, the ABCFM missionaries questioned the depth of these women's reformation.¹⁶⁵ This limited 'knowledge' emphasised older Syrian Protestant women's tenuous and marginal position within the Protestant Circle.

In contrast, several of the young Syrian Protestant women were regarded as successfully embodying educated Protestant womanhood. As noted above, the education taught to Syrian children by the ABCFM missionaries included Reading, Writing, Religion, Sciences and Singing, with Needlework and Domestic Economy also offered for girls.¹⁶⁶ Due to the missionaries' difficulties in learning Arabic, they often relied upon English textbooks and conducted classes in English to instruct Syrian children.¹⁶⁷ Although the ABCFM argued that this made the students 'unfit' to Syrian society, it nevertheless created a cadre of bilingual, literate students who had a deep understanding of the Bible and Sciences.¹⁶⁸ Some of the young Syrian Protestant women refined their education at the DeForests' Female Seminary, where they studied Arabic, English, Geography, the Bible, Arithmetic, Sewing, Knitting, 'Natural Philosophy', 'Scriptural history', History and Composition.¹⁶⁹ Henry DeForest argued that the purpose of this diverse education was to 'prepare [the students] to be useful and happy in the narrow domestic sphere in which they will hereafter be obliged to move'.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ *MH* (1845): 19.

¹⁶⁵ *MH* (1846): 414.

¹⁶⁶ *MH* (1834): 412; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Mount Lebanon, 1845); George B. Whiting and Henry A. DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 5 August 1850), in: Yazigy, 'American Presbyterian Mission Schools in Lebanon': 133-137; DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850).

¹⁶⁷ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1835); ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1850).

¹⁶⁸ Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families' (Beirut, 20 March 1844).

¹⁶⁹ DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 142; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1840).

¹⁷⁰ DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 142; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1850).

Although this aim affirmed the narrowing of gender roles during the later years, the rest of this section will show that the activities performed by young Syrian Protestant women to demonstrate their educated womanhood did not always affirm this narrowed goal.

Letter writing was one channel through which young Syrian women displayed their educational capabilities.¹⁷¹ Letter writing was used in the DeForests' Female Seminary as a means to 'improve [the] epistolary style' of students, so that, 'half a dozen letters to parents, brothers and sisters [were regularly] thrown upon [Henry DeForest's] table for inspection'.¹⁷² While none of the seminarians' letters were found in the archives, others written by young Syrian Protestant women were located. These were written in English, which shows the women's fluency in both Arabic and English.¹⁷³ The aforementioned letter transcribed by Sarah al-Bustani, was written in English for an older Syrian Protestant woman, Um Mansour, who was either illiterate or had limited English-language skills.¹⁷⁴ The content of young Syrian Protestant women's letters also reveals the depth of these women's education and the channels through which they displayed their knowledge. In 1852, Hannie Wortabet wrote a letter, in English, to Eli Smith, in which Hannie discussed her work on an Arabic grammar index that was commissioned by Eli. Hannie remarked:

You request me to tell you what I expect as a recompensation [*sic*] for [this work], but I feel assured that you know what is just and proper better than I do, and am willing to accept what ever you will please to give me. [*sic*] I am sorry that it has remained so long with me, but there were times when I felt as if I should not be able to complete it and the

¹⁷¹ Nestorian (Assyrian) Protestant women also wrote letters to demonstrate their education. See Murre-van den Berg, 'Dear Mother of My Soul': 41 note 33.

¹⁷² DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 141.

¹⁷³ Interestingly, Rahil Al-Bustani's written English was messier and more grammatical inaccurate than her daughter, Sarah, and colleague, Hannie Wortabet.

¹⁷⁴ Al-Bustani, 'Letter to Hetty Smith' (n.s., 8 June n.d.). Compare with the 'letter-writer' described in Thomson, *LB*: 32-33.

consciousness that I have actually persevered in it to the end is a source of great satisfaction to me.¹⁷⁵

This letter suggests that Hannie was a paid editor for the Mission Press, a role that has been overlooked by historians. Thus, letters were more than simple correspondences between people, but important channels through which young Syrian Protestant women conveyed information, affirmed relationships, demonstrated their educational qualifications and revealed the plurality of their activities.

Young Syrian Protestant women employed their educational qualifications in their work as teachers for the schools funded by the ABCFM.¹⁷⁶ In 1847, a girl's school at Abeih was 'taught by the two oldest girls in Mr. Whiting's family' and was regarded as 'an interesting branch of [ABCFM] missionary work at this station'.¹⁷⁷ Drawing from the Lancastrian system of educational instruction, Khozma Ata and Lulu Araman supervised the education of younger students at the DeForests' Female Seminary.¹⁷⁸ Hiring Syrian students as teachers was one solution to the ABCFM missionaries' language difficulties. Being bilingual allowed the Syrian student-teachers to receive direction from ABCFM missionaries concerning the curriculum, which they could then translate into Arabic more easily than most missionaries. As a result, the missionary Henry Harris Jessup explained that the school run by Sada Sabunjy in 1858 taught 'Reading, Arithmetic, Geography, Spelling, Catechism, and Scripture' and was well attended and positively received by their neighbours in Tripoli.¹⁷⁹

Employing young Syrian Protestant women as teachers problematised the aim of women's education as to make the women suitable for the 'narrow domestic sphere'.

¹⁷⁵ Wortabet, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Hasbaya, 7 October 1852).

¹⁷⁶ In addition to the girl's common school at *Burj Bird*, the ABCFM funded schools in the Moussaitbe and Achrafiya suburbs of Beirut during the late 1840s. Jessup, *WA*: 73.

¹⁷⁷ *MH* (1847): 183; Rufus Anderson quoted in Paul William Harris, *Nothing But Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): 75.

¹⁷⁸ Henry DeForest quoted in Jessup, *WA*: 75.

¹⁷⁹ Henry Harris Jessup, 'Journal from Tuesday May 25, 1858 until Tuesday June 8, 1858' (Tripoli, May/June 1858): YDS: HHJ Box 1: Folder 5.

Although the missionaries emphasised that their educational instruction ended when the women 'arrive[d] at a suitable age for forming matrimonial connections', meaning the mid to late teenage years,¹⁸⁰ these women often delayed their marriages in order to pursue educational employment. For example, the abovementioned Sada Sabunjy was roughly sixteen years old when she left the DeForests' Female Seminary in 1852. After spending some time with her family, Sada was asked by Eli Smith and George Whiting in 1855 to teach at ABCFM funded schools, which she did for the next four years. Her teaching at these schools ended in 1859, when, at the age of twenty three, Sada married M. Yusuf Barakat.¹⁸¹ While the ABCFM missionaries and some male Syrian Protestants articulated that an educated Syrian woman's role was to positively influence the behaviour and development of her husband and children, the actual work of these women problematised this idealised role, through delaying their marriages and exerting an influence over a wider scope of the Syrian population, which appears to have been condoned by some within the Protestant Circle.

Young Syrian Protestant women's high level of formal education, letter writing activities and teaching experiences opened these women to new opportunities, which further undermined the aim of their education to produce Protestant wives/mothers. The number of schools for girls not controlled by the ABCFM increased during the late 1850s and especially after 1860. These included the schools run by Protestant missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland and the Prussian Deaconesses, as well as those organised by Roman Catholic missionaries, the Maronite and Greek Orthodox

¹⁸⁰ Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families'. Meriweather argues that, for Aleppo during the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, women were first married during their young teenage years. More research is needed to determine the age of first marriage amongst women living in contemporary Mount Lebanon and in Beirut, although from Whiting's report it appears to be, for women to be during the mid to late teenage years. Meriweather, *The Kin who Count*: 115.

¹⁸¹ Jessup, *WA*: 85-87. Hanne Wortabet and Rahil Ata also taught for a number of years before their marriages.

Churches.¹⁸² This 'democratisation' of female education not only increased the number of girls who received formal education in Syria, but it created a new demand for teachers and increased the outlets through which women could display their skills. As a result, many of the young Syrian Protestant women, particularly the graduates of the DeForests' Female Seminary, taught at schools run by non-ABCFM organisations.¹⁸³ This included Sada (Sabunjy) Barakat, who taught at the British Syrian Schools after the death of her husband in 1860.¹⁸⁴ While these women applied the educational skills acquired at the ABCFM's school to their new careers, their employment by non-ABCFM organisations and encouragement of alternative definitions of female education (as well as Protestantism and gender) represents an important challenge to the centrality of the ABCFM missionaries in the Protestant community and their control of Protestantism.¹⁸⁵

THE STRUGGLES OF HOUSEKEEPING

The above sections argued that although the roles for women in the Protestant Circle were increasingly narrowed by the late 1850s to providing services for other women and children, women's activities often problematised the actualisation of this role. This section examines another aspect of Protestant womanhood, which accentuates the intricacies of women's activities and further problematises the 'domestication' of women's work. This is done through investigating how 'housekeeping' was articulated and performed by Protestant women. Housekeeping, or 'Domestic Economy', pertains

¹⁸² Buchanan, 'The Story of the Lebanon Schools and the Free Church of Scotland': 40-41; Jessup, WA: 204-14; Whiting and DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 5 August 1850): 135; Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 427-428; Zayek, *Rafka*: 17.

¹⁸³ Melita Carabet in Jessup, WA: 69-70; Jessup, 'American Mission Work in Syria': 187; Jessup, WA: 211.

¹⁸⁴ Jessup, WA: 85-87.

¹⁸⁵ The alternative definitions of Protestantism and gender presented by the Prussian deaconesses in post-1860 Beirut is being analysed by Julia Hausser in her doctoral research at the University of Göttingen.

to the activities of a woman to maintain a well-run household. While each society defines housekeeping differently, it often includes cleaning, cooking, sewing, managing servants and nurturing children.¹⁸⁶ This section outlines the Protestants' definition of housekeeping and demonstrates that achieving the title of 'housekeeper' was a struggle amongst Protestant women, which emphasises the complexities of women's roles within this community.

The primary activity of a 'housekeeper' was to manage Protestant homes.¹⁸⁷ These households were composed of different units: married couples, married couples with children, single individuals, and boarding students. A housekeeper's duty, as the primary matron of a household, was to arrange her house as to maintain the division of these units. In larger residencies, this was done through allocating each unit to a separate bedroom, with communal activities taking place in the dining room or parlour.¹⁸⁸ In the smaller, one or two-roomed houses on Mount Lebanon, space was divided through hanging curtains and flags.¹⁸⁹ The housekeeper also ensured that the spaces for non-Protestant servants were separated from that for the family.¹⁹⁰ The maintenance of these divisions was a difficult task considering the instability of Protestant households. The large households in Beirut were broken up and rearranged during the summer months, just as unexpected guests and illnesses required the shuffling of sleeping arrangements.¹⁹¹ While this 'mosaic' defined missionary households, the sources are unclear if Syrian Protestant women also upheld this system

¹⁸⁶ This chapter focuses upon the first few characteristics of housekeeping, with the nurturance of children examined in chapter six.

¹⁸⁷ Although I draw upon Bourdieu's theoretical approaches, my analysis of housekeeping and the Protestants' homes differs from his analysis of the Kabyle house presented in Pierre Bourdieu, *Algeria 1960: The Disenchantment of the World; The Sense of Honour; The Kabyle House or the World Reversed* (trans. Richard Nice) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 133-153.

¹⁸⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Rebecca Williams' (Beirut, 5 August 1835); Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 18 January 1847); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 16 April 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17.

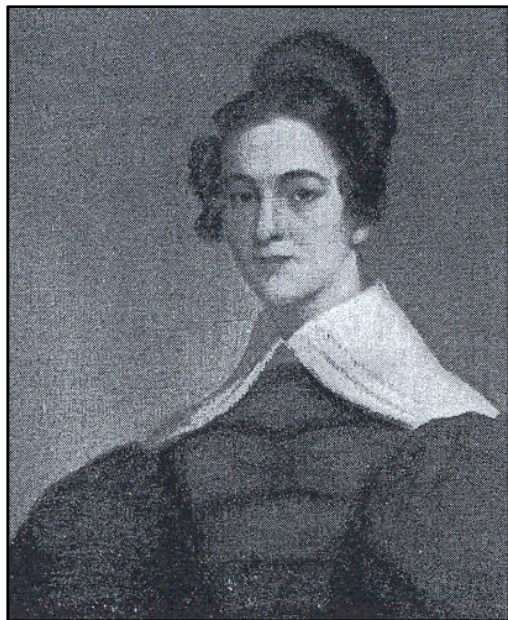
¹⁸⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Bhamdoun, 14 August 1834).

¹⁹⁰ Hooker, *MSLS*: 280; Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 May 1854).

¹⁹¹ Bliss, *RDS*: 127; Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 18 January 1847).

of dividing families into different units.¹⁹² Gregory Wortabet explained that space in mid-nineteenth century Syrian households was often divided by gender, although his descriptions of Syrian Protestants homes were vague, making it difficult to determine if these households were divided by gender or into family units.¹⁹³ One is left to wonder if Im Beshera allocated Eli Smith to a separate space within her house when he resided with the al-Haddads in 1827, or if he occupied a space amongst the other men in this family.¹⁹⁴

The ABCFM missionaries' discussions of their shared households often emphasised the order maintained by the housekeeper and the friendships that developed amongst the household's residents, particularly through the sharing of activities in communal spaces like the parlour.¹⁹⁵ Despite this emphasis on harmony, discord occasionally erupted. A discrepancy over who occupied the position of housekeeper affected the 'sisterly' relationship between Rebecca Williams (pictured) and Martha Dodge during their co-habitation from 1835 to 1838. Rebecca Williams joined the station as a single female missionary and originally lived with her friend Sarah Smith. Upon Sarah's death, Rebecca resided with Martha Dodge, who was a recent widow. It appears that Martha



¹⁹² 'Mosaic' is the term I use to describe this family arrangement, which will be fully discussed, in chapter five.

¹⁹³ Wortabet, *SS: I*: 41, 220; *II*: 5-7. In 1873, Lulu Aramon was praised for running 'a cheerful, tidy, well ordered home' which was a 'a model Christian family, the home of piety and affection', but does not mention how Lulu's house was arranged. Jessup, *WA*: 88-89.

¹⁹⁴ Eli Smith, 'Journal as Resident on Mount Lebanon' (n.s., 27 December 1827): YDS ES Box 6: Folder 35. Murre-van den Berg argues that Protestant women in Urmiah did not write about housekeeping in their letters. Murre-van den Berg, "'Dear Mother of My Soul': 43-44.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 18 January 1847).

originally functioned as the housekeeper within this joint-household, due to her being a mother, knowledge of Arabic, familiarity with Syrian culture and longer experience as a missionary. Martha also held an elevated position within the Circle because she possessed her late husband's medical library and equipment.¹⁹⁶ After Rebecca's marriage to Story Hebard in 1836 however, the ABCFM began labelling Rebecca as the housekeeper. After this point, both women referred to this arrangement as 'my family' or 'my house' in letters, for both perceived themselves to be the matron of the shared household.¹⁹⁷ This struggle ended only when Martha remarried and returned to the United States in 1838.

In addition to managing well-ordered households, another duty of the housekeeper was to keep a clean home.¹⁹⁸ Cleaning was an unending chore in Syria, particularly in Beirut, where sand and dust was blown by the winds.¹⁹⁹ Fleas were another incessant battle, so that Hetty Smith complained that she was 'obliged to have every room that is used cleaned every week... if I did not I would be overrun with fleas etc.'²⁰⁰ The Protestants' perceptions of health demanded that windows and doors be kept open to ensure the circulation of fresh air, which had the detrimental counter-affect of allowing in additional dust and bugs. People also carried dirt and fleas into houses. The DeForests promoted an axiom '[do not] be more careful to keep fleas out of your house than to let Arabs in'.²⁰¹ Asserting this anecdote was the DeForests' response

¹⁹⁶ Martha Dodge, 'Letter to Mr. Anderson' (Beirut, 17 June 1838): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 539: 600-601B.

¹⁹⁷ Dodge, 'Letter to Mr. Anderson' (Beirut, 17 June 1838); Rebecca Hebard in Williams, 'Rebecca Williams Hebard':13; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1836); ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1837).

¹⁹⁸ *MH* (1842): 365.

¹⁹⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 January 1849).

²⁰⁰ Original emphasis removed. Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 January 1849).

²⁰¹ Henry Harris Jessup, 'Journal: Personal Journey, From Sept 21, 1855 to Arrival in Syria on Feb 7, 1856' (n.s., 1855-6): YDS: HHJ Box 6: Folder 19.

to some missionaries who believed that non-Protestant Syrians were dirty and as a result, limited their interactions with Syrians.²⁰²

Cleaning formed part of the education taught to young Syrian Protestant women at the DeForests' Female Seminary. Following breakfast, the girls at this school 'washed their dishes, after which they arranged their school room'.²⁰³ Similar to Catherine Beecher's view on women's education in the United States,²⁰⁴ cleaning was taught alongside other academic subjects with the goal 'to train up these girls to be industrious and neat housewives, not learned but no ignorant women, [but rather] sensible, practical characters'.²⁰⁵ As cleaning does not appear in the curriculum for the male Seminary, it can be argued that cleaning was gendered as an attribute of Protestant womanhood.²⁰⁶

Although most women possessed the knowledge of how and why to maintain a clean house, the duties of housekeeping did not require Protestant women to personally labour at cleaning. Eli Smith wrote that '[to] be a mere housekeeper and mistress of a missionary's family...[his first wife Sarah] felt would be degrading to [her missionary] calling'.²⁰⁷ Eli praised Sarah, not for her ability to wash and clean, but for her management of the servants who performed these duties. This efficiency granted Sarah the time to pursue her own missionary services, which, in 1835, was regarded as a commendable use of a married missionary woman's time.²⁰⁸ Although the roles for women changed by the time Hetty became Eli Smith's third wife in 1847, Hetty also asserted that her position as a missionary wife and housekeeper did not require the strenuous labours of cleaning.²⁰⁹ Rather, the actual labour of washing was performed by

²⁰² Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 9 September 1847).

²⁰³ DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 138.

²⁰⁴ Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy*: 5-6.

²⁰⁵ DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 142.

²⁰⁶ ABCFM, *Station Report* (Beirut, 1835); *MH* (1836): 348; *MH* (1850): 361-363.

²⁰⁷ Hooker, *MSLS*: 266.

²⁰⁸ Hooker, *MSLS*: 266-268.

²⁰⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Brothers and Sisters' (n.s., Early February 1850).

her 'Arab servants', who did the 'washing outdoors...on the ground, heating water and boiling clothes in a "dish" over a fire of sticks'.²¹⁰ Hetty justified the employment of servant-washers with two reasons:

In the first place we ladies cannot in this climate work as we used to do in New England. And secondly, there is a great deal to be done. Look at this family- we have three children. No one would expect me to do the cooking, washing or ironing under the burning sun of Syria.²¹¹

These comments suggest that the time-consuming and intense labour of cleaning was raced and classed as a form of work for Syrian servants.²¹²

It is unclear how Syrian Protestant women performed their cleaning responsibilities in their own households even though many were educated in the Domestic Economy taught at the ABCFM schools. For example, although the missionaries used American/European style beds and mattresses, it is unclear if Syrian Protestants' slept on these or Syrian-style of bedding, for both types were available in the region at this time.²¹³ A woman's choice of bedroom furniture was important for it affected the amount and type of labour needed to clean and prepare the bedroom. American bedding demanded less daily labour, for the mattress remained upon the bed-stand, while the covering blankets were aired out daily and the sheets cleaned less frequently. However, work was needed to instruct Syrian servants on how to clean and prepare this type of bedding.²¹⁴ In contrast, Syrian bedding required the daily cycle of laying-out and storing both the mattresses and bed coverings.²¹⁵ Moreover, the sources do not provide enough information to determine if Syrian Protestant women hired servants to perform such chores, although there is evidence that nurses were employed

²¹⁰ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847).

²¹¹ Smith, 'Letter to Brothers and Sisters' (n.s., Early February 1850).

²¹² Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 9 September 1847).

²¹³ Beadle, 'Letter To the Brethren Who Shall Be Designated to Aleppo' (Aleppo, 22 May 1841).

²¹⁴ For suggestions on how to 'correctly' prepare an American bed see Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*: 314-315.

²¹⁵ A description of this process is found in Makdisi, *Teta, Mother and Me*: 162.

to care for young children.²¹⁶ It must be remembered that many Syrian Protestant women were servants in missionary households and would have assisted missionary women in preparing their American-style beds. These, however, would have been too expensive for the servants to purchase for their own use.²¹⁷

Feeding the members of Protestant households was another responsibility of the housekeeper. Similar to cleaning, the actual labour of daily cooking was not conducted by Protestant women. Rather, the responsibility of a housekeeper was to ensure that all aspects of the food preparation were properly performed by servants, through ordering the day's menu, sending servants to the market and supervising the cooking.²¹⁸ Interestingly, the ABCFM missionaries employed men as cooks.²¹⁹ It is unclear why male and not female cooks were hired,²²⁰ although it was the cook's ability to prepare the hybrid cuisine demanded by Protestant housekeepers, not their gender, that kept them employed. This cuisine was a fusion of American dishes made with Syrian ingredients, so that meals included '[mutton], string beans (or lubia), tomato (or bandora), rice and potatoes nicely mashed', 'a soup, a very nice piece of roast beef with

²¹⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 15 March 1847).

²¹⁷ Abby Bliss noted that in the late 1850s, she paid her male servant ninety piasters, or three dollars and sixty cents, per month. Considering that a dozen eggs cost six cents, it can be assumed that servants' wages were spent primarily upon food and shelter, not on imported furniture. Bliss, *RDS*: 120. In contemporary Syria, mattresses and bedding were often given as part of wedding gifts, so that married couples did not have to actively purchase such items. It is unclear however, if Syrian Protestants received such items as wedding gifts. Klink, 'Beyond the Tantur': 198-200.

²¹⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 11 May 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 17.

²¹⁹ Four different men worked as cooks for the Smith family: Mikyail, Icoheel, Rachid and Yusuf. Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, June [1847]): YDS: ES Box. I: Folder 17; Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Abeih, 28 June 1848): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 18; Smith, 'Fragment Letter' (n.s., [late] 1850); Eli Smith, 'Letter to Wife' (n.s., 'Monday evening' [1856]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 10.

²²⁰ Although not explaining this 'reverse' of gender roles, Effendi argued that the cooks within 'European and wealthy Oriental families' were originally from Armenia, while Daniel Bliss recalled that the missionaries employed Greek cooks in Smyrna. Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 342-343. Bliss, *RDS*: 98.

vegetables...[or] calf's (sheep) foot jelly and other preserves'.²²¹ Hetty Smith repeatedly asked her sisters to send recipes for popular American dishes that could be made with Syrian ingredients.²²² Locally grown fruit and vegetables were consumed, although with caution, for eating unripe fruits was seen as a cause of illness.²²³ Traditional Syrian dishes such as *kibbeh*, *labneh*, and *fooliyyah* were also eaten by the ABCFM missionaries.²²⁴

An important responsibility of the housekeeper was to ensure that their male cooks avoided certain 'unhealthy' foods. In addition to unripe fruit, 'Arab butter', *samneh*, was regarded as dirty and was avoided by the ABCFM missionaries.²²⁵ In its place, the fat from the tail of sheep was used as lard in baking.²²⁶ Another (more costly) alternative was to use American-style, churned butter, which was either shipped from the United States or churned from cream by cooks who were taught the American method of butter making.²²⁷ Once properly trained to avoid *samneh* and to churn butter, the cook could be left on his own. However, if the cook was new or 'distrustful', the housekeeper had to frequently run from the family space to the kitchen in order to supervise food preparation.²²⁸

²²¹ Emphasis removed. Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (n.s., 10 February [1849]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 19.

²²² Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 January 1849).

²²³ DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842).

²²⁴ DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842); Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 9 May 1848); Thomson, *LB*: 587. Compare this with British imperial agents who rejected Indian cuisine, but accepted/adapted them when they returned to the United Kingdom. Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewellery, Curry and Rice': 232.

²²⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 January 1849); Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (n.s., 10 February [1849]); Smith, 'Letter to Sister: attached to Eli Smith's letter to Brother' (Bhamdoun, 29 June 1849); Thomson, *LB*: 393.

²²⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 January 1849); Thomson, *LB*: 138; Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Bhamdoun, 14 August 1834).

²²⁷ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847); Jessup, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 3 April 1857); Smith, 'Letter to Wife' (n.s., 'Monday evening' [1856]).

²²⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 May 1854).

Although male cooks prepared most of the food consumed within households, certain foods were baked by Protestant women. Missionary women baked cakes and other puddings, such as sponge cake and rennet-goat's milk custard for special occasions.²²⁹ Elizabeth Hurter was known for her 'real New England breakfast of slap-jacks', while Abby Bliss 'prepare[d] her breakfast table for persons newly coming to Syria, or for friends returning from furlough'.²³⁰ Baking these foods demonstrated missionary women's continued links to the United States, for the recipes and even some of the ingredients were shipped from the United States, while serving these special dishes brought a bit of 'home' to the dinner table in Syria.²³¹ However, as these women often asked for recipes on how to prepare staple items, such as rennet and pie crust, it can be argued that cooking formed only an occasional activity within their housekeeping responsibilities.²³²

While the labour of cooking was not a central attribute of Protestant womanhood, food preparation was another topic taught to young Syrian Protestant women, including the students at the DeForest Female Seminary.²³³ However, this culinary education underscores that the development and transference of Protestant womanhood was a complicated process of cultural negotiation. In 1848, Hetty Smith recorded that a group of young Syrian Protestant women, many of whom were teenagers at the time, worked together to prepare stuffed vine leaves, which Hetty called 'mashy'.²³⁴ Although the girls were raised primarily within the homes of the ABCFM missionaries, they were knowledgeable of how to prepare this Syrian dish. Another interesting case arose with John DeForest's description of a 'real Arab dinner',

²²⁹ Smith, 'Fragment Letter' (n.s., [late] 1850); Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847); Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 8 May 1850).

²³⁰ Bliss, *RDS*: 99.

²³¹ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847); Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (n.s., 10 March 1847).

²³² Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847); Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 1 January 1849).

²³³ DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 139.

²³⁴ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 9 May 1848).

which he enjoyed at the house of Rahil and Butrus al-Bustani. At this dinner, DeForest ate 'kibbeh', 'pilau, stuffed lamb, boiled wheat, dried figs, pine seeds, and pistachio nuts.'²³⁵ It is inferred from DeForest's description that Rahil cooked or at least supervised the preparation of these Syrian foods. This is puzzling since earlier descriptions of Rahil's education do not include culinary training, but rather the opposite, for she was forbidden to enter the kitchen when she was student under the care of Sarah Smith.²³⁶ Such examples suggest that the knowledge held by young Syrian Protestant women was acquired through a variety of different channels, despite the ABCFM missionaries' attempts to tightly regulate their educational and gender development.²³⁷

The true complexity of young Syrian Protestant women's relationship with food is illuminated in a report from the Female Seminary. After the return of the DeForests to the United States in 1857, this school re-opened under the care of Abby Bliss in 1858, who wrote that:

[t]here were always two sets of meals to order, one for the five Americans, including the two young ladies who were to have charge of the school [and], one of the native food for the five little pupils, the one Syrian teacher and the servants.²³⁸

Bliss's comment suggests that food divided the individuals in this school-household, for some consumed 'American' food, while others ate 'native food'. This division was based upon personal taste and acquisition of Protestant culture, for the (older) Syrian teacher, the students and servants ate Syrian food, while the Syrian 'young ladies' ate with the Americans. Although Bliss's phrasing emphasised a racial divide, the actual eating activity she described reveals the complexities of how race and culture affected

²³⁵ DeForest, *Oriental Acquaintance*: 47-50.

²³⁶ Hooker, *MSLS*: 280.

²³⁷ It has been argued that culinary knowledge in the Middle East was orally transmitted until the end of the nineteenth century, when cookbooks became popular and when female literacy increased. Juan E. Campo and Magda Campo, 'Food Preparation', in S. Joseph (ed.), *EWIC: III: Family, Body, Sexuality and Health* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006): 105-106.

²³⁸ Abby Bliss in Bliss, *RDS*: 129-130.

the relationships amongst women (and men) in the Protestant Circle, as well as their personal articulation of the Protestant identity.

This chapter investigated the influence of gender on determining the idealised roles for Protestant women, their relationships with others and individuals' articulations of this new faith and culture. It was shown that the Protestant Circle was defined by a gendered hierarchy, in which women were perceived to be auxiliary or marginal to the work conducted by men. However, the activities of women often undermined their narrow role through delaying marriages, engaging in teaching, organising Bible Classes and editing journals. Although all women struggled with this gendered inequality, various divisions separated Protestant women, with race being the primary marker of difference. These divisions affected the ways that women interacted with each other, performed the Protestant faith and culture, and subverted their assigned roles. Thus, employing a gendered lens illuminated the true complexities of the Protestant Circle and highlighted the manifold terms for Protestant faith, culture and womanhood that it composed.

CHAPTER FIVE: MOTHERING THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE

A specific definition of gender was articulated by the members of the Protestant Circle during the creation and reproduction of their new community. The Protestants' views of womanhood were outlined in the previous chapter, where it was argued that although the idealised roles for women were narrowed to providing services for other women and their families by the late 1850s, women often subverted this 'domestic' focus through their actual performances of Protestantism. This chapter refines this analysis by focusing upon the Protestants' definition of mothering and investigating how this gendered role was engaged with by the women of the Protestant Circle.

Certain activities are perceived to be necessary and appropriate for the healthy development of children within each society. These views determine the normative definitions of 'proper mothering', which are contrasted to the activities deemed dangerous to both children and society. The distinction between proper and improper mothering is not universally consistent however, for like other aspects of capital, the standards of good mothering are created through the interactions amongst the women,

men and children within a specific community.¹ Mothering is thus socially constructed and historically situated, and functions as another means to judge and differentiate women.

Mothering within colonial and missionary encounters has become a focus for academic research in recent years. Some scholars examine the gendering of missions and the way that women employed racial hierarchies to designate those who were in 'need' of reform and 'mothering'.² Another facet of research explores missionary women's engagement with their 'home' culture's views on mothering, which they performed on the mission field or in the colonies. Through this research, scholars have revealed that missionary women often reconfigured and/or subverted their home culture's normative terms of mothering, while also judging the mothering performed by women in the 'targeted' societies, thus distancing themselves from both groups.³ A third focus of research investigates the emotional connections between missionary women and those targeted by mission work. While 'sisterly bonds' developed between missionary women, scholars have argued that mothering is a more accurate description of the unequal relationship between missionaries and 'natives' within these encounters.⁴

¹ Christine Everingham, *Motherhood and Modernity: An Investigation into the Rational Dimension of Mothering* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1997): 8.

² Ramusack, 'Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies': 119-136; Clancy-Smith, 'Methodologies: Colonialism: 18th to Early 20th Century': 102.

³ Nancy C. Lutkenhaus, 'Missionary Materialism: Gendered Images of the Holy Spirit Sisters in Colonial New Guinea', in: Huber and Lutkenhaus: *GM*: 207-236; Susan Thorne, 'Missionary-Imperial Feminism', in: Huber and Lutkenhaus: *GM*: 39-66; Leslie A. Flemming, 'A New Humanity: American Missionaries' Ideals for Women in North India, 1870-1930', in: N. Chaudhuri and M. Strobel, (eds.), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992): 191-206.

⁴ This model was presented in chapter four. Also see Fleischmann, 'Our Moslem Sisters': 307-323; Murre-van den Berg, 'Dear Mother of My Soul': 33-48; Nancy L. Stockdale, 'Schools of Industry and Mothers Meetings: Late Ottoman Encounters between British and Palestinian Women', presented at: Christian Missionaries in the Middle East: Re-Thinking Colonial Encounters (Raleigh, North Carolina, 4-5 May 2007).

These three focuses of research are synthesised in this chapter, where the definitions and performances of mothering are examined and analysed as a facet of Protestant capital and womanhood.⁵ The first section of this chapter investigates the Protestants' perceptions of children, who were the focus of mothering activities. The second section analyses the roles for the mother within Protestant households. Refining the material presented in the previous chapter on women's work as the 'housekeeper', this section investigates the different relationships that emerged between women and the members of their 'mosaic' families. The final section delineates the different characteristics that defined motherhood in the Protestant Circle. It argues that some women were promoted as models for Protestant motherhood, due to their embodiment of these normative terms, while others were regarded as improper or bad mothers who negatively influenced their children. Examining these different facets of motherhood emphasises that the construction of gender and identity was a dynamic, subjective and emotional process that involved all members of the Circle.

While mothering encompasses both child-bearing and child-rearing activities, this chapter focuses primarily upon the ways that children were reared by women in this community. This is partially due to the availability of data, for most of the information found in the sources described the care given to children, rather than the details of their births. This focus also reflects the unique arrangements of Protestant households, where women often nurtured children who were not their biological offspring. Lastly, concentrating upon the reproduction of gender and mothering reinforces my argument that women's activities were essential in developing and reproducing the Protestant community, their faith and culture. This chapter can thus be read as a compliment to previous studies, which concentrate on the activities of

⁵ Compare with the definitions of mothering held by other groups in the late Ottoman Middle East as presented in Khater, *Inventing Home*; Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005).

Protestant academic and ecclesiastical institutions, but in a manner that overlooks both the role of women as participants (or not) of these institutions and the influence of kinship in strengthening the community.⁶ Despite this feminine focus, the influence of men in regulating and judging mothering activities is also considered, although the details of how Protestant fatherhood was defined and negotiated has been left to a future study.

PROTESTANT PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDHOOD

Mothering is essentially linked to what individuals in a society perceive to be the needs of a child.⁷ During the period of 1823 to 1860, the Protestant Circle associated two characteristics to children: that childhood was an important period for personal development and that each child was an independent individual. Investigating these characteristics introduces the details of Protestant mothering and grants insight onto why Protestant children held relatively central positions within the social structuring of the Circle, but can not be regarded as a homogenous group.

Childhood for the Protestant community was an important period for individuals' ideological and religious development. Children were regarded as being especially impressionable from the age of six until the onset of adulthood, which occurred between fourteen and eighteen years old.⁸ As a result, the Protestants'

⁶ Badr, 'Missions to "Nominal Christians"'; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*. One exception is Fleischmann, who investigates female educational institutions. Fleischmann, 'Evangelization or Education'.

⁷ Steph Lawler, *Mothering the Self: Mothers, Daughters, Subjects* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000): 4.

⁸ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1835); Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families'.

religious and educational services often targeted children of these ages, although children as young as two also received religious instruction.⁹

The belief in the malleability of human development was influenced by the reformed Calvinism that emerged within American Protestantism during the early nineteenth century.¹⁰ According to this theology, the good or bad behaviour of adults was not regarded as a sign of pre-determined salvation or damnation, but the result of a gradual process of refinement or corruption. Like their contemporaries living in the United States, many in the Protestant Circle believed that the faults of adulthood, which included the adherence to superstitions, false religious doctrines, drunkenness, violence and crassness, were the by-products of poorly trained children.¹¹ Accordingly, proper mothering was believed to encourage the successful development of the individual, his/her embodiment of Protestant culture and (possibly) the heavenly state of the child's immortal soul.

A second characteristic of childhood promoted by the Protestant Circle was that each child possessed an individual and independent temperament. Each person was regarded as the unique amalgamation of his/her parents' biological traits and social manners, but was responsible for his/her own actions and eternal fate. Although a good child upheld the Fifth Commandment and the 'reproof' of Matthew 15: 5-6,¹² a child could also assert an opinion that differed from his/her parents' beliefs.¹³ The age paradox discussed in the previous chapter reflected this view for some children were regarded as intellectually superior to their parents.¹⁴ Moreover, commitment to the

⁹ Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (n.s., 12 December 1845): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

¹⁰ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*: 69.

¹¹ Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy*: 141-142; Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book*: 271; Assad Kayat, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Malta, 7 March 1838): HHL: ABC 60 (46).

¹² See Appendix V.

¹³ Sarah Smith, 'Letter to Madam' (Mohegan, [New York], 4 December 1830): YDS: ES Box 6: Folder 3.

¹⁴ Henrietta Smith ('Letter to Sister' (n.s., 22 September [1846]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 15; Hooker, *MSLS*: 38. A similar paradox was recognised in contemporary American Evangelical

Protestant Circle followed individual calling or conversion, regardless of parental wishes and objections. This conversion often distanced the Protestant from his/her family either physically, through moving to another country, or socially, through becoming a member of a different religious community; both of which emphasised the individuality of the Protestant.

While these two characteristics of childhood establish the basis for which Protestant motherhood can be analysed, they also illuminate an important contradiction in the Circle's ideology. As noted above, personal, independent pursuit of revival was central to the ABCFM's missionary endeavour. However, the need to create a sustainable, self-referencing community necessitated the view that the choice of Protestantism could be nurtured and encouraged through social networks and educational instruction. Upholding this stance allowed the Protestants to believe that individuals were capable of rejecting the 'negative' influences of bad mothers, while at the same time retaining the 'positive' influences of good mothers. This contradictory view created tensions within the Circle for it was used to judge the activities of mothers, and in so doing, emphasised the divisions and inequalities that plagued this community.

MOTHERING THE MOSAIC FAMILY

Another influence on how mothering is performed and defined within a society are the structures of families and households. During the early to mid-nineteenth century, Protestant households in Ottoman Syria were neither restricted to individuals biologically related to each other, nor composed of an isolated, 'nuclear' family. Rather, Protestant households were, what I have labelled 'mosaic families', for they brought

literature, when pious children were regarded as closer to God than 'learned doctors' and Puritan theologians. Pasulka, 'A Communion of Little Saints': 62.

together different family units in one, shared home.¹⁵ This section outlines the different arrangements within mosaic families and investigates how these affected women's mothering activities. These relationships included the mothering of biological offspring, nurturing of children born to other women, 'adopting' boarding students and fostering 'orphaned' children.

The Protestants' mosaic family was similar to the households found in contemporary Ottoman Syria, specifically the 'joint family household' and *hane* structures. Historians have argued that the joint family structure brought together different conjugal couples under one household. This differed from the mosaic family however, for the units of the joint family household functioned separately and often independently of each other.¹⁶ Within the *hane* system, the family name was conflated with that of the fiscal unit and/or residential structure.¹⁷ This was similar to the mosaic family, which was identified by the primary occupants of the house (i.e., the Thomson family), or the name of the building of shared residency (i.e., Burj Bird or the Mission House). Like joint family households however, the units within *hane* structures may have functioned autonomously from each other, which differed from Protestant households.¹⁸

¹⁵ My use of the term is neither based upon Carleton Coon's use of 'mosaic' to describe Middle East society, nor the neo-liberal application for the diversity in present day nations. Although we share a reference to the artistic arrangement of tiles and glass to create an image, my use is more comparable to the mosaic images found in kaleidoscopes, for it is ever changing and evolving. Carleton Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951); Hisham Sharabi, (ed.), *Theory, Politics and the Arab World: Critical Responses* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990): 8-9; Ian Diamond, 'Mosaic Society: Complex Changes in UK Society Bring with them Policy Challenges', *Britain Today* (interviewed by Martin Ince) (2007): 91-93.

¹⁶ Tomoki Okawara, 'Household Forms and Composition: The Ottoman Empire', in: S. Joseph, (ed.), *EWIC: II*: 254-255; Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count*: 69-110.

¹⁷ Tomoki Okawara, 'Size and Structure of Damascus Households in the Late Ottoman Period as Compared with Istanbul Households', in: B. Doumani, (ed.), *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property, and Gender* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003): 51-76; Okawara, 'Household Forms and Composition': 254. Meriwether argues that the terms *bayt* and *dar* functioned in a similar manner. Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count*: 17-18.

¹⁸ Okawara 'Size and Structure': 55-76.

The Protestant mosaic family also resonated with family arrangements found in contemporary United States. During the early nineteenth century, American families were regularly fragmented into smaller pieces due to death, the pursuit of education, migration and the demands of the economy. These pieces were reconfigured, but often upon a smaller scale when compared to the mosaic families of the Protestant Circle.¹⁹ This demonstrates that although the mosaic family was unique to the Protestant community in Syria, they resonated with the arrangements found in both contemporary Syrian and American households.

A mother and her biological children functioned as one unit within mosaic families and represents the first type of mothering relationship. During the nineteenth century, childbirth remained a dangerous event for women, despite the increased medicalisation of birthing in both the United States and Ottoman Empire.²⁰ Nevertheless, Appendix I:D shows that many missionary women successfully gave birth to numerous children: Ann Bird bore seven children, five of whom survived past the age of two, while Hetty Smith bore five children, four of whom survived past the age of one.²¹ While it is difficult to determine the average number of children born to

¹⁹ Calvert, *Children in the House*: 21-43, 60-65; John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, 'Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families', in M. Gordon, (ed.), *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (Second Edition) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978): 51-68.

²⁰ The medicalisation of birthing is linked to the regulation and co-opting of midwifery through the institutionalization of obstetric and gynaecological care. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*: 99-107; Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam*: 133-135; Khaled Fahmy, 'Women, Medicine, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Egypt,' in: L. Abu-Lughod, (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998): 37-63.

²¹ This average is consistent, if not slightly less, than the average number of children born to women in contemporary America. McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America*: 8. Although the ABCFM missionaries were highly literate in the Bible, it does not appear that they upheld the directive in Genesis 1:28 to 'Be fruitful and multiply'. While some women gave birth to a number of children, many of the prominent missionaries, like Sarah Smith, Martha Whiting and Catherine DeForest, had no biological children. Despite finding no evidence of the missionaries practicing birth control, of any form, it has been argued that their contemporaries in the United States were consciously controlling their fertility. Michael R. Haines and Avery

Syrian Protestant women, due to the inconsistencies in recording this information by the ABCFM missionaries, Meriwether argues that an average of three children lived with each conjugal couple in Ottoman Syria during the early nineteenth century.²² This supports my data on Syrian Protestant families, which is found in Appendix II:A.

Death from disease also threatened the life of young children, so that both missionary and Syrian Protestant women bore more children than they nurtured into adulthood. The most dangerous period for an infant was during teething, particularly when the child gained her 'eye teeth'.²³ The sirocco winds of the summer were perceived to be especially dangerous for pregnant women and young children alike.²⁴ Concerns over children's health resulted in Protestant mothers demanding that they reside near certified doctors. The ABCFM's Prudential Committee regarded this stipulation to be a hindrance to official missionary work, for it limited the locations that mothers believed were safe for families and where their missionary husbands could conduct work.²⁵

A mother was responsible for the care of her biological children, regardless if she was the primary housekeeper in the Protestants' shared household. During the first two years of life, an infant was breastfed by the biological mother (if she survived child birth), with 'nurses' being employed only to assist in household chores.²⁶ The age of

M. Guest, 'Fertility in New York State in the Pre-Civil War Era', *Demography*, 45:2 (2008): 345-361.

²² Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count*: 79-81. Due to limited data, the number of children born to Syrian woman who did not survive, can not be accurately hypothesised.

²³ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 18 April 1850): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20; Al-Bustani, 'Letter to Hetty Smith' (n.s., 8 June n.d.).

²⁴ Al-Bustani, 'Letter to Hetty Smith' (n.s., 8 June n.d.).

²⁵ *MH* (1842): 423.

²⁶ Protestant mothers suckled their own children and only employed wet nurses if the mother died during childbirth or was unable to nurse. I was unable to determine the reason for this from the sources, but it may relate to the Protestants' fear of the contamination and the increased emphasis on a mother's bond with her own children. Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 15 March 1847); *MH* (1835): 47. A similar discourse emerged in late nineteenth century Arab literature. See Omnia L. Shakry, 'Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt', in: L. Abu-Lughod, (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in*

two was regarded as the best time to wean a child, although this was flexible to the needs of the child and the mother's discretion.²⁷

The role of the mother, as the primary and sole nurturer of her children, was a relatively new concept that emerged during the mid-nineteenth century.²⁸ It appears that before this point both parents were active in the daily care of children. In 1836, Tannous al-Haddad preached to an audience of men that the responsibility of 'Syrian parents' was to teach their children about 'creation, the flood, the redemption by Jesus Christ, etc.'²⁹ Likewise, the explanation for Isaac and Ann Bird's return to the United States included different views on the gendering of parenting. On the one hand, Isaac Bird argued that he played an important role in the training of his children. He wrote that:

[o]ther children may not be so volatile, and stubborn as mine, or other missionaries may manage children with much more judgement and success than I, but for my single self, I find my children need the eye of a parent or of some instructor of Christian principles, constantly upon them.³⁰

In contrast, Eli Smith emphasised Ann's role as the primary carer for the Bird children and argued that:

[w]ith the case thus before us, considering also the importance of the children's being sent about this time to the United States for an education, and seeming it likewise important for *Sister Bird* in her present

the Middle East (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998): 135-139. This is a noticeably contrast to the communal breastfeeding that Khater argues took place on Mount Lebanon during the late nineteenth century. Khater, *Inventing Home*: 223 note 70. For an overview on breast feeding in Islam see Ingrid Mattson, 'Adoption and Fostering: Overview', in: S. Joseph, (ed.), *EWIC: II*: 2.

²⁷ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Bhamdoun, 27 October 1848): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 18; Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Beirut, 27 November [1848]).

²⁸ Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*: 67-97.

²⁹ *MH* (1836): 93.

³⁰ Bird, 'Letter to Sir: Private' (Smyrna, 4 December 1835).

circumstances, to commence such a journey with the whole care of *her family upon herself*.³¹

These examples suggest that during the mid-1830s, both Syrian Protestants and ABCFM missionaries perceived it to be the father's duty to work alongside the mother to guide the development of their children.

During the 1840s however, a shift in gender roles began to materialise in both the United States and Ottoman Syria when mothers became the primary nurturers and cultivators of their children's character.³² This shift was manifested in the arrangements for conjugal family units within Protestant households. As noted above, a mother and her biological children composed one unit in Protestant households, with fathers becoming increasingly auxiliary to this unit. This arrangement reflected the economic changes that drew men to work outside of the home during the 1840s and 1850s.³³ For example, in 1835, Eli Smith worked at the Mission Press, which was located in a room within his house.³⁴ By 1850 however, the Mission Press had relocated to Burj Bird, which was about a mile from the Smith's home at the 'Old Susa's House'. As a result, Eli left his home at eight in the morning and returned at five o'clock, when the family dined together.³⁵ The changes instigated by Rufus Anderson during his visit in 1855 emphasised this view that the official work of the mission was to be conducted by men outside of the home. Although the missionaries argued that summer removals to Mount Lebanon were necessary in order to 'escape the heat of the plain', the report from Anderson's visit issued that the locations for summer residencies were to be 'within a ride of three hours of *his* station that *he* may visit the city or return from it

³¹ Emphasis added. Eli Smith and William Thomson, 'Letter to Rev. R. Anderson' (Beirut, 2 September 1835): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537: 90.

³² Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*: 101; Scholten *Childbearing in American Society*: 80-82; Al-Bustani, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., n.d.).

³³ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*: 147; Khater, *Inventing Home*: 32-70.

³⁴ Hooker, *MSLS*: 181.

³⁵ Hetty wrote that she, not her children, occasionally joined Eli for lunch at the Mission House. Henrietta Smith, 'In Memoriam of my Husband' (n.s., n.d.): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 15.

during the cool of the day.³⁶ Underlining this new regulation was the (emerging) presumption that mothers provided the daily care for children, while fathers focused upon 'missionary work' and were only occasional nurturers of their children.

Justification for this change in the gender of parenting drew upon the belief that the maternal bond between a woman and her biological children was naturally strong. Eliza Thomson argued that the health of her baby was bound to her own well-being and argued that 'for the sake of my dear babe [William], whose health is much affected by *mine*, I have felt it to be duty [*sic*] to keep my mind as calm as possible', while they suffered through an earthquake and a battle in Jerusalem.³⁷ A similar belief was advocated by Sarah Smith, who sought to appease the conflict between Matilda Whiting and Susan Wortabet over the care of Hannie. Sarah argued that although she did not agree with Susan's objection, she asked Matilda to 'imagine ourselves in Susan's place, and remember that she was a mother' and would find it difficult to part with her own daughter.³⁸

The Protestants' belief in strong maternal bonds appears, at first glance, to be contradicted by the relative ease displayed by dying women, who, upon their death beds, bestowed the care of their own children to other women.³⁹ Writing upon the death of his wife Maria, Eli Smith remarked that '[t]he babe [Charlie], she said, she could give up without a struggle, for she knew I would bring him up in the fear of God. She then formally gave him up to Mrs. DeForest, to take care of for the present'.⁴⁰ Maria's fear of physical separation from her son, through her death, was alleviated by her trust in Eli and Catherine to properly nurture her son and encourage his independent pursuit of Protestantism. Maria believed that through Catherine's proper mothering, she would be reunited with her son in heaven.

³⁶ Emphasis added. *MSM*: 17-18.

³⁷ Emphasis added. *MH* (1835): 49.

³⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (Beirut, 4 June 1835).

³⁹ A similar analysis is presented in Sylvia D. Hoffert, "'A Very Peculiar Sorrow': Attitudes Toward Infant Death in the Urban Northeast, 1800-1860", *American Quarterly* 39:4 (1987): 609.

⁴⁰ Smith, 'Letter to Parents' (Beirut, 30 May 1842).

The relationship between a woman and the children born to others, such as that between Catherine DeForest and Charlie Smith, functioned as the second mothering relationship in the Protestant Circle. Mosaic families were households where different conjugal units occupied separate bedrooms, but shared the communal spaces around the dinner table and in the parlour. These households tended to be within close proximity of each other, so that the sharing of meals, regular visitations and healthful excursions were shared occasions when strong bonds developed amongst the different residents of a household.⁴¹ This allowed for the Smith children to be frequent playmates of the al-Bustani children, especially as Salim al-Bustani and Mary Smith were of relatively the same age.⁴²

Due to the shared or close proximity of missionary households, the mothering of Protestant children became a communal activity. The education of Protestant children was provided by various women (and men). One of the first schools organised by the ABCFM missionaries was formed by Eliza Thomson and Martha Dodge for the 'Frank' children living in Beirut, who were brought together for educational instruction within the missionaries' household.⁴³ Twenty years later, Charlie Smith recited Latin and English lessons with William Benton and French with Elizabeth Watson.⁴⁴ The strength of these bonds was emphasised by the appellations used by missionary children towards the missionaries who were not their biological parents, as either 'Auntie' and 'Uncle'. Communal mothering stretched even to missionary children who were sent to the United States for schooling. Emma Thomson, the biological daughter of William and Maria Thomson, was placed under the care of Henry and Catherine DeForest during her voyage to the United States in 1857 and resided in the household

⁴¹ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 16 May 1850): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 20; Smith, 'Fragment Letter' (n.s. [late] 1850).

⁴² Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (n.s., 30 September 1852): HHL: ABC 60 (107). It appears that Charlie Smith and Sarah Al-Bustani were also playmates. Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., July 1845): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

⁴³ *MH* (1834): 127.

⁴⁴ Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (n.s., 27 June 1856): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 12.

of Elias and Hannah Beadle, who were former ABCFM missionaries to Syria, during her years of study in Connecticut.⁴⁵

Other circumstances arose when childless women mothered children born to other women. This occurred when missionary women, either single or married, 'adopted' Syrian children to live and be educated within their households. Due to the importance of these arrangements, this type of mothering will be regarded as the third relationship within this analysis. Although young boys were also educated in this fashion,⁴⁶ this discussion will focus upon the girls who were 'adopted' in order to highlight the reproduction of gender and mothering within this community.

Adoption has been defined as 'the creation of a fictive relationship of parent to child, by naming the child as one's own and by endowing him or her with rights and duties identical to those of a biological child'.⁴⁷ Although the English term 'adopted' was employed by the ABCFM missionaries, the actual mothering relationship that developed did not fully uphold this definition. The first 'adoption' of a Syrian child was in 1834, when the childless missionary Sarah Smith took Rahil Ata into her home. Eli Smith described that:

[v]ery soon after her arrival at Beyroot [*sic*], [Sarah] Smith had a fixed desire to take a little Arab girl to be brought up in her family. It originated from a variety of motives. The warm affections of her heart sought the constant presences of some such object of attachment. The little girl's soul she hoped to save; and she desired also to train her up to be a helper in the great work of enlightening and saving others...She, at length, selected from her school one of the most promising scholars, about eight years of age, and, with the consent of her parents, adopted her. In Mrs. Smith's care, attentions, and gradually in her affections also, she took almost the rank of a daughter [that is]... *midway between a daughter and a servant*.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ n.s., 'Missionaries' Children Returned to the United States: Questionnaire Circulated by R. Anderson'.

⁴⁶ For more on the male Boarding School or Seminary during its earliest years see Williams, 'Rebecca Williams Hebard': 13-17; Wortabet, *SS: I*: 68-72.

⁴⁷ Mattson, 'Adoption and Fostering': 1.

⁴⁸ Emphasis Added. Hooker, *MSLS*: 279-281.

The phrase 'midway between a daughter and a servant' was repeatedly employed by the ABCFM to be the official description of this mothering relationship,⁴⁹ so that while Sarah expressed her love for Rahil, her daily schedule included manual labour, such as 'carrying books from boxes to the study', which were the activities performed by servants, not children.⁵⁰

The actual number of Syrian children adopted into missionary families is unknown, due to the limited amount of information available on these arrangements. For example, Betsy Tilden simply listed the first names of seven 'girls taught in the missionaries' families' without providing the girls' surnames nor the names of their missionary parents.⁵¹ However, the occasional practice of adopting individual female students became institutionalised into formal boarding schools, and in so doing, provided more information on the nature of this mothering relationship.⁵² One such school was the Female Boarding School (also referred to as the Female Seminary), that was organised by Catherine and Henry DeForest in Beirut, but was continued by Sarah Cheney, Abby Bliss and Amelia Temple in Souq el-Gharb until 1860.⁵³ Another boarding school was the smaller family school organised by Matilda and George Whiting in 1835.⁵⁴ Both Matilda Whiting and Catherine DeForest were biologically childless, so that running their boarding schools was an important, if not the primary outlet for their mothering attentions.⁵⁵ In contrast, Abby Bliss, who ran the Female Boarding School at Souq el-Gharb from 1858, struggled to maintain her role as matron after giving birth to her own children. This prompted Abby to relinquish the care of the

⁴⁹ Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families'.

⁵⁰ Hooker, *MCLS*: 282; Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (Beirut, 4 June 1835).

⁵¹ Betsy Tilden in Jessup, *WA*: 55.

⁵² A list of the students at these official boarding schools are listed in Appendix II:C, while some of those who resided within missionary families are listed in Appendix I:D.

⁵³ Due to these different manifestations, tracing the history of the Beirut Female Seminary is an arduous process, however an overview of its history is presented in Fleischmann, 'Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries': 263-280; Jessup, *WA*: 73-113.

⁵⁴ Jessup, *WA*: 57-72.

⁵⁵ Butrus al-Bustani in Jessup, *WA*: 200. This was truer for Matilda than Catherine, for Catherine also 'mothered' Charlie Smith and two Syrian girls, Lulu Araman and Khozma Ata.

Female Boarding School to the single missionary Amelia Temple, although Abby 'adopted' two young female students into her private family.⁵⁶

The institutionalisation of individual adoptions into boarding schools was strengthened through the registration of Annual Reports on these schools by the missionaries to the ABCFM's Prudential Committee.⁵⁷ Filing reports allowed the ABCFM to monitor both the progress of the adopted boarding students as well as the quality of teaching-mothering bestowed upon them by their missionary mother. While the language of these reports upheld the official position of these girls, as midway between daughter and servant, personal correspondences suggest that deeper sentiments bonded the missionary teacher-mother to her adopted boarding students-daughters. Writing about an adopted boarding student (possibly Hannie Wortabet) who was accepted into the ECB, George Whiting described: '[i]t was a season, you believe, of deep interest to us, especially, as [the student] has lived with use for about fourteen years, and has been regarded and trained much as if she were our own child.'⁵⁸ In a similar manner, Catherine DeForest explained that one of her adopted students, Lulu, had 'been with me for about eight years, and seems almost like my own daughter'.⁵⁹ This demonstrates that for missionary women, educating adopted boarding students was not only an aspect of their missionary services, but an important outlet for their maternal womanhood.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Bliss, *RDS*: 130.

⁵⁷ These reports were written by the male missionaries in these households. e.g. George. B. Whiting, 'Report on Female Education' (Jerusalem, 1841): PHS: RG 115 Box 3-1:B:3; Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families'; Henry A. DeForest, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 138-142; Henry A. DeForest, 'Report of Female Seminary' (n.s., 1853): PHS: RG 115 Box 3-1:B:7.

⁵⁸ *MH* (1850): 257.

⁵⁹ Catherine DeForest in Jessup, *WA*: 89.

⁶⁰ Similar relationships developed amongst women from other missionary organisations. Compare with Thomas Laurie, *Women and Her Saviour in Persia* (London: J. Nisbet and Co.): 25-44; Murre-van den Berg, 'Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions': 107-108; Elizabeth Helen Watson, 'Last Will and Testament' (Beirut, 13 May 1865): [British] PRO: FO 616/5.

Some of the adopted students affirmed the intimacy expressed by the missionaries. Melita Carabet, who was adopted by Matilda Whiting, wrote:

I can distinctly recollect the first texts of Scripture and verses of hymns that dear Mrs. Whiting taught my lips to repeat, and my little prayer which I used to say at her knees on going to bed, I still repeat to this day, "Now I lay me", etc.' ...'[Mrs. Whiting] prayed and wept over me, and somehow I was comforted and went to my little bed much happier.⁶¹

To honour their teachers, some adopted boarding students named their own biological children after their mother-teacher. Rahil al-Bustani called her daughter Sarah, after Sarah Smith,⁶² while Lulu Araman named her children Henry and Katie after Henry and Catherine DeForest.⁶³ Although the use of American over Syrian names can be viewed as the indoctrination of a 'colonial' relationship,⁶⁴ this practice emphasises these women's commitment to their missionary teachers and this forged kinship arrangement.⁶⁵

The relationships between missionary mothers and their adopted student-daughters were problematic however for they frequently undermined the bonds between Syrian women and their biological children. Adoptions were based upon the agreement that the missionary would provide an education that could not be given by the biological family. This arrangement was comparable to apprenticeships, which were common in Ottoman Syria during the early nineteenth century, when a young boy lived with a teacher and his family.⁶⁶ Apprenticeships may have functioned as a form of fostering, which was 'the act of assuming partial or complete responsibility for a child

⁶¹ Melita Carabet in Jessup, *WA*: 65-66. It was common practice for individuals to employ formal titles when referring to close friends and relatives in 'public' letters and writings.

⁶² Jessup, *WA*: 137. Booth notes that in the late nineteenth century Arabic biography of Rahil al-Bustani, Sarah Smith was 'called Rahil's "mother".' Booth, 'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': 435.

⁶³ Jessup, *WA*: 90-91.

⁶⁴ Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: I*: 219

⁶⁵ Makdisi, *Teta, Mother and Me*: 27-30.

⁶⁶ Philippe Fargues, 'Family and Household in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cairo', in: B. Doumani, (ed.), *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property, and Gender* (Albany: State University of New York Press): 36-38.

whose parents are temporarily or permanently unable to care for him or her'.⁶⁷ Apprenticeships and fostering were to neither challenge the authority of the parents nor the bonds between the biological parent and child.⁶⁸ In contrast, the adoptions performed by ABCFM missionaries included incidents when the relationships between biological parents and their children were intentionally challenged or broken. For example, the mother of Rahil Ata was vilified and designated as an unfit mother after her family attempted to force Rahil into a marriage with a man from the Greek Orthodox Church, as discussed in the previous chapter.⁶⁹ Similarly, Catherine DeForest explained that, after an incident when Lulu's family tried to stop her studies with the DeForests, Lulu 'never dared to go home again'.⁷⁰ It was not possible for the missionaries to vilify all parents of adopted boarding students however, particularly as it became station policy for boarding schools to only accept Protestant children during the 1850s.⁷¹ This change occurred as the adoption of boarding students became formalised into established academic institutions, so that some Syrian Protestants placed their children, both male and female, under the care of the ABCFM missionaries on the condition that their children would refine their academic and religious qualifications. Such parents included Rahil and Butrus al-Bustani, who were promoted as model Protestants and exemplars of proper parenting skills.⁷²

Little information is available on how female boarding students perceived their biological mothers in light of the tensions between their adopted-missionary and biological-Syrian mothers. Insight onto the complexities surrounding this arrangement is found in Hannie Wortabet's relationship with her mother, Susan, when she was an

⁶⁷ Mattson, 'Adoption and Fostering': 1.

⁶⁸ For examples of fostering see Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*: 7-26; Effendi, *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*: 5-13.

⁶⁹ Eli Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Beirut, 6 February 1843): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 4; MH (1843): 282-284.

⁷⁰ Lulu had attended a family wedding when her brothers sought to prevent her from returning to the DeForests and the Protestant community. Catherine DeForest in Jessup, WA: 90.

⁷¹ MSM: 22.

⁷² Jessup, WA: 136-137.

adult. In 1852, Edward Robinson visited John Wortabet in Hasbaya and recorded that '[John's] mother and sister were residing with him.'⁷³ This is the only reference to Susan's residence with Hannie, so it is difficult to determine the context and meaning of this arrangement. Yet in 1856, Hetty Smith wrote that, while visiting with Susan: 'Susan gave me a letter to read from Hanna [*sic*] to her written in English. [Hannie] addressed [Susan] as her "dearest Mother"-spoke of [Hannie's husband] as a son who would ever consider her as his Mother &c'.⁷⁴ Susan's residence with her children suggests that this maternal bond persisted despite the fact that both Hannie and John were raised within missionary households. However, Hannie's letter to her mother was written in English, which was not Susan's native language and necessitated the intercession of a third party for this message of endearment to be conveyed.⁷⁵ In other words, while the practices of adopting boarding students created intimate bonds between some ABCFM missionary women and Syrian Protestants, it did so by compromising the links between Syrian Protestant women and their biological children.

The 'return' of missionary children to the United States presents an interesting comparison to the adoption of Syrian boarding students.⁷⁶ The issue of sending missionary children back to America for education caused unease for the ABCFM, so that formal discussion on the matter took place in 1845.⁷⁷ The ABCFM concluded that missionary children should be sent to the United States when they became 'too old to be easily restrained from intercourse with the corrupting world around them' and

⁷³ Robinson and Smith, *BR: I*: 377.

⁷⁴ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (n.s., 6 June 1856): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1.

⁷⁵ It is unclear if English or Arabic was spoken in the Wortabets' home in Hasbaya. A similar household was visited by Robinson and Smith in Akka, where the children, educated at the Protestant seminaries, were fluent in English, but their widowed mother, was not. Robinson and Smith, *BR: III*: 90.

⁷⁶ The irony that the ABCFM employed the term 'return' for missionary children born at the mission station can not go unnoticed, for it reveals the perceived national identity for these children which was not always affirmed by the children themselves. Robert, *American Women in Mission*: 61.

⁷⁷ For a history of this debate see *MH* (1846): 333-337, where the results of the meeting were published.

when it was felt that they were old enough to pursue higher education at American institutions.⁷⁸ Although most children were sent during their teenage years, the designated age for return was left intentionally vague, so that each family could determine when was suitable for their child to be sent to the United States.⁷⁹

The return of missionary children paralleled customs in contemporary America, when children lived with their biological family until their mid-teenage years, at which time they entered seminaries, began apprenticeships or commenced work.⁸⁰ This contrasted the age when Syrian girls were adopted into Protestant families, which was between six and ten years old.⁸¹ Moreover, returned missionary children resided with family members or close friends, in an effort to maintain 'the ties and attractions of consanguinity'.⁸² Sending children to the United States was not regarded as corrective mothering, but rather, the appropriate behaviour of a missionary woman to ensure that her children were properly trained in a safe environment. In so doing, the missionary mother presented herself to be a role model for Syrian mothers to encourage them to voluntarily part with their own children, in order for the children to receive a 'proper' education, not in the United States, but under the auspices of the ABCFM missionaries.

The fourth mothering relationship within the Protestant Circle occurred when children were 'orphaned'. For the Protestant Circle, the term orphan was used to describe a child after the death or during the illness of one or both her parents. This was different from the 'adoption' process discussed above, although the two sometimes overlapped, as with the case of Lulu Araman.⁸³ The gender of the deceased parent affected the ensuing treatment of the orphaned child. The death of a male missionary

⁷⁸ *MH* (1846): 333.

⁷⁹ See 'rule 1' in Anderson, *MV*: 278.

⁸⁰ Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy*: 49; Bliss, *RDS*: 81; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*: 162-170.

⁸¹ Whiting, 'Report: Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families'.

⁸² *MH* (1846): 336.

⁸³ Lulu's parents died when she was young and she was raised by her brothers until placed in the DeForest household. Jessup, *MA*: 89.

typically resulted in the entire family returning to the United States, with the ABCFM offering widows and orphaned children monetary support, but not a continuous pension.⁸⁴ One exception to this custom was Martha Dodge, who remained in Syria for a number of years with her two daughters after the death of her husband in 1835.

In contrast, the death or illness of a mother resulted in the 'orphaned' child being placed under the care of another missionary mother in an arrangement that was similar to fostering defined above. The temporary mother nurtured the child until a new mother was married or until the biological mother regained her health. As previously noted, Maria Smith designated Catherine DeForest to be the temporary mother for her newborn son, Charles Henry, in 1842.⁸⁵ Catherine mothered Charlie for roughly five years, until Eli returned to Syria with his new wife, Hetty, in 1847. During these five years, Catherine developed strong maternal feelings for Charlie, which she conveyed to Eli during his furlough in the United States. On one occasion when Eli's health was uncertain, Catherine asked:

that if your life and health should not be spared to you-you would allow us to adopt [Charlie] as our own and to do for him as our own child. I know his grandpapa and many other of your friends will wish to have him, but will they feel more tenderly for him or watch more carefully over his best interests than we have endeavoured to do.⁸⁶

Upon receiving news of Eli's remarriage, Catherine responded:

I have had many sad moments in anticipation of the time when I must commit the child of my tenderest love to the keeping of a stranger who however she might desire to do well for him could not possibly have a *mothers feelings* or tenderness still I have hoped for the best and have been endeavouring to give him up cheerfully.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Anderson, *MV*: 277-280; n.s., 'Missionaries' Children Returned to the United States: Questionnaire Circulated by R. Anderson'; n.s., 'Missionaries' Children Returned to the United States. Ca. 1832-1881: Records of Grants, Etc.'.

⁸⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Parents' (Beirut, 30 May 1842); Eli Smith, 'Letter to Sir [Mr. Lanman]' (Beirut, 2 November 1842): YDS: ES Box 6: Folder 2.

⁸⁶ Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (Bhamdoun, 11 August 1856): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

⁸⁷ Emphasis added. Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., 12 January 1846): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

Although Hetty became the officially recognised mother of Charlie in 1847, Charlie maintained close ties with his 'Aunt Catherine', which were strengthened by Charlie's occasional residence with the DeForests in both Syria and the United States during subsequent years.⁸⁸

Temporary mothering relationships also developed when 'adopted' boarding students were 'orphaned' upon the death of their missionary mother-teacher. Following the death of Sarah Smith, Rebecca Hebard became the mother-teacher of Rahil Ata. During the following years, the care of Rahil was transferred to Julia Lanneau, Hannah Beadle and Catherine DeForest. This movement was caused by the death of the missionary women, which ended only when Rahil married Butrus al-Bustani in 1843.

Different from the missionaries, it was often upon the death of a Syrian parent or parents that Syrian children were 'adopted' into ABCFM missionary families. For example, the conflict between Matilida Whiting and Susan Wortabet over the mothering of Hannie took place after the death of Susan's husband, Gregory. Although not overtly stated, one of Matilda's arguments for this adoption may have been the uncertain state of Susan as a widow 'without any temporal resources whatsoever.'⁸⁹ Another orphan was the Druze 'Sitt Abla'. This young woman rejected the care provided by her biological family and 'took refuge' in the house of the Van Dyck family, thus becoming an adopted boarding student in the Van Dyck family.⁹⁰

The case of the orphaned sisters, Rufka and Sada Gregory, demands special consideration. Their father was Yakob Gregory, an Armenian who joined the Protestant Circle during the early 1830s. His wife was originally Jewish but became a Christian soon after Yakob's conversion, although it is unclear from the sources if she became an Armenian or Protestant Christian. By 1836 however, both Yakob and his wife had

⁸⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Bhamdoun, 27 October 1848); Eli Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Bhamdoun, 31 August 1849): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 6; Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Rochester, [N.Y.], 16 September 1857): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 2; Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Rochester, [N.Y.], 15 December 1857): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 2.

⁸⁹ *MH* (1833): 78.

⁹⁰ Jessup, *WA*: 31-132.

died.⁹¹ A battle over the guardianship of Rufka and Sada ensued, for their maternal grandmother challenged the ABCFM missionaries' claim of custody.⁹² In 1840, the grandmother 'abducted' one of the girls (presumably Rufka) and attempted to send her from Beirut to Jerusalem. Also aboard the ship however was a man who knew Yakob Gregory, recognised Rufka and notified the British consular agent in Jaffa, who was the diplomatic representative of the ABCFM missionaries at that time. Rufka was taken off the boat, placed under the care of Matilda Whiting and was soon after joined by her sister Sada.⁹³ It appears that the grandmother continued to pursue custodial rights over the girls, for in 1845, a dispatch from the British Consulate discussed a diplomatic conflict amongst the American, English, Russian and Turkish officials. Although no names were given it appears that this dispute over 'the guardianship of two little girls, Turkish subjects' referred to the Gregory case.⁹⁴ Despite the grandmother's protests, the officials sided with the ABCFM for Rufka and Sada were raised as adopted boarding students within Matilda Whiting's family.

In order to fully understand the impact of the Gregory case, it is essential to review its context and the family's history. Firstly, the Gregory family was an awkward arrangement that represented a fluid mixture of religious affiliations. It can be argued that the maternal grandmother's protest was not against the Americans specifically, but was an '[endeavour] to get [Rufka and Sada] away from Christian influence and secure them a Jewish education'.⁹⁵ Secondly, the grandmother's claim of guardianship challenges previous interpretations of both gender and guardianship in Ottoman Syria during the early nineteenth century. The grandmother's persistence demonstrates that this woman felt that it was her right to fight for the custody of her granddaughters,

⁹¹ It is unclear if Yakob died at this point, for Jessup simply commented that he 'left his wife, and nothing was heard of him afterwards.' Jessup, *WA*: 61

⁹² At this time, an older brother of the sisters remained at the Seminary in Beirut. *MH* (1841): 203.

⁹³ *MH* (1841): 203; Jessup, *WA*: 60-62.

⁹⁴ The reasons for Russian diplomatic involvement in this case are unclear from the sources. Colonel Rose, 'Dispatch to Foreign Office' (Beirut, 9 January 1845): [British] PRO: FO 615/5.

⁹⁵ *MH* (1841): 203.

which suggests that women's role in child custody may have been more fluid than originally perceived.⁹⁶

The above section outlined the different relationships that defined motherhood within the Protestant Circle and illuminated the complexities surrounding social interactions amongst the members of this new community. Mothering in the Protestant Circle encompassed a variety of different arrangements, which were innovative responses to the dynamics of the Protestants community and transformations of gender roles unfolding within American and Syrian societies. Examining the details of these mothering relationships problematised the 'official' version of the missionary women's adoption of Syrian children. While, the missionaries argued that Syrian women unquestionably placed their children under missionary care, the Wortabet and Gregory cases reveal that the adoption of Syrian children were complicated and difficult experiences, which required the active subjugation of Syrian widows and grandmothers to the maternal desires of ABCFM missionaries.

MOTHERING AS A FORM OF CAPITAL

Mothering functioned as a form of symbolic capital within the Protestant Circle. The Protestants' definition of mothering reflected their specific faith and culture, particularly their interpretations of education and religious practices for women. More accurately however, the Protestants' definition of 'proper' mothering was based upon the ABCFM missionaries' views of mothering, which was acquired, negotiated and/or subverted by all Protestant women. As a result, women's performances of mothering varied in a manner that emphasised the divisions outlined in previous chapters. This section presents the different terms for Protestant mothering and the ways that women

⁹⁶ Compare with Okawara, 'Size and Structure': 66-67.

engaged with these definitions, demonstrating that race was an important criterion in how women's mothering activities were judged by others within the Protestant Circle.

THE MOTHER AS EDUCATOR

Formal education was an important attribute of the Protestant Circle. All Protestants participated in formal educational activities: as students in common, Sabbath or boarding school, as teachers providing these services, and occasionally as both. The Protestants' limited resources often resulted in their conflating educational and domestic space, so that schools for Syrian children were either held in specified rooms, such as the female school room in the Mission House, or multipurpose spaces like courtyards and parlours. Lessons for missionary children were also conducted within the homes of the ABCFM missionaries.⁹⁷ This conflation of school and domestic space was exemplified in the adoption of boarding students and through the creation of formalised boarding schools/seminaries.

The gendering of mission work affirmed this 'domestication' of educational activities. The previous chapter argued that Protestant women's activities were narrowed onto work in the home and providing for their family and other women by the 1850s. Another aspect of this change was an emphasis on the belief that mothers had a more lasting influence over their children's development than fathers.⁹⁸ This view was employed by the ABCFM missionaries to justify their work in female education.⁹⁹ In 1850, they wrote that '[i]n our labours for the reconstruction of society here we feel

⁹⁷ *MH* (1834): 127-128; Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*: 39-42; Bird, 'Letter to Sir: Private' (Smyrna, 4 December 1835); ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut: 1835); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (n.s., 1 June [1856]): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1; Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (n.s., 27 June 1856). These were often in households that did not have schoolrooms for Syrian children.

⁹⁸ Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy*: 151. For an analysis of Beecher's domesticity and imperialism see Kaplan, 'Manifest Domesticity': 586-591.

⁹⁹ George B. Whiting, William M. Thomson, Charles V.A. Van Dyck, Samuel H. Calhoun, 'Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 20 August 1844): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 540: 9-12.

more and more the absolute need of a sanctified and enlightened female influence'.¹⁰⁰ The missionaries contrasted their work to the 'deleterious influence' that uneducated, non-Protestant Syrian women held 'over their husbands and children'.¹⁰¹ Butrus al-Bustani presented a comparable argument in his 1847 lecture 'Khitab fi T'alim al-Nisa',¹⁰² where he proposed 'that the education of woman will benefit herself, her husband, her children and her country'.¹⁰³ Al-Bustani summarised this stance in the popular axiom that 'she who rocks the cradle with her right hand, moves the world with her arm'.¹⁰⁴

The Protestants' argued that a mother could only positively influence her children's developed if she was suitably educated and upheld certain cultural standards. Mothers were encouraged to be literate, so that they could read to those within their households and organise lessons for their children's education.¹⁰⁵ If a mother was illiterate however, she was to send her children to school in order to ensure that they learned how to read and write.¹⁰⁶ The Protestants also believed that 'the right training of children is not a natural instinct', but a learned skill.¹⁰⁷ Mothers were to continuously refine their education through reading advice and about scientific discoveries printed in periodicals and books, particularly those written specifically for

¹⁰⁰ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1850).

¹⁰¹ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1850).

¹⁰² al-Bustani, 'Khitab fi T'alim al-Nisa': 45-53.

¹⁰³ Butrus al-Bustani quoted in Jessup, *WA*: 161. It is with al-Bustani and other Syrian Protestants, but not the ABCFM missionaries, that a concept, similar to Linda Kerber's 'Republican Motherhood', can be found. Linda Kerber, 'The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective', *American Quarterly*, 28:2 (1976): 199-205. Compare with Barbara A. Reeves-Ellington, 'Zornitsa: The Protestant Press and the Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism, 1864-1876', presented at: Middle East Studies Association (of North America) Annual Conference (Boston. 19 November 2006).

¹⁰⁴ Al-Bustani in Jessup, *WA*: 162.

¹⁰⁵ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (n.s., 20 May [1856]): YDS: ES Box 2: Folder 1.

¹⁰⁶ *MH* (1826): 215; Hooker, *MSLS*: 223.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Bustani in Jessup, *WA*: 160; Richard A. Meckel, 'Educating a Ministry of Mothers: Evangelical Maternal Associations, 1815-1860', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 2: 4 (1982): 413-415.

mothers.¹⁰⁸ The exchange of letters were other channels through which Protestant mothers acquired and shared their knowledge on how to properly dress,¹⁰⁹ breast feed¹¹⁰ and treat the illnesses of their children.¹¹¹

It was believed that through applying their education, mothers could tame their children's wild and independent spirits. Charlie Smith was described as a 'mischievous [child], and needs constant care and watchfulness'.¹¹² Both Catherine DeForest and Hetty Smith found 'it not small matter to train a boy even a good one'.¹¹³ Through correcting and modifying his behaviour however, Catherine and Hetty encouraged Charlie's 'proper' development. Methods of corrections included memorising passages of Scripture,¹¹⁴ reciting lessons,¹¹⁵ and upholding good manners, such as '[s]mall lads must not speak at table'.¹¹⁶ In 1848, Catherine wrote that

[Charlie] knows several passages of Scripture and the other day Lulu heard him saying to himself the one beginning "children obey your parents" and after he had finished he made the application saying, "Charlie must obey papa and Aunty and Uncle".¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁸ Kaplan, 'Manifest Domesticity': 581- 606; Isabell Lehuu, 'Sentimental Figures: Reading *Godey's Lady's Book* in Antebellum America', in: S. Samuels, (ed.), *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992): 73-91; Meckel, 'Educating a Ministry of Mothers': 403-423. George Chasseaud noted that Isabella Scott read the *Ladies' Newspaper* while living in Syria, which may have been a British publication. Chasseaud, *The Druses of the Lebanon*: 135.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 11 May 1847).

¹¹⁰ DeForest, 'Letter to Mrs. Butler' (Bhamdoun, 11 August 1847); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (n.s., 12 July 1847): YDS: ES Box 1 Folder 17.

¹¹¹ Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 24 July 1856); Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 16 May 1850).

¹¹² Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 10 April 1848); DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., July 1845); DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (n.s., 12 December 1845).

¹¹³ Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 10 April 1848).

¹¹⁴ Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (Bhamdoun, 11 August 1846): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

¹¹⁵ Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (Beirut, 19 May 1856): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 12.

¹¹⁶ DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., July 1845).

¹¹⁷ Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (Hasbaya, May 1845): HHL: ABC 60 (17).

By 1856, Hetty explained that 'Charley is a great comfort to me. He tries to do well and seems very seriously inclined [illegible word] we see him a sincere child of God.'¹¹⁸ Through carefully guiding his moral and educational development, Catherine and Hetty were able to calm Charlie's wild spirit into a pious, polite and Protestant young adult.

Corrective training may have also included corporal punishment. Hetty Smith retold an encounter with a Syrian mother whose son began to 'beat her and tried to choke her'. In response, Hetty 'expostulated with her and tried to tell her how wrong it was and how much better it would be for her and him if she would control him. [The mother] replied, he was all she had. [Hetty] then asked her why does not his Father whip him'.¹¹⁹ Although this is the only reference to corporal punishment found during the research for this thesis, other historians argue that physical discipline was a method deemed proper by Protestant missionaries to modify children's (mis)behaviour.¹²⁰

The Protestant Circle recognised that women's ability to perform educated motherhood and guide their children's development (according to Protestant standards) was not equally shared by all women. Rather, divisions separated women based upon their (perceived) ability to properly mother their children. In contrast to Catherine DeForest and Hetty Smith who correctly tamed Charlie, non-Protestant Syrian mothers were often regarded as 'ignorant' and 'degraded', just as many of the new Syrian Protestants were illiterate and lacked Protestant education. As a result, many converts received training on how to reform their mothering practices. For example, mothers in Hasbaya were initially regarded as 'bad' and 'degraded' since they allowed their children to act 'as wild as Arab colts', even though the women professed to be Protestants.¹²¹ This 'necessitated' the organisation of schools and the distribution

¹¹⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (n.s., 20 May [1856]).

¹¹⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Beirut, 27 November [1848]).

¹²⁰ Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*: 139-145. For a later example see Edward Said, *Out of Place: A Memoir* (London: Granta Books, 1999): 208-209.

¹²¹ *MH* (1845): 42.

of '[a] small tract on the duties of children' to instruct both mothers and children in how to behave like 'proper' Protestants.¹²² Over the next fifteen years, the ABCFM missionaries and elite Syrian Protestants witnessed a change in the behaviour of the Hasbaya women and their children, which was attributed to the deepening of the women's knowledge of Protestant culture.¹²³

The knowledge of certain scientific concepts functioned as another criterion to judge mothers. As part of the institutionalised of medicine in both the United States and the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, obstetrical and gynaecological practices were increasingly performed (and regulated) by officially certified male doctors.¹²⁴ For most missionary women, a certified doctor and his wife were present at childbirth.¹²⁵ In the two cases when the missionary mother died from complications during childbirth, the doctors were not found at fault.¹²⁶ Rather, as in the case of Catherine Wolcott, the doctor was regarded as 'skilful in these matters', for he 'devoted his medical reading for two months previous to a preparation for this case' and even applied the forceps to assist in the eventually failed delivery.¹²⁷ After childbirth, these certified doctors vaccinated Protestant children and provided treatment during cases of extreme illness.¹²⁸

¹²² *MH* (1852): 146.

¹²³ *MH* (1849): 324-5; ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Syria, 1854).

¹²⁴ For the American and Egyptian contexts, see Scholten, M. *Childbearing in American Society*: 98-107 and Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam*: 134-135, 153, Fahmy, 'Women, Medicine, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Egypt': 35-71, respectively.

¹²⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Parents' (Beirut, 30 May 1842); Smith, 'Letter to My Dear Parents [Mr. and Mrs. Lanman]' (Beirut, 7 June 1842); DeForest, 'Letter to Mrs. Butler' (Bhamdoun, 11 August 1847); Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Bhamdoun, 31 August 1849). Through her discussion of Loanza Benton's 'self-delivery', which was assisted by Elizabeth Hurter, Hetty Smith displayed her fear and lack of knowledge on how to deliver a baby. Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 4 September 1852).

¹²⁶ Wolcott 'Letter to Sir' (Beirut, 30 October 1841); Wolcott, 'Confidential: Letter to Sir' (Beirut, 8 November 1841); Smith, 'Letter to Parents' (Beirut, 30 May 1842); Smith, 'Letter to My Dear Parents [Mr. and Mrs. Lanman]' (Beirut, 7 June 1842).

¹²⁷ Wolcott, 'Confidential: Letter to Sir' (Beirut, 8 November 1841).

¹²⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 10 April 1848); Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Bhamdoun, 27 October 1848).

Although certified doctors were held in high esteem, they did not monopolise the medical knowledge on how to treat mothers and children within the Protestant Circle. It has already been noted that Loanza Benton was a medically trained doctor. Although the ABCFM did not recognise her medical credentials, both missionary and Syrian mothers sought Loanza for medical advice, thus affirming her qualifications.¹²⁹ The wives of certified doctors also possessed high levels of scientific knowledge and regularly assisted with their husbands' work. Although male doctors were present during the delivery of most missionary children (with the exception of Loanza Benton's self delivery),¹³⁰ it was the wives of missionary doctors who were more often consulted by mothers during their pregnancies and for the daily care of children. For example, Catherine DeForest provided Hetty Smith with a recipe for a wash that eased breastfeeding, which was forwarded to Hetty's sister in the United States.¹³¹ Six years later, Catherine wrote to Hetty with detailed instructions on how to sooth her daughter's illness, for Catherine's doctor husband was unable to visit the sick child, due to his own illness.¹³²

The actual definition of science articulated by the ABCFM missionary women encompassed a wide-range of opinions on how to treat children, particularly when compared to present day definitions of medicine. For example, one requirement of proper mothers was to encourage the healthy development of her children. As a result, both Catherine DeForest and Hetty Smith were hesitant to push the children under their care to read too much, 'lest [the child's] brain would weaken [the] body'.¹³³ Their caution was grounded upon contemporary scientific literature that argued that bodily

¹²⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 11 March 1848).

¹³⁰ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 4 September 1852).

¹³¹ DeForest, 'Letter to Mrs. Butler' (Bhamdoun, 11 August 1847).

¹³² Catherine DeForest, 'Letter to Sister [Hetty Smith]' (n.s., August 1853): HHL: ABC 60 (17); DeForest, 'Letter to Brother [Eli Smith]' (Abeih, 30 August [1853]).

¹³³ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, February [1856]): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 23; DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (n.s., 12 December 1845).

and mental health was affected by 'excessive exercise of the intellect or feeling'.¹³⁴ Protestant mothers' 'scientific' knowledge was also refined by tried, 'homespun' treatments. In 1850, Hetty Smith reported that a teaspoon of brandy for several days cured her daughter, Mary, of diarrhoea; while almond oil soothed her baby Eli's cough.¹³⁵ Likewise, a list of medical supplies requested for the Beirut station in 1835 included morphine, iodine, quinine, plasters, splints and a breast pump as well as valerian, castor oil, chamomile extract and 'blue pill'.¹³⁶ Thus, a good mother evaluated the severity of her children's illnesses,¹³⁷ investigated the different options for treatment and judged if the medical advice given by a certified doctor was consistent with her own experiences.¹³⁸

In contrast, others were regarded as improper or bad if they rejected the specific definition of science promoted by Protestant women and employed their own 'superstitious' or 'traditional' practices to protect the health of their children. Butrus al-Bustani argued that instead of studying scientific literature, improper mothers followed the advice of

that huge unwritten book, that famous volume called "Ketab en Nissa," the "Book of the Women," a work which has no existence among civilized women; or ask the old wives who have read it, and taught it in their schools of superstition.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy*: 197.

¹³⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 24 July 1856); Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 16 May 1850).

¹³⁶ William Thomson, 'Medicines Required for the Ensuing Year at the Beyroot Station' (Beirut, 11 November 1835): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537: 111. 'Blue Pill' was a popular treatment for 'hypochondriasis', or a neurological disease similar to depression. The ingredients of Blue Pill 'include mercury, liquorice root, rose-water, honey and sugar, and confection of dead rose petals.' Norbert Hirschhorn, Robert G. Feldman and Ian Greaves, 'Abraham Lincoln's Blue Pills: Did Our 16th President Suffer from Mercury Poisoning?' *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 44:3 (2001): 315-332.

¹³⁷ Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 16 May 1850).

¹³⁸ Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book*: 212.

¹³⁹ Butrus al-Bustani in Jessup, *WA*: 161.

This 'book' encouraged the use of amulets, incense and intercessory prayers to Mary to ward off evil and prevent the ill health of children. The Protestants argued that '[a]ll the people in this country believe in demonical possession, and nearly all wear charms against witchcraft, evil eye, etc.'¹⁴⁰ Rebecca Hebard regretted that when asked to treat Syrian children, their mothers did not request medicine to cure the child's illness, but that Rebecca would 'lay [her] hands on the heads of their sick children and bless them'. Although Rebecca agreed to dispense medicine, she used these opportunities to 'direct [the mothers] to the Great Physician who can only bless and give efficacy to the means'.¹⁴¹ While Rebecca's assertion was intended to 'correct' the mothering skills of these bad mothers, her response illuminates that mothering for the Protestants was a mixture of certified scientific knowledge and home-spun experiences, which affirmed their own faith in Protestant dogma.

In addition to criticising mothers for their attempts to mystically alleviate their children's ill health, the Protestants also regarded improper mothering as a cause of illness. Abby Bliss reproached Syrian mothers who swaddled their infants in smoke filled rooms.¹⁴² Other Protestants agreed, and argued that swaddling affected the shape of the child's head, while the smoke was deemed harmful to the eyes and restricted the flow of oxygen in the body.¹⁴³ It was often through delineating the dangers improper mothers posed to their children that the Protestants justified their educational services for both Syrian mothers and young Syrian girls, as a means to prevent future harm.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ *MH* (1837): 261; Butrus al-Bustani in Jessup, *WA*: 159. Some of these charms were locketts, where small pieces of Scripture or the Quran were enclosed, while others were pendants with engraved versed. Paton, *The Modern Syrians*: 54.

¹⁴¹ Rebecca Hebard in Williams, 'Rebecca Williams Hebard of Lebanon, Connecticut': 15.

¹⁴² Abby Bliss in Bliss, *RDS*: 124.

¹⁴³ Abby Bliss in Bliss, *RDS*: 124; Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*: 121; Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book*: 196.

¹⁴⁴ Henry A. DeForest, 'Report of the Beirut Station for the Year 1850' (n.s., 1850): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 542: 536.

Cleanliness of the self and of one's children functioned as another criterion for the Protestants to judge the mothering performed by women.¹⁴⁵ Bathing occurred daily within missionary homes, either before dressing in the morning, or in the evening.¹⁴⁶ Mothers were to ensure that they and their children appeared to be free of dirt, which was a constant challenge on the unpaved streets of Syria. Clothing choice assisted in maintaining this requirement, for items were to be 'not too light [in colour] for [they] will soil quick if it were not for that I would have it white'.¹⁴⁷ Diapers and undergarments were changed frequently due to the fear that they would spoil in the Syrian climate.¹⁴⁸ The Protestants recommended that undergarments be worn 'whole with a drawing string in stead of binding' or with the seams neatly finished, for 'certain seasons of the year fleas are abundant. And it is desirable to deprive them of as many hiding places as possible!!!'¹⁴⁹ Fleas were not only painful nuisances, but were regarded as a sign of dirtiness and were to be avoided by all means necessary.

In contrast, non-Protestant mothers were often presented as unclean. Sarah Smith wrote that '[t]hese weak-minded Syrian females are not attentive to personal cleanliness; neither have they a neat and tasteful style of dress', but wore 'filthy, coarse, and scanty garb'.¹⁵⁰ Hetty Smith believed that Arab mothers 'have a great dread of water, as you will readily understand if you could see them, frequently their children are not washed more than once a year'.¹⁵¹ In addition to swaddling, Abby Bliss criticised another Syrian practice, when '[i]nfants are always rubbed over with salt and

¹⁴⁵ Similar arguments were found in articles translated into Arabic regarding cleanliness in contemporary Egypt. Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005): 26-28.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 11 May 1847); DeForest, Letter to R. Anderson' (Abeih, 15 August 1850): 138.

¹⁴⁷ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847).

¹⁴⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 20 February 1847).

¹⁴⁹ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (n.s., 10 March 1847); Smith, 'Letter to Rebecca Williams' (Beirut, 13 May 1834).

¹⁵⁰ Sarah Smith quoted in Jessup, WA: 129; MH (1834): 128.

¹⁵¹ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 9 September 1847).

water for a week after their birth and then rubbed with oil every day for a month, and after that they are seldom or never washed'.¹⁵² Abby concluded that although this 'family [was] well off, [and are] able to live as well as we do if they chose', they inhabited a 'wretched, comfortless looking place'.¹⁵³ Thus, the dirty state of these mothers was perceived by the ABCFM missionaries to be their choice to reject (the ABCFM's standard of) proper mothering and remain outside of the Protestant Circle.

Protestant education was therefore an important attribute of proper mothering. Mothers were to possess and perform the Protestants' gendered definition of science in order to correctly guide their children's moral and physical development. Employing this criterion distinguished those who were perceived to be proper from improper mothers, in a manner that emphasised the divisions, particularly that based upon race, which separated women within this community.

MOTHERING AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

The Protestants' definition of mothering was also influenced by their specific theology and religious practices. The basic and unifying stance within the Circle was that individuals chose to become Protestants. In a somewhat paradoxical manner however, the community also believed that this choice could be encouraged within certain environments. Mothering was increasingly perceived to be a significant, if not the primary provision that encouraged a person's pursuit of Protestantism.

By 1860, mothers were regarded as the moral guardians of children by the members of the Protestant Circle. Being a moral guardian meant that mothers were to teach their children the enlightened, but pious, ethics and behaviours of the Protestant

¹⁵² Abby Bliss in Bliss, *RDS*: 124. Presenting a different perspective, Klink describes the process of daily massaging of an infant's head and body in order to 'strengthen the baby's muscles, and to improve her overall posture and supplements'. Klink, 'Beyond the Tantur': 180-181.

¹⁵³ Abby Bliss in Bliss, *RDS*: 123-124.

faith and encourage them to become Protestants.¹⁵⁴ Eli Smith emphasised the importance of this role, when, on his death bed, he implored his wife Hetty: 'do not fail. Do not fail, and bring with you [into heaven] all our dear children, all of them'.¹⁵⁵ Catherine DeForest explained that she 'endeavoured to store [the minds of the children under her care]...with religious truth that [they] might be guarded and prepared to meet the temptations by which [they] will be summoned'.¹⁵⁶ In contrast to the mothers who encouraged the Protestant development of their children, the ABCFM missionaries lamented over those who appeared to be enlightened and educated, but nevertheless upheld the religious tenets taught to them by their mothers and were never fully revived into the Protestant faith.¹⁵⁷

Certain practices emerged as the appropriate means for mothers to guide the moral and religious development of their children. One of the most important was the instruction of Protestant doctrine. As early as 1836, Tannous al-Haddad argued that the education of the children should include 'the redemption by Jesus Christ'.¹⁵⁸ Children as young as three were expected to memorise several passages of Scripture, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer in particular.¹⁵⁹ Mothers urged the communal and personal reading of Evangelical literature in the hopes that this would evoke 'a great weight and sense of sin'.¹⁶⁰ Reading the *Pilgrims Progress* or retelling Bible stories

¹⁵⁴ Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*: 76.

¹⁵⁵ Henrietta Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 25 January 1857): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 24. Eli's direction recalls the second story in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, when Christiana follows her husband's lead and goes on her own pilgrimage, but with their four sons. In the end, all survive the journey, with Christiana passing through the River and her children remaining behind 'for the increase of the Church', with the allusion to their eventual reunion with their parents. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*: 238-239, 377-379, 384.

¹⁵⁶ DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (n.s., 12 December 1845).

¹⁵⁷ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1850).

¹⁵⁸ *MH* (1836): 93.

¹⁵⁹ DeForest, 'Letter to E. Smith' (n.s., 12 December 1845); Thomson and Hebard, 'Report of the Female School for 1838' (n.s., 1838); Melita Carabet in Jessup, *WA*: 65; Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*: 76-78.

¹⁶⁰ Melita Carabet in Jessup, *WA*: 66; Sada Barakat in Jessup, *WA*: 85; McDannell, *Material Christianity*: 83.

were entertaining activities that conflated religious and moral development with mother-child bonding.¹⁶¹ In addition, these religious stories presented models for child on how live like a Protestant.¹⁶²

This religious development was reinforced through the daily activities in Protestant households. Morning prayers, blessings at meals, visitations for religious discussions, evening concerts of prayer and weekly Sabbath services, created a routine that emphasised the family's Protestant commitment.¹⁶³ These gatherings, which occurred in communal spaces like the parlour, brought together members of the Protestants' mosaic households.¹⁶⁴ Although women were the primary nurturers of children's religious development, fathers remained the spiritual heads Protestant families and were the primary conductors of family devotions.¹⁶⁵ However, as evangelical work increasingly drew men away from the home, particularly during the 1850s, it became more common for mothers to supervise daily religious instruction and conduct prayers with their children and servants.¹⁶⁶

The organisation of the family schedule around these religious activities marked the Protestant household as different from non-Protestant families. This distinction allowed the Protestant family, and the mother who managed the household, to be presented as models for non-Protestant neighbours and for Syrian society as a whole.¹⁶⁷ The impact of Protestant mothers on Syrian society was curtailed however by some

¹⁶¹ McDannell, *Material Christianity*: 82-83.

¹⁶² Roberts, 'Locating Popular Religion': 241-242.

¹⁶³ For example see William Jay, *Prayers for the Use of Families; or, the Domestic Minister's Assistant* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1834).

¹⁶⁴ Smith, 'Letter to Rebecca Williams' (Beirut, 5 August 1835); Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 18 January 1847); Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Beirut, 16 April 1847).

¹⁶⁵ Smith, 'Letter to Brother' (Bhamdoun, 14 August 1834); DeForest, 'Journal' (n.s., 1842); ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1845); Henrietta Smith, 'Letter' (Beirut, 11 January 1847): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 16; McDannell, *Material Christianity*: 76-80.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (Beirut, 27 May 1856): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 12.

¹⁶⁷ Isaac Bird and George Whiting, 'Letter to Jeremiah Evert' (Beirut, January 1831): ABCFM microfilm Unit 5: Near East: Reel 537; Jessup, *WA*: 90-91, 136-137. For an analysis of how the mission house served as a model within missionary encounters see Comaroff and Comaroff, *RR: II*: 198.

mothers' fears that their children's 'manner will be injured' if they interacted with non-Protestant Syrians.¹⁶⁸ For example, Sarah Smith prohibited Rahil Ata from engaging with non-Protestants servants,¹⁶⁹ while Eli cautioned his wife Hetty against their children being present when women visited their house in Bhamdoun.¹⁷⁰ Hetty also thwarted her children from playing with non-Protestant 'Arab children' 'lest [they] should hear bad language'.¹⁷¹ Hetty was not simply referring to Arabic when she spoke of 'bad language', for the use of Arabic by Protestant children was regarded as either comical,¹⁷² or as a potential asset for future evangelical work amongst Arabic speaking communities.¹⁷³ Rather, 'bad language' pertained to blasphemy and the inappropriate use of God's name, which the ABCFM missionaries regarded to be the 'usual contamination of the country'.¹⁷⁴

Although bad mothering was often associated with women who were outside of the Protestant Circle, the mothering practiced by new converts was also viewed as problematic. As noted above, providing educational and religious instructions for converts was one way that the ABCFM and the elite Syrian Protestants sought to correct these women's improper mothering skills. Another method of correction was to remove the child from this negative environment and 'adopt' them into Protestant households.¹⁷⁵ If a child could not be removed from his/her home, it was hoped that teaching the child Protestant morals at common and Sabbath schools would rectify the

¹⁶⁸ Smith, 'Letter to Wife' (Off Sinope, 16 June 1856). ABCFM missionaries at the Sandwich Islands faced similar problems of 'contamination', which they resolved through either returning their children to the United States or confining them to a nursery. Robert, *American Women in Mission*: 61.

¹⁶⁹ Hooker, *MSL*: 280-281.

¹⁷⁰ Smith, 'Letter to Wife' (Off Sinope, 16 June 1856); Smith, 'Letter to Husband' (Bhamdoun, 11 July 1856).

¹⁷¹ Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Beirut, 11 March 1848).

¹⁷² Hetty Smith found it amusing that her daughter, Mary, employed the Arabic words and phrases that she learned from Syrian servants. Smith, 'Letter to Mother' (Bhamdoun, 27 October 1848).

¹⁷³ Smith, 'Letter to Brother [Isaac] Bird' (Beirut, 27 November 1850).

¹⁷⁴ Sarah Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (n.s., 26 [July] 1835): HHL: ABC 60 (110).

¹⁷⁵ The story of 'Sitt Ablā' is one such example. Jessup, *WA*: 30-33.

mother's negative influence.¹⁷⁶ The Protestants also argued that educating Syrian girls was a proactive means of preventing these children from following the negative example of their own mothers. This correct training would guide the moral development of Syrian girls, so that they could become models of Protestant womanhood and motherhood due to their own acquisition and performance of Protestant scientific and religious 'truths'.¹⁷⁷

THE TROUBLES WITH BAPTISM

Despite the efforts of the ABCFM missionaries to regulate the development of Protestantism, including the normative definitions of Protestant mothering, alternative definitions were articulated by other members of the Circle. As seen in previous chapters, these contestations, and the tensions they caused, were often minimised by the ABCFM, although incidents of disharmony can be uncovered through careful reading of the sources and by contextualising the community. This section investigates another site of discord within the Protestant community: the theology of infant mortality and the necessity for baptism. This section analyses how different members of the Protestant Circle articulated divergent views on infant mortality, which affected their definition of maternal responsibility.

The theology of the ABCFM missionaries drew upon the transitions taking place in contemporary American Protestantism. Some scholars have recognised that the Calvinistic American theologians of the late eighteenth century asserted contradictory beliefs on infant election.¹⁷⁸ Their successors, who included the founding members of the ABCFM, maintained that salvation was achieved through the conscious recognition

¹⁷⁶ Smith, 'Letter to Matilda Whiting' (n.s., 26 [July] 1835); DeForest, 'Letter to Eli Smith' (n.s., July 1845).

¹⁷⁷ ABCFM, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1850).

¹⁷⁸ John Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards: III* (Orlando, FL: Ligonier Ministries, 1993): 428; Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*: 59-60; Hoffert, 'A Very Peculiar Sorrow': 606.

of one's sinful, immortal state, followed by the individual asking for and possibly receiving a spiritual revival through the Holy Spirit.¹⁷⁹ Although this widened the scope of the elect, revival theology nevertheless excluded children and people who were unable to recognise their sinful immortality from the redeemed.¹⁸⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century however, this perspective was relaxed so that many American Protestants, including the missionaries of the ABCFM, believed that young children were excused from eternal damnation,¹⁸¹ but were responsible for their own religious commitment as they matured into adulthood.¹⁸²

As this theology developed, the Protestants in Syria were continuously reminded of their corporal frailty. The Protestant graveyard was located in the garden adjacent to Burj Bird: the focal point of Protestant activities in Ottoman Syria.¹⁸³ In addition to the graves for Pliny Fisk, Peter Abbot and Rebecca Hebard were headstones marking the resting places of young Protestant children.¹⁸⁴ Two headstones shared the same name: Henry P. Bird. The practice of giving an infant the same name as an already deceased child has been argued to represent the parents' acceptance of the fragility of life, which became a feature of mothering within the Protestant Circle.¹⁸⁵ Martha Whiting taught the girls in her household to pray: '[n]ow I lay me down to sleep, I pray

¹⁷⁹ *MH* (1856): 130; McCoy, 'The Women of the ABCFM Oregon Mission': 66-67.

¹⁸⁰ Norman Pettit, 'Infant Piety in New England: The Legacy of Horace Bushnell', *The New England Quarterly*, 75: 3 (2002): 452.

¹⁸¹ Pasulka, 'A Communion of Little Saints': 62-67.

¹⁸² Hoffert, 'A Very Peculiar Sorrow': 606-608. An anti-revivalist strand also emerged during the 1840s, particularly with works of Horace Bushnell. Pettit, 'Infant Piety in New England': 454-455.

¹⁸³ The cemetery, like most buildings of the Mission Compound, was destroyed during the Civil War of 1975 to 1991. The site of the cemetery is now a park behind the new National Evangelical Church of Beirut building. The National Evangelical Church of Beirut, 'The Rebuilding' (Beirut, n.d.). Securing a place to bury deceased Protestants was a priority for the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants. See *MH* (1835): 52-3; Hooker, *MSLS*: 263.

¹⁸⁴ n.s., *Cemetery Record: American Presbyterian Mission*. For an analysis on the role of public cemeteries on nineteenth century Protestant culture in the United States see McDannell, *Material Christianity*: 103-131.

¹⁸⁵ Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*: 61.

the Lord my soul to keep. If I should die before I wake, I pray the Lord my soul shall take.¹⁸⁶ In a similar manner, Hetty Smith warned her nieces and nephews in the United States, that from the 'grave' of her recently deceased son, 'may they hear a voice saying "You too may die", and may they live to serve that Savior who blessed little children'.¹⁸⁷ Thus, Protestant mothers were not only conscious of the temporality of their children's lives, but conveyed this view to the children under their care.

However, the sources provide neither quantitative figures on the number of children born to Protestant women, nor of those who died. Often, the only evidence are the names found on the tombstones in the Protestant cemetery.¹⁸⁸ As a result, there is a relative silence surrounding children's deaths and their parents' reactions to their loss. For example, in 1838, William Thomson simply wrote that his wife, 'Mrs. Thomson has not enjoyed good health since the death of our dear Adelaide. She is however better at present.'¹⁸⁹ The few other exceptions that do exist illuminate the complexities surrounding the Protestants' responses to children's deaths and their views on infant salvation.¹⁹⁰

In 1834, Eliza Thomson reflected upon the state of her infant son as they suffered through war and earthquakes in Jerusalem. Eliza wrote that she was repulsed by the 'wickedness, cruelty, and sorrow' that surrounded them, which she contrasted to the innocence of her child. Eliza grew more and more uncomfortable with her child's 'smiles and caresses' and felt 'obliged to resign him to the care of others.'¹⁹¹ While this uneasiness may reveal Eliza's guilt at bringing her son into a dangerous situation, it is

¹⁸⁶ Melita Carabet in Jessup, WA: 65.

¹⁸⁷ Smith, 'Letter to Sisters' (Beirut, 16 May 1850).

¹⁸⁸ In 1903, a list of headstones for the cemetery list nineteen children who died before 1860. These were the children of ABCFM missionaries, Syrian Protestants, British-American Consuls and Protestant merchants. n.s., *Cemetery Record: American Presbyterian Mission*. Some deaths were also recorded in Annual Reports. ABCFM, *Annual Reports* (Beirut, 1845).

¹⁸⁹ Thomson, (28 December [1838]): 'Letter to Eli Smith'.

¹⁹⁰ For an analysis on contemporary Americans' views on infant death and salvation see Hoffert, 'A Very Peculiar Sorrow': 601-616.

¹⁹¹ *MH* (1835): 50.

also possible this was an expression of Eliza's insecurity regarding the child's eternal positioning, if he were to die during this dangerous circumstance.

Another exception was the account written by Samuel Wolcott of an abortion performed on his wife, Catherine, in 1841, which also resulted in her death, three days later.¹⁹² Samuel explained that the unborn child was too large and 'had probably gone a full month over its time', while the rigid, 'small parts' of the mother would not allow for a natural birth or for assistance with forceps.¹⁹³ Similar to other death narratives, Samuel focused upon the emotional and religious state of his wife, as she struggled with this illness, but did not write about their views on the eternal state of the never-born child.¹⁹⁴ As Samuel's two letters are the only account of these events, we do not know how Catherine perceived the abortion and its meaning for herself, as a mother, the eternal state of her never-born child, or how others in the community reacted to this unfortunate circumstance.

This silence gradually changed, so that, similar to the emergence of sentimental literature in the United States, the ABCFM missionaries increasingly lamented over their child's death through writing about and emphasising the child's innocence and communion with God.¹⁹⁵ Reflecting upon the death of her son Eli Whitney in 1850,

¹⁹² Wolcott, 'Letter to Sir' (Beirut, 30 October 1841); Wolcott, 'Confidential: Letter to Sir' (Beirut, 8 November 1841). I use the term abortion for this is the best description of the medical operation. Wolcott however does not use this term and it is unclear from his letter if the foetus was still alive or had previously died before the operation.

¹⁹³ Wolcott, 'Confidential: Letter to Sir' (Beirut, 8 November 1841).

¹⁹⁴ The eight day gap between Samuel's 'official', hagiographical version of the story (presumably to be reprinted in the *Missionary Herald*) and the 'Confidential' account, suggests a period of emotional and religious struggle. Other missionary accounts reveal the deep emotional struggles of missionary men faced upon the death of their wives, emotions which were not represented in the public sources. See Smith, 'Letter to My Dear Parents [Mr. and Mrs. Lanman]' (Beirut, 7 June 1842); Smith, 'Letter to Sir [Mr. Lanman]' (Beirut, 2 November 1842); Bliss, *RDS*: 113-114. Missionary death narratives were discussed by Elenor Abdella Doumato, 'Joyful Death: The Romance of Americans in Mission to the Nestorians', Presented at: Christian Missionaries in the Middle East: Re-Thinking Colonial Encounters. (Raleigh, North Carolina, 4-5 May 2007).

¹⁹⁵ Hoffert, 'A Very Peculiar Sorrow': 602, 608-616.

Hetty Smith wrote: '[w]ith one gentle sigh he went to the bosom of his Saviour... Yes we have a darling child in Heaven, saved from sin'.¹⁹⁶ Hetty sought comfort in believing 'that His Heavenly Father has called [Eli Whitney] early to himself—It is a precious reflection that God has taken my little one to be an angel of light—his portion is only joy.'¹⁹⁷ Some Syrian Protestants expressed similar views on infant piety. Following the death of his daughter Barbara, Antonio Yanni was said to have commented that Barbara had become 'an angel in heaven, and the Lord took her in infinite wisdom and infinite mercy'.¹⁹⁸

Despite this change, the ABCFM missionaries and some Syrian Protestants continued to maintain that the only secured channel for salvation was through experiencing a personal revival of the soul.¹⁹⁹ Although the age at which a child was perceived to be accountable for his/her sins was indeterminate, proof of revival was demanded from older children. Exchanges between Eli and Hetty Smith in 1856 focused upon the moral state of the then fourteen year old Charlie. Their unease regarding his eternal fate was resolved after Charlie explained: 'I do hope that my heart has been renewed by the atoning blood of Jesus Christ. I feel that I can now call Him my Savior.'²⁰⁰ In a similar manner, the uncertainty felt by Catherine DeForest and Martha Whiting concerning the salvation of their adopted daughters was appeased by 'a great awakening among the young girls in some of the Mission families' in 1847.²⁰¹ Unlike missionary children however, it was only after the proclamation of revival that Syrians were recognised by the ABCFM as members of the Mission Church or the ECB,

¹⁹⁶ Emphasis in original. Smith, 'Incomplete Letter' (n.s., May 1850).

¹⁹⁷ Smith, 'Incomplete Letter' (n.s., May 1850).

¹⁹⁸ Jessup, 'Journal from June 23 to July 6, 1858' (Tripoli, June/July 1858).

¹⁹⁹ It is unclear from the sources if the ABCFM missionaries believed that non-Protestant children, either 'Frank' or Syrian, were also regarded as innocent.

²⁰⁰ Emphasis in original. Charles Henry Smith, 'Letter to Papa' (Beirut, 2 June 1856): YDS: ES Box 1: Folder 12

²⁰¹ Melita Carabet in Jessup, WA: 66.

even if they had been baptised as infants into the Protestant community.²⁰² This suggests that even though the ABCFM missionaries increasingly viewed infants as in communion with God, the eschatological and ecclesiastical position of older children and adults remained conditional upon their conscious decision to uphold Protestant doctrines and norms.

As a result, the ABCFM missionaries did not regard infant baptism to be necessary for individual salvation. Rather, baptisms were ceremonies where the child's parents publicly affirmed their own Protestant faith and asserted their commitment to guide the child's religious development. During these ceremonies, the parents (and godparents) were charged to:

train [the child] up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, to teach (her) to read the Holy Scriptures, to instruct (her) in all the ordinances of the Christian religion, and to endeavour, as much as in you lies, by precept, by example and by prayer, to raise (her) to become a worthy member of the church of Christ on earth and an heir of glory in his Heavenly kingdom.²⁰³

Protestant baptisms were evangelical events that marked, not the child's position amongst the elect, but the revived commitment of his/her parents.²⁰⁴

These perceptions on infant salvation and baptism differed from the views promoted by the Protestants' Syrian neighbours. Although it is difficult to isolate the theological stances of individual Syrians during this period, one source for their opinions are the theological arguments promoted by ecclesiastical leaders that were articulated in church canons. It is important to recognise that although these represent the 'official' theologies and guidelines to be upheld by congregants, individuals' beliefs and practices may have varied from these doctrinal standards.

Baptism was an important aspect of Christianity in Ottoman Syria, with all denominations regarding baptism as a sacrament. Contemporary historians argued that

²⁰² *MH* (1827): 111; Jessup, *WA*: 62.

²⁰³ Smith, 'Baptism Note'.

²⁰⁴ Smith, 'Letter to Sister' (Bhamdoun, 9 September 1847); *MH* (1838): 475.

the Greek Catholic, Maronite and Armenian Churches believed that those who died unbaptised went immediately to hell.²⁰⁵ The Greek Orthodox Church held that baptism was 'indispensably necessary for procuring salvation and eternal life; *for it is impossible to be saved without [baptism]*'.²⁰⁶ However, Greek Orthodox theology also maintained that 'unbaptized infants and ignorant heathen' 'neither go to heaven nor to hell; for the holy Gospel says, "There are many mansions in my Father's house"'.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, within the Greek Orthodox Church, the sacraments of Baptism, Holy Chrism and First Communion were celebrated at the same service to ensure 'the remission of original sin, the remission of all past actual sins, and grace to sustain the believer in his conflict with the world, the flesh, and the devil'.²⁰⁸ Thus, the act of baptism for most Christians in Syria was a necessary starting point for individual salvation, with many believing that forgoing or delaying this event would jeopardise the eternal standing of the child.

Baptism was also necessary for it marked the child as a member of a specific church. Being a member of a particular Christian community in Syria became increasingly important during the nineteenth century, due to the reconfiguration of political and social alliances, and the intervention of European nations based upon religious affiliation. As a result, being a member of a certain church granted its members diplomatic leverage, even if the Christian was a child. This was illuminated in the dispute amongst Rahil Ata, her mother and the ABCFM missionaries, which became a diplomatic event amongst the American, Prussian, Russian and Ottoman authorities. The political significance of baptism in Ottoman Syria prompted many European residents to register their children's baptisms with their respective consulate as to ensure that appropriate protection was available, if needed.²⁰⁹ Likewise, some

²⁰⁵ Wortabet, *RRS*: 91-92.

²⁰⁶ Emphasis in Wortabet's translation. 'Firma Manuductio', in Wortabet: *RRS*: 23

²⁰⁷ 'Synnaxar; Saturday for the Dead' in Wortabet, *RRS*: 42.

²⁰⁸ 'Firma Manuductio' in Wortabet, *RRS*: 23.

²⁰⁹ Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for Adelaide Charlotte Abbott'; Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for William Peter Augustus Chasseaud'; Chasseaud, 'Notice of Baptism for Alfred Augustus Barker Chasseaud'; Smith, 'Notice of Baptism for Juliet Churchill'; Whiting, 'Notice of Baptism

Syrians (including non-Christian Druze) hoped that baptising their children into a particular community would make the child eligible for diplomatic protection, which could be extended to the entire family. This 'interested' motive was criticised by the ABCFM, who limited the number those baptised into the Protestant Church to the few who 'had sufficient evidence of the conversion of [the] heart.'²¹⁰

The Syrian members of the Protestant Circle negotiated these different views on infant salvation and baptism. Many Syrian Protestants christened their children into the Protestant Church, often during celebrations that coincided with other important events. As previously noted, Dionysus Carabet baptised a child on Christmas Day in 1827, while one of the ceremonies for the dedication of the new church in Alma included the baptism of two children.²¹¹ Although these adults did not delineate their theological justifications for baptising their children, it appears that, like the ABCFM missionaries, they perceived baptismal ceremonies to be an important occasion to display their own, adult commitment to Protestantism.

Not all Syrian Protestants fully endorsed the ABCFM missionaries' stance on baptism however. In 1845, the *Missionary Herald* printed a story entitled 'Stealthy Baptism'. In July of the previous year, a child was born to a woman who was 'still inclined to adhere to the Greeks [Orthodox Church]', but was married to a man who was 'friends' of the ABCFM missionaries and can be considered part of the Protestant Circle.²¹² During an occasion when the father was away from home, the mother called upon her female neighbours and the local priest, and 'the child was baptized in great haste'.²¹³ From the mother's perspective, delaying this baptism would have

for Giorgiana Gordon'. In contrast, John and Salome Wortabet did not register the birth and baptism of their children (between 1853 and 1862) with the British consul until 1873. This may have been due to the uncertainty of the Wortabets' political affiliation. John Wortabet, 'Registrations of Children' (Beirut, 22 January 1872): [British] PRO: FO 616/5.

²¹⁰ *MH* (1836): 462.

²¹¹ *MH* (1827): 111; *MH* (1859): 77.

²¹² *MH* (1845): 149.

²¹³ *MH* (1845): 149.

unnecessarily jeopardised her child to eternal damnation and excluded the child from the security of an established religious community. In her view, she would have failed in her responsibilities as a mother if she had not baptised her child. This contrasted the opinion promoted by the ABCFM missionaries (and possibly her husband), so that the woman was presented to the readers of the *Missionary Herald* as an improper mother, who followed 'superstitious', non-Protestant beliefs, despite her connection to the Protestant Circle.²¹⁴

In an effort to accommodate these different opinions, the Constitution of the ECB was intentionally vague in regards to the necessity of infant baptism for eternal salvation. It held that '[b]aptism shall be administered only to those who it is confidently hoped possess true faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and their children, one at least of the parents being a believer.'²¹⁵ Moreover, the ECB's 'Confession of Faith' asked the perspective adult Protestant convert:

[d]o you believe that Baptism is a sacrament which signifies the purification of the heart by the work of the Holy Spirit, by means of washing in water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that it is a seal of that purification and a sign of admission into the visible church?²¹⁶

These two statements reflect the theological contractions found within the Protestant Circle. While the ABCFM missionaries and some Syrian Protestants argued that baptism symbolised a personal choice made by adults to represent their revived spirit and commitment to the Protestant Church,²¹⁷ others contended that baptism was a sacrament that should be given to a child. Those following the latter opinion believed that, regardless of race or age, a person should be admitted to the ECB, even before they expressed an individual commitment of faith and experienced spiritual revival.

²¹⁴ *MH* (1845): 149. A similar conflict emerged upon the death of Barbara, the daughter of Antonio Yanni. Jessup, 'Journal from June 23 to July 6, 1858' (Tripoli, June/July 1858).

²¹⁵ Original references omitted. Wortabet, *RRS*: 406; *MH* (1848): 269.

²¹⁶ Original references omitted. Wortabet, *RRS*: 409-410.

²¹⁷ This is emphasised in the edited reprint of the ECB's petition and constitution found in *MH* (1848): 266-270.

Allowing these two different interpretations to be found in the ECB constitution demonstrates that, despite the ABCFM missionaries' attempt to control the development of this community, alternative views on Protestant theology were also articulated.²¹⁸

Examining the complexities surrounding Protestant baptism within this chapter is important for these different religious views affected the way that mothering was performed by women and how these activities were judged by others. Firstly, the loosening of both Calvinism and revival theology to one that emphasised the innocence of children has been associated by historians with the feminisation of Protestantism and parents' rejection of the view that their children would not accompany them in heaven.²¹⁹ While some believed that it was through the grace of God that deceased infants went to heaven, many of the ABCFM missionaries and Syrian Protestants emphasised the role of the mother in preventing an innocent child from being corrupted by bad behaviour. This stance was particularly evident in the 1850s, when the idealised role for the mother was to act as a surrogate who carried and nurtured a child from his/her infancy into young adulthood, when the child could be reconciled with God.

Secondly, this section illustrated another way in which the structural distribution of the Protestant Circle was actualised within their social relations: through judging women's mothering activities. The story of the 'Stealthy Baptism' centred upon a mother whose theology and views on maternal responsibility were vilified by the ABCFM. This woman can be compared to the mother of Rahil Ata, the grandmother of the Gregory girls and even Susan Wortabet, whose independent pursuits of religiosity and negotiations of societal demands were condemned by the ABCFM as dangerous for

²¹⁸ This conflict over baptism continued to plague the Protestant Circle. In 1886 a woman, born Druze but baptised by Simon Calhoun, had to be rebaptised by a Greek Orthodox priest as an adult before getting married. The woman's father subsequently left the church because of this embarrassing incident. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*: 87.

²¹⁹ Pasulka, 'A Communion of Little Saints': 62-67; Hoffert, 'A Very Peculiar Sorrow': 601-616.

their children (and Syrian Society) and were used to justify the missionaries' intervention in order to properly nurture and educate their children or grandchildren.²²⁰ With the exception of Susan, all of these women were positioned along the perimeter or excluded from the Protestant community, so that their non-Protestant behaviour formed an important contrast to the positive, proper mothering of women within the Circle.

Through examining the details of Protestant mothering, this chapter demonstrated that the Protestant Circle was a complex set of social interactions, which not only created important institutions, like the ECB and boarding schools, but affected and shaped interpersonal relations amongst individuals. Protestant mothering was a socially constructed system, which, when actualised within this missionary encounter, disrupted families and provoked tensions amongst colleagues, in addition to creating loving environments where different people met and developed intimate relationships. Although the goal of Protestant mothering was to guide the development of children and reproduce the new community, the results often marginalised Syrian mothers and the knowledge they possessed. This reinforced the social stratification that defined the Protestant Circle, so that instead of reproducing the community, subversions and alternative definitions of Protestantism emerged, which challenged the central position of the ABCFM missionaries and eventually destabilised the community by 1860.

²²⁰ Compare this to the condemnation voiced against Hindiyya by the Maronite Church, Jesuit missionaries and the nineteenth century Protestants. HeyBurger, *Hindiyya*: 108-306; Wortabet, SS: 104-107; Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*: 78-85.

CONCLUSION

The Protestant Circle was a unique and complex network of individuals and ideas, which was specific to its time, place and location.¹ It included persons from different nations, religious backgrounds, economic standings and educational certifications. Despite this diversity, the Protestant Circle initially emerged at the meeting point or frontier site between two equality vibrant societies: the Antebellum United States and Ottoman Syria on the eve of the *Tanzimat* reforms. It was due to the social, political and cultural transformations within these societies that a space was created for this diverse group of individuals to interact and exchange ideas.

Changes in America allowed for a group of young adults, who were inspired by a revival message and felt called to reform the ills of the world, to break the confines of their communities, leave their families and pursue a new life in the Holy Lands. Technological innovations alleviated their journeys across the Atlantic and eased the communication links from this missionary post to the ABCFM's Prudential Committee in Boston. While this encouraged the movement of individual Americans, their ideas and goods to the eastern Mediterranean region, the Syrian Station was not an imposition of American Protestantism onto an impassive and sterile culture. Rather, the changes in Ottoman Syria, which included the dissolution of the *iqṭā*, the modifications of economic distributions and the transformation of religious identities, allowed for

¹ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*: 26-32.

some Syrians to be receptive to the ABCFM missionaries and positively engaged with their evangelical message. One specific change that was highlighted in this thesis was the rise of Beirut as the prominent port city in Syria. The new economic, social and religious opportunities that arose at this location attracted individuals from around the region. It was often through intermingling with different groups and experimenting with new identities that Syrians came across and recognised the unique culture and religion offered by the ABCFM missionaries and the Protestants Circle. The spatial development of Beirut encouraged this encounter, for the once marginalised locations of the Protestants amongst the sparsely populated and occasionally dangerous mulberry gardens were transformed into an important space for the innovative cultural expressions of the new Beirutis by mid-century.

Although previous missionary encounters and changes within the *Rum* established a framework that allowed some Syrians to be responsive to the concepts introduced by the ABCFM missionaries, it was only in the environment of the early to mid-nineteenth century that this specific community could emerge. It was during this period that the innovative movements within Christian communities were recognised as distinct Churches and millets, while the reforms of the *Tanzimat* introduced new methods of monitoring Ottoman subjects, one of which was direct petition to the Porte. These changes allowed for some Syria Protestant to submit protests to Ottoman officials and demand that their newly formulated rights, as guaranteed by the Hatt-ı Sherif of Gülhane, be enforced. In so doing (and contradictory to the unifying aims of the *Tanzimat* as well as the original goals of the ABCFM), these Protestants asserted a new, self-constructed religious identity and requested that that their new community be officially recognised, which it was in 1848.

Similar to other missionary and colonial interactions however, this community was plagued by racial inequalities, which problematised the agency enacted by its members and significantly affected the relationships that developed within the Protestant Circle. The ABCFM missionaries presented themselves to be models of

Protestant piety, educational advancement and cultural refinement, so that their definitions of Protestantism functioned as the normative terms for the new community. While this limited many Syrians to comparatively marginal roles within the Circle, this study demonstrated that the Protestant Circle was a hybrid community. On the one hand, the ABCFM's work in the region was severely influenced by its Syrian context. The original location for their Near East mission for example, was relocated from Palestine to Beirut, while war and the urban development of this city affected their subsequent activities. The missionaries were also dependent upon Syrians to secure housing, food and to create links with (and translate to) their Syrian neighbours. On the other hand, Syrian Protestants were often excommunicated from their original churches and communities due their Protestant beliefs or employment by the ABCFM. This made them socially and politically dependent upon the missionaries. Despite this, the foods eaten by Syrian Protestants, their style of bedding, the languages spoken by their children and the theology they advocated was not the indoctrination or mimicry of American culture and religion, but rather, a negotiation of the different influences and demands upon their identity. For example, the Syrians' independent assertions of the Protestant faith and requests for additional schools conflicted with the agenda promoted by the ABCFM's Prudential Committee in Boston and forced the ABCFM missionaries to navigate these two opposing demands upon their work. This not only created divisions within the ABCFM missionaries, which prevented them from fully controlling the development of Protestantism, but many Syrian Protestants articulated frustrations at their continued marginalisation within the community and pursued alternative channels to express their hybrid identities.

Narrowing the analysis upon gender illuminated other aspects of this dialectic encounter, particularly the important role of women in articulating and reproducing the new community. Although the roles for women were focused upon the home and narrowed onto providing for their families and other women by mid-century, women's actual 'housekeeping' and mothering activities challenges a simplistic reading of these

women's work, even if their entire day was spent inside their home. Missionary women neither cleaned, nor cooked on a regular basis, but instructed their servants to perform these tasks, while missionary women met with visitors, ensured the proper arrangements for temporary boarders, dispensed medicine, taught at classes held in their gardens and prayed with fellow Protestants. Many Syrian Protestant women delayed (or even rejected) their role as wife and mother in order to pursue educational employment. In other words, Protestant households were busy, dynamic spaces, where the hybrid culture of this community was defined, debated and performed over the dinner table or in the parlour, illuminating the importance of women's work (and the home) in this intercultural dialogue.

The activities performed by women to define their gender also illuminated the divisions that separated Protestant women, the most decisive being race. The roles for women, their social networks, educational qualifications and religious practices often differentiated Syrian women from missionary women. Although intimate bonds linked missionary and Syrian women, particularly through the mother-daughter relationships that developed with the adoption of boarding students, Syrian women were never regarded as equals to their missionary colleagues. Rather, the racial and gendered inequalities that defined the Protestant Circle compounded each other to marginalise Syrian Protestant women. However, the alternative theologies articulated by women (such as the necessity for infant baptism), their delaying of marriages and pursuit of employment at non-ABCFM schools can be read as challenges to their marginal role within the Protestant Circle and negotiation of their gendered, Protestant identity.

Reviewing this material prompts the question, what then was the link between the ABCFM's mission work in Syria, the Protestant Circle and 'Modernity'? Members of the Protestant Circle, such as Butrus al-Bustani and Mikhayil Mishaqa, and their educational institutions, including the DeForest's Female Boarding School and the later

Syrian Protestant College, have been remembered as both modern and modernising.² Analysing the culture and social relations within the Protestant Circle problematises this association however, for the aim of this community was not to produce modern, enlightened, civilised individuals, but rather, Protestants. The community criticised (and in some ways excommunicated) those who pursued the 'benefits of modernity' without the piousness of a reformed theology. This was particularly true of the Protestant Levantines who asserted a Protestant identity in order to secure economic and political prestige. The goal of the ABCFM missionaries and the Protestant Circle was not to modernise the Syrian population, but to delineate the proper ways for a Protestant to live with modernity in this region. They encouraged Syrians to become literate, so that individuals could personally engage with the written message of the Bible and be guided by the models presented in Evangelical literature. The Protestants employed technological developments to improve their printing services, which allowed for more tracts and translations of the Bible to be circulated. Discoveries in modern sciences were used by Protestant women to justify their argument that swaddling harmed children's health, while charms and other 'superstitious' activities had no effect on preventing illness. Women were increasingly told to employ their Protestant education to guide the moral and physical development of their children, while supporting their husband's evangelical work at nurturing the Protestant Church. The Protestant Circle thus represented a hybrid mixture of identities and a unique interpretation on what it meant to be both modern and Christian.

War broke out on Mount Lebanon during the summer of 1860. During these two violent months, many of the major cities were ruined, crops destroyed and trade interrupted, which forced many to seek safety in Beirut and Damascus.³ This crisis marked the end of the Protestant Circle for it emphasised the tensions and changes that

² e.g. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*; Abu-Ghazaleh, *American Missions in Syria*.

³ For an overview and analysis of the war, including the subsequent attacks on Christians in Damascus, see Fawaz, *An Occasion for War* and Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*.

emerged during the 1840s and 1850s, which became fully manifested within the post-war context. Through these changes, the centrality of the ABCFM missionaries was undercut by independent assertions of Protestant culture and religion by both new missionary organisations and from the Circle's members. While the Protestant Church continued, many aspects of the Protestant capital outlined in this thesis were reconfigured and adapted to the new political, religious and social landscape that defined late nineteenth century Syria. As a result, the *madhābiḥ al-sittīn* (Massacres of 1860) represents the conclusion to the Protestant Circle and the unique exchange that developed between the ABCFM missionaries and residents of Syria.

It was during the dangerous and volatile summer of 1860 that John Wortabet returned to Syria after a year long period of study in Edinburgh, Scotland. While in Edinburgh, John became associated with the United Presbyterian Church and made the important decision to transfer his ecclesiastical membership from the ABCFM to the UPC. This transfer released John from his position as a 'native pastor' for the ECB and allowed him to be hired as a UPC missionary to the Jews in Aleppo.⁴ En route to his new missionary station, John stopped in Beirut to visit relatives and possibly reunite with his wife Salome, for it is unclear if Salome and their three children accompanied John to Scotland. It was in Beirut that John first encountered the refugees fleeing from the war ravaging Mount Lebanon. Some of these were the Protestants from Hasbaya, whom John and Salome had guided through their conversions during the 1850s.⁵ John and Salome worked with the ABCFM missionaries and other Syrian Protestants to provide relief for these victims of war, laying aside any uneasiness that might have arisen from John's transfer of church membership and dissolution of employment.⁶ Once the immediate relief efforts subsided however, the Wortabet family continued onto Aleppo, where John commenced his missionary work for the UPC. While John's

⁴ Marten, *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home*: 49-51.

⁵ Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*: 60-61; Bliss, *RDS*: 139-159.

⁶ Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*: 47-77; 193-217.

labours were recorded by this organisation and analysed for his (in)effectiveness at converting Jews to Protestantism,⁷ Salome did 'not consider [her] history worth recording', so that we do not know how she defined and performed her new role as a missionary wife and mother.⁸ Nonetheless, in 1867, the Wortabet family returned to Beirut, not to pursue their previous positions as Native Assistants under ABCFM tutelage, but under the auspices of the new Syrian Protestant College, for John had been asked to supervise the medical department, where he could demonstrate and impart his medical knowledge to others.

While the Wortabets' return reconnected this branch of the Protestant Circle, the context for their reunion was significantly different from that which encouraged John and Salome's parents to convert to Protestantism during the 1820s. It was also different from the environment in which John's frustrations with the ABCFM prompted him to seek another medium to express his religious and cultural identity. This was a new phase for the Protestant community, one which was not defined by the work of ABCFM missionaries to convey their definition of Protestantism to the residents of the Syria who then negotiated and adapted this faith and culture. Rather, the Wortabets' return occurred when the now established, but refined, Protestant community sought to positively influence the Syrian region through re-negotiating and re-defining its position within this dynamic milieu.

⁷ Marten, *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home*: 49-51.

⁸ Salome Wortabet in Jessup, *WA*: 64.

APPENDIX I: ABCFM MISSIONARIES OF THE SYRIAN STATION

APPENDIX I:A- LIST OF MISSIONARIES WITH THEIR DATES OF SERVICE

ABCFM Missionaries	Service	ABCFM Missionaries	Service
Levi Parsons	1819-22	George Hurter	1841-64
Pliny Fisk †	1819-25	Elizabeth Hurter	1841-64
Jonas King	1822-69	Henry DeForest	1842-57
Isaac Bird	1823-42	Catherine DeForest	1842-57
Anne Parker Bird	1823-42	Thomas Laurie	1844-46
William Goodell‡	1823-65	Joshua Ford	1847-65
Abigail Goodell‡	1823-65	Mary Ford	1847-65
Eli Smith †	1831-57	William Benton	1847-61
Sarah Smith †	1833-36	Loanza Benton	1847-61
Maria Smith †	1841-42	David Wilson	1847-61
Henrietta (Hetty) Smith	1846-57	Emeline Wilson	1847-61
George Whiting †	1830-55	Horace Foote	1848-54
Matilda Whiting	1830-56	Roxane Foote	1848-54
Asa Dodge †	1832-35	Simeon Calhoun	1849-70
Martha Dodge	1832-38	Emily Calhoun	1849-70
William McClure Thomson ^m	1832-70	William Eddy	1851-70
Eliza Thomson †	1832-34	Hannah Eddy	1851-70
Maria Abbott Thomson ^m	1827-70	Anna Whittlesey †	1851-52
Story Hebard ^{+m}	1835-41	William Bird	1853-70
Rebecca Williams Hebard ^{+m}	1835-40	Sarah Bird	1853-70
Betsy Tilden	1835-43	J. Lorenzo Lyons	1854-67
John Lanneau	1835-46	Catherine Lyons	1854-67
Julia Lanneau	1842-46	Edward Aiken ^m	1855-58
Elias Beadle	1839-43	Susan Aiken	1855-56
Hannah Beadle	1839-43	Sarah Cheney Aiken ^m	1853-58
Charles Sherman	1839-43	Daniel Bliss	1855-64
Martha Sherman	1839-43	Abby Bliss	1855-64
Samuel Wolcott	1840-43	Henry Harris Jessup	1855-70
Leander Thompson	1840-43	Caroline Jessup †	1858-64
Anne Thompson	1840-43	Jane E. Johnson	1858-59
Cornelius Van Dyck ^m	1840-95	Amelia Temple ^m	1858-62
Julia Abbott Van Dyck ^m	1842-70	Adelaide Mason	1860-65

- + -Died in region
- ‡- Transferred to another ABCFM Station
- ^m- Married at Station

APPENDIX I:B- LIST OF SINGLE FEMALE 'ASSISTANT MISSIONARIES'

ABCFM Missionary	Reason for Change in Status
Sarah Cheney	Married Edward Aiken
Martha Dodge	Widowed; remarried and returned to United States
Adelaide Mason	Returned to United States
Amelia Temple	Married and Returned to United States
Betsy Tilden	Returned to the United States
Anna Whittlesey	Died
Rebecca Williams	Married Story Hebard

APPENDIX I:C-CERTIFIED DOCTORS OF THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE

ABCFM MEDICAL MISSIONARIES	WIFE OF MEDICAL MISSIONARY
Asa Dodge	Martha Dodge
Story Hebard	Rebecca Hebard
William Thomson	Maria Thomson
Cornelius Van Dyck	Julia Van Dyck
OTHERS RECOGNISED BY THE ABCFM	NOT RECOGNISED BY THE ABCFM
Mikhail Mishaqa	Loanza Benton
John Wortabet	

APPENDIX I:D- MISSIONARY FAMILIES (INCLUDING BIOLOGICAL, FOSTER AND ADOPTED CHILDREN)

SURNAME (Parents): Children	SURNAME (Parents): Children
BIRD (Isaac m. Anne): Ann, Emily, Henry [†] , Henry Parker [†] , James, Martha Jane, William	LANNEAU (John m. Julia): Chas. B. V. [†] , John F.C. [†]
BLISS (Daniel m. Abby): Mary W., Howard S., Fredrick J. William T.	KEYES (Nathaniel and Mary): Edward Abbott [†]
CALHOUN (Simeon m. Emily): Charles William, Emily	JESSUP (Henry Harris m. Caroline): Anna
BENTON (William m. Loanza): William [†] , Charles, Henry, Anne [†] , Edwin, Hattie, Mary	SMITH (Eli m. Sarah): Rahil {Ata}
BLISS (Daniel m. Abby): Mary Wood, Frederick J., Howard S., William T.	SMITH (Eli m. Maria): Charles Henry
DEFOREST (Henry m. Catherine): Lulu, Khozma, Charles Smith	SMITH (Eli m. Hetty): Charles Henry, Benjamin, Eli Whitney [†] , Eddie, Sarah, Mary
DODGE (Asa m. Martha): Mary Merril, Martha Whiting	THOMSON (William m. Eliza): William
FORD (Joshua m. Mary): Lucy, John Jacob [†] , Lucy Maria, George, Nathan	THOMSON (William m. Julia) ^m : William, Emilia, Emma, Maria, Adelaide [†] , Henry
HURTER (George m. Elizabeth): Elizabeth U. [†] , Frances B. [†] , Maria, John, Alvan	VAN DYCK (Cornelius m. Julia) ^m : Henry
	WHITING (George m. Matilda): Melita and Salome {Carabet}, Hannie {Wortabet}, Rufka and Sada {Gregory}

APPENDIX II: SYRIANS PROTESTANTS

APPENDIX II:A- SYRIAN PROTESTANT FAMILIES

SURNAME (Parents): ~ Siblings Children	SURNAME (Parents): ~ Siblings Children
<p>ABCARIUS (Yuhanna 'Yakob Aga' m. Eve):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Sada Maria ~ Martha ~ Adma 	<p>MEJDELANY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Khurma ~ Khushefeh
<p>ARAMAN (Michael m. Lulu):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Katie ~ Henry 	<p>SABUNJY (Tannous m. C.):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Sada
<p>ASHSHI (Latoofel):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Khurma [Mejdelany] 	<p>SARKIS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Sara ~ Shahin m. 'Aziza [Sabunjy] ~ Khalil m. Louise [Al-Bustani] ~ Ibrahim m. Miriam [Nahass]
<p>BARAKAT (Shaheen m. 'Um Mansour'):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Hamdeh ~ Mansour ~ Yusuf m. Sada [Sabunjy] ~ Akabir 	<p>SALEEBY (Jirjuis):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Tannous m. Mirta [Tabet] ~ Hada [Shidoody] ~ Fetneh [Shibly] ~ Sara
<p>AL-BUSTANI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Balty 'Im Barahe' ~ Butrus m. Rahil [Ata]: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Louise m. Khalil {Sarkis} ~ Sarah ~ Selim ~ Alice 	<p>SUBRA (Elias):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Katrina {Ghurzuzy}
<p>CARABAT (Dionysis m. Maria):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Salome ~ Melita 	<p>TABET (Naime m. Mariam):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Mirta {Saleeby}
<p>FUAZ (Elias m. Susan [Laloufty/Wortabet]):</p>	<p>WORTABET (Jacob Gregory m. Susan [Laloufty]):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Gregory ~ Hannie {Reichardt} ~ John and Salome [Carabet]: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Erwin Whiting ~ Henry George Luther

GEMMAL (Griogior):

Ferha {Kowwar}

GREGORY (Yakob):

Sada
Rufka {Muir}

AL-HADDAD (Tannous m. 'Im Beshera'):

Beshera
Sarah Smith m. Henry {Myers}
Rufka
Asin

LALOUFTY (Nicola):

Susan m. John Wortabet; Elias Fuaz
Joseph
Michael

Elda Rhaloor

William Thomson

YANNI (Antonio m. 'Sitt Karimeh'):

Barbara
Theodora
Karimeh

EL-YAZIJI (Nasif):

Ibrahim
Habib
Werdah

[Original or Previous Surname]

{Future Spouse's Surname}

APPENDIX II: B- LIST OF 'NATIVE ASSISTANTS'

Yakob Abacarius

Michael Araman

Butrus al-Bustani

Dionysis Carabat

Elias Fuaz

Tannous al-Haddad

Tannous el-Karem

Demetry Killissor

Nichola Lafloufy

Mikhayil Mishaqa

Tannous Sabunjy

Ibrahim Sarkis

Mulhand Shebly

Jacob Gregory Wortabet

John Wortabet

Antonio Yanni

Nasif el-Yaziji

APPENDIX II:C- STUDENTS AT ABCFM FEMALE BOARDING SCHOOLS

Students in the Whitings' Family School

Melita Carabet

Salome Carabet {Wortabet}

Rufka Gregory

Sada Gregory

Hannie Wortabet {Reichardt}

Students at the DeForest's Female Seminary

Akabir Barakat {Ghubrin}

Hamdeh Barakat {Ghubrin}

Sarah al-Bustani

Ferha Gemmal {Kowwar}

Rufka al-Haddad

Sarah al-Haddad {Myers}

Sada Haleby

Eliza Hashem {Khuri}

Helloon Lazuah {Zuraiuk}

Feifun Maluf

Khushfeh Mejdeleny {Musully}

Khurma Mejdeleny {Ashy}

Ester Nasif {Aieed}

Katrin Roza

Sada Sabunjy {Barakat}

Fitna Suleeby {Shibly}

Hada Suleeby {Shidoody}

Mirta Suleeby {Trabulsy}

Sara Suleeby

Durra Schemail

Miriam Tabet {Tabet}

Mirta Tabet {Suleeby}

Khushfeh Towileh {Mutr}

APPENDIX III: OTHER GROUPS WITHIN THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE

APPENDIX III: A- OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE

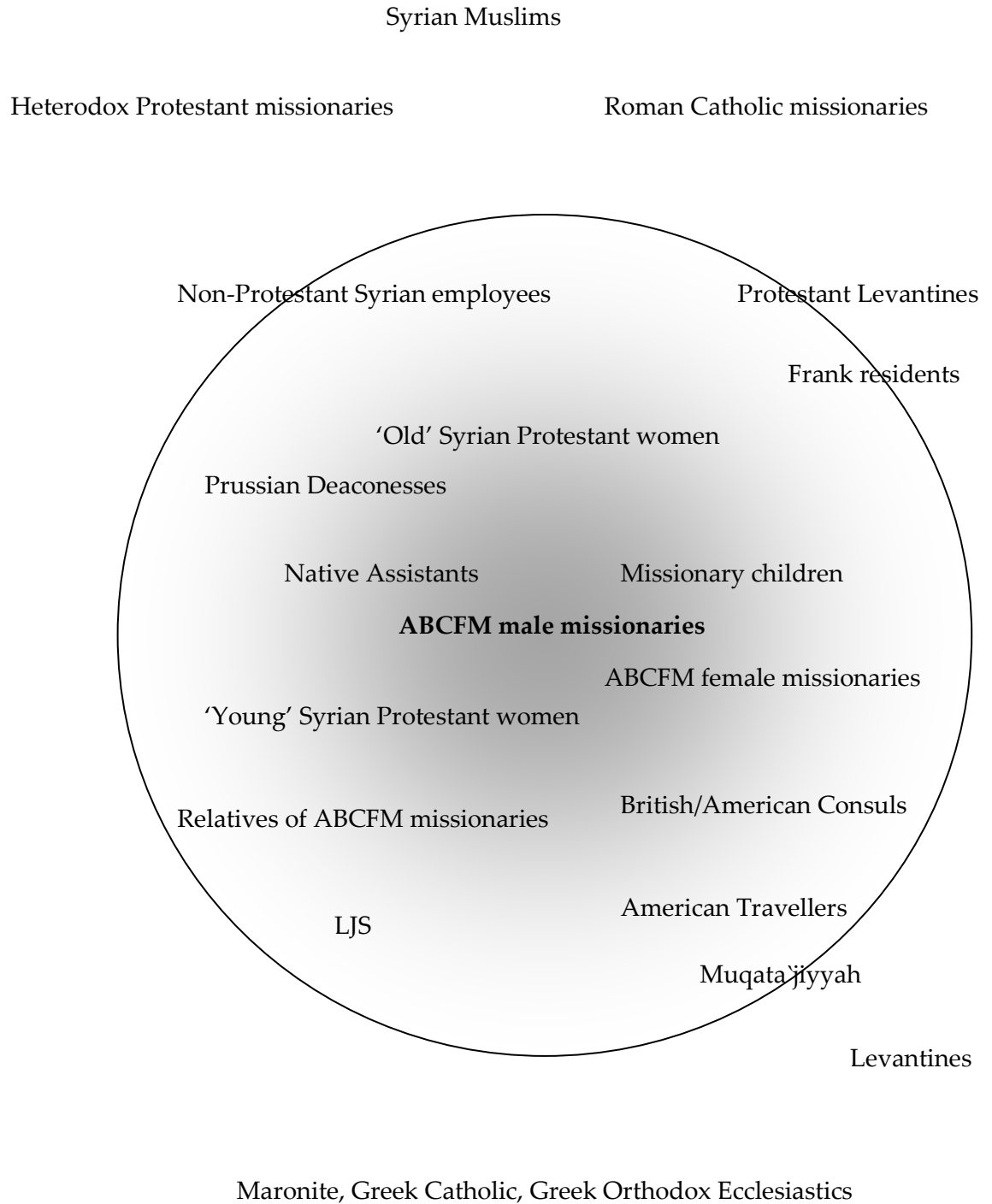
Name	Relation to Protestant Circle
Peter Abbott	British Consul
Adelaide Abbott	Daughter of P. Abbot and M. Abbot
Gertrude Abbott	Daughter of P. Abbot and M. Abbot
George Badger	British Printer (Malta)
Miss Badger	Independent Missionary hired by ABCFM
James Black	British Merchant; Board of 'Lebanon Schools'
Eliza Fanny (Abbott) Black	Wife of J. Black, Daughter of P. Abbot
George Cranston Black	Son of J. Black and E. Abbott Black
William Robert Black	Son of J. Black and E. Abbott Black
Robert Black	British Merchant
Andrew Alexander Bonar	Church of Scotland missionary
John DeForest	Relative of Henry DeForest, Author
Stratford Canning	British Ambassador in Constantinople
Mr. Carr	American Consul-General in Constantinople
Yousuf Catafago	Dragoman for Prussian Consul-General
Gabriel Chasseaud	British Consul
Clairece Chasseaud	Wife of G. Chasseaud
W. Jasper Chasseaud	American Consul
Eugnie Chasseaud	Wife of W.J. Chasseaud
Julius Chasseaud	
Arminita Chasseaud	
Bertrand Chasseaud	
George Washington Chasseaud	Author of <i>The Druses of the Lebanon</i>
Peter Chasseaud	
Charles Henry Churchill	British Resident
Mrs. C. H. Churchill	Wife of C.H. Churchill
Dr. Dalton	LJS medical missionary
Habib Risk Allah Effendi	Syrian writer
James Finn	British Consul in Jerusalem
Elizabeth Anne Finn	Wife of James Finn
Dr. Gerstmann	LJS medical missionary in Jerusalem
Henry Held	British Merchant
Mrs. H. Held	Wife of H. Held
William Jowett	CMS missionary

Mikhayil el-Karem	Brother of Tannous el-Karem
Assaad Kayat	British Consular representative Acre
Martha Kayat	Wife of A. Kayat
Mr. Kilbee	British Merchant
Mr. Kinnear	Scottish Merchant
Rev. Mr. Leeves	Agent of Bible Society
Mr. Levi	LJS missionary in Beirut
Rev. Mr. Lewis	LJS missionary in Sidon
John Lowthian	British Merchant; Board of 'Lebanon Schools'
William Francis Lunch	American Naval Lieutenant and traveller
Mr. and Mrs. Martin	Independent missionaries
Robert Murray McCheyne	Church of Scotland missionary
Navin Moore	British Consul in Beirut
Naufal Na'metallah Naufal	Resident of Syria
Selim Naufal	Resident of Syria
John Nicolayson	LJS missionary
Mrs. J. Nicolayson	Wife of J. Nicolayson
Ibrahim Nukhly	American consul agent at Sidon
J. D. Paxton	Independent Missionary
Mrs. Packard	Sister of Elisabeth Hurter
Mr. Pieritz	LJS missionary in Beirut
David Porter	British Consul
Henry Reichardt	German Missionary married to Hannie Wortabet
Edward Robinson	American traveller
Colonel Rose	British Consul in Beirut
Frederick Schultz	Prussian Consul
John Gordon Scott	British Merchant
Isabella (Carnacheau) Scott	Wife of J. Scott
Georgina Scott	Daughter of J. and I. Scott
Faris al-Shidyaq	Arab Scholar, Brother of Assad al-Shidyaq
Major General Sir Charles Smith	Commander of British troops in 1840
J. Hosford Smith	American consul
Mrs. J. H. Smith	Wife of J.H. Smith
Mr. and Mrs. Sergeant	Parents of C. DeForest
Mrs. Tod	Daughter of American Consult in Alexandria
Elizabeth Helen Watson	Independent Missionary
Handumeh Watson	Legal heir of E.H. Watson
Horace Winbolt	British Chaplin in Beirut
Major L. de Wildenbruck	Prussian Consul-General
Joseph Wolf	LJS missionary
Richard Wood	British Consul in Damascus; Board of 'Lebanon Schools'

APPENDIX III:B- MEMBERS OF SYRIAN SOCIETY FOR THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

Antoun Abilla	Tannous el-Karem	Samili Ransun
Jabr Abil Abilla	Rizqallah Khadra	Tannous Sabunjy
Peter Aji	Mikhayil Khamid	Frederick Schultz
Jirjuis Antoun	Jibur al-Khuri	Mikhayil Shikadi
Hanne Araman	Shukrallah Ni'matallah al-Khuri	Sahr al-Shidyaq
Mikhayil Araman	Mansour Kurlati	Tannous al-Shidyaq
Abdallah Araman	Antonius al-Mantouni	Nasif al-Shidoody
Alksandr Abcaraus	Mikhayil al-Mantouni	Eli Smith
Antonios al-Amyuni	Noel al-Mantouni	Antoun Tabet
Yousuf Assir	Elias al-Manir	Naim Tabet
Hanne Awram	Khalil al-Manir	Yakob Tabet
Kraus Balnaj	Faris Mask	William Thomson
Tshrishil Bik	Faris Medur	Ibrahim Trad
Butrus al-Bustani	Mikhayil Medur	Cornelius Van Dyck
Yousuf Catafago	Naufal Medur	Antoun Wakim
Charles Churchill	Nicola al-Medur	George Whiting
Simon Calhoun	Antonis al-Miuny	Abdulallah Wortabet
Yousuf Diab	Ibrahim Mishaqa	Butrus Wortabet
Henry DeForest	Mikhayil Mishaqa	John Wortabet
Ibrahim Effendi	Lionel Muir	Kikur Wortabet
Alhakim Fanidaik	Habib Musully	Habib el-Yaziji
Mikhayil Farajallah	Khalil Mushafa	Nasif el-Yaziji
Demetri Filbis	Naim Nahr	
Ibrahim di Frist	Yakob al-Najjar	
Elias Fuaz	Yousuf al-Najjar	
Tannous al-Haddad	Ibrahim Nakla	
George Hurter	Jabril Nasrallah	
Ibrahim Jahal	Abdulallah Naufal	
Assad al-Jammal	Naufal Na'metallah Naufal	
Jirjuis al-Jammal	Salim Naufal	

APPENDIX IV: THE PROTESTANT CIRCLE: 1823 TO 1860



APPENDIX V: CONFESSION OF FAITH AND COVENANT FOR THE ECB

CONFESSION OF FAITH

Do you believe in the existence of one God only , and that He is the Creator of all things, almighty, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, self-existent; unchangeable in His eternal being; infinite in wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth;⁹ and that He alone is worth of worship?¹⁰

Do you believe that there are in the Godhead three persons, to with, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; and that these three are one God?¹¹

Do you believe that the Holy Scriptures, that is, the Old and New Testaments, are inspired by God, and that they are the only rule of faith and duty?¹²

Do you believe that man in the state of nature is destitute of holiness, is wholly depraved, and deserves the wrath of God?¹³

Do you believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, the perfect God and perfect man, is the only Saviour of sinners, and only Mediator and Advocate between God and man;¹⁴ that through His perfect obedience and passion and death, He has accomplished a full atonement for sin, so that all those who believe in Him shall assuredly obtain salvation; and that there is no other sacrifice to be offered for sin?¹⁵

Do you believe that by reason of the total depravity of human nature, it is indispensable, in order to obtain salvation, that everyone shall be born anew by the work of the Holy Spirit?¹⁶

Do you believe that we are justified by the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ alone, through faith, and not by our works; and that good works, though inseparable from genuine faith, are not at all a meritorious cause of our salvation before God?¹⁷

Do you believe that holiness of life, and the performance of the duties which we owe to God, to our neighbour, and to ourselves, are not only indispensable to all believers, but are also an essential quality of every Christian?¹⁸

⁹ Deuteronomy 6: 4; Mark 12: 29; Isaiah 65: 5, 22; Colossians 1: 16, 17; Acts 17: 18.

¹⁰ Matthew 4: 10; Revelation 4: 11; Revelation 14: 6-7; Revelation 22: 8-9.

¹¹ Matthew 28: 19; John 14: 9; Hebrews 1: 8-10.

¹² Psalm 119: 8-12; 2 Timothy 3: 14-17; 1 Peter 1: 25; 2 Peter 1: 19-21; John 5: 39; Matthew 22: 29; Deuteronomy 4: 2, Deuteronomy 12: 32; Revelation 12: 18-19.

¹³ Ecclesiastics 7:1; Genesis 3: 17-19; Romans 3: 9, 19; Romans 5: 12; 2 Corinthians 5: 15; 1 John 1:8; Romans 3:23.

¹⁴ 1 Timothy 2: 5; John 5: 23; Hebrews 1: 6; Revelation 5:13; John 14: 6; Acts 5: 26.

¹⁵ Hebrews 2: 9; John 2: 7, 15, 16; John 6: 47; Romans 5: 9; Ephesians 1: 7; Hebrews 10: 18.

¹⁶ John I: 12, 13; John 3: 2; Titus 3: 5; Galatians 6: 15; 1 John 3:9.

¹⁷ Ephesians 2:7-8; Galatians 2: 16; Galatians 3: 11; Romans 3: 20,24.

¹⁸ Matthew 5:16-20; John 14: 15, 21; James 2:14-17.

Do you believe that it is not lawful to offer worship or adoration to any one besides God;¹⁹ that each of the three person is worth of our adoration, which, in order to be acceptable, should be presented in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; that the use of relics, images, crosses, and all kinds of pictures, however used in the worship of God, and the invocation of saints, are contrary to Holy Scripture and displeasing to God;²⁰ and that it is impossible to prove from the Word of God the doctrine of prayers for the dead?

Do you believe in the resurrection of the dead, both of the good and the wicked, and in the day of judgement; and that the happiness of the good, and the misery of the wicked, begin at their death and continue for ever?²¹

Do you believe that every assembly of believers, which is properly constituted, is a Christian church, whose only head is Jesus Christ;²² and that the sacraments of the Church of Christ are Baptism and the Lord's Supper only?

Do you believe that Baptism is a sacrament which signifies the purification of the heart by the work of the Holy Spirit, by means of washing in water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that it is a seal of that purification and a sign of admission into the visible church?²³

Do you believe that the Lord's Supper is a sacrament which signifies the death of the Lord Jesus Christ, by receiving bread and wine, as Christ has instituted; and that it is a perpetual memorial of His redeeming love, and an earnest of union to, and communion with Him and with all true believers?²⁴

Do you believe that the holy gospel is the chief means for turning men unto God, and for the edification of His people; and that it is the duty of the Church of Christ to execute His last command, which is, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature?'²⁵

Do you confess, before God and before this assembly, that this is your faith?

[To this the candidate must assent audibly]

¹⁹ Matthew 4: 10; Exodus 20: 2; Matthew 27: 19.

²⁰ Exodus 20: 4-6.

²¹ Acts 17: 31; Acts 24: 15; Luke 16: 22, 23; Luke 22:43; Philemon 1: 23.

²² Matthew 18: 20; Colossians 1: 18, Colossians 4: 15; Ephesians 1: 22, 23.

²³ Matthew 28: 19; Mark 16: 16; John 3:5; Titus 3:5; Romans 4: 11; 1 Peter 3: 20-21.

²⁴ 1 Corinthians 16: 15; 1 Corinthians 1: 18; Romans 1: 16; Acts 20: 20, 21.

²⁵ Mark 16: 15; 1 Corinthians 1: 18; Romans 1: 16; Acts 20: 20, 21.

THE COVENANT

Inasmuch as you hope that you are united to Christ by a living faith, and inasmuch as you feel bound to confess Him before men, and to united with His visible Church, you now humbly acknowledge, in the presence of God and of this assembly, that you have chosen the Lord-the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit-to be your God, Saviour, and Sanctifier; that you have taken the Holy Scriptures to be your only rule of faith and duty; that you devote yourself and your all to the service of God, promising that you will, by the Divine help, lead a holy life, and obey His will in sanctifying His day of rest; that you diligently walk in the path of truth, faithfulness, and seriousness, as it is ordained in His book; that you seek, with all your power, to extend the Christian religion in the world; and that you endeavour always to be an example of justice, contentment, charity, and piety.

Do you, trusting in the aid of the Holy Spirit, undertake, before God and before this assembly, to perform the engagements of this covenant?

[The candidate answering in the affirmative, the members of the church shall then stand up, and the presbyter says:]

We receive you, therefore, to the communion of this church, with all love and joy; and promise to watch over you with Christian tenderness and faithfulness, to walk with you at all times in friendship and brotherly love, as becometh the household of one faith, and ever to pray to God that He may make us-both we and you-worthy to stand at last without blemish before the Lord in great joy. Amen.

[The presbyter shall then pray.]

Source: John Wortabet, *Researches into the Religions of Syria: Or, Sketches, Historical and Doctrinal, of Its Religious Sects. Drawn from Original Sources* (London: James Nisbet, 1860): 407- 411.

APPENDIX VI: SCRIPTURE PASSAGES REFERENCED TO IN THE TEXT

CHAPTER TWO:

1 Corinthians 11: 3-15:

'But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God. Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered. For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man. For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels. Nevertheless neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman; but all things of god. Judge in yourselves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered? Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering.'

Revelation 3:14-22:

And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God. I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked: I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see. As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent. Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me. To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

CHAPTER SIX:

Exodus 20: 12: [Protestant Fifth Commandment]

'Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.'

Matthew 15: 5-6:

'But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; And honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free. Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition.'

Source: *The Bible: King James Version* (Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library)

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