UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

“A Measure of All Nations”: Girls’ Schools and Constructions of Citizenship in French Mandate Lebanon, 1919-1951

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

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The dissertation of Johanna L Peterson is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

For Arabic transliteration, I use the simplified form of transliteration outlined by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, maintaining only the hamza (ʾ) and ʿayn (ʿ). All mistakes and inconsistencies are my own.

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Writing the bulk of this dissertation between 2019 and 2022 has given me much pause and has, in significant ways, shaped how I approached the sources, stories, and people that comprise this dissertation. In some moments, I felt myself having the vaguest grasp on what the girls and young women of this dissertation experienced—momentous change, the unknown of what the future holds, and glimpses of promise for what can be. And, at the same time, I grappled with the world—and Lebanon—where it is now, and how the period examined in this dissertation has shaped this present. In the below, I acknowledge all those—and not just those who I name—who helped, supported, and guided me on this journey.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation examines the importance of schools to the national project, the increasing popularity and significance of girls’ education in the interwar period to that project, and the ways in which girls and women defined and acted out their citizenship as students, teachers, administrators, and alumnae, in the context of colonial occupation and nation-building in the post-Ottoman Middle East. It uses colonial, state, institutional, and school archives, press accounts, memoirs, and

interviews with alumnae related to six girls' schools with secondary programs that operated before, during, and after the French Mandate in Lebanon: the three girls' schools of the American Mission, the Maqasid's Kulliyat al-banat, the Greek Orthodox Zahrat al-ihsan, and the secular nationalist Ahliah.

In its engagement with these sources, and with scholarship of the Mandate period in the Middle East and Lebanon, sociological conceptions and definitions of citizenship, postcolonial theory, and theoretical frameworks concerning gender, nationalism, and space, this dissertation argues that girls' education and educational institutions served a discursive and material function in defining girls' and women's citizenship in interwar and early independence Lebanon. The vision of women's citizenship articulated discursively in curricula and the press and materially in girls' schools was a type of social citizenship, one that allowed girls and women to reconcile their multiple loyalties and drew on their experiences during the Mandate.

School curricula called for girls' education for the creation of modern wives and mothers for the nation's men and boys, linking educated womanhood and the modern home with national uplift. The Beirut-based women's press simultaneously bolstered and challenged such a conception through discussions of educated women's role in political life and the home. Materially, schools served as sites through which colonial, national, and local claims were made. They also provided a space in which students, teachers, and administrators articulated their own visions—of the school, the nation, and their citizenship. When looking at Mandate Lebanon from the perspective of girls and women, one encounters a nonsectarian vision for Lebanon that looks to what Lebanon *can be* rather than what it is or was.

Introduction

"The school is the measure of every nation's civilization and prosperity, the epitome of its honor, distinction, power, and knowledge."
Watani, *al-Fajr*, 1919[1]

This dissertation examines the importance of schools to the national project, the increasing popularity and importance of girls' education in the interwar period to that project, and the ways in which girls and women defined and acted out their citizenship as students, teachers, administrators, and alumnae, all in the context of colonial occupation and nation-building in the post-Ottoman Middle East.[2] Six girls' private schools—three "local" and three "foreign"—with secondary departments provide the evidence: the American School for Girls (ASG), Sidon Girls' School (SGS), Tripoli Girls' School (TGS), *Kulliyat al-banat al-islamiyya* (Kulliyat al-banat), *Zahrat al-ihsan*, and *Madrasa al-banat al-ahliyya* (Ahliah).

The three "local" schools examined—Kulliyat al-banat, Ahliah, and Zahrat al-ihsan—retain an important place in popular memory, and in communal and national identity in Beirut, Lebanon, and the Lebanese diaspora. Part of that identity was rooted in the ways in which the schools positioned themselves in opposition, or at

[1] Watani, "Madrasa al-ghad," *al-Fajr* 1, special edition (1919). "Watani," noted as the author of this article, translates to my country/homeland. The sources referenced in this dissertation use several words that I have variously translated as nation, homeland, and/or country. The words that appears most often are *balad* (country), *watan* (homeland, patria), *qawm* (nationalism; and, more specifically, *qawmiyya*, meaning nationalism), and *ʾumma* (nation or community). When I have found the particular word used important to the meaning or understanding of the quote, I have included it in the quote.
[2] From the sources I have looked at, the "national project" I discuss in the dissertation remains somewhat unclear. This is not only because of the shifting borders, meanings, and power structures of the nation throughout the interwar period, but also because "the nation" appears to have meant different things to different people at different times. What this dissertation attempts to show, however, is that girls and women examined here envisioned an anti-colonial nation based on similarity across difference. It is their vision of the national project that I most closely examine here. This is in contrast to the nation envisioned by the French Mandate government and the power holders that ultimately determined the Lebanese Republic's political order based in sectarian difference.

least as a local alternative, to the foreign missions offering girls' education, including the schools of the American Protestant mission, ASG, SGS, and TGS. All of the schools had graduates who played an important role in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of Lebanon, during and after the quasi-colonial rule of the French Mandate. Looking at the ways in which their visions of the nation were shaped, imagined, and acted out in school provides insight into the hopes and dreams of and for the nation and community the graduates aimed to shape.

In addressing these themes and concerns, and in order to tease out the importance of these schools and their graduates historically and in the present, this dissertation asks: What was the relationship between girls' education and girls' and women's articulation of their citizenship in interwar and early independence Lebanon between 1919 and 1951? In particular, what vision of the nation and the citizen did school histories and curricula and the women's press articulate?[3] What vision of the woman as (educated) citizen resulted? How did these discursive visions play out in schools? In what ways did curricular goals align or clash with these visions? How did girls and women in girls' schools, as well as the communities associated with these schools meet, challenge, subvert, or appropriate these visions within the school?

I argue that girls' and women's education and educational institutions served a discursive and material function in conceptions of girls' and women's citizenship during the interwar and early independence period. The vision of women's citizenship articulated discursively in school curricula and the press and materially in girls'

[3] In using the term "school histories," I am generally referring to the history of the school that I have pieced together from various documents. Occasionally, "school history" refers to a specific piece written about the history of one of the schools examined here.

schools was a type of social citizenship, one that allowed girls and women to reconcile, or attempt to reconcile, their multiple loyalties, identities, and experiences – to themselves, their kin/community *and* to their vision of the nation. At the discursive level, we see multiple, and often competing visions of the woman as citizen. School curricula called for girls' and women's education for the creation of modern wives to and mothers of the nation's men and boys, linking educated womanhood and the modern home with national uplift. The Beirut-based women's press bolstered such a conception but at the same time challenged it, both explicitly and implicitly, through discussions of women's role in political life, the home, and education. In both cases, we see a tension inherent to the project of girls' education in this period, and thus to articulations of women's citizenship: do women best serve the nation in the home or as full participants in national life? A look at the material function and reality of girls' schools gives more insight into this tension and the visions of women's citizenship that result. An examination of girls' schools reveals the ways in which girls and women figured into larger imperial and national concerns. It also shows that school communities—students, teachers, administrators, parents, and others—acted out their own visions, both within and in response to the schools' formal and "informal" curricula, and in the context of national, imperial, and colonial concerns.

Historical Context

THE FRENCH MANDATE FOR LEBANON AND EARLY INDEPENDENCE, WRIT LARGE

French, British, and Arab forces occupied Damascus in October 1918, bringing World War I (WWI) to a close and Ottoman rule in the Arab lands of the empire to an end. When the victors of WWI sat down in Paris beginning in January

1919 to determine the terms of defeat for Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and their allies, they found themselves confronted with a dilemma: what to do with their newly-acquired territories in the context of American President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points"?[4] Those living under colonial occupation or imperial rule viewed the "Fourteen Points," with its condemnation of secret treaties and its championing of the principle of self-determination, as a harbinger of political and economic independence. Many living in the metropole, after four years of global, bloody conflict, also saw the ideals contained in the "Fourteen Points" as the basis of a more peaceful and cooperative future. For the imperial powers, however, the "Fourteen Points" posed a challenge to the territorial claims they made during the war and to their political and economic dominance over much of the world.[5]

The result of the Paris Peace Conference was the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty included the Covenant of the League of Nations, a cooperative international body composed of member states that formally began in 1920.[6] By the beginning of October 1921, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, composed of eight men—seven European and one Japanese—met to establish their oversight of the lands formerly under German and Ottoman rule. The result was a

[4] President Wilson's Message to Congress, 8 Jan 1918. Records Group 46: Records of the United States Senate, National Archives, Washington, DC. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-woodrow-wilsons-14-points.

[5] The most famous, and still-contested, of these wartime agreements are the Sykes-Picot agreement, the Balfour Declaration, and the Husayn-McMahon Correspondence. Sykes-Picot divided up the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire between the British and the French. The Balfour Declaration indicated British support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence promised Sharif Husayn land and Arab independence in exchange for his support in the British offensive against the Ottomans. For a fuller discussion of the various actors, stakes, and concerns at play, see Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 17-44; 77-103.

[6] The League of Nations was the precursor to the United Nations.

system of “mandates” whereby the allied states “agreed to hold all conquered territories in ‘trust’…under the League of Nations.”[7] In reality, it was a continuation of the former system of imperialism, with a shiny new coat of paint and couched in language more palatable to those opposed to empire in the metropole. Many who would be living under the mandate system, however, saw it for what it was – a continuation of the foreign occupation, exploitation, and control they had experienced before WWI, with different faces and languages.

The Commission created three “types” of mandates – A, B, and C. The “A” mandates were applied to the former Ottoman territories of modern-day Iraq, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, with the mandatory powers tasked with providing “administrative advice and assistance” to people who would soon be granted self-government.[8] Administrative authority over the “A” mandates of the Middle East was divided between the British and the French—the British in Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine and the French in Syria and Lebanon; this division was largely based on the terms of the secret treaties and agreements between the British and the French during the war, and aligned with their existing cultural, economic, and political connections and influence in the region.[9]

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[7] Susan Pedersen, “The Meaning of the Mandates System: An Argument,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32, no. 4 (2006): 561.

[8] The League of Nations assigned most of German Africa as “B” mandates, to be administered by the mandatory power “under a list of conditions, including that the territory be opened to commerce and the inhabitants protected in various ways.” The “C” mandates—SW Africa, German New Guinea, Western Samoa, some Pacific Islands, Germany’s Pacific Islands north of the equator, and the Island of Nauru—were essentially administered and occupied as colonies. Pedersen, “Meaning of the Mandates,” 561-562.

[9] For a comparative history of the two mandates—British and French—see Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, eds., *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

From the first hints of a prolonged and formalized European occupation, those living in the mandated territories contested the mandate system. In Syria-Lebanon, the Syrian Congress in 1920 declared an independent Arab government, seated in Damascus and led by Faysal ibn al-Husayn.[10] A decisive battle at Maysalun[11], however, saw the Arab forces of the Faysali government crushed by the French; challenges against the French continued, culminating in the Syrian Revolt (1925-1926).[12] France's brutal suppression of this revolt led to the solidification of French control over the region and the division of its mandated territory into several states that would eventually become Syria, Lebanon, and Turkey as we know them today.

In an effort to save face over its handling of the revolt and as a result of changes in the French government at home, in May 1926 French High Commissioner Henry de Jouvenal granted Lebanon its constitution, which was approved by Lebanon's Representative Council.[13] The Lebanese Republic was declared and some of the administrative functions of the French High Commission (the name of the

[10] The Congress, composed of representatives from throughout the mandated territories, formed in 1919 in order to make the will of the population known to the delegates at the Paris Peace Conference. Faysal was the leader of the Arab forces who helped secure European victory in the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire.

[11] Maysalun is located in the Anti-Lebanon mountains on the border between present-day Syria and Lebanon, about nine miles northwest of Damascus and along the Beirut-Damascus road.

[12] For a history of the Syrian Revolt, see Michael Provence, *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). For a history of the relationship between violence and state formation during the Mandate, see Daniel Neep, *Occupying Syria under the French Mandate: Insurgency, Space and State Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For a history of the connection between the anticolonial struggles of the 1920s and 1930s and the Ottoman (and educational) past, see Michael Provence, "Ottoman Modernity, Colonialism, and Insurgency in the Interwar Arab East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011): 205-225.

[13] Successor to the Administrative Council (which was itself based on the sectarian composition of the mutasarrifiyya of Mount Lebanon in the last sixty years of the Ottoman Empire), the members of the Representative Council were apportioned by sect "based on the 1921 census of Greater Lebanon." It had thirty members composed of "ten Maronites, four Greek Orthodox, two Greek Catholics, six Sunnis, five Shi'is, two Druze, and one other minority." Ziad Munif Abu-Rish, "Conflict and Institution Building in Lebanon, 1946-1955" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2014), 37.

French Mandate government) transferred, at least nominally, to the Lebanese government. In the realm of education, the government created the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts in 1928. While the text of the laws, decisions, and orders related to education were now in the hands of the Lebanese government, French reports to the League of Nations indicate that the French Public Instruction Service (*Service de l'instruction publique*, SIP) still played a significant role. Indeed, the SIP continued to approve school openings and provide subsidies to and regular inspection of schools through at least the mid-1930s, a reflection of the larger limitations of the Lebanese government during this period.[14] Furthermore, the fact that the French retained de facto control can be seen in the High Commission's suspension of both the parliament and the constitution, installing French, or apparently pro-French Lebanese governors, in 1932 and again in 1939.

The 1926 constitution was a hybrid: "on a republican body, emphasising individual rights and liberties and political and judicial equality, were grafted articles concerning communal rights and representation," enshrining the paternalistic colonial civic order.[15] In a colonial system in which particular groups—in the case of Lebanon, Christians generally but Maronite Christians in particular—were given, or appeared to be given preferential treatment, such a set-up was inherently unequal. Furthermore, in ensuring communal rights and representation, the constitution granted the various religious communities within Lebanon jurisdiction over personal status—laws

[14] Orders and decrees passed after 1926 were signed by the "President of the Lebanese Republic," or his representative.
[15] Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, second edition (Pluto Press, 2012), 90. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt183p4f5; Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 43.

concerning marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc.—which disproportionately affected women and ensured their continued subordination within the patriarchal structures of both their religious communities and the state.[16] Thus, the 1926 constitution was one of the many ways and instances that women's participation in the formal political life of the Lebanese state was (and continues to be) curbed.

By the mid-1930s, challenges in Syria-Lebanon, in its other colonies, and at home, led the French to begin the process of administrative and military decolonization, in favor of emphasizing French cultural influence.[17] World War II saw the imposition of a French *Vichy* government in Syria and Lebanon; its ouster, largely by British forces; nominal independence in 1943 (the result of both British threats and local agitation); and full French withdrawal by the end of December 1946.

The political life of independent Lebanon after 1943 was shaped by two documents – the revised, formal constitution and the National Pact, an "informal verbal understanding" written down only in a ministerial declaration from 7 October 1943.[18] While removing articles that mentioned France's colonial claims, the 1943 constitution contained the same hybridity—and inequalities—as the 1926 constitution. The National Pact affirmed the sectarian-based power-sharing tradition

[16] Suad Joseph, "Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East," in *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, edited by Suad Joseph (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 3-30.
[17] Indeed, 1936 was a fraught year, the world over. In Lebanon, French recalcitrance at approving the Franco-Syrian Treaty, the limitations of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty, French economic policies and the effects of the global depression, and shifting agendas and alliances among Lebanese power-holders led to popular mobilization throughout the country. See Jennifer M. Dueck, *The Claims of Culture at Empire's End: Syria and Lebanon under French Rule* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) 2-3; Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 98-199; and Malek Abisaab, "Shiite Peasants and New Nation in Colonial Lebanon: The Intifada of Bint Jubayl, 1936," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 29, no. 3 (2009): 483-501.
[18] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 110.

that had developed over the course of the Mandate and solidified sectarian difference as political power not only among the political class and ideologues but among all Lebanese citizens.[19] These two documents ensured women's double subordination in the newly-independent state.

The period between 1946 and 1952 in Lebanon was defined by shifting relationships in the country and the larger Middle East, the result of changes in the economic and political relationship between Lebanon and Syria, the various and shifting aims of the region's other leaders, and the 1948 *nakba* (catastrophe) that resulted in hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees fleeing to Lebanon and other Middle Eastern countries in the wake of the creation of Israel. By the beginning of 1952, the end of the period in question for this dissertation, however, Lebanon was embarking on what has since been called Lebanon's "golden age," the two and a half decades of relative stability and economic prosperity that preceded the outbreak of civil war in 1975.[20]

EDUCATION IN LATE OTTOMAN, MANDATE, AND EARLY INDEPENDENCE LEBANON

Before the imposition of the Mandate, informally through French occupation in 1918 and formally through League of Nations mandate in 1922, the area that now makes up modern-day Lebanon was part of the Ottoman Empire's Beirut *vilayet*

[19] The National Pact was a power-sharing agreement that designated the president as Maronite, the Prime Minister as Sunni, and the Speaker of the National Assembly as Shi'i. Fawwaz Trabousli argues that many of the conflicts that have arisen in Lebanon since 1943, including the 1975-90 civil war, was a result of differing interpretations of the relative importance of the National Pact and Constitution. Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 112.

[20] While this period has been viewed as Lebanon's "golden age," the economic success of the country hid many of the political, social, and economic problems and conflicts that undergirded life in Lebanon. Indeed, in 1958, Camille Chamoun's presidency (1952-1958) was brought to a dramatic end by riot, coup, and American intervention.

(province; largest territorial administrative unit) and the semi-autonomous *mutasarrifiyya* (governorate) of Mount Lebanon.[21]

Until the 1860s, most of the Ottoman Empire's subjects received what education they had at the schools of their religious communities. Military defeats beginning in the late eighteenth century, coupled with growing European intervention, led Ottoman officials to enact broad reforms. Known collectively as the *Tanzimat* (reorganization), these military and bureaucratic reforms, began in 1839, occurred within the context of significant political, social, and economic changes.[22] The precedent and bureaucratic foundation laid by the Tanzimat, coupled with the political, social, and economic realities of the mid-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, led the Ottoman state to expand and increase state control over primary education throughout its territory. In particular, after passage of the Reform Edict of 1856 and the Regulation of Public Education (RPE) in 1869, the Ottoman state brought all levels of education under its direct oversight in the center and provinces.[23]

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[21] After 1888, the Beirut *vilayet* included the major cities of Beirut, Acre, Tripoli, Latakia, Nablus, and their hinterlands. For a history of the development of Beirut as a provincial capital, see Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[22] The Tanzimat introduced new notions about the relationship between state citizen, resulting in expanded access to state institutions so that new groups of people participated in questions and debates over the future of their lives, the empire, and their relationship to it. Concurrently, changing global and imperial economic realities led to the rise of the middle class. At the political level, the empire and its functionaries found themselves increasingly embattled within the context of the social, economic, and political developments that defined the period. See, Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Akram Khater, *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*; and Karen Kern, *Imperial Citizens: Marriage and Citizenship in the Ottoman Frontier Provinces of Iraq* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011).

[23] Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). The 1856 Reform Edict decreed equal opportunity for *all* subjects to be admitted to military and civil schools. While affirming religious communities' right to establish their own schools, it mandated their supervision by the state.

Primary education, previously the purview of the empire's individual religious communities, came to be viewed less as a site for religious instruction and the preservation of communities and more as a "practical-worldly oriented…education" that sought to create a modern student, "disciplined in his moral as well as his bodily behavior, conditioned by traditional social and religious values."[24] It also promoted girls' education in a limited way.[25]

With the administrative structure provided by the RPE and the ideological and geopolitical concerns of the empire under Abdulhamid II (r. 1876-1909), the Ottoman state, under the belief that public education was the panacea that would solve all its ills, undertook the expansion of public education and oversight of foreign and non-Muslim schools.[26] Though the planned- and hoped-for extent of the Hamidian educational project was never attained, it did have some limited success, particularly in the expansion of primary education throughout the empire.[27]

Following the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, restoration of the prorogued 1876 constitution, and coming to power of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), until the end of the empire, state education continued to expand. In this period, however, the project became increasingly focused on the retention of those territories still under Ottoman suzerainty. In Syria, for example, Jamal Pasha, governor of the

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[24] Somel, *Modernization of Public Education*, 49; 64.
[25] Somel, *Modernization of Public Education*, 87; 89; 94. Eventually, cultural institutions like museums and libraries, as well as scientific publications, fell under the purview of the Ministry for Public Education.
[26] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73; 83; 88-99.
[27] All scholars who write on the topic of late Ottoman educational reform conclude that the project failed in its aims. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 124; Somel, *Modernization of Public Education*, 108-22; 129-35; Emine Ö. Evered, *Empire and Education under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 34.

province during WWI, expanded state education in an attempt to bring those groups perceived as having alternative loyalties – Arabists, Zionists, Christians, etc. – into the fold of the state and to make them loyal citizen-subjects of it.[28] Like the educational reforms and projects of the earlier Tanzimat and Hamidian periods, the educational project in the empire's last decade had limited success, in large part due to increased agitation both within and without the empire and the harsh realities of war, especially in the provinces.

Concurrent with these developments in public education in the late Ottoman Empire was the expansion of private education, among local religiously-affiliated groups and foreign, generally missionary, groups. Indeed, by the nineteenth century, missionary groups and religious representatives from throughout Europe and the United States sought influence over and/or operated educational institutions throughout the empire. In fact, of the schools examined in this dissertation all but one—Ahliah—was founded in the nineteenth century.[29]

At the same time, educational work came to center more fully on girls and women. Missionary organizations more often called on women for mission service, and targeted girls and women for evangelization.[30] The shifting focus toward women

[28] Jamal Pasha also introduced mass conscription and urban modernization projects in an effort to create loyalty to the Ottoman state. M. Talha Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria: Cemal Pasha's Governorate during World War I, 1914-17* (London: Routledge, 2014), 168-191.
[29] Ahliah began as an informal school in the home of Mary Kassab in 1906, and became more formalized in 1916. Kassab was educated at British mission schools. She was the principal of Ahliah until the early 1930s.
[30] For work that discusses this trend across religious groups and mission sites, see Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999). For work that focus on this trend among American missionaries, see Patricia R. Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985). For the late Ottoman context, see Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther

and girls in nineteenth-century missionary circles coincided with worldwide shifts in attitudes toward girls' and women's education, as well as the linking of women's education with modernity, social, cultural, and national progress, and anticolonial resistance.[31] The influence of these various missionary organizations in education and, thus, in the education of those communities' children catalyzed the expansion of and increased commitment to education—and particularly to the education of girls, bearers and moral guides of the next generation. Both Zahrat al-ihsan, established by the Greek Orthodox community, and the girls' schools of the Maqasid, established by Sunni notables, were founded in order to counter missionary, and particularly American missionary, influence in these communities.[32] Thus, by the post-WWI period, the beginning of the period examined in this dissertation, girls' and women's education was firmly established the world over as key for both social and national uplift.

When the French occupied the Levant[33] in October 1918, they were faced with a region in ruins: a severe refugee crisis created by the forced migration of Armenians during WWI; in Lebanon, a population decimated by mass starvation; economic insecurity; destroyed infrastructure; the political fallout of the end of the centuries-long Ottoman Empire; and a barely-functioning educational system. As they

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Moller, eds., *Entangled Education: Foreign and Local Schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (19th-20th Centuries)* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Wurzburg in Kommission, 2016).

[31] For a discussion of the connection between woman and nation as a global trend, and its manifestation in the late Ottoman Empire, see Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, eds., *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[32] The Ottoman state's system of schools subsumed the schools of the Maqasid shortly after the Society's founding (perhaps as early as 1880, but certainly by 1893). For a more thorough history of the schools examined here, see Chapter One.

[33] This is the term used by French writers for the area that is now Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine/Israel. It is also referred to as Greater Syria, *Bilad al-Sham*, and the Eastern Mediterranean.

secured their position in the region and restored government administrative functions, the French occupying forces also worked to re-establish the education system.

French involvement in education in the region was not new in 1919, with French Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and secularist missionaries in Lebanon since the seventeenth century; since the late eighteenth century, the French state actively subsidized Catholic missionaries' activities, as well as the activities of some of the local religious communities, namely the Greek Catholics and Maronites.[34] In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, French interest in education was part of its *mission civilisatrice*.[35] After WWI, the French became more concerned with establishing direct administrative control over existing institutions. In the realm of education, they did this through the creation of the SIP and the development of a two-tiered, rural-urban, public elementary education system. The goal of such a program was to ensure a small cadre of educated elites loyal to France.[36] As such,

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[34] Idir Ouahes, "Catholic Missionary Education in Early Mandate Syria and Lebanon," *Social Sciences and Missions* 30 (2017): 229-30.

[35] Scholars define the civilizing mission as the imposition of French culture on colonial populations in order to expose otherwise "barbaric" places to the benefits of French culture and republican values, thus "civilizing" them for successful participation in the modern world (or, at least make it easier for the French to work with a small group of elites for better control over territory and exploitation of resources). For a discussion of how this played out in practice, see Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory 1890-1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

[36] The rural school curriculum sought to foster a "'taste for manual occupation' that would prepare students to be farmers and workers." It included religious education, reading and writing in French and Arabic, science, history, geography, arithmetic, manual labor, agricultural work, art, and music. Urban school curriculum was "more rigorous" and excluded courses in practical manual and agricultural work. It also had separate curriculum for girls and boys: "workshop work, laboratory agriculture, site or company visits" for boys and "needlework, household education, garden farming, childcare" for girls. Annette Renee Chamman-Adisho, "*Mission Civilisatrice* to Mandate: The French and Education in Syria and Lebanon" (MA Thesis, University of Louisville, 1998), 79; Arrêté No 2852 Reorganisant l'Enseignement Primaire officiel dans l'Etat, 1 Dec 1924, in *Muqarrarat dawla lubnan al-kabir, 1924*, 334-339. Centre des archives nationales, Beirut, Lebanon (hereafter CAN). This two-tiered system was typical of French colonial education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See, for example, Tony Chafer, "Teaching Africans to Be French? France's 'Civilising Mission' and the Establishment of a Public Education System in French West Africa, 1903-1930," *Africa: Rivista Trimestrale di Studi e Documentazione dell'Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 56, no. 2 (2001):

the mid-1920s saw a flurry of laws and decrees that aimed to establish a comprehensive public primary education system across Lebanon in order to encourage "the physical, moral, and intellectual development of all children, without distinction of origin nor religion."[37] Implementation, however, was inconsistent, privileged boys' schools, and ultimately relied on the system of private schools, primary, secondary, and university, established during the late Ottoman Empire and expanded under the Mandate.

French and Lebanese records show that the French High Commission was largely unsuccessful in its expansion of public primary education (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Public and private education statistics for select years, 1926-1947

Year	Boys' Public Schools		Girls' Public Schools		Boys' Private Schools		Girls' Private Schools	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1926	114	6200	30	3250[38]	833	58,000	385	34,000[39]
1938	148	18,300	29	Boys'/girls' indicated together[40]	1110	77,000	651	44,000[41]
1943	248	22,844	Boys'/girls' indicated together[42]		Number of private schools not indicated in the available sources.			
1947	723	52,400	Boys'/girls' indicated together[43]					

As can be seen from Table 1, public primary schools saw a net increase of 33 schools and about 12,100 students, mostly serving boys. Assuming that these

190-209; and Harry Gamble, "Peasants of the Empire: Rural Schools and the Colonial Imaginary in 1930s French West Africa," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 49, no. 195 (2009): 775-803.

[37] Arrêté No 2852, 334.

[38] *Rapport à la Société des Nations sur la situation de la Syrie et du Liban (année 1926)*, League of Nations Archive, Geneva, Switzerland (hereafter, LoN), 82; *Rapport à la Société des Nations (année 1927)*, 60, 63-65, LoN.

[39] *Rapport (année 1926)*, 82, 84.

[40] *Rapport à la Société des Nations (année 1938)*, 140, 144, LoN.

[41] *Rapport (année 1938)*, 445-447.

[42] *Lubnan fi al-ahd al-istiqlal*, al-Mu'tamar al-thaqafi al-ʿarabi al-awwal, Bayt Mari, 2 Jul 1947, 76. CAN. This source also notes that there were 421 teachers in these schools.

[43] *Lubnan fi al-ahd al-istiqlal*, 76. This source notes that the number of teachers had also almost tripled, with 1332 public primary school teachers.

numbers are accurate, the overall number of public primary girls' schools *decreased* (by one) during the Mandate, bringing their percentage of total public schools from 20% in 1926 to a pitiful 16% in 1938.[44] The Lebanese state appears to have been somewhat more motivated to establish public primary schools. In the period following independence in 1943 until 1947, the number of public schools almost tripled from the 248 indicated in 1943, to 723 public primary schools and over 52,400 students.[45]

In comparison to the low number of public schools established during the Mandate, the net number of private schools and students increased significantly over the same period, with the number of girls' educational institutions almost doubling. In 1926, girls' schools comprised about 32% of the total number of private schools and girl students made up about 37% of all students.[46] By 1938, the proportion of girls' private schools increased by 5%, to 37%, and the proportion of girl students in private schools decreasing slightly, to 36%.

While the number of girls educated in public primary schools appear to have remained low throughout the Mandate, the French SIP, like the schools examined in this dissertation, increasingly emphasized household education for girls.[47] Beginning in 1931, the French High Commission's annual report to the League of Nations included a separate section titled "household education" (*enseignement ménager*):

> Household education is given generally to the girls in the official schools during object lessons; indeed, the middle and upper course programs of the primary schools contain general notions on scientific principles of

[44] According to Elizabeth Thompson, one could almost consider some of the private schools that operated during the mandate as public schools, given the significant subsidy they received from the French, especially among Maronite schools, which increased by about 300 over the course of the Mandate. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 79.
[45] *Lubnan fi al-ahd al-istiqlal*, 76.
[46] *Rapport (année 1926)*, 82.
[47] Manual training for boys complemented home management training for girls.

> household practices with practical exercises in cooking and cleaning. Household education is given more completely in private schools and in most of the orphanages of the Sisters of Charity, the home school of the Sisters of Besançon, as well as at Ahliah School.[48]

By 1932, both manual (for boys) and household (for girls) training were given in the official schools, with “one hour to one-and-a-half hours per week…set aside for their instruction; household education is reserved for the girls’ schools for students of the upper [primary] and complementary courses.”[49] Coursework included “some theoretical and practical ideas for the organization of the home and clothing, cooking, cleaning, ironing, hygiene, and childrearing.”[50] For the French, the purpose of this education, ultimately, was "to ensure students are instructed in a practical education making them fit to direct the manual work in the primary schools.”[51]

The emphasis on preparing primary and normal school graduates to be teachers at public primary schools is intriguing. While most of the schools examined in this dissertation expanded their home economics curricula during the interwar period, they couched it in ideals of middle-class homemaking and nation-making. The French report, however, makes no mention of these young women as wives and mothers of the nation (French or otherwise). Such a framing, or lack thereof, is best explained through the discursive importance and material realities of girls’ education. At the discursive level, one could imagine that the French sought to avoid the power that lay behind the discourse around the home and the woman in the home as it related to the national project (discussed below and in Chapter Two). Materially, most

[48] *Rapport à la Société des Nations (année 1931)*, 51, 137, LoN.
[49] *Rapport à la Société des Nations (année 1932)*, 144, LoN.
[50] *Rapport à la Société des Nations (année 1935)*, 150, LoN.
[51] *Rapport à la Société des Nations (année 1933)*, 138, LoN.

of the girls and young women who would have attended the public schools and the public normal schools were from the lower and middle classes. In the French colonial worldview, such students were less well-suited for full participation in modern life as middle-class intellectuals; their education should reflect that and thus remain limited to "practical" rather than theoretical knowledge. For the students and their families, such an education was a ticket into the middle classes, with less importance attached to homemaking and more to the practical needs of earning an income to support their families.[52] In all cases, though, we see the importance of home management within the curriculum of the state. I will touch on this more in Chapter One, and discuss it more fully in Chapter Three.

In order to formalize and standardize the education students received, French officials implemented two primary certificates (the *certificat d'études primaires* (CEP) and the *certificat d'études primaires superieures*), the *brevet complementaire*, and the *baccalauréat*.[53] By the late 1920s, a Lebanese equivalent existed for all exams, and many schools, including those of the Maqasid, offered institutional versions of these exams. In 1932, the French High Commission's annual report to the League of Nations notes that, in spite of the fact that the Lebanese government does not have any secondary establishments, there has been a "sensible progression" of candidates sitting for the Lebanese baccalauréat. Four legislative decrees passed in

[52] Malek Abisaab notes that unlike middle, upper-middle-class, and elite women, who drew on the discourse of domesticity to legitimate their demands, working class women identified themselves as workers and resistors to colonial occupation. Abissab, *Militant Women of a Fragile Nation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2010).

[53] Over the course of the Mandate, a variety of exams, in addition or alternative to those noted here, allowed students to bypass additional schooling and go straight into the normal schools to prepare for teaching. Arrêté No 3194 portant creation de cours complementaires dans certains etablissements officiels de l'enseignement publique, 30 Jun 1925, 347-348. *Muqarrarat, 1924*. CAN.

that same year made the possession of the baccalauréat (or an equivalent diploma) necessary for those who wanted to practice medicine, pharmacy, or law, or to serve in public administrations in the Lebanese Republic.[54]

Both the French Mandate authorities and Lebanese governments knew that any attempts to reform and expand access to primary education required a significant increase in the number of qualified teachers. To "improve the quality of teaching by establishing standards for the employment and advancement of public school teachers," the French founded two public normal schools in Beirut for young men and women, in 1925 and early 1926, respectively.[55] After passage of the 1926 constitution and the handing over of some administrative functions to the Lebanese Representative Council, the Lebanese government closed the two public normal schools in favor of training courses at existing private schools.[56] In all cases, students who possessed the CEP superieures or the brevet could apply to the normal section of the various private schools.[57] This remained the form of training for normal schooling until 1933, when the French-aligned Lebanese government centralized normal training at two public schools, one for young men and one for young women, in Beirut.[58]

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[54] *Rapport (année 1932)*, 144, LoN.
[55] Chamman-Adisho, "*Mission Civilisatrice*," 82, 84-85.
[56] Chamman-Adisho, "*Mission Civilisatrice*," 83; Décret No. 1850 portant supression des deux ecoles normales d'instituteurs et d'instructrices de Beyrouth, 12 Jul 1927, in *Recueil des lois et Décret de la Republique Libanaise, 1926-1929*, 484, CAN.
[57] Arrêté No 3194, 347-348, CAN.
[58] Décret no. 1825 creant une section normale pour les garcons et les filles, 22 April 1933. *Recueil des lois et Décret de la R. L., 1933*, 785-805. CAN. In making this decision, the Franco-Lebanese government conducted an in-depth review of the situation of normal schooling in the country.

While French aims for education sought the creation of a small cadre of educated elite loyal to France, it appears that, at least in some respects, the nascent Lebanese government sought a somewhat different education. In August 1933, for example, the Lebanese government revised the baccalauréat so that it focused less on "the acquisition of a fixed amount of knowledge" and more on a "good training of the mind" rooted in scientific study.[59] The exam was the same for all candidates, a marked difference from the CEP and brevet exams, which had different exam requirements and topics for boys and girls.[60]

Furthermore, after independence, at least some within the Lebanese government aimed to create comprehensive, compulsory primary education throughout the country. In addition to increasing the number of public primary schools, students, and teachers almost three-fold in the four years following independence, as shown in Table 1, the government also revised the primary school curriculum in order to develop several basic principles in all Lebanese children: unity of thought, strengthening the character of Lebanese youth, care in Arabic language education, "attention to the development of patriotism, physicality, and moral and social upbringing (*tarbiya*)," and encouraging appreciation of the fine arts. Such a curriculum "prepare[d] the Lebanese of tomorrow," and was "based on complete independence."[61] The Lebanese government also recognized the need for a

[59] Rapport no. 1337/I.P., 30 Aug 1933, *Recueil, 1933*, 720-721. CAN.
[60] Namely, girls' exams included household work and home gardening, and, for rural areas, piecework, sewing, and embroidery. In these cases, it is clear that the aim of girls' education was a woman working in the home for her family.
[61] *Lubnan fi al-ahd al-istiqlal*, 77.

comprehensive secondary education system at this time. The first public secondary school was established in Lebanon in 1952.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The dissertation's argument engages with debates and concerns of historical studies of the Mandate period in the Middle East and Lebanon, girls' and women's education during and after the Mandate, and with sociological conceptions and definitions of citizenship. It utilizes theoretical frameworks concerning gender, nation and nationalism, and space, and is informed by the critiques, concerns, and methodologies of postcolonial theory.

Most studies of the Mandate period in the Middle East approach their analysis from a political standpoint, looking at British and French policy, local reactions, and longer-term impacts of the system on the peoples and states of the region. These studies also tend to focus on the French Mandate in Syria over that in Lebanon, as well as on the British Mandates of Iraq and Palestine.[62] Studies of the French Mandate for Lebanon, tend to examine, for good reason, the development and solidification of confessional—religiously-based—politics as the *modus operandi* of the Lebanese state.[63]

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[62] Examples span the period of the mandate through to the present and include E. Rabbath, *L'Evolution Politique de la Syrie sous Mandat* (Paris: Marcel Riviere, 1928); Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958); Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq, 1914-1932* (London: Ithaca Press, 1976); Philip S. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Elizabeth Picard (trans. by Franklin Philip), *Lebanon, a Shattered Country: Myths and Realities of the Wars in Lebanon* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996); and Pedersen, *The Guardians*.

[63] Firro Kais has noted that, regardless of how nuanced scholarship on this topic is, writers still operate within what he calls the "[sectarian] system," so that their studies continue to rely on interpretations and particular visions of the past rooted in confessional difference. Kais, *Inventing Lebanon: Nationalism and the State under the Mandate* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 41.

Though the field is growing, less attention is given to the experience of those individuals and groups not part of the realm of official politics. Studies that examine the experience "from below" look at the ways in which events happening at the political level influenced and shaped the actions and activities of these groups, thereby bringing political history into the realm of social and cultural history. These studies generally provide a more nuanced examination of these larger processes, and in the case of Lebanon, a more complex understanding of the confessional system that has defined Lebanese political life since the establishment of the Republic in 1926. With few exceptions, however, the groups examined "from below" exclude a significant discussion of women, children, and, particularly, girls.[64]

My project builds from these studies as it examines the ways in which girls and women responded to events, ideologies, and policies from the official, political level both in discussions of girls' and women's education and educational institutions and in actions and activities within or related to girls' schools in Lebanon. In looking at the visions of citizen imagined by educationalists, intellectuals, schools' communities, students, and teachers, we see how people on the ground—and who did not necessarily have access to the halls of official politics—negotiated these varied

[64] See, for example, James L. Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Provence, *The Great Syrian Revolt*; Benjamin Thomas White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011); Carol Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea, 1840-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013). Notable exceptions to this trend in political histories of the Mandate period include Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Sheila Katz, *Women and Gender in Early Jewish and Palestinian Nationalism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); and Dylan Baun, *Winning Lebanon: Youth Politics, Populism, and the Production of Sectarian Violence, 1920-1958* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

conceptions of nation and articulated their own. Indeed, while school curricula and the actions of some within the school communities examined show the development of religious feeling or attempts to bolster particular religious communities, the writings of intellectuals in the women's press and the actions of students and others in the school community suggest various visions rooted in notions of unity and of women's participation as full citizens in the state, whether at that point or in the near future. Such an analysis shifts the scholarship's predominating geographical and thematic focus, engages with ideas about what defines political action, and centers the voices and experiences of girls and women within both the quotidian and larger political realities of the day.

When looking at the history of Lebanon from the perspective of girls and women's writings, activities, and groups, one sees a different vision for Lebanon than that laid out by nationalists at the time and many scholars since. That nation is nonsectarian (or, at least does not codify sectarian difference into the state) and looks forward to what Lebanon *can be* rather than what it is or was. This is seen in articles on girls' and women's education and the notion of the "national school," discussed in Chapter Two; how schoolgirls and communities articulated the importance of their schools for the community and/or national project, seen in Chapter Three; and in the ways in which they acted out their expectations and rights as citizens through school organizations and labor agitation, elucidated in Chapter Four.

In addition to its engagement with scholarship on the Middle Eastern mandates, my study is also in conversation with those that examine girls' and

women's education in the Middle East. These studies are generally divided into two types: those that examine women's education in the context of the Middle Eastern women's and/or nationalist movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and those that examine girls' schools and schooling itself.

Studies that examine women's and girls' education in the context of the women's awakening and feminist and nationalist movements rely, in large part, on the women's and mainstream presses. Most of these studies, then, focus on the discursive purposes to which girls and women's education was put in service of these movements. Some show the ways in which notions of women's and girls' education were seen as vital for the betterment and success of the nation.[65] Others examine women's education in the context of modernist conceptions of female education where women's education as modern, scientific wives and mothers allowed them to raise modern children and future leaders of a successful state.[66] Still other scholars have shown how some women and men saw female education as the key to incorporating women as full participants in the politics of the nation.[67]

Some scholars look at the material effect of this discourse, examining educational institutions and policies that reflected the relationship between educated

[65] See, for example, Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
[66] See, for example, Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, edited by Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 91-125; Omnia Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt." In *Remaking Women*, pp. 127-70; Mona Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity, 1863-1922* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); and Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, *A Taste for Home: The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).
[67] Studies that suggest this are more nuanced in their discussion of women's "full" participation in public life. See, for example, Fruma Zachs and Sharon Halvei, *Gendering Culture in Greater Syria: Intellectuals and Ideology in the Late Ottoman Period* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

womanhood and national uplift as discussed in the press.[68] Others have looked at how students within girls' schools responded to national/ist, colonial, and feminist rhetoric as they created their own definitions of what it meant to be a citizen.[69]

This dissertation brings the discursive and the material together, showing the discursive and material importance of girls' education and girls' schools, respectively, to the national project, and centering girls' and women's voices in the process. In particular, by examining girls' education and educational institutions as loci of both discourses on and the acting out of women's citizenship, schools serve as sites of contestation over women's citizenship and involvement in the nation—though, as will be shown, what nation, and how women might operate within it, differed in a variety of ways and changed based on an individual or group's relationship with a particular school.

In addition to the discursive/material divide seen in the scholarship as noted above, scholars have tended to focus on either "local" or "foreign" schools (and, often, local versus foreign schools). A small but growing body of literature challenges such a dichotomy by examining local individuals' experience of mission institutions.[70] This dissertation joins this body of literature, examining the experience of local girls and women in American mission institutions and showing the ways in which girls'

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[68] See, for example, Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman*.
[69] Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860-1950," *Islam and Muslim-Christian Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002): 411-426; Nadya Sbaiti, "Lessons in History: Education and the Formation of National Society in Beirut, Lebanon, 1920-1960s" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2008); Fleischmann, "Lost in Translation: Home Economics and the Sidon Girls' School of Lebanon, c. 1924-1932," *Social Sciences and Missions* 23 (2010): 32-62.
[70] Ela Greenberg, *Preparing Mothers for Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010); Hauser, Lindner, and Moller, *Entangled Education*.

educational institutions were “gray spaces,” sites of “entanglement” and fluidity.[71] Indeed, the educational sphere in the interwar Middle East was dynamic and not siloed as students, teachers, and administrators crisscrossed cities, moved across countries, and crossed national borders.

Such an analysis complicates histories that rely on a sectarian framework for their analysis—whether it be at the political, social, cultural, or economic level. Further, as students, teachers, and administrators moved among the various American and local schools, they exchanged ideas about education and citizenship across the political and intellectual capital, Beirut, Lebanon, and the Middle East. As they did so, women developed a notion of citizenship shaped by national/ist, colonial, and feminist currents and by the institutions at which they learned and taught. All told, the argument and analysis put forth in this dissertation allows us to interrogate the experiences of people on the ground, to see girls and women as movers and shapers of political thought, ideologies concerning domesticity, women’s citizenship, nationalism, labor rights, the duties of the state, etc. – not only within the home or their particular schools, but across, between, and among them.

Finally, my project incorporates the concerns of sociological understandings of citizenship in its engagement with the intersection of studies on citizenship in colonial and postcolonial states and women’s citizenship.[72] A focus on girls’ education and

[71] Sbaiti, “Lessons in History,” 28-31; and Hauser, Lindner, and Moller, *Entangled Education*, 16.
[72] In the Middle Eastern context, this literature includes Nils A. Butenschon, Uri Davis, and Manuel Hassassian, eds., *Citizenship and the State in the Middle East: Approaches and Applications* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Mounira Charrad, *States and Women’s Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Suad Joseph, ed., *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*; Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; *Citizenship and Difference*.

educational institutions as material and discursive sites of claims-making allows for a close evaluation of the citizenship they articulated and acted out. In defining girls' and women's citizenship in colonial and post-colonial Lebanon, I make the case that girls and women acted out a kind of social citizenship, which I conceptualize as the interaction of multiple meanings and understandings of citizenship. Such an understanding of citizenship allows us to examine the ways in which girls and women both used and challenged the structural barriers blocking their full access to citizenship in order to claim rights and contest the bounding of them.

The way I talk about social citizenship in this dissertation has its roots in the longer history of the debates over citizenship, as well as in the ways in which that debate has been shaped by feminist and postcolonial thought. For much of the modern period, the liberal ideal of citizenship, based on the mutual relationship between states and the individuals within those states defined by specific rights and duties, predominated. The historical realities of the twentieth and twenty-first century, as well as increasingly diverse peoples and nations claiming citizenship, have challenged this model. T. H. Marshall's notion of social citizenship was an early challenge. In tracing the development of different "types" of citizenship from the eighteenth (civic), to the nineteenth (political), and finally to the twentieth (social) centuries, Marshall shows how citizenship, in conjunction with forces that act outside it, not only has the ability to shape the society in which it operates, but is itself shaped by changes in the society.[73] Though his theory focuses on how liberal citizenship

[73] T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *The Citizenship Debates*, edited by Gershon Shafir (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 93-110. Marshall's notion of citizenship was

accommodates inequality (and in fact has played a central role in perpetuating it) in mid-twentieth-century Great Britain, the significant insight of his work is the emphasis on the constructed nature of citizenship and the necessity of historicizing it.

Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon suggest that social citizenship contains themes from three major traditions of political theory: "liberal themes of rights and equal respect"; "communitarian norms of solidarity and shared responsibility"; and "republican ideals of participation in public life (through the use of 'public goods' and…services')."[74] In addition to engaging with more traditional political models, scholars of citizenship have brought the notions of civil, political, and social citizenship under increasing scrutiny as they engage with the ways in which states attempt to incorporate diverse populations. This has had a significant impact on understanding how women, immigrants, and stateless groups and individuals gain access to and make use of citizenship rights.[75]

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developed through an analysis of the incorporation of Great Britain's working class into the state through the post-WWII welfare system.

[74] Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon, "Contract versus Charity: Why Is there No Social Citizenship in the United States?," in *Citizenship Debates*, 114.

[75] Perhaps one of the best known feminist challenges to universal and liberal models of citizenship can be found in Carole Pateman's "The Fraternal Social Contract." She shows that, in spite of contract theorists' claims to include all members of civil society in the social contract, the very definition of "civil," "individual," and "citizen" should actually be seen as contested terms with inherently male definitions. The resulting social contract is one defined by fraternity, a male group that exists and operates in the polity to the exclusion of women. Yasmin Soysal and Kathleen Jones look at the implications of this for diverse groups, and propose more nuanced definitions of citizenship. Soysal proposes a postnational citizenship based in notions of universal personhood found in human rights discourse. Jones discusses feminist theories of citizenship in the context of the Western liberal tradition. She argues for the creation of a woman-friendly polity rooted in women's experiences and interests; such a polity must also be based on a transformed definition of citizenship in order to fit these diverse experiences and interests. A woman-friendly polity recognizes the ways in which women are incorporated into the polity unevenly as a result of their biological sex; expands the political space through recognition that ostensibly private issues are in fact political ones; challenges dominant forms of power to create forms of political participation that are more democratic and personalized; and is defined by "affective ties" among women that replace "functional ones as the cement of social order," as well as a sense of community of citizens over competition among citizens. Pateman, "The Fraternal Social Contract," in *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Stanford:

The concept of citizenship is further complicated when we look at its articulation in non-western contexts, many of which have colonial pasts (and presents). In the colonial context, scholars have shown that imperial states developed a variety of methods for incorporating colonial subjects into the colonial ruling system, the imperial nation-state, and sometimes both.[76] They also show how people living under colonial rule claimed citizenship and, to various extents, used it to articulate citizenship in the post-colonial period.[77]

In addition to the importance of the historical context for understanding colonial and postcolonial notions of citizenship, scholars of citizenship have also suggested citizenship as a key site in claims making for diverse groups and individuals. Indeed, according to John Clarke, et al, citizenship serves as a point of connection and mobilization as "many individuals and groups…identify themselves as citizens when they act, name themselves as people who could be citizens in demanding citizenship, or demand that citizenship be enlarged, enhanced, or

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Stanford University Press, 1990), 33; Soysal, "Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe," in *Citizenship Debates*, 189-220; and Kathleen B. Jones, "Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity," in *Citizenship Debates*, 239.

[76] See Emanuelle Saada (trans. by Arthur Goldhammer), *Empire's Children: Race, Filiation, and Citizenship in the French Colonies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012). Saada examines the *métis* question in the context of twentieth century late French colonialism, particularly as it related to questions over the republican model of citizenship in both metropole and colony. The *métis* were a class of "mixed race" individuals, generally the children of French fathers and native mothers.

[77] See Frederick Cooper, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); and Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). Cooper argues that the citizenship claimed by French West Africans was not based in the nation-state but was instead an imperial citizenship that sought to change the meaning of empire from a system focused on particularity and distinction into an inclusive, diverse, and egalitarian polity that allowed Africans to simultaneously possess French republican citizenship and the legal distinction of personal status. He argues that by placing the language of rights and culture in their historical and institutional contexts, it is evident that African states' institutional legacy, forged through the colonial experience, continues to be reproduced through the dialectics of state reform/popular resistance, rural/urban, ethnicity as control/protest.

transformed to engage with other issues, identities and desires."[78] Thus, citizenship is a "potent keyword in social, cultural, and political terms, naming actual or imagined possible relationships."[79]

Pnina Werbner and Nira Yuval-Davis' edited volume, *Women, Citizenship and Difference* examine citizenship as a site of transnational and woman-centered claims-making. By interrogating discursive and material constructions of citizenship, the authors in this volume suggest an understanding of citizenship that "privileges difference and stresses the dialogical and global dimensions" of it and responds to the processes that have led to the gendering of citizenship and movements against inequality and homogeneity produced by traditional notions of citizenship.[80] Thus, citizenship is more than a formal relationship between the state and the individuals within it and is instead a "total relationship, inflected by identity, social positioning, cultural assumptions, institutional practices and a sense of belonging."[81]

The above overview of traditional liberal models of citizenship and the challenges to them in the form of multicultural, feminist, and third world conceptions of citizenship, as well as of the complexity of citizenship in colonial and postcolonial contexts, provides a base for examining women's citizenship in the Middle East.

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[78] John Clarke, et al., eds. *Disputing Citizenship* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2014), 1.
[79] Clarke, *Disputing Citizenship*, 1.
[80] Pnina Werbner and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction: Women and the New Discourse of Citizenship," in *Women, Citizenship and Difference*, edited by Pnina Werbner and Nira Yuval-Davis (London: Zed Books, 1999), 1. Werbner and Yuval-Davis differentiate citizenship (discourses focusing on possibility) from nationalism, which hearkens to a specific and exclusive past.
[81] Werbner and Yuval-Davis, "Introduction," 4.

Scholars have shown that citizenship in the Middle East is mediated by membership in particular kin, tribal, or religious groups.[82] While the relationship between groups and individuals and the state for all citizens in Middle Eastern states is mediated rather than direct, certain groups have more direct access to it. Part of the reason for this is historical and can be seen in the power structure developed, in the case of Lebanon, under the quasi-colonial regime of the French mandate in the 1920s through mid-1940s. Enshrined in citizenship in the Middle East, and indeed in all places, is an additional layer of mediation based on the gender of the citizen. Central to the question of women's citizenship, then, is examining the ways in which citizenship itself is gendered.

Most scholars that have examined the gendered nature of citizenship in the Lebanese case have looked at the legal structure that inscribes women's subordination in the state. In her pioneering volume on women and citizenship in the Middle East, Suad Joseph argues that the ways in which laws and social practices have shaped the formation of the legal subject in the Middle East have privileged the male/masculine citizen.[83] Key to this gendered conferring of citizenship is the

[82] In Butenschon, Davis, and Hassassian's edited volume, *Citizenship and State in the Middle East*, the contributors demonstrate the various approaches to citizenship found in several Middle Eastern states. In chapter one, Butenschon suggests three types of citizenship regimes: singularism, where one group dominates the state community (e.g., Saudi Arabia and Israel); pluralism, where multiple "cultural communities" govern through power sharing between elites (e.g., Lebanon); and universalism, where citizenship status is determined by individual rather than group identity (he provides no examples for this in the Middle East context). In the other chapters, the focus is on how and why citizenship in the Middle East differs from the norm of liberal citizenship, with each chapter highlighting how the power structures within various states are constructed in ways that make the application of liberal citizenship difficult to impossible. Of central importance in this failure is the reliance on community over individual in the claiming of right and privileges or interacting with the state. Butenschon, "State, Power, and Citizenship in the Middle East: A Theoretical Introduction, in *Citizenship and the State*, 17.

[83] Suad Joseph, ed., *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, 7.

centrality and "enmeshment" of patrilineality to state structures and institutions.[84] Joseph argues that family law, and laws related to personal status, is the point of convergence between nation, state, and community. Indeed, it is family law, rooted in religious law, that has been a central feature of citizenship laws and practices in the majority of Middle Eastern countries, making it a key site in contestations over nation and state making.

The implications of this for women's citizenship in the Middle East is that, while most Western (and Middle Eastern, on paper) states define the basic unit of society as the individual citizen, in practice in the Middle East, the basic social unit is the family, with the state serving as the protector of that family—and the male citizen as the patriarchal head of both. The implication of this for women is that they have not been conceived as belonging to "the people," making them dependent on men for access to both the state and citizenship.[85] Further, in the Lebanese case, where there are eighteen different formally recognized religious sects that oversee matters of personal status, one can see the "centrality of women's bodies and behavior to scripts of nationhood and statehood," as well as the lack of common legal framework women have for "experiencing or contesting this arena of citizenship."[86]

Rania Maktabi has shown that efforts to reform personal status law reveal the two notions of citizenship at play in Middle Eastern states: The first is a group-based

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[84] Joseph, *Gender and Citizenship*, 9.
[85] This argument is also put forth by Rania Maktabi, "Female Citizenship in the Middle East: Comparing Family Law Reform in Morocco, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon." *Middle East Governance* 5 (2013): 280-307. 281. Her article analyzes the court system, parliamentary reform, and expansion (or not) of female citizenship in Morocco, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon between 1990 and 2010, using changes in family law as the primary site of her analysis.
[86] Joseph, *Gender and Citizenship*, 20.

notion of citizenship wherein citizens are seen as "members of a larger kinship structure organized along patriarchal lines, privileging male citizens over females."[87] The second is individual-based and "grounded in a citizen's direct membership in the state where she (or he) has autonomous rights guaranteed by state authorities regardless of religious or ethnic group affiliation."[88] Here, one sees the interplay of republican models of individual citizenship with communitarian models of kinship and religious community.

The more top-down approaches of Joseph and Maktabi are complicated by Maya Mikdashi's work. She argues that, by queering our understanding of both citizenship and studies on the Middle East generally, scholars can challenge normative assumptions about basic categories, including citizenship.[89] Such a methodology allows for a reconceptualization of women's citizenship mediated by paternalistic and patriarchal structures from one that is a static and unchanging site for examining the failures of both the state and citizenship in Lebanon to one that is a site of contestation, appropriation, and claims-making for Lebanon's diverse people—formally or fully citizens or not.

In looking at the citizenship articulated by girls and women in girls' schools, we see the ways in which the three threads that comprise social citizenship as noted by Fraser and Gordon played out and can be seen in the scholarship above and in studies on women and citizenship in Lebanon. While Fraser and Gordon discuss

[87] Maktabi, "Female Citizenship," 282.
[88] Maktabi, "Female Citizenship," 281-282.
[89] Mikdashi, "Queering Citizenship, Queering Middle East Studies," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45 (2013): 350-351.

social citizenship in an analysis of social citizenship—or lack thereof—in the United States, the combination of the liberal and republican ideals of rights and access that defined the colonial citizenship experience, with local relations that emphasize community, kinship, and religious relationships, gets at the reality of the colonial and postcolonial experience of women's citizenship in Lebanon. Further, it allows for an examination of the ways in which citizenship was gendered, and shows women's responses to the limitations on their citizenship that resulted.[90] I show this in my examination of ideas about and discussions of girls' education and educational institutions, respectively and the ways in which said ideas and discussions articulated visions for a non-sectarian state, where all were included, or at least had the opportunity to be. I also show this through my examination of the ways in which the varying claims made on girls' schools attempted to define women's place in the nation, claims that girls and women appropriated or to which they responded. And

[90] For more on the ways in which women articulated citizenship in the interwar period, see Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; and Abisaab, *Militant Women*. Thompson shows the ways in which women's access to rights and privileges in Mandate Lebanon were legally and socially circumscribed by colonial paternalism. Legally, the dual legal system subordinated women in the paternalistic structure of the state itself and by mediating their access to the state through the patriarchal structures of their kin and religious communities. Socially, women were viewed as secondary, or as not experiencing the public sphere the same way as men. For Abisaab, assumptions about women's role in the labor force meant that their demands for greater employment benefits and considerations in hiring were largely ignored. Thus, in making their claims in response to these limitations, the women in their studies focused their demands not only at colonial occupation and employment, but also over their access to public goods and services (education, employment benefits, political rights). Further, they used notions of individual rights and respect by participating in the public sphere. They did so in ways that both transcended kin, community, and religious group by banding together as women, particular classes of women, workers, and others, but also made use of those same structures of kin and community to ensure their voices were heard and to enact change. Thus, women and other subaltern citizens in the colonial and postcolonial periods made use of the rights, privileges, and structures of social citizenship to make their demands, incorporating both individualistic and republican notions of rights and privileges brought by the French colonial project, as well as making use of the communal and community-oriented that defined their local experience and the relationship between individuals and the state in Middle Eastern states more generally.

finally, I show this through the organizations that girls and women took part in and in their use of their rights as citizens in the context of their employment as teachers.

The theoretical frames of gender, nation, and space inform this dissertation's engagement with the existing scholarly literature on girls' education and citizenship, as well as the broad methodological and theoretical frameworks of social and cultural history. Using gender as both object of study and analytic springboard, I seek to interrogate the gendered spaces and processes of emerging nation-states and constructions of citizenship in the space of girls' schools. Such an understanding of citizenship, and the ways schoolgirls and women articulated and engaged with it, is all the more significant in the context of Mandate Lebanon, where a variety of nationalist movements and ideologies battled for supremacy. While much has been made of the limitations placed on women as a result of these processes, this dissertation engages with how women *did* participate. In particular, it engages with the scholarship that has examined the complex, often paradoxical relationship between women and the nation, especially in the context of colonial and postcolonial states and nationalist movements.[91] Scholars writing on this topic, while acknowledging the limitations of nationalist movements and rhetoric that subordinate women or limit the type of participation women can legitimately engage in, also argue that, to varying degrees, nationalist movements allow space for engagement in

[91] Studies that have examined women's citizenship in the context of the Middle East and South Asia include Joseph, *Gender and Citizenship*; Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; Charrad, *States and Women's Rights*; Joseph and Susan Slyomovics, eds., *Women and Power in the Middle East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Conceiving Citizens: Women and the Politics of Motherhood in Iran* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Narendra Subramanian, *Nation and Family: Personal law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).

spheres historically unavailable to women and offer at least some opportunity for empowerment.[92]

When looking at notions of nationalism and citizenship in Lebanon broadly conceived in this period, one is necessarily looking at the larger public sphere, a highly gendered space that excluded women in a variety of ways.[93] Though highly contested in what it should look like, how long it should last, and its general purpose, both historical actors and scholarship on girls' education has framed it as necessary for the improvement of society. Thus, by focusing on girls' education, my study explores two ideas as it relates to women's roles in public life in the context of colonial occupation and nation-building. First, the realm of girls' education was ostensibly a more "neutral" space for debating women's place in the nation and their citizenship compared to other issues such as questions of personal status, veiling,

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[92] See Baron, *Women's Awakening*; Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Elleke Boehmer, *Stories of Women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Marilyn Booth, *May Her Likes Be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women*; Jean Franco, "The Nation as Imagined Community," in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, edited by Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 130-139; Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcon, Minoo Moallem, eds., *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Katz, *Women and Gender*; Anne McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven': Gender, Race, and Nationalism," in *Dangerous Liaisons*, 91-112; Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Not Like You/Like You: Postcolonial Women and Interlocking Questions of Identity and Difference," in *Dangerous Liaisons*, 415-419; Nabila Ramdani, "Women in the 1919 Egyptian Revolution: From Feminist Awakening to National Political Activism," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 14, no. 2 (2013): 39-52; Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman*; Faedah M. Totah, "The Memory Keeper: Gender, Nation, and Remembering in Syria," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 9, no. 1 (2013); Zachs and Halevi, *Gendering Culture.* Less focus has been placed on the ways women engaged in these same process in Lebanon. Studies on Lebanon show that while women participated in the independence movement, calls for their greater or equal inclusion in the state or in formal politics were met with skepticism, opposition, and condemnation.

[93] Thompson discusses the gendered nature of the public sphere in *Colonial Citizens*. She also suggests possible paths towards talking about the public/private in the context of the Middle East in her article, "Public and Private in Middle Eastern Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 52-69.

and political rights surrounding women and their presence in public spaces. In discussing the form and content of girls' and women's education, the women's press debated the form and content of women's citizenship. In creating curriculum, private and state institutions further defined what that citizenship might look like. In the school communities' engagement with that curriculum, their response to challenges posed to their institutions, the creation of and participation in student organizations, and in claiming their rights, students—and teachers—defined the nation and citizenship they would eventually access.

Second, girls' schools, like the women's press, was a "semi-public space" where young women voiced their opinions on the future of the nation and their place in it.[94] In both, girls' education and educational institutions allowed for a movement from the almost entirely male space of the public sphere as traditionally conceived (the street, cafes, etc.) to spaces between public and private. Through the pages of the press, women entered public spaces as they articulated ideas about the future of the Lebanese nation and its citizens, and attached those ideas to their names (and backgrounds), names that were visible to the magazine's readership; in girls' schools, questions of gender and nation, and the relationship between the two, were actively engaged in semi-public, and socially and politically significant ways by the students, teachers, and administrators that comprised them.[95]

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[94] For the women's press as bridging the public/private "divide," see Baron, *Women's Awakening*, 169. For the school as a "semi-public space," see Sbaiti, "Lessons in History," 6.

[95] The importance of female education as a link between the public and private, and the social and political significance of that link, can be seen in the importance colonial administrators saw in girls' education as a means to access an otherwise largely inaccessible segment of the colonial population. Thomas Martin discusses the importance of girls' schools in spreading colonial domination to female colonial subjects in the French empire between WWI and WWII. Martin, *The French Empire between*

Scope and Methodology

In making the intervention outlined in the literature review above, this dissertation focuses on six girls' schools, mainly located in Beirut: The American School for Girls (Beirut, f. 1838/1861[96]); Sidon Girls' School (Saida, f. 1862); Tripoli Girls' School (f. 1876); Kulliyat al-banat (Beirut, f. 1926[97]); Zahrat al-ihsan (Beirut, f. 1881); and Ahliah (Beirut, f. 1916). All of these schools included upper primary and secondary coursework at some point in the Mandate period. While other secondary schools for girls existed in Lebanon during this period, they were few and far between, especially at the beginning of the Mandate period. According to the statistics shared by the High Commission in its report to the League of Nations, in 1928, there were seven girls' secondary schools in the Lebanese Republic serving about 1000 students; by 1938, that number had increased to 23, serving 1301 students.[98]

In spite of these small numbers, it is worthwhile to look at these secondary schools. As Nadya Sbaiti has noted, secondary education became increasingly significant for both French and Lebanese during the Mandate as it came to be seen as "the educational phase during which the meaning of 'learnedness' was cemented

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the Wars: Imperialism, Politics and Society (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005), 166. See also, Sbaiti, "Lessons in History," 6.

[96] While an informal girls' school in the homes of Protestant missionaries in Beirut existed from 1838, it wasn't until 1861 that the Beirut Female Seminary came into more formal existence

[97] The first girls' school of the Maqasid was founded in 1878.

[98] In comparison, there were 16 boys' secondary schools with 6263 students in 1928, and 48 schools with 7098 students in 1938. *Rapport à la Société des Nations (année 1928)*, 65; *Rapport (année 1938)*, 147, LoN. The schools examined in this dissertation comprised six of the seven schools included in the report.

and an individual's social and cultural role was determined," and became the place from which an individual's future could be determined.[99]

My study focuses on Lebanon between the years 1919 and 1951. Between 1919 and 1946, France occupied what is now Syria and Lebanon (and parts of Turkey). In 1920, the borders of Lebanon as we know them today were established. I end my study in 1951 because in 1952 the first public secondary schools were opened, thus changing the educational milieu in which the schools examined in this dissertation operated.

In making the argument that girls' schools and girls' education served as material and discursive sites for defining women's citizenship in the Mandate and early independence period, I have used a variety of sources from the United States, France, Switzerland, England, and Lebanon. I conducted my international research between September 2016 and July 2017. From France, I use material held in the French colonial archives at the Centre des archives diplomatiques in Nantes. In addition to what these sources told me about the activities of the French High Commission, they gave me insight into the motivations of local peoples, and the ways in which they interacted with the Mandate.

In Switzerland, I accessed the League of Nations Archives, focusing on the reports submitted by the French to the League of Nations, petitions sent to the League by Syrians and Lebanese, and other official documents and correspondence. The reports sent to the League provided me with helpful context for the educational

[99] Sbaiti, "Lessons in History," 63-64.

milieu and for the educational aims and focus of the French High Commission through 1939.

In Lebanon, I received affiliation from the Center for Arab and Middle East Studies (CAMES) at the American University of Beirut (AUB), which gave me access to the library and its holdings. Here, I was able to read through the women's magazines examined in this dissertation, as well as dissertations and books on education found among the library's holdings. I also worked to gain access to the archives of the "local" schools I examine in this dissertation – Zahrat al-ihsan, Kulliyat al-banat and the schools of the Maqasid Society, and Ahliah. Through the kindness and generosity of the people I met, I was able to get some material on Zahrat al-ihsan, access to the Maqasid's business and school reports for the interwar and early independence period, and historical material for Ahliah held in the school's own library. In many cases, when I requested specific material, such as curriculum, textbooks, etc., I was told that it was destroyed and/or lost during the civil war (1975-1990).

While Kulliyat al-banat closed in the first decade or so of the 2000s, with the school grounds becoming a cultural center for the Maqasid, I was given access to the Society's yearly reports from 1919 through 1949. These reports indicate the budget allocated to education (and girls' education in particular) vis-à-vis the other projects of the Maqasid, but also were a treasure trove of information with names of teachers and students, summaries of the educational work of the Society as it related to each institution, and school reports from 1927-1949. On site, I was given access to issues of the school's magazine, *Ghirs wa shams* (Seedlings and Sun), from the 1950s and

1960s. These gave me some really interesting insight into the long-term legacy and goals of the school and will be the basis for further research.

At Zahrat al-ihsan, I toured the grounds (it is in the same building as it was in 1881) and met current and former administrators. I was not able to get much in the way of written materials, nor access to the school or the Greek Orthodox diocese's archives. As a result, I largely rely on French reports of the school, as well as works written by Jamila Kusti on the early history of the school.

From the materials found at Ahliah, I pieced together the school's curriculum and educational goals. While most of the sources were from outside the period examined in my dissertation, they often included histories and accounts from alumnae or teachers who had been there a long time. They also offer insight into the longer legacy of the interwar period in shaping the direction of the school.

Over the course of my year in Lebanon, I met with one Maqasid and several Ahliah alumnae who graduated between the late 1930s and 1950s. I conducted informal interviews with them in Beirut and London. My observations come from more formal interviews as well as informal conversations held over meals, tea, or coffee.

Toward the end of my trip, I spent about a week at Lebanon's Centre des archives nationales; its holdings related to education in the Mandate included volumes of the orders and regulations enacted during the French Mandate, and a handful of books on the history of Lebanon.

For information on the ASG, TGS, and SGS, I spent a good amount of time at the Near East School of Theology (NEST), which has significant holdings of materials from the American Mission that established those schools. In July 2018, I went to the

Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, which holds the extensive collections of the Syria Mission, including material related to the three girls' schools.

My dissertation, then, is largely based on archival material—of governments, foreign institutions, and the schools themselves—supplemented by press accounts, memoirs and memories of school alumnae. These sources are in Arabic, French, and English. I have tried to get around some of the limitations of these types of formal archival materials by reading against the grain, attempting to find local voices in the silences and in officials' and missionaries' observations. I must also recognize that the women and voices I examine in this dissertation are largely from the elite—both through the class of their family and in their access to and attendance at private secondary educational institutions. With barely 1300 young women students attending secondary schools in Lebanon by the start of WWII, the women examined here were of a small group indeed. In spite of that, however, the impact of the women graduates of these schools—and others not examined here—were significant as they taught, nursed, mothered, founded and ran organizations, movements, and political organizations, and shaped Lebanese women's articulations of citizenship to the present.

Dissertation Outline

In Chapter One, I provide an overview of the history and curricula of the schools examined in this dissertation: ASG, SGS, and TGS, Kulliyat al-banat, Ahliah, and Zahrat al-ihsan. This review shows that the aim of girls' education was, in many ways, inherently contradictory. On the one hand, the curricula indicates that these schools aimed to create graduates who would become the educated future wives and

mothers of the nation's men and sons, and thus the keys to the nation's future success. In such a vision, women's role as citizens was rooted in their expanding roles in the home. On the other hand, the success of these curricula required that at least some of the graduates move into the teaching profession. Indeed, this was one of the stated goals of the Maqasid Society as it called on the community to support girls' secondary education. Further, in the curriculum at the American schools and at Ahliah, rooted in principles of self-respect, community responsibility, and expectations for government responsibility, the schools instilled in their students notions about their community, the role they might play in it, and their potential professional lives.

In the second chapter, I continue my examination of the discursive significance and aims of girls' education through an analysis of the women's press during the first decade of Mandate rule. Using the women's magazines *al-Fajr* (The Dawn), *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (The New Woman), and *Minerva*, I look at the tensions that existed in the larger processes of modernity. In this part of the analysis, it is clear that girls' and women's education—and her uplift through it—was linked to the success of the nation. Less clear, though, is whether or not women's role in national success was through the home or through their participation in the political life of the state. In highlighting this tension, Chapter Two shows how women used the discourse of domesticity and their role in the home to imagine, fashion, and articulate their role in the political life of the nation. Furthermore, the men and women who wrote for the women's press often envisioned a broader role for women in national life than that of educated wife and mother. Such a vision can be seen in discussions of the "national

school" (*al-madrasa al-wataniyya*), a phrase used to describe a variety of schools, often girls' schools but also co-educational schools, sectarian and non-sectarian. These descriptions not only show the possibilities for girls' education articulated by these writers, but also the citizens the writers hoped would graduate from these schools: patriotic, devoted to the nation through participation in it.

Chapter Three moves from the discursive analysis of Chapters One and Two to the material reality of girls' schools. This chapter examines girls' schools as a site of claims-making—by colonial and national officials and representatives, school administrators and teachers, students, and community members. It first interrogates the ways in which these actors laid claim to two of the schools examined in this dissertation – Zahrat al-ihsan and Ahliah – as a way to further their own agendas, goals, concerns, and conceptions of the nation, its future, and their role in it. The chapter then examines the phenomenon of home management that developed significantly in this period in Kulliyat al-banat and SGS, looking at the ways in which students and teachers claimed the formal curriculum examined in Chapter One in ways that did not always align with the schools' intentions.

Chapter Four continues the material analysis by looking at students' extracurricular activities, what I call the informal curriculum of girls' schools. It looks at schoolgirls', alumnae's, and teachers' participation in the YWCA, the scouting movement, and labor agitation. It examines student and teacher experiences at ASG, TGS, SGS, and Ahliah. Through their activities, schoolgirls and girls' school alumnae articulated a social citizenship defined by a sense of shared responsibility through community improvement, the building of similarity across difference, participation in

public life, and the making and claiming of rights. Ultimately, this analysis shows that girls' schools created graduates prepared to participate in civic life and who *did* participate in it, first as schoolgirls and then as women

Chapter One. Creating the Homes of the Future? School Histories and Curricula

ʿAʾisha Marʿai began her education at *Madrasat al-banat al-ʾula*, a free school of the Maqasid Islamic Benevolent Society. When Kulliyat al-banat opened in the fall of the 1926-1927 school year, Marʿai moved from Madrasat al-banat al-ʾula to Kulliyat, and at the end of that year received the school's primary certificate. Two years later, she received the school's preparatory certificate, and in the 1932-1933 school year she received the Lebanese state CEP superieures and brevet. With the brevet qualifying her to teach, in the 1933-1934 school year, Marʿai began a decades-long teaching career in the schools of the Maqasid, first teaching at *Madrasa Fatima al-zahraʾ* (formerly Madrasat al-banat al-ʾula), then at *Madrasa Khadija al-kubra*, and finally at Kulliyat al-banat, where she spent the rest of her career. In the 1950s and 1960s, she was the principal of and Arabic teacher at Kulliyat al-banat, and editor-in-chief of the Arab Girl's Renaissance Society's magazine, *Ghirs wa shams* (Seedlings and Sun).[100] In her role as editor-in-chief, Marʿai opened each issue. She wrote articles on a variety of subjects. These opening remarks served to define the ideal Kulliyat student: gentle and kind but also hardworking, exacting, and patriotic.[101]

The above story offers a glimpse into the topic and tensions of this chapter: the importance of girls' education, the experience of girl students, the possibilities education opened up to them, and the ideals they took with them in their future lives. This chapter examines the institutional history and curricula of the three girls'

[100] The Arab Girl's Renaissance Society (*al-Jamʿiya al-nahda al-fatat al-ʿarabiyya*) was a school club.
[101] ʿAʾisha Marʿai, "Dhikra min al-madi," *Ghirs wa shams*, no. 4 (April 1955): 3-7.

secondary schools of the American Mission, the schools of *al-Jamʿiya al-maqasid al-khayriyya al-islamiyya* (the Maqasid Islamic Benevolent Society; I will refer to it as Maqasid or the Society), Zahrat al-ihsan School, and Ahliah.

I argue that the formal curricula of girls' schools aimed to train girls and young women as educated wives and mothers (though for what nation/purpose shifted from school to school), whose role as citizens was the support of modern husbands and patriotic sons. At the same time, however, an analysis of the schools' histories and this same curricula shows a tension between this stated goal and the lessons actually imparted.[102] Indeed, as the story above shows, schools' formal curriculum also created opportunities for schoolgirls to become professional women, shaping the lives of their students and communities. I'll touch on this tension in this chapter, and discuss further in subsequent chapters, as I present the various ways in which girls' education and girls' schools served both a discursive and material function in shaping ideas about and articulations of women's citizenship during the interwar and early independence periods.

Girls' School Histories and Curricula

Raising Students with a "Christian Spirit" in the American Schools

[102] Sbaiti examines language, history, and civics education at the Maqasid, Ahliah, and Collège Protestant. She argues that these schools simultaneously drew on and challenged each other's vision about what it meant to be "Lebanese," creating a tension "central to the role of education in the formation of a national society in Beirut." Sbaiti, "Lessons in History," 4. Fleischmann's work on the American girls' schools complements Sbaiti's analysis. For Fleischmann, the tension lies in the conflict between the stated aims of the schools and lessons students took with them. Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions"; Fleischmann "Lost in Translation." Ela Greenberg's analysis of the Islamic Girls' School (IGS), a primary school established in 1925 by the Supreme Muslim Council of Jerusalem, makes the case that the curriculum of IGS "reflected a dual, perhaps even contradictory, vision." While students were expected to follow a religious lifestyle, coursework allowed them to continue their education or enter professional life. Greenberg, "Educating Muslim Girls in Mandatory Jerusalem," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no. 1 (2004): 9.

The first American Protestant missionaries arrived in the Middle East in 1820, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). In those early days, the ABCFM aimed to establish a station in Jerusalem in order to convert the Muslims and Jews of that city and its hinterlands. Realities on the ground, however, necessitated a rethinking of this strategy, leading to the establishment of the first permanent American Protestant mission station in Beirut. Over the next fifty-plus years, the American Mission expanded to include five stations throughout modern-day Syria and Lebanon.[103] In all of these stations, the missionaries established schools with the aim of conversion and evangelistic training.[104]

To that end, American Protestant missionaries began holding girls' "schools" in Beirut in the mid-1820s. As early as 1838, if not before, they established a "Female Seminary" that included a boarding section. From then until the 1850s, this school, and others like it that were established in and around the city by the ABCFM, were largely informal and consisted of small "families" of girls living in missionaries' homes.[105] Though missionaries' wives did some teaching, native "assistants" did

[103] A. L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

[104] The evangelizing goals of Protestant missionaries in general and the Presbyterians in particular in the Middle East were not well met – indeed, the evangelistic mission was largely a failure; those who did convert were typically already Christians. Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7z8p7. While the Protestant missionaries recognized the Christian churches already in the region, they did not really consider them "properly" Christian. Indeed, in early missionary school reports, you see much discussion about the significance of showing Greek Orthodox students the truth of the Gospel.

[105] In an 1841 report on female education submitted to the Board, the writer notes that they have, in the two missionary families stationed in Beirut, "five native girls", ranging in age from seven to fourteen. While the report also notes that they receive applications from people in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other places to "receive their girls into our families and educate them," it is want of

most of it, as most missionaries lacked command of Arabic.[106] This school, which operated on and off through the 1850s, became, in 1861, the Beirut Female Seminary, and in 1904, the American School for Girls (ASG).[107] For much of its pre-WWI twentieth-century history the school appears to have been a finishing school for Beiruti upper-middle class and elite families, though within a more "academic" curriculum.

Sidon Seminary, founded in 1862, has a bit of a murky early history. It appears to have been established as a result of the closure of the Beirut Female Seminary during the religio-political violence of 1860.[108] When the Beirut Female Seminary reopened, Sidon Seminary remained open as well, staffed by American and British missionaries and local women. By the early twentieth century, records indicate that most students were Protestant, and that the goal of the seminary's educational work was to create local evangelists who could establish Sunday schools in the mountains of southern Lebanon. Furthermore, while the ASG had a fairly robust educational curriculum by the early twentieth century, Sidon Seminary seems to have maintained a more practical and evangelistic program, though it worked, at least to some degree, to meet the educational level of ASG.[109] Of all of the Mission schools, Sidon

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both healthful meeting conditions and means that keeps them from accepting a larger number. "Female Education," 1841, RG115/3/1, PHS.

[106] Pen Picture of Beirut Section, Syria, Box 118, Correspondences to the Board Secretary, 1924-9, NEST. This document also notes that there were not enough missionaries to keep up with demand.

[107] Report of the American School for Girls in Beyrout, October 1903 to July 1904, RG115/3/1, PHS. In 1959, the Presbyterian Syria Mission transferred responsibility for running the school to the National Evangelical Synod of Syria and Lebanon. ASG became the Beirut Evangelical School for Girls, TGS the Tripoli Evangelical School for Girls, and SGS the Sidon Evangelical School for Girls.

[108] See Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[109] This history is summarized from Fleishmann, "Lost in Translation," 36-42.

Seminary was seen, at least among missionaries, as having the strongest Arabic and evangelistic training up through the end of WWI.[110] The school's name changed to Sidon Girls' School (SGS) after a reorientation of the school's curriculum in the early interwar period.

The Tripoli Girls' School opened its doors in 1876, and was the first school in the city to offer girls' education past the elementary level. It maintained that distinction until the early twentieth century, and perhaps even into the 1920s. Thus, TGS was *the* educational institution for families wanting to educate their daughters beyond basic reading, writing, and arithmetic. Further, because it made the same curriculum available to all of its students, regardless of socioeconomic background, it offered opportunities for social advancement and professional development to even the poorest students. In the first several decades of the school's existence, these students, who attended on "scholarship," were required to pay it back through teaching service to the school; many students began their teaching work while still students in the school.[111] This program is in marked contrast to many other girls' schools at the time, where manual work was favored over book learning for those coming from poor or uneducated families. Thus, those institutions that came up alongside TGS and offered similar educational options – girls' intermediate and/or secondary education – while directly competing with TGS could not completely

[110] Votes ad-interim, 30 July 1920, RG492/4/2, PHS.
[111] These "scholarships" were available in all of the Mission's girls' schools. While it offered the schools' students opportunities for social advancement and was different from what they might have had otherwise, it is also important to recognize the implications of such a requirement. During the interwar period, such a practice became outdated, and instead the Mission offered scholarships with relatively few strings attached, as well as a "self-help" department, for those students who needed financial assistance. Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1927-1928, RG 115/17/18, PHS.

escape its dominance of girls' education in the city, nor its attraction to students from the city's hinterlands and northern Syria.[112] Like the ASG, TGS, while educating preachers' wives and Sunday school teachers, had a more rigorous academic program. This, in combination with the school's prominence in the city, led an increasing, though still quite small, number of Muslim families to send their daughters to TGS in the late Ottoman period, a trend that continued in the interwar period and shaped the education offered at the school.

The original intention of the various "secondary" schools of the American mission—ASG, SGS, and TGS among them—was largely evangelistic – to create an educated cadre of Syrian men and women who could become preachers and Bible women, teachers, and preachers' wives.[113] Post-war educational realities, local demands, and shifts in theological thinking, however, led to changes in the goals and curricula of the educational mission of the Syria Mission of the Presbyterian Church of the USA (PCUSA) and of each of the institutions discussed above.[114]

In the interwar period, the number of primary—public and private, though largely private (see the Introduction)—educational institutions increased and competed with the Mission's primary and preparatory classes. The Mission felt this most keenly in the loss of Greek Orthodox students, who started attending the schools established by the diocese in the early 1920s.[115] The Mission focused its

[112] TGS graduates became teachers and school administrators at other schools in the city. From its earliest days, students and teachers included girls and women from villages around the city, as well as from villages farther afield, such as those near Hama, in Syria; during the Mandate period, teachers came from Europe, Turkey, Iraq, and other cities and schools in Lebanon.
[113] Votes ad-interim, 30 July 1920.
[114] The PCUSA overtook the work of the ABCFM in Syria and Lebanon in the late nineteenth century.
[115] See, for example, Report of Tripoli Girls' School, 1925-1926, RG115/19/8, PHS.

attention on improving its girls' secondary schools as it saw less of a decline in attendance at the girls' schools, and most of the schools established by the Greek Orthodox, French High Commission, and others were limited to primary education, at least at the beginning of the interwar period.[116] Furthermore, demand for higher educational attainment for women increased during this period, a demand that the American Mission sought to meet in building up its girls' secondary schools. For the most part, the schools were successful, with a five-fold increase in applicants and attendance between the mid-1920s and the early 1950s (see Table 2 below).

Table 2. American girls' schools enrollments for the 1920-1921 and 1950-1951 school years[117]

School	Number of students	
	1920-1921 school year	1950-1951 school year
ASG	163	465
SGS	100	540
TGS	150	550

As the number of students increased, so too did their religious and geographic diversity. For much of their history prior to WWI, the girls' schools of the Mission attracted mainly Christian students.[118] By the mid-1920s, they began attracting larger numbers of Muslim students. At SGS, for example, while students identified as coming from Christian sects still made up the majority, comprising 111 of the 136 students in the 1924-1925 school year, there were also eight Sunni and seventeen

[116] Outline of the narrative report of the Educational Committee, 1922. RG115/7/6, PHS.
[117] Report of the Tripoli Girls' School for the year 1920-1921; Narrative Report Tripoli Girls' School, 1950-51, RG115/19/ 8; The American School for Girls Annual Report 1920-1921; ASG Annual Report – 1950-1951, RG115/3/1; Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1921-1922, RG115/17/8, PHS; [Sidon Girls' School] Annual Report 1951-1952, RG115/17/18, PHS. It should be noted that while the numbers generally trended upward, local, regional, and global realities meant that some years (e.g., during the Syrian Revolt from 1925-7; the height of the Great Depression from 1934-5; and the period immediately surrounding independence, 1942-4) saw significant drops in enrollment. In all cases, though, by the early to mid-1950s, enrollments at the school hovered between 450 and 550 students. The numbers for SGS come from the 1921-1922 and 1951-1952 annual reports.
[118] Most of the Christian students that attended the girls' schools of the Mission were Protestant and Greek Orthodox; there were also significant minorities of Maronites and Latin-rite Christians at SGS.

Shi'a Muslim students.[119] By the 1951-1952 school year, Christian students from various sects accounted for 281 of the 540 students, with students from various Muslim sects making up the remaining 259.[120] Similar trends can be found at TGS and ASG. At TGS, by the 1925-6 school year, of the 172 students, 98 were from Christian sects and the remaining 75 were Sunni Muslims; by the 1950-1951 school year, 286 of the 555 students came from a wide variety of Christian sects, with the remaining 259 coming from several Muslim sects, mostly Sunni.[121] The ASG had long attracted prominent Sunni, Jewish, and Druze families, and by the mid-1920s, Muslim students accounted for 76 of 211 students, with the remaining 134 coming from various Christian sects and the Jewish tradition.[122] Some two-and-a-half decades later, students from Christian sects and students coming from non-Christians sects were almost evenly split: in the 1950-1951 school year, of the 465 students, 237 were Christian, 215 were Muslim, ten were Jewish, and two were Bahai.[123]

By the end of the period in question for this dissertation, the 1951-1952 school year, while most students at the three girls' secondary schools of the Mission were from Lebanon (comprising 1,241 of 1,636 students), there were also sizable minorities from Palestine, Syria, and Iraq (in that order), with students also coming from Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran, and elsewhere.[124] This increase in

[119] Report of Sidon Girls' School July, 1924-July, 1925, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[120] [Sidon Girls' School] Annual Report 1951-1952.
[121] Report of Tripoli Girls' School, 1925-1926; Narrative Report Tripoli Girls' School, 1950-51.
[122] School Report [of the American School for Girls], 1925-1926, RG115/3/1, PHS.
[123] ASG Annual Report – 1950-1951.
[124] Narrative Report Tripoli Girls' School, 1951-1952, RG115/19/8; [Sidon Girls' School] Annual Report 1951-1952; American School for Girls Annual Report 1951-1952, RG115/3/1, PHS. Many of the Iraqi students studied on government bursaries.

the geographical diversity of students led to the creation of "special" courses at TGS, ASG, and SGS for students who wanted to attend the American Junior College for Women (AJCW) or American University of Beirut (AUB), but whose primary and secondary training were in a language other than English.[125] All of this shows the increased interest in girls' education during the interwar period, in the city centers in which the schools were located, the rural areas that fed into the schools, and cities and countries even farther afield.

The interwar period also witnessed shifts in theological thinking and, to an extent, evangelistic aims. While missionaries still sought the training of preachers and their wives, they also sought a more educated Syria generally, one rooted in Christian (read: white, western, middle-class) ideals. The evangelistic goal of the Syria Mission in the interwar and early independence periods sought the inculcation of "Christian" values and development of a "Christian spirit"—built on an ethos of shared and individual responsibility, hard work, and "modern" ideas about marriage, childrearing, public health, and community life—among students, regardless of religion.[126] In this mode of thought, "Christian values" were key to improving the home life, and thus the political, economic, and social life of the country, influenced by the schools' graduates.[127] Thus, while offering high-level secondary coursework,

[125] Beginning in the 1925-6, 1931-2, and 1942-3 school years at TGS, ASG, and SGS, respectively, students who had attended French or other non-English-speaking schools who wanted to go on to the AJCW, AUB, or other English-language schools could enroll in a special class. Report of Tripoli Girls' School, 1925-1926; Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1931-1932, RG115/3/1; Annual Report of Sidon Girls' School 1942-1943, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[126] See Howard Bliss quoted in Makdisi, *Artillery*, 214.
[127] Indeed, part of the justification for the establishment of the home economics program at SGS, discussed more in Chapter Three, was the importance of the "Christian home" in the economic, social, and political health of the country. Letter from unknown in Sidon, August 1929, RG115/17/17, PHS. This emphasis on Christian spirit over Christian belief or practice meant that students or potential

including higher education, to girls and women met local demand, it also met missionaries' evangelistic goals.

The shift in evangelistic aims reflected efforts for international cooperation following the destruction of WWI. While the League of Nations is perhaps the most obvious example, it was also during this period that a variety of movements, including pacifist, women's, and religious ecumenical movements, went both transnational and international. The growth of the international YWCA and the spread of the scouting movement into the Middle East (discussed more in Chapter Four), as elsewhere, further indicate this trend towards internationalization. A method of evangelization that sought changes in heart rather than in belief, that sought to work with, instead of change altogether, fit with such a vision.[128]

The above changes, at the local, Mission, and international levels led to changes in the goal, and thus the curriculum, of the ASG, SGS, and TGS.[129] In order

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teachers who displayed a sufficiently "Christian" attitude could participate in organizations like the YWCA and/or become teachers at the Mission schools. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, however, the Mission again became concerned with having Christian teachers in the schools, not just those who held "Christian" values. This latter shift appears to happen as evangelical Protestant missions (e.g., Baptists, Pentecostals, etc.) to the Middle East increased, which, in general, had a much less compromising view of evangelization. Virginia Cobb, "Southern Baptist Missions in Lebanon," pamphlet, n.d.

[128] This is not to say that missionaries were not interested in conversion. Indeed, in missionary reports (the goal of which, of course, was to raise funds from home, so they must be looked at in this way), missionaries talk much the evidence they see in Muslim or Druze students' "latent Christianity," through actions and expressions of interest or fondness for Bible stories. Such a view is rooted in a chauvinistic and orientalist worldview, one that denies the legitimacy of local ways of living and believing. For more on the influence of ecumenism in the changing theologies and evangelistic aims of foreign missionaries, see *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 2 (July 2018): 157-293.

[129] Curriculum of the Elementary, Middle, and High Schools of the American Mission in Syria, 1928, Box 869, Curriculum of the Elementary, Middle, and High Schools of the American Mission in Syria, 1928, NEST. These changes developed after several years of study of the institutions themselves, the stations they served, and the educational demands of local people. ASG undertook the increase in academic level most rigorously. In 1924, ASG added a freshman-level class that allowed graduates to attend the sophomore year at AUB without taking an exam. Department Report of the Educational Committee, December 1924, RG115/7/6, PHS.

to improve the administrative and educational standards of all Mission schools, the Mission worked to standardize the nomenclature and curricula at all levels of schooling to align with the government courses. In an effort to meet local demand for the opportunities afforded by holding the various government certificates (see Introduction), as well as to keep in line with the government program, the Mission added French language classes and staff in all of its schools.

Finally, the Mission worked to raise the standards in the secondary schools in order to prepare graduates for higher education at American institutions in Lebanon. At the ASG in Beirut, course offerings at the upper levels expanded to include, first, a freshman year course, at the completion of which students could enter the sophomore class at AUB, and then a sophomore year course. By the mid-1920s, these two classes served as the basis for a separate institution for the higher education of women, the AJCW, the first of its kind in the Middle East.[130] Graduates of the girls' secondary schools also qualified to enter the School for Religious Workers (later, the Near East School of Theology (NEST)). The Mission developed TGS with a similar goal in mind, of preparing students for higher studies.[131] Alongside this raising in the level of the education students received in the highest classes at all

[130] This school has had several official names in its history, each representative of the particular moment in which it was used, as well as the growing program, student body, and esteem of the school. At its foundation in 1924, the Board of the Mission named the school the American Junior College for Women (AJCW, though also sometimes referred to simply as the Junior College for Women). In 1948-1949, alongside an expansion of the educational program offered to include a third year, the school became the Beirut College for Women (BCW). In the early 1970s, the College began admitting men and, in 1973, it changed its name to the Beirut University College (BUC). In the early 1990s, the College's Board of Regents voted to become a university and changed the name to the Lebanese American University (LAU), the title it holds to today. "About LAU – History." https://www.lau.edu.lb/about/history/#:~:text=LAU's%20remarkable%20history%20originated%20in,those%20who%20would%20take%20them. Accessed 5 April 2022.
[131] Votes ad-interim, 30 July 1920.

Mission secondary schools, the Mission implemented “practical” education programs at its two schools in Sidon: a robust home economics curriculum in SGS and manual, industrial, and agricultural training in Gerard Institute (a boys’ school).[132] These practical education programs at SGS and Gerard Institute continued throughout the interwar period, and were eventually included in the coursework of all secondary schools of the Mission. A degree in euthenics developed at AJCW. At SGS, the Mission added preparatory classes leading to qualification for admission to the various government exams and/or higher education over the course of the interwar period.

The curriculum comprised eleven years—six years at the elementary level, two at the middle school level, and three at the high school or secondary level. As noted, students who completed this course of study could enter the freshman classes at AUB and AJCW, as well as the first-year course at the School for Religious Workers. The curriculum also comprised what many American high schoolers might recognize, even in 2022, with assigned books including Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*, Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre*, Charles Dickens’s *Tale of Two Cities*, and Jack London’s *Call of the Wild* and *White Fang*.[133] The elementary grades consisted of 25-30 study hours divided among Bible, Arabic grammar and writing, English conversation and writing, arithmetic, and “Social and Nature Studies.” French was introduced in the second grade and geography in the fourth grade. Students in

[132] Prior to the mid-1920s, the Mission saw SGS and Gerard as schools with a strong tradition in Bible and Arabic training, whose graduates went on to become preachers, preachers’ wives, and teachers in village schools throughout southern Lebanon. Votes ad-interim, 30 Jul y1920.
[133] Curriculum, 1928, NEST.

the first five grades had the option to take courses in sewing, drawing, singing, and handwork. The courses of the last three years of the elementary level continued through the middle school level. At the high school level, courses included Bible; Arabic reading and writing; English reading and grammar; French reading, speaking, and grammar; mathematics; geography; and history. The second and third year of high school included science hours in physics, biology, and chemistry. Students from the sixth elementary grade through high school also had the option of taking "higher algebra," singing, drill team, drawing, domestic science, "manual training," book-keeping, and typewriting.[134] Students who successfully completed this course of study, rooted in a liberal education model, received the school's diploma.[135] Beginning in the early 1930s, the Mission revised the secondary school curriculum in order to prepare students to take the government certificate exams, and in 1933, "regularly enrolled students" in the second and third high school classes could take "business and secretarial courses."[136] By the early 1940s, students at ASG could take courses in typing and students at SGS could take courses in short hand.[137] The rest of the mandate period saw both the continued improvement in the level of

[134] Curriculum, 1928, NEST. By 1930, the schools' diplomas required completion of courses in Arabic and French (with some exceptions based on native language/geographic origin of students). Minutes of the ninety-fourth annual meeting of the Syria Mission, Shemlan, Lebanon, 2-9 July 1930; Minutes of the Stated Meeting of the Executive Committee, 20-21 May 1932. RG492/5/9, PHS.
[135] Minutes, 2-9 July 1930, PHS. In addition to teaching a variety of subjects, the curriculum of the American schools aimed to teach their students critical thinking so that they could become informed citizens of the future independent state.
[136] Minutes of the Stated Meeting of the Executive Committee, 15-16 December 1932; Minutes of the Stated Meeting of the Executive Committee, 15-16 December 1933; Minutes of the Ninety-seventh Annual Meeting of the Syria Mission, Shwayr, Lebanon, 6-13 July 1933, RG492/5/9, PHS.
[137] Minutes of the 105th Annual Meeting of the Syria Mission in Beirut, 15 August 1941, RG492/5/9, PHS.

education at all schools and more of the Mission school graduates going on to higher schooling or professional training.

During the interwar period the American mission, like the French and Lebanese governments (see Introduction) and like the Maqasid, discussed below, sought to raise the professional qualifications of their teachers, the vast majority of whom were local women.[138] To facilitate such a goal, in July 1930, the Mission passed the recommendations of the Educational Committee that called for all teachers in American Mission schools to "secure a professional certificate, issued by the Mission."[139] Certificates would be granted without examination to graduates of the AUB, AJCW, or their equivalent, and/or those who had completed the sophomore year of an education major at AUB. Temporary certificates could be granted to graduates of the American secondary schools, or their equivalents, on recommendation of their principals and with the requirement that they continue in their studies or undertake a program of reading and semi-annual examination in pedagogy until they completed the program.[140] Even so, it appears that the implementation process and graduating of qualified teachers was fairly slow. Into the 1940s, missionary principals complained about the lack of qualified teachers, including in home economics. It was not until the early 1950s that local women were

[138] At ASG, for example, local women made up over half of the teaching staff in any given year, and often much more than half. See, for example, Annual Report 1922-1923, American School for Girls, RG 115/3/1, PHS.
[139] Minutes, 2-9 July 1930, PHS.
[140] Minutes, 2-9 July 1930, PHS.

appointed as secondary school principals: Wadad Dibu at TGS and Wadad Khoury at SGS.[141]

At the same time, then, that these schools prepared graduates to create Christian homes and nations, they also offered professional opportunities and instilled in their students a sense of civic, national, and international belonging, responsibility, and rights owed, to be discussed more in Chapter Four.

REFINING THE CHILDREN OF THE ʾ*UMMA* AT THE SCHOOLS OF THE MAQASID[142]

Founded in 1878 by a group of prominent Beirut Sunni elites, the Maqasid Islamic Benevolent Society was a direct response to the presence and educational work of American Protestant missionaries in the city, as well as to the limited innovations and opportunities brought by Ottoman educational reform in the provinces in an age of increasing demand for such education.[143] The first school founded by the Society was a girls' primary school, in Beirut's Ras al-Nabʿa neighborhood. The Maqasid aimed to provide a modern education rooted in Arabic and Islamic principles. The schools appear to have been both immediately established and successful: by 1880, only two years after the Society's founding,

[141] Wadad Khoury came to SGS as its principle in the 1953-4 school year from the British Syria-Lebanon Mission. Wadad Dibu, appointed TGS principal beginning in the 1951-2 school year, had long been associated with the Mission, and received a scholarship to study towards her master's degree at Lindenwood College in Missouri. Both appointments were part of the Mission's "nationalization" process, whereby local people took over administration of the schools. Narrative Report Tripoli Girls' School 1951-1952; Annual Narrative Report of Sidon Girls' School 1953-1954, RG115/17/18, PHS; Administrative Report, Educational Department, Syria-Lebanon Mission 1947-1948, RG115/7/6, PHS; Wadad Khoury to Dr. Greenslade, 8 June 1951, RG115/17/17, PHS.

[142] In this section "*umma*" (nation) refers specifically to the umma as the community of Muslims. This is differentiated from other words for nation also found in the Maqasid sources: *watan* (homeland, nation, patrie) and qawm or qawmiyya (nation, nationalism).

[143] Susanna Ferguson, "A Fever for an Education: Pedagogical Thought and Social Transformation in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, 1861-1914," *The Arab Studies Journal* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 71. For more on Ottoman educational reform, see Evered, *Empire and Education*; Somel, *Modernization of Public Education*; and Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*.

"450 girls and over four hundred boys were studying at Maqasid primaries."[144] It was also in this year that the schools of the Maqasid became part of the Ottoman Provincial Educational Council. The Maqasid continued its relationship with the Ottoman government, off and on, through about 1915, providing its boy students, in particular, an education for their futures as tradesmen or businessmen while also ensuring that they would remain loyal to the Sultan.[145]

With the end of Ottoman suzerainty in late 1918, the Maqasid re-established its institutions under its own aegis. In its 1919 annual report, the board of the Society notes its intention to recommit itself to education, calling for the opening of two primary schools.[146] In 1920, the Maqasid opened a boys' school near al-Horsh Mosque (called *Madrasat al-banin al-ʾula*, or First Boys' School) and a girls' school in Ras al-Nab'a (called *Madrasat al-banat al-ʾula*, or First Girls' School).[147] These two schools served as the foundation for the dozens of schools that the Maqasid eventually established and/or oversaw throughout Lebanon.[148] In the years immediately following the foundation of these two primary schools, though, the Society continued to add higher grades. By the late 1920s, the Maqasid added secondary coursework for girls and boys to its repertoire of educational offerings: for

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[144] Ferguson, "Fever," 71.
[145] For a fuller picture of the relationship between the Maqasid and the Ottoman government, see Sbaiti, "Lessons in History," 52-61. For Muslim students who wished to go on to a Muslim secondary school, students had two options. Given the cost of attendance, only the wealthiest students could afford to attend the government Sultaniyya school; all others had the option of attending a free trade or vocational school established by notable Beirut Sunni families – the Da'uqs and 'Ardatis. Notably, this vocational school also offered classes for girls in "sewing and tailoring." In the early twentieth century, this school became an Ottoman government industrial school. Ferguson, "Fever," 71-73.
[146] "Mizaniya wa bayan aʿmal jamʿiya al-maqasid al-khayriyya al-islamiyya fi beyrut, 1337-1338 AH [1918-1919 and 1919-1920 BCE]," *Bayan aʿmal jamʿiya al-maqasid, 1918-1936* (hereafter cited as *Bayan, 1918-36*), 3, Maqasid Society Archives, Beirut, Lebanon (hereafter cited as Maqasid).
[147] "Mizaniya wa bayan aʿmal, 1338-1339 AH [1920-1921 BCE]," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 24-25, Maqasid.
[148] Through at least the 1930s, the Maqasid also ran other Islamic schools located in Beirut.

boys, Madrasat al-banin al-ʾula, now with a secondary department, became *Kulliyat al-maqasid al-islamiyya* (The Maqasid Islamic College), and for girls, Kulliyat al-banat, which was housed in the former Ottoman Sultaniyya school.[149] Both Kulliyat al-maqasid and Kulliyat al-banat were fee-based schools, while the other nine schools of the Maqasid, primary schools for boys and girls established throughout the Mandate period, were free, and quite popular.[150] Between the 1920-1 school year, when the first two schools of the Maqasid opened, and the 1947-8 school year, the last year for which I have data, the enrollment at the schools increased ten-fold, from 437 students in that first year (307 boys, 130 girls) to over 4800 students (3146 boys, 1684 girls).[151]

> According to the Society, the purpose of the schools was to
>
> inculcate the virtues of the true religion in the hearts of young people, [teach] them the demands of knowledge and work, and educat[e] them in an elevated Islamic spirit and…morals…strong in charity, very observant, pure in sincerity, wise in the disposal of their duty, honest in words and actions, obedient to God and His messenger first, and

[149] From its foundation in 1926 until its closure in the first decade or so of the 2000s, Kulliyat al-banat was housed in the building formerly used as the Sultaniyya school. "Bayan aʿmal, 1345-1346 AH (1926-1927 BCE)," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 5-6, Maqasid; Ferguson, "Fever," 72.

[150] While most of the educational work of the Maqasid during the Mandate centered in Beirut, with six boys' and four girls' primary schools established between 1920 and 1944, the Maqasid also established its own schools in southern Mount Lebanon as early as the 1920-1 school year. The Beirut-based boys' primary schools included: Madrasat al-banin al-ula (later, Kulliyat al-maqasid al-islamiyya; f. 1920), Madrasa Abi-Bakr al-Sadiq (formerly, Madrasat al-banin al-thani; f. 1923), Madrasa ʿOmar al-Faruq (f. 1931), Madrasa ʿOthman Dhi al-Nurin (f. 1931), Madrasa ʿAli Bin Abi-Talib (f. 1934), and Madrasa Salah al-Din al-Abubi (f. 1944). Kulliyat al-maqasid had a large primary section, and in 1944 Bayt al-atfal, a boys' kindergarten, was opened within the school. The girls' primary schools included Madrasat al-banat al-ʾula (later, Madrasa Fatima al-zahraʾ; this school was closed after the 1943-4 school year, with its students sent to Kulliyat al-banat's primary department), Madrasa Khadija al-kubra (f. 1935), and Madrasa ʿAʾisha umm al-muʾminin (f. 1936). Like Kulliyat al-maqasid, Kulliyat al-banat included a large primary section. "Mizaniya wa bayan aʿmal, 1340 AH [1921-1922 BCE]," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 9, Maqasid.

[151] "Mizaniya wa bayan aʿmal, 1338-1339 AH [1920-1921 BCE]," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 5-6; "Bayan aʿmal, 1362-1366 AH (1943-1947 BCE)," *Bayan al-jamʿiya,1935-1949* (hereafter cited as *Bayan, 1935-49*), 106, Maqasid. Though the enrollment of girl students remained about half that of boy students throughout the interwar period, its growth over that same period was slightly higher than that of the boys.

> depending on God almighty for themselves and in their work together.[152]

This religious and moralistic base served as the foundation of a modern education that taught "the sciences and modern arts, preparing the young men to walk with modern civilization, hand in hand with a high-class, polite girl who manages their homes and raises the children of the future."[153]

Such a goal—of the creation of "modern men" and "polite girls"—was encouraged throughout the program of the Society's schools. As was the case at other schools at the time, at the primary level, the curricula of the boys' and girls' schools was the same. In the kindergarten classes, the schools aimed to build boy and girl students' religious, linguistic, and nationalist foundation, introducing them to the fundamentals of the Qurʾan and religion through story and allegory, basic Arabic writing and alphabet, foundational French, arithmetic, sports, singing, and handwork, with the greatest amount of time in coursework spent on Qurʾan, religion, Arabic, and French.[154]

The emphasis on foundational Arabic aimed to connect students with patriotic and religious feeling. According to the Society, Arabic was "the language of the religion and the homeland (*watan*)," essential for "instilling in [the nation's children] the spirit of nationalism (*ruh al-qawmiyya*)."[155] This connection between language, religion, and nation can also be seen in the inspiration for the schools' curriculum.

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[152] "Mudaris jamʿiya al-maqasid al-khayriyya al-islamiyya fi Beirut li-l-banin wa-l-banat: al-bayan al-sanawi al-ʿam, 1349-1350 AH (1930-1931 BCE)," *Bayan mudaris jamʿiya al-maqasid, 1927-1939* (hereafter cited as *Bayan mudaris*), 12-13, Maqasid.
[153] "Mudaris, 1349-1350 AH (1930-1931 BCE)," *Bayan mudaris*, 12.
[154] For Kulliyat al-Banat's kindergarten and primary curriculum, see "Mudaris, 1349-1350 AH (1930-1931 BCE)," *Bayan mudaris*, 19-22.
[155] "Mudaris, 1349-1350 AH (1930-1931 BCE)," *Bayan mudaris*, 12.

According to the 1926-7 annual report, part of the Society's efforts to raise the education level of the school included "selecting modern teaching methods…according to the curricula that was chosen from [that] used in Egypt and Iraq…for what the student needs in his religious life and worldly life, respectively."[156] That the Maqasid modeled its religious and academic curriculum on those used in Egypt and Iraq, respectively, is significant. Egypt, home to al-Azhar University, *the* center for Islamic learning and training, connected the schools of the Maqasid to its larger Sunni Muslim community, and to the intellectual and theological currents emanating from there. Iraq, though still under British mandate at this time, was ruled by Faysal ibn al-Husayn, leader of the Arab uprising against the Ottomans during WWI, short-lived king of Syria in 1920, and a key figure in the rising Arab nationalist consciousness, thus connecting the schools of the Maqasid to its Arab past, present, and future.

With a foundation in religion, Arabic, and French established, students spent five years in the primary grades. Religious instruction continued but decreased in the total number of study hours, while both Arabic and French instruction increased, as did instruction in arithmetic. Instruction in sports, singing, and handwork continued. In the later classes of the primary department, the number of Arabic hours decreased to six, French instruction hours remained the same, and arithmetic increased to six hours per week. It was also in the later grades that instruction in history, geography, and the sciences increased, though only to two hours per week at the most.

[156] "Mizaniya wa bayan aʿmal, 1345-1346 AH (1926-1927 BCE)," 4.

In the upper primary and secondary departments, one sees the differences in curriculum, and thus in educational goals, for girls and boys most clearly. Based on the coursework of the boys' and girls' secondary schools of the Maqasid, it is clear that boys were trained for post-secondary, modern, professional lives, while girls were trained for the home, with their educational subjects focused on those that would serve them best in that endeavor.

Beginning in the third year of the primary level, the number of hours spent on several subjects changed, with boys getting more hours in Arabic, French, arithmetic, and "sciences" so that the girls' school curriculum could include home management and additional hours of handwork than had been taken previously. This trend continued into the secondary school curriculum, though with some notable differences. First, while Qurʾan and religious education were maintained for boys and girls, the total number of study hours per week decreased to two for both. Arabic and French study hours were the same, but boys had three hours of English included in the three lower classes of the secondary department, while girls did not have the option to take English. In addition to English, other classes only offered in the boys' secondary department included engineering, algebra (girls took "mathematics"), animal husbandry and agriculture, physics, and chemistry (girls took "sciences"). The boys' secondary coursework also included three hours of history education, in comparison to the girls' two, and girls had five study hours per week of home management for the entirety of the program. Finally, while the boys' secondary department was a full five years from at least 1930, which qualified students to take the government baccalauréat and receive the school's diploma, the girls' secondary

department was only three years long, and trained students for the brevet.[157] Courses leading to the baccalauréat became available at Kulliyat al-banat in the mid-1940s.[158]

In addition to some of the starker differences between boys' and girls' secondary education seen in the overview of the curriculum above, the Society's emphasis on creating men and women of the future, who work for the benefit of the ʾumma in their separate spheres, can be seen in the place of religious practice in each of the schools. From the outset, boys' schools were established near mosques. Indeed, Madrasat al-banin al-ula (later, Kulliyat al-maqasid), was built next to the mosque in the al-Horsh neighborhood of Beirut. According to the Maqasid's annual report for 1932-1933, the Society "focused on establishing its [boys'] schools near mosques so that students and teachers could perform the religious recitations at their prescribed times."[159] Religious training and practice for girls, however, appears to have focused on their future duties as wives and mothers. While the girls' schools included mosques on the schools' grounds, and each school employed a religious teacher, the education they received aimed at the "upbringing [*tarbiya*] of the daughters of the ʾumma," defined by "true Islamic refinement based on the teaching

[157] A representative example can be found in the 1932-1933 schools report: "Mudaris, 1351-1352 AH, 1932-1933 BCE," *Bayan mudaris*, 26-27, 32-33, Maqasid. The schools were divided into three departments: kindergarten, primary (with divisions into lower and upper), and secondary.
[158] "Bayan aʿmal, 1943-1947," 5. While Kulliyat al-banat and Kulliyat al-maqasid began their secondary lives with forty students in both schools, enrollment in secondary coursework expanded dramatically in Kulliyat al-maqasid. By the 1938-1939 school year, the last year for which statistics are broken down by school department, there were 335 students enrolled in the secondary department at Kulliyat al-maqasid and only 41 students enrolled in the secondary department at Kulliyat al-banat. In fact, enrollment in Kulliyat al-banat's secondary department remained between 35 and 40 students throughout the 1930s, with a particularly bleak enrollment of only ten students in the 1931-1932 school year. Finally, it was not until the late 1940s that Kulliyat al-banat students began taking and passing the official exams, including the baccalauréat, in significant numbers.
[159] "Bayan aʿmal, 1351-1352 AH (1932-1933 BCE)," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 2, Maqasid.

of the shariʿa," making them "expert housewives" through the inclusion of home management, cooking, sewing, handicrafts, drawing, music, and childrearing in their curriculum.[160]

At the same time that the Maqasid sought to create women citizens who would serve the ʾumma—and the nation—in their roles as modern and devout wives and mothers, it also sought the professionalization of its workforce through the training of young men and women who could teach future children of the sect using modern methods and tools.[161] Like many of the schools examined in this dissertation, the aim of creating mothers of the sect *and* their teachers shows the tensions inherent in the education of girls and women in this period: that girls' and women's education served the nation through the creation of educated wives and mothers to the nation's sons, while at the same time needing qualified, professional, potentially unmarried women to train these wives and mothers of the future.

In the early 1920s, the Maqasid's business reports indicate the difficulty the Society had with recruiting well-qualified teaching staff, especially for the girls' schools.[162] Indeed, it is unclear whether or not the longest-serving teachers during the Mandate period, some of whom taught at various Maqasid girls' schools for the entire period in question, had any kind of advanced teacher or educational training. It was not until the founding of Khadija al-kubra in the mid-1930s that we see the

[160] "Bayan aʿmal, 1351-1352 AH (1932-1933 BCE)," 3.
[161] "Bayan aʿmal, 1341 AH (1922-1923 BCE)," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 5, Maqasid. Here, "umma" is distinct from, but part of, the secular nation.
[162] ""Bayan aʿmal, 1341 AH (1922-1923 BCE)," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 5.

majority of the teaching staff having received the official government certificate—the brevet—that qualified them to teach.[163]

Furthermore, in its goal of creating and hiring qualified teachers, as well as in its larger goal of creating men and women "of the sect" who could lead both the ʾumma and the nation, the Maqasid provided support to a number of students for secondary or higher studies. Among those students were a small number of girls and young women studying at ASG and Kulliyat al-banat.[164] And, after a delegation of the Maqasid went to Egypt on invitation from King Faruq I's ministry of education, the Society began sending students to study at *Dar al-ʿulum*, a state teacher training school in Cairo. In addition to the girls and young women the school sent to Egypt to train to become teachers in an Islamic setting, it also hired women teachers from Egypt.[165] Here, then, even in this perhaps more traditional or conservative context, young women were afforded the opportunity to live away from home.

The paradox of sorts that existed in the stated aims of the Maqasid in the education of its girls can even be seen in the names of the girls' primary schools: Fatima al-zahraʾ, Khadija al-kubra, and ʿAʾisha ʾumm al-muʾminin. The women after whom all of these schools are named—Fatima, Khadija, and ʿAʾisha—were important

[163] The primary limitation of this statistic is that it is based entirely on the certificates received by Maqasid alumnae who also became teachers at the Maqasid. So, while the information I have on hand would seem to suggest that the teachers at Madrasa Khadija al-kubra, a primary school, had the most qualified staff, with half of the total teachers having at least one certificate from either the Maqasid or the government, it is entirely possible that the teaching staff at Kulliyat al-banat and Fatima al-zahra' were also highly-educated, but had received their training elsewhere.
[164] This information is included in the annual reports of the society, from 1920 through 1949.
[165] In an interview with Kulliyat al-banat alumna In'am Qabbani Nsouli, she noted that one of her teachers, Samia Zaki, was Egyptian. Nsouli attended the schools of the Maqasid from the age of three and graduated from Kulliyat al-banat in the mid-1940s. In'am Qabbani in discussion with the author, 2 June 2017, Beirut, Lebanon. Some of the annual reports also note in their expense list the tuition for the children of teachers (*muʿallimat* or *ustadhat*) from Egypt.

actors in the establishment of Islam and/or the early Muslim community. The adjectives *al-zahraʾ* (light), *al-kubra* (great), and *ʾumm al-muʾminin* (mother of the believers) are also typical descriptors attributed to these women for the role they are believed to have served for the early Muslim community. Furthermore, Muslim women writers and intellectuals had, since the late nineteenth century in Egypt, used the biographies of these and other women to articulate feminist pasts and presents.[166]

Between Refinement, Practical Training, and the State at Zahrat al-Ihsan

Zahrat al-ihsan was established in 1881 by a Greek Orthodox women's charitable organization of the same name, as a nunnery, orphanage, and girls' school under the leadership of 25-year-old Sister Marie Jihan. Its establishment as a modern school meant to educate the young women of the Beirut Greek Orthodox community aimed to bring about that community's social improvement. Jamila Kusta Kusti has noted the importance of the school itself to the advancement of women. Indeed, in her work on Zahrat al-ihsan, she notes that the fact that women and girls were at the center of the school's founding, running, and fundraising made it unique among Beirut Greek Orthodox schools.[167]

In the pre-WWI and very early interwar period, the curriculum for the school's boarders and half-boarders (required of all students) indicates that the program

[166] Marilyn Booth, *Classes of Ladies of Cloistered Spaces: Writing Feminist History through Biography in* fin-de-siecle *Egypt* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).
[167] See Jamila Kusta Kusti, *Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan: Khasaʾis al-nashaʾa wa-l-tatawwar min khilal "ʿaqd al-juman", 1881-1928* (Beirut: Mutraniya al-bayrut al-urthuduks, 1997); and Jamila Kusti, "al-Nahda al-nisa'iyya: Musahat al-mu'assassat al-tarbawiyya al-thaqafiyya," in Hauser et al, *Entangled Education*, 136.

served as a finishing school for the daughters of upper-class Beirut Greek Orthodox families.[168] The school day began at about 8:00 AM with "*tadris*" (instruction). Each one-hour period of study was broken up by a one-hour break and/or meal time. There was also a one-hour period devoted each day to sewing, and two hours to "*dars ʿumumi*," or general study. In total, students had about three hours of classroom instruction per day, and some additional hours on Saturdays, amounting to between fifteen and twenty hours of instructional classroom time per week. These studies included Arabic, French, "handwork…singing, and home management."[169] Students who paid extra could also study English, Greek, and piano. In comparison to both the Maqasid and Ahliah, at least in the interwar period, these instruction hours are quite low; the Maqasid, for example, averaged around 34 hours of instruction per week at all class levels.

With the establishment of the French Mandate and the formation of the SIP of the High Commission in the early 1920s, Zahrat al-ihsan's curriculum underwent some significant changes. Rather than preparing its graduates in perhaps more traditional ways for their adult lives, the school began to implement the French program aimed at a general education that could qualify those who completed the curriculum to participate in public and political life. Of all of the schools examined in this dissertation, French archival materials related to Zahrat al-ihsan indicate that it

[168] Half-boarders took their mid-day meal at the school but otherwise returned home at the end of the day and came to school in the morning. Zahrat al-ihsan also provided education for orphan girls, who were educated separately from the elite boarders and half-boarders. The also had different coursework, focusing on handwork and the skills that would serve them as workers. See, Kusti, *Madrasa*; *Qanun madrasa jamʿiya zahrat al-ihsan fi bayrut* (Beirut: n.d.), 3.
[169] *Qanun*, 3. The word used for singing in this case is "*tartil*," singing and/or chanting, and has a Christian connotation.

had the closest connection to the French Mandate state as it worked to reform its curriculum from early on. Indeed, while Ahliah was oftentimes at odds with the French, and the Maqasid worked to bring their schools in line with the French and Lebanese system of certificates, grades, and nomenclature but ultimately remained separate from French oversight, Zahrat al-ihsan received French subsidy and High Commission-provided French instructors through at least the mid-1930s.[170] It also worked with the French directly to reform its curriculum.

The incorporation of a French style of education and more academic, regularized coursework, occurred over the course of the Mandate, to varying success and effect.[171] It included an increase in study hours, an expansion of subjects studied, and a more robust course of study in the languages offered. This increase in study hours, and particularly in French language instruction, was facilitated by significant French support, as noted above. As early as the 1921-1922 school year, the High Commission provided three teachers—Mlles Casabianca and Damiron and Mme Menard—to the school, along with 24,000 Frs in subsidy.[172] ‘

By the 1923-1924 school year, the school's administration assured the SIP that it would give better organization to its classes for paying students, roughly following the French program, dividing students into five classes: two at the preparatory, one at the elementary, and two at the middle level.[173] In the following

[170] On the Maqasid's relationship with the French Mandate see Nadya Sbaiti, "'If the Devil Taught French': Strategies of Language and Learning in French Mandate Beirut," in *Trajectories of Education in the Arab World: Legacies and Challenges*, edited by Osama Abi-Mershed (London and New York: Routledge, 2010): 71-72.
[171] See Chapter Three for a fuller discussion of this.
[172] Rapport d'inspections nos. 20/1-20/7, 1SL/600/7, Folder 1, IP, MAE, CADN.
[173] Mother Superior Marie Jihan to the Councilor of Public Instruction for the High Commission, 3 July 1923, 1SL/600/21, Folder 1, IP, MAE, CADN

two years, the administration of Zahrat al-ihsan revised the curriculum to more fully prepare students for the CEP and brevet, adding in more history and geography, as well as increasing French instruction to three to four hours per day.[174] The students of the orphanage, received on the beneficence of the schools' society, did not benefit from this change, however, as their coursework remained limited to needlework, French, and Arabic.[175] By 1934, under the leadership of a new principal, Mlle Vincent, the school appears to have been steadily growing its enrollment and more successfully training its students to sit for the CEP.[176] In preparing students for the French CEP and the brevet exams, the school opened up greater possibilities for its students.

If we were to look at all of this material on its face, it is clear that, prior to the implementation of the French Mandate, the school served as a finishing school for well-to-do members of the Greek Orthodox community. In order to keep up with local demand and shifts in thinking about the content and purpose of girls' education (and perhaps due to the support the school received from the diocese to do so), the school undertook a significant revision in its curriculum, modeling it on the French Mandate state's curriculum. While the French believed such a program would create colonial subject-citizens loyal to France, those within the school believed it would

[174] Rapport d'Inspection report no. 108: Ecole de Zahrat el ihsan (G.O. filles), 14 February 1924, 1SL/600/31; Rapport d'Inspection, 9 November 1926, 1/SL/600/44, IP, MAE, CADN.
[175] Inspection Report: Orphelinat de Zahrat el-ihsan, 28 February 1930, 1SL/600/79, Folder 2, IP, MAE, CADN.
[176] Inspection report of Zahrat al-ihsan, 23 November 1934. 1SL/600/111, IP, MAE, CADN. Preparation for the brevet appears to have been on hold at this point; while there had been attempts to implement it in the late 1920s/early 1930s, the organization of the school program, as well as the inadequate preparation of the students, made the course unpopular. Inspection report of Zahrat al-ihsan School, 29 April 1931, 1SL/600/87, IP, MAE, CADN.

improve the social, economic, and political lot of the community as a whole. I discuss this more in Chapter Three.

A Liberal Education for the Illumination of the Mind at Ahliah

Founded by Mary Kassab, a graduate of British mission schools, in Beirut in 1916 as the Syrian Preparatory School (*al-Madrasa al-suriyya al-istiʿdadiyya*), or simply, the Mary Kassab School, the school that eventually became known as Ahliah envisioned itself as "a national(ist) school that does not belong to a religious society or particular doctrine, but that respects religions and sects."[177] It aimed to provide a liberal education to "illuminat[e] the mind and [refine] the morals" of its students through "modern pedagogical methods," thus fostering children's personality and teaching them the value of self-respect, the acquisition of knowledge, and the ability to work with others.[178] This aim is exemplified in the school's motto, which remains the same today: "Knowledge is a light and guide" (*al-ʿilm nur wa huda*).[179]

The school's importance to the national community, and the significance of that importance for both the school and the community itself can be seen in the financial and material support the school received. From its earliest days, the school received wide support from leading Beirut families and from leaders around the region, including King Faysal of Iraq.[180] In the late 1920s, as the school's

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[177] "Muqtatafat min bayan madrasa al-banat al-ahliyya fi bayrut sana 1932," in *Min masirat al-ahliyya li-khamsa wa sabʿin ʿaman*, Al-Ahliah School Archives, Beirut, Lebanon (hereafter cited as Ahliah).
[178] "Muqtatafat," Ahliah.
[179] "Al-Ahliyya," 1956-7. Ahliah.
[180] *Min masirat al-ahliyya*, 15, Ahliah. The list of names included here is really the who's who of Beirut's multisectarian notability and upper-class families, including the Hittis, Qadduras, Quwatlis, Khuris, Maliks, ʾIz al-Dins, Sursuqs, Daʿuqs, Trads, ʾAbillamʿas. Daughters from many of the families listed here attended all of the Beirut schools examined in this dissertation, showing the importance of Ahliah for the community, as well as the diverse educational influences and interests of these families and/or their daughters.

administration and board sought to pay off its debt for the school buildings and improve the existing facilities, an international fundraising campaign ensued. According to the 1916-1931 statement of the school, this campaign, which sent delegations to Egypt, Brazil, and the United States, aimed "to awaken the best of the Syrian and Lebanese community to support this national educational project, to ensure its continued and steady progress." The report notes that everywhere the delegations went, they were received with "kindness and support…from Syrian and Lebanese sons and daughters of different ranks and positions."[181] Listing the names, contribution amounts, and locations affirms the school as an important national project. That nation also appeared to be somewhat inclusive, with contributions large and small, showing the diversity of people supporting Ahliah's education project. By highlighting its wide geographic and material support, the school framed itself as a school for all of Syria and Lebanon's daughters.

The importance of the national project and the school's role in that can be seen in the school's curriculum. Like the other schools examined in this dissertation, one of Ahliah's explicit aims was to prepare its upper-level students to be "refined" wives and mothers in their middle and upper-middle class households. Unlike the other schools examined, however, even in the earliest period where we see this kind of language used, it seems more of an afterthought than a central goal. The descriptions of the primary and secondary departments of the school, for example, focus on the qualifications students will have upon completion of the program. At the end of the primary course, "the student obtains the school's primary certificate,

[181] *Bayan Madrasat al-banat al-ahliyya fi Bayrut min sana 1916-1931*, 9, Ahliah.

entitling her" to sit for the CEP of the Mandate or Lebanese governments. Students who complete the whole course of study, "[obtain] the school academic certificate with a certificate in home management studies." The student is also "fully prepared" to sit for the Mandate or Lebanese brevet.[182]

In its description of the curriculum, the report notes that the school "provides instruction in Arabic, French, and English with special importance given to Arabic and home management in all its branches, practical and theoretical, and in drawing, sewing, and voice (*al-musiqa al-sawtiyya*), with physical education and organized games."[183] It is not until the final line that the reader sees the connection made between the above and the students' futures as wives as mothers: there are "other [subjects] than this, which completes women's refinement and prepares them for elevated family life."[184] Furthermore, school alumnae from the 1930s through 1950s note that home economics, of growing concern in other schools at this time, did not hold a particularly prominent place in the curriculum, at least in their memory.[185]

What those alumnae do remember, however, is the feelings of patriotism, linguistic pride, and self-worth that the school's principal, Wadad Makdisi Cortas, former Ahliah student and AUB alumna, instilled in her students, after she started in that role in 1935. Indeed, almost all of the Ahliah alumnae I talked with commented on the lifelong lessons their time at the school imparted to them, the courage it gave

[182] *Bayan, 1916-1931*, 5-6, Ahliah.
[183] *Bayan, 1916-1931*, 6, Ahliah.
[184] *Bayan, 1916-1931*, 6, Ahliah.
[185] Nida M'aluf in discussion with the author, 26 June 2017; Mona Taqla in discussion with the author, 30 June 2017.

them to express opinions and creativity, and the sense of social justice, patriotism, and international belonging the school engendered.

Haibat Mahzumi Turk graduated from Ahliah in 1938 having spent all of her schooling there. In three books that she wrote beginning in her 80s, Turk highlights her patriotism, compassion, recognition of global injustice, and her deep religious faith, connecting these views to her family upbringing and her education at Ahliah. After graduating from Ahliah, she went to the AJCW and then to AUB. She married Ghaleb Turk[186] shortly after graduating from AUB (they first met while she was still a student at AJCW, but both were committed to finishing their university education before marriage) and had five children. As the wife of a diplomat and governor of Lebanon, Turk represented the Lebanese government at home and abroad. Though her stories revolve around her life as a mother, particularly, they also make it clear that she is a patriot, loyal to Lebanon and its people.[187]

Mona Massuh Taqla, an alumna from the 1940s originally from Homs, made similar connections between her time at Ahliah and her patriotism to Lebanon, and to larger feminist and regional causes. After graduating from Ahliah, she stayed at the school to teach for an additional year. While there, she started writing in *Sawt al-Mar'a*, an explicitly feminist women's magazine.[188] Taqla wrote for the magazine for several years. When I visited with her, she had a stack of them for me to look

[186] Ghaleb Turk was a Lebanese diplomat posted in several countries before becoming governor of Southern Lebanon.
[187] Haibat Turk in discussion with the author, 8 July 2017, London, England; Turk, *Recollections by Teta* (London: Dolman Scott Ltd, 2009); *Short Stories from Baladi* (London: Dolmann Scott, 2010); *Potpourri: A Lifetime* (London: Dolman Scott Ltd, 2014).
[188] Published under the auspices of the Lebanese Women's Union, among its editors was Salma Sayigh, noted feminist and intellectual who was also highly involved in educational projects in the interwar period.

through—it was obviously an accomplishment that she was very proud of. In talking about her writing for the magazine, she said that it was the education she received at Ahliah, as well as the encouragement of Cortas, that led her to pursue her writing interests. Like Turk, Taqla's adult life was spent as wife and mother, working with her husband and within her family.[189]

Nida Maʿaluf graduated from Ahliah in the early 1940s. From there she went on to AJCW. She was a student at AJCW in 1943, as the Lebanese sought their independence from France. Among a group of AJCW students planning to attend a demonstration alongside some AUB students, Maʿaluf recalled that, prior to the demonstration, Mr. Stoltzfus, the president of AJCW reminded the young women that a demonstration was not a proper activity for them. Maʿaluf stood up and responded with: "This is a turning point in our history and we are going." After completing her degree at AJCW, she went to the *Académie libanaise des beaux-arts* in Beirut. She returned to Ahliah to teach art. Shortly thereafter she married and had three children. She continued drawing and painting throughout her adult life. When I visited her in June 2017, a beautiful mural covered the hallway leading up to the door of her apartment.[190]

For alumnae from the 1950s, while their school, personal, and professional experiences were somewhat different from the women mentioned above, they also talked about the ideals the school—and Cortas in particular—instilled in them, and

[189] Mona Taqla, 30 June 2017.
[190] Nida Maʿaluf, 26 June 2017.

the lifelong memories they carry of their teachers there, who set examples for them as professionals and as women loyal to Lebanon.[191]

Ahliah's case perhaps presents the tensions inherent in the project of girls' education in the interwar and early independence period most clearly. The curriculum from the late 1920s and early 1930s indicates that the school, especially in the days of Mary Kassab, aimed to prepare students for a future in the home. Many, if not most, graduates did end up doing just that. At the same time, the school's self-identification as a secular nationalist school and the specifically nationalist training and focus of Wadad Cortas directly prepared students for participation, to varying extents and in various ways, in the political life of the nation and/or the world—and they did, as seen in the above examples. Furthermore, the school provided its students with the training and certificates necessary for higher education and/or professional life.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the ways in which the formal curricula of girls' schools, in large part, aimed to prepare students for their futures as wives and mothers, most often in middle- and upper-middle-class and elite homes. The focus on home management, handcrafts, and more "practical" education for students is a particularly strong indicator of this aim. At the same time, curricula and schools' histories reveal a tension inherent in all girls' education in this period: that as these

[191] Three of the alumnae I met with, Selwa Lorenz, Mariam Said, and Thuraya Faris, all graduates from the 1950s, talked about the influence of Neda Barudi, the English teacher for the upper grades. Selwa Lorenz in discussion with the author, 8 July 2017, London, England; Mariam Said in discussion with the author, 20 June 2017, Beirut, Lebanon; Thuraya Faris in discussion with the author, 9 July 2017, London, England.

schools trained young women in the languages, literatures, sciences, and “arts” that they would need to be successful managers of the modern home, husband, and sons, they also offered them alternative futures. By exposing them to new ideas, through the curriculum, as well as through the examples set by their teachers—generally unmarried women with a career—students saw an option other than the home (or at least, only the home). Furthermore, by offering students coursework that would allow them to sit for the various government exams, thus qualifying them for higher studies and professional work, students had the qualifications to, again, work outside the home.

The overview provided here looked at the schools examined in this dissertation separately. The rest of the dissertation shows the ways in which the schools operated within the same educational sphere, responding to similar patterns, concerns, and demands as they engaged with the larger milieu outside the space of the school.

Chapter Two. “Useful Lessons” for the Home and Nation: Girls’ Education in the Early Mandate Women’s Press

At a session of the Syrian Congress in Damascus held in April 1920, delegate Ibrahim al-Khatib proposed the vote for secondary school-educated women. A month later, in May 1920, two articles about the Congress appeared in *al-Fajr*, a women's magazine that began publication in Beirut in January 1919: The first, the issue’s opening article, titled “Women at the Syrian Congress,” and the second, a reprinted article from the newspaper, *al-Haqiqa* (Truth), titled “Women and Elections.”

In the lead article, the author argued the inclusion of women’s suffrage on the agenda made the Congress “a historic session in its very occurrence, alone in its field.”[192] Yet, the author cautioned that men and women lack preparation for women’s political rights. While recognizing women’s struggle “to break the harness of cruel custom and to obtain the rights to life,” it notes that the vast majority of Syrian women remain shrouded in ignorance, and that Syrian men “do not want the Syrian woman to leave her prison, nor lift off the cover of ignorance, as custom and jealousy cause him to object to her presence in the markets, impeding her free movement with force, insult, and beatings.”[193] The author concludes that, because “the East cannot rise with the advancement of only half its people, and its son cannot rise before his mother,” the people must “refine her and give her rights in family, marriage, and society.”[194] In turn, she brings up children “fit for judgment and upbringing, taking off

[192] “al-Marʾa fi al-muʾtamar al-suri,” *al-Fajr* 2, no. 5 (May 1920).
[193] “al-Marʾa,” *al-Fajr* (May 1920).
[194] “al-Marʾa,” *al-Fajr* (May 1920).

the old and putting on the new."[195] Thus, women gain political rights over and alongside men.

Al-Fajr's editor, Najla Abillamʿa reprinted and introduced the *al-Haqiqa* article as "a useful lesson."[196] The article opens with a critique of women's participation in elections, arguing that their exclusion is supported from both a social and natural standpoint; just as women do not share with men their duties, so too men cannot share equally in the "smallest affairs" of women's duties to home and family. It also discounts the views of the "young men" who support women's suffrage.[197] The second half of the article comprises the text of a petition sent to the Syrian Congress, which states that the question of women's suffrage goes against the interests and traditions of the nation, arguing that ignoring this fact rejects the will of the people. The petition also claims that women are unprepared for political rights – that a woman should "remain in her home on her honorable throne," eventually learning the "useful" arts and sciences that will help her maintain her home and raise her sons to become "loyal men of the homeland." Only after women have raised these modern, patriotic men, can their own voting rights be considered.[198]

These two articles reflect the debate that ensued in the Syrian Congress in April 1920 over women's suffrage. In this debate, both the delegates and the writers of the articles defined the future of the state, taking women's education and role in the home, social and cultural norms, religious ideology, and class, into account.

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[195] "al-Marʾa," *al-Fajr* (May 1920).
[196] Abillamʿa, introductory note, "al-Nisaʾ wa-l-intikhabat," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 5 (May 1920).
[197] "al-Nisaʾ wa-l-intikhabat," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 5 (May 1920).
[198] "al-Nisaʾ wa-l-intikhabat," *al-Fajr* (May 1920).

Proponents of women's suffrage such as al-Khatib and the author of the *al-Fajr* article, rooted their argument in middle-class sensibilities and morals, of an educated woman who would both strengthen the nation and challenge European views of a backward "East." Those who opposed the motion, including both the author of the *al-Haqiqa* piece and the signatories of the petition reprinted in that article, expressed concern about the nation's preparedness for such a step.[199] Though the Congress tabled the proposal, showing one of the many ways women's participation in the formal political life of post-Ottoman states was curbed, the issue continued to occupy the pages of the women's press centered in Beirut during the interwar period.

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the early interwar women's press simultaneously imagined educated women's role in the nation as home-maker and nation-maker. As we saw in Chapter One, calls for and the goals of girls' and women's education during this period had an inherent tension. This same tension played out in the press: while much of the discourse on the relationship between woman and nation focused on her role as wife and mother to the nation's men and sons, that same discourse offered women material alternatives. Furthermore, the discussion of girls' educational institutions in the women's press of the interwar period offers a more complex and nuanced vision of both the nation and the role imagined for girls and women in it. In imagining a non-sectarian political order, the writers in the women's press articulated a social citizenship that emphasized shared

[199] For a full discussion of the debate on women's suffrage in the Syrian Congress in April 1920, see Elizabeth F. Thompson, *How the West Stole Democracy from the Arabs: The Syrian Arab Congress of 1920 and the Destruction of Its Historic Liberal-Islamic Alliance* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020), 213-225.

responsibility through community improvement and the building of similarity across difference.

Scholarship on women's literary production in the Middle East has focused on discourses about women's role in the nation in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Egypt and Iran.[200] These works show that this discourse often overlapped with feminist thought, either on its own or in relation to the larger nationalist movement.[201] They debate whether this discourse—centered on the emerging middle-class ideal of domesticity where educated women serve the nation as mothers to its sons—empowered women or solidified their subjugation in the home and society.

Another vein of this scholarship examines how the discourse on domesticity brought women into the public sphere.[202] These scholars argue that women entered

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[200] Baron, *Women's Awakening*; Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, "The Women's Press, Modern Education, and the State in Early Twentieth-Century Iran, 1900-1920s" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2000); Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Mervat Hatem, *Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Egypt: The Life and Works of ʿAʾisha Taymur*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Zachs and Halevi, *Gendering Culture*.

[201] Margot Badran, "Dual Liberation: Feminism and Nationalism in Egypt, 1870s-1925" *Feminist Issues* (Spring 1988): 15-34; Marilyn Booth, "Biography and Feminist Rhetoric in Early Twentieth-Century Egypt: Mayy Ziyada's Studies of Three Women's Lives" *Journal of Women's History* 3, no. 1 (1991): 38-64, https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2010.011 8; Lila Abu-Lughod, *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Fleischmann, "The Other 'Awakening': The Emergence of Women's Movements in the Modern Middle East, 1900-1940," in *Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East*, edited by Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 89-139; Booth, *May Her Likes Be Multiplied*; Booth, "Women in Islam: Men and the 'Women's Press' in Turn-of-the-20th-Century Egypt" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 171-201, http://doi.org/10.1017/S002074380100201X; Booth, *Classes of Ladies*; Bouthenia Khaldi, *Egypt Awakening in the Early Twentieth Century: Mayy Ziyadah's Intellectual Circles*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; and Ramdani, "Women in the 1919 Egyptian Revolution." Exceptions to this geographical focus and periodization include Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; Susanna Ferguson, "Tracing *Tarbiya*: Women, Education, and Childrearing in Lebanon and Egypt, 1860-1939" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2019); and Elizabeth Claire Saylor, "Subversive Sisterhood: Gender Hybridity and Transnationalism in ʿAfifa Karam's *Fatima al-Badawiyya* (*Fatima the Bedouin)*, 1909," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 15, no. 1 (2019): 3-23. https://doi.org/10.1215/15525864-7273678.

[202] Najmabadi, "Crafting"; Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Abou-Hodeib, *Taste for Home*; and Ferguson, "Tracing *Tarbiya*".

the public sphere literally—through the press, private salons, and talks at schools and societies—and symbolically—through the centering of domesticity in narratives of national uplift, anticolonial resistance, and the articulation of middle-class identity. They maintain that women's access to the public sphere, though, remained limited by their relationship to the home, ultimately hindering their ability to fully join public, political life.

Afsaneh Najmabadi, however, looks to the emancipatory possibilities that early twentieth-century Iranian women identified in the "discourse of domesticity," arguing that it allowed women to envision themselves as equal contributors to and citizens of the nation.[203] Furthermore, scholarship on women's participation in nationalist movements in colonial and postcolonial contexts suggests that women's literary production is a potent site for the contestation of meaning and the claiming of rights. They argue that though nationalism ultimately subordinates women in its hierarchical structures, it simultaneously offers sites of contestation through hegemonic discourses such as those that link mother and nation, seen most clearly in women's literary production.[204]

This chapter engages with the many facets of this scholarship, with a particular focus on the ways in which the writers of the early interwar women's press engaged with the relationships among education, home, and nation. It begins with an overview of the women's magazines and their editors/owners examined in this chapter—Abillamʿa's *al-Fajr* (Dawn), Julia Tʿuma Dimashqiyya's *al-Marʾa al-jadida*

[203] Najmabadi, "Crafting," 109.
[204] Franco, "The Nation as Imagined Community"; and Boehmer, *Stories of Women*.

(The New Woman), and Mary Yanni's *Minerva*. It then examines the discourse on the relationship between girls' education and nation, with a particular focus on that between educated womanhood and home and nation-making. It looks at the ways in which discourses of the home become discourses of the nation when looking at them within the context of colonial occupation and nation-making. Indeed, in building on Najmabadi's conclusions about early twentieth-century Iranian women's appropriation of the domestic, I argue that the renewal of the women's press, calls for women's suffrage, women's increased presence in the political realm at the local, national, regional, and international levels, and their increasing presence in the professional world, show that while the language of domesticity and morality was one of the many causes for women's exclusion from formal power, it remained a powerful tool for elite and middle-class women to voice and legitimate their political, social, and economic demands.[205]

The chapter closes by looking at the ways in which the discursive and material overlapped in conversations on the "national school" (*al-madrasa al-wataniyya*) found in the early Mandate women's press. Referring to specific local girls' and coeducational schools, such a designation ran counter to both French and local power holders' view of these same schools. The French SIP defined "national schools" as government-run schools. The local religious communities of which many

[205] Taylor Long's article on childrearing in French mandate Lebanon shows how discourses often seen as limiting to women's options allowed individuals to articulate alternative discourses through familiar and accepted rhetoric. Workingwomen, however, pursued rights through their labor power, rather than through discourses of domesticity. See Long, "Political Parenting in Colonial Lebanon," *The Journal of the History of Childhood* 4, no. 1 (2011): 257-281. doi.org/10.1353/hcy.2011.0017; Abisaab, *Militant Women*.

of these schools were a part claimed them for those communities and an idea of the "nation" that would benefit them. The women's press' designation of these private, local schools as "national" or "patriotic" challenges both. Writers saw local schools as key players in national uplift rather than the uplift of a particular community within the nation.

The Women's Press in Early Interwar Lebanon

The three women's magazines examined in this chapter, *al-Fajr*, *al-Marʾa al-jadida*, and *Minerva*, joined a tradition of women's magazines published in the Middle East since the late nineteenth century. They also created a framework that allowed Lebanese women to articulate demands for secondary and higher education, an expanding role in the workforce, and, ultimately, suffrage in the later and post-war period. These magazines, which were published before and during the first decade of formal French Mandate rule styled themselves as products of the *nahda*, the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century "renewal" of Arabic culture, language, literature, and tradition, and thus dealt with literary, artistic, cultural, societal, educational, and political topics for the advancement of the Syrian homeland, people, and women. Indeed, in the opening article of *al-Fajr*'s first issue in January 1919, its editor, Najla Abillamʿa, wrote that she created *al-Fajr* "out of love for women's progress and in pursuit of their advancement"; women's renaissance, rooted in their education, was vital for a strong society and a strong nation.[206]

The following provides a sketch of *al-Fajr*, *al-Marʾa al-jadida*, and *Minerva*, as well as their owners-editors, Najla Abillamʿa, Julia Tʿuma Dimashqiyya, and Mary

[206] "Al-Fajr," *al-Fajr* 1, no. 1 (January 1919).

Yanni, respectively. It frames the magazines and their editors as key participants in debates about women's role in national life and in activities that put women's participation into practice. Abillamʿa, Dimashqiyya, and Yanni were born in the late nineteenth century in or around Beirut, subjects of a rapidly changing Ottoman Empire.[207] All were born into prominent Christian families; the generation of the Abillamʿa family into which Najla was born still received the honorific *amir* or *amira* (prince or princess). By the time all these women reached adulthood, however, such legacies were becoming part of the past as they joined the emerging middle and upper-middle classes in Greater Syria.[208]

Biographers of all three women also highlight their early "nationalist" or national education. For Abillamʿa, her early education was shaped by the principles of Butrus al-Bustani's (1819-1883) school, *al-Madrasa al-wataniyya* (The National School). While both Yanni and Dimashqiyya received their early education at British mission schools, Yanni also spent some time at Zahrat al-ihsan. Further, after completing her studies there, she studied Arabic with Ibrahim al-Mundhir, a

[207] Abillamʿa (1895-1967), Dimashqiyya (1880-1954), Yanni (1895-1967). These changes were the result of the empire's incorporation into the capitalist world economy, nationalist and separatist movements challenging its rule within its borders, and shifts in the relationship between the people and the government shifted from subject to citizen. This period was also defined by shifting gender norms; the exalted relationship between woman and nation, the rise of the middle class and notions of middle-class domesticity, and women's expanding role in public and political life shaped women's and men's political, social, and economic lives.

[208] By the 1920s and 1930s, the Abillamʿas, for example, were migrating and opening up their own businesses. Abillamʿa's brother, Joseph Abillamʿa, opened Carrosserie Abillamʿa in Beirut in the mid-1930s. Raif, another brother, was the Minister of Health and Public Assistance in the cabinet of Riad al-Solh from 1949 to 1951, and a deputy for Beirut, Minister of Health and National Education, Secretary of the League of Arab States (eventually, the Arab League, f. 1945), and the ambassador for Lebanon to Brazil. Other male family members were educated in French and Lebanese schools, and pursued careers as doctors and architects. Poole 1974; *Who's Who in Lebanon* 1967-8.

prominent Arab nationalist and supporter of women's causes in the first half of the twentieth century.

The early educational experiences of these three women gave them a lifelong love of the Arabic language, and, by extension, the Lebanese nation,[209] seen in their involvement with the Beirut nationalist, feminist, and women's movements.[210] During WWI, for example, Abillamʿa participated in various relief projects spearheaded by 'Anbara Salam, a significant figure in the early Arab women's movement.[211] After the war, she joined several women's groups and led projects to develop local trades and industry, and sought to establish her own educational projects.[212] Yanni, meanwhile, became an active participant in the intellectual circles that surrounded her family, beginning in the midst of WWI, publishing a weekly bulletin titled "Minerva" that was distributed among her family's literary friends.[213] After the war, she continued to participate in the city's intellectual movements by writing in both *al-Fajr* and *al-Marʾa al-jadida* before re-establishing *Minerva* as a monthly magazine.[214] She also

[209] Or, more accurately, what became the independent country of Lebanon.
[210] Abillamʿa, Dimashqiyya, and Yanni envisioned "the nation" as an Arabic-speaking one. The Lebanon that they envisioned, whether at the time or later, was the same. Najib al-Buʿayni, *Sihafiyat lubnaniyat raʾidat wa adibat mubdiʾat* (Beirut: Naufal Group, 2007), 160; Nadiya al-Jurdi Nuwayhid, *Nisaʾ min biladi* (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿarabiyya li-l-dirasat wa-l-nashr, 1986).
[211] al-Buʿayni, *Sihafiyat*, 160; Anbara Salam Khalidi, *Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and Activism of Anbara Salam Khalidi* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 71-72.
[212] Nuwayhid, *Nisaʾ,* 25-26. In 1923, she sent an inquiry to the SIP to open a school to teach "moral and manual education for the blind." Najla Abillamʿa to the High Commissioner, 3 March 1923, 1SL/600/24, IP, MAE, CADN. In the mid-1920s, Abillamʿa migrated to North America to marry journalist Yusuf Nʿaman Mʿaluf. After briefly reviving *al-Fajr* in 1931 in Canada, in 1932, Abillamʿa continued her journalistic work, joining *al-Huda* (*The Guidance*), the longest-running Arabic-language newspaper in the United States. She wrote a regular column titled "The best I have read and heard." She returned to Lebanon in 1954 and died in 1967.
[213] According to Dimashqiyya, Yanni began publishing an informal bulletin, also called "Minerva," in 1916, which was distributed among the literary circles that surrounded Yanni's family in Beirut. Nuwayhid, *Nisaʾ*, 275.
[214] Nuwayhid, *Nisaʾ*, 274-276.

remained connected to the city's educational milieu, and her alma mater, returning to Zahrat al-ihsan in 1921 to give a speech at the end-of-year celebration.[215]

While the activities and biographies of Abillamʿa, Dimashqiyya, and Yanni placed them within the confines of middle-class female respectability—based in charitable work and educational projects—they also put them squarely into political life as they worked for their community, influencing middle- and upper-class women's consumption habits, inspiring young women students, and writing in and editing magazines that shaped men's and women's views on a variety of subjects.[216]

Al-Fajr and *al-Marʾa al-jadida*, in particular, were reflections of this work, calling on women as patriots, reformers, and advancers of the homeland (*watan*) through their participation in the press and society, and through calls for educational reform. Though *Minerva*'s content was noticeably different from that published in *al-Fajr* and *al-Marʾa al-jadida*, it, too, highlighted the need for educational reform as a means to cultural and national uplift.

Published between 1919 and 1922, and again in 1931, the first issue of *al-Fajr* in January 1919 made it one of the first women's magazines circulating in Beirut following the end of World War I and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.[217] In

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[215] "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 1, no. 3 (June 1921): 93. I imagine that she also participated in these in other years.

[216] Paula Baker defines politics as "any action, formal or informal, taken to affect the course or behavior of government or the community." Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (1984), 622. doi.org/10.2307/1856119.

[217] *Al-Fajr* was not the first women's magazine produced in Greater Syria. This honor goes to *al-Marʾa* (est. 1893), published in Aleppo by Nadima al-Sabuni. Pauline Homsi Vinson and Nawar al-Hassan Golley, "Challenges and Opportunities: The Women's Movement in Syria," in *Mapping Arab Women's Movements: A Century of Transformations from Within*, edited by Pernille Arenfeldt and Nawar al-Hassan Golley (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2012), 66. The first women's magazine published in the territory that would become Lebanon was *Fatat Lubnan* (est. 1914), edited by Sarah Ibrahim. ʿAfifa Sʿab's magazine *al-Khidr*, published in Shwayfat, also began publication in 1919. Nazik

Spring 1921, Dimashqiyya began publishing *al-Marʾa al-jadida*. Like *al-Fajr*, it was a monthly women's magazine, based in Beirut. Dimashqiyya published it from 1921 through 1925. Mary Yanni began publishing *Minerva* in April 1923; the magazine ran for seven years.

While none of the magazines had particularly large subscription numbers, their subscription information shows their wide circulation.[218] In 1920 issues of *al-Fajr*, for example, subscription inquiries could be directed to individuals in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, Brazil, the United States, Canada, and England. *Al-Marʾa al-jadida* and *Minerva* were similarly distributed. Many of the cities included in the subscription lists of all three magazines, including New York and São Paolo, were sites of a vibrant Syrian diasporic community and periodical press, placing these magazines in that milieu.

Furthermore, the men and women who contributed to these magazines were closely connected both to each other and to the larger intellectual currents and trends of the period, including in debates about middle-class ideals, domesticity, education, and women's role in national life. Authors on topics related to the women's movement included Salam, Ibtihaj Qaddura, ʾAmina al-Khuri, Mary ʿAjami, and others, all participants in the early Arab women's movement as writers and activists. On the topics of education, upbringing, and homemaking, authors included women

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Saba Yarid and Naha Bayyumi, *Katibat Lubnaniyat: Biblioghrafia, 1850-1950* (Beirut: Dar al-Saqi, 2000).

[218] In fact, *al-Marʾa al-jadida* did have a fairly significant number of subscribers. In 1924, circulation had reached approximately 2000 subscribers, a fairly large number considering *l'Orient*, a prominent French-language mainstream newspaper that still runs today, had a circulation of 3700 in 1929. Nadine Méouchy, "Les forms de conscience politique et communautaire au liban et en syrie a l'epoque du mandate français, 1920-1939." PhD diss., Université de Paris – Sorbonne (1989), 432, 436.

educators like ʾAsma Abillamʿa and Dimashqiyya. Jirji Baz, a notable and prolific writer on the Arab women's renaissance in the early twentieth century, regularly contributed to the three magazines with articles about the women's press and women's patriotic duties.[219] Further, the magazines' participation in these debates was not limited to Beirut, seen both in the above information about subscription contacts and in articles from notable *mahjar* writers including Khalil Gibran and ʿAfifa Karam, and Mayy Ziyadeh, a Lebanese émigré living and writing in Egypt.[220]

There were, however, some important differences, particularly between *al-Fajr* and *al-Marʾa al-jadida* on the one hand and *Minerva* on the other. While all the magazines' contributors were closely connected to the women's movement, *al-Fajr* and *al-Marʾa al-jadida* dealt explicitly with the worldwide and regional women's and feminist movements, ideas about womanhood, women's rights, and childrearing, as well as girls' and women's education.[221] Furthermore, both *al-Fajr* and *al-Marʾa al-jadida* described themselves as women's magazines. *Minerva* did not, instead styling

[219] Souad Slim and Anne-Laure Dupont, "La vie intellectuelle des femmes à Beyrouth dans les années 1920 a travers la revue Minerva," *Revue des Mondes Musulmans de la Mediterranee* 95, no. 98 (May 2009): para. 10. https://doi.org/10.4000/remmm.241.

[220] The term *mahjar* refers to the land of migration. It is also important to note here that the term "Lebanese" in the way we understand it today was not in use at this time.

[221] Both *al-Fajr* and *al-Marʾa al-jadida* were organized into regular rubrics. In 1920, every issue of *al-Fajr* was organized by a predictable organization. Each issue opened with a section titled "ʿAlam al-nisaʾi" (Women's Universe) that covered some aspect of the worldwide feminist movement, from its manifestations in specific countries, including Syria and Egypt, to conferences held in different parts of the world, to discussions about the notion of womanhood itself. It included sections devoted to philosophy, literature, and poetry that covered a range of topics including marriage, women's rights, childrearing, and biographies of famous philosophers. The content of these sections was often supplemented by those appearing under another rubric about "the most outstanding" men and women, biographies of famous historical figures, Arab and European, women and men, and Arabic aphorisms. Each issue also had a "social and family studies" rubric, where readers could find articles on housekeeping, upbringing (*tarbiya*), and health, all of which dealt with instilling the principles of middle-class domesticity, often explicitly connected to national uplift, as well as articles and short pieces on women in political life. Finally, each issue included letters to and from the magazine, announcements about girls' and women's organizations, and advertisements.

itself as a "culture, variety, and society" magazine.[222] Indeed, it was not until the fourth year of its publication that we see more engagement with the women's movement, women's organizations, domestic concerns, and child rearing.[223]

Ultimately, the above shows the ways in which the women's press contributed to, and in fact shaped, wider discussions about women's education and their role in national life. This is seen in the biographies of Abillamʿa, Dimashqiyya, and Yanni, the history, contents, and distribution of the magazines, and their engagement with each other, and the rest of the periodical press at the time.

Education for Nation-Making and Home-Making

In this section, I examine the relationships among women, education, and nation as seen in the magazines described above. I begin by looking at the link made between girls' and women's education and the nation found in the magazines, with a particular focus on the relationship between women's role in the home and her role in the nation. I also look at the ways in which women's role in the home can be read as her role in the nation, providing a theoretical framework for my analysis. I aim to show that women imagined themselves as active participants in the life of the nation, often calling on the discourse of domesticity to make such a claim legible.

GIRLS' AND WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND THE NATION

For much of the nineteenth century, governments and intellectuals in the Middle East connected education with national success. Both the Ottoman and

[222] *Minerva*'s byline was "Majalla adab wa fann wa ijtima'." See, for example, *Minerva* 2, no. 1 (10 April 1924).
[223] This shift could be explained by the closure of *al-Marʾa al-jadida* in 1926 and thus the end of women's own literary voice in Beirut intellectual circles.

Egyptian governments, for example, aimed to expand access to primary education for girls and boys since the early- to mid-nineteenth century.[224] Egyptian intellectuals and Syrian émigrés living in Egypt had been debating the relationship between the two in the press since the late nineteenth century. The specific importance of girls' and women's education to the national project was also a central part of this conversation, most famously seen in Qasim Amin's *Tahrir al-marʾa* (The Liberation of Women; 1899) and *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (The New Woman; 1900), and in the foundation of the *al-Sania*, *al-Siyufia*, and midwifery schools for girls and young women in Egypt.[225] For writers and the proponents of girls' education during this period, education, and girls' education in particular was the key to not only national success but also to ending European economic domination and colonial occupation.

Though a few women writers advocated for girls' education so that women might participate in political life, most writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century on this topic focused on the importance of an educated womanhood for the support of the nation's husbands and sons. Women would best serve the nation through their role as educated partners to their patriotic husbands and as refined mothers to sons of the nation's future.

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[224] For Egypt, see Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman*. For the Ottoman context, see Evered, *Empire and Education*; Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*; Somel, *Modernization of Public Education*.
[225] See Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman*, 120-122. Russell comments on the two-tiered nature of the educational program created by the British in the late nineteenth century, which was also advocated for by the elite men and women writing in the pages of the Egyptian and Syrian émigré press. While Qasim Amin's works are the most famous, many women intellectuals, including Hind Nawfal (owner of *al-Fatat* (The Girl)), Mayy Ziyadeh, and Zeynab Fawaz dealt with these topics around the same period, or even earlier. Different from Amin and other men writers of the time, many women writers linked feminist and nationalist discourse, tying their social and political liberation together. See, for example, Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation*; Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*; Booth, *Classes of Ladies*; Khaldi, *Egypt Awakening*; and Zachs and Halevi, *Gendering Culture*.

The women's press of interwar Lebanon continued this tradition, drawing on concepts of *tarbiya* (upbringing) and *tahdhib* (refinement) as it dispensed advice on childrearing and homemaking, common topics found in the pages of the women's press.[226] As noted above, many scholars have looked at the ways in which this discourse ultimately limited women's inclusion in formal political life over the course of the Mandate period, in independence, and, in fact, to the present. While this is true, this section looks at the framing of girls' education as a project aimed at their development as patriots – perhaps so they could become good wives and mothers but also so they could become professional women.

The magazines examined here are filled with articles about the importance of girls' schools to the success of the nation. In the 1919 end-of-year special edition of *al-Fajr*, for example, an article appears titled "The School of Tomorrow." It expounds the importance of the school as "a measure of all nations," as institutions that impart glory, strength, and power on those that develop it properly.[227] In a January 1921 *al-Fajr* article, titled "Schools," we again see the importance of the school for the nation. The opening line reads: "Schools are the distinguishing vessels of the country and are…the basis of national unity."[228] In the January and March 1919 issues of *al-Fajr*, Julia Tʿuma Dimashqiyya contributed a two-part article about her visit to a girls' school in Switzerland.

Dimashqiyya opens the article by reiterating a common theme in articles on education, stating that schools are "the maker of the nation and a pillar of its

[226] Ferguson, "Tracing *Tarbiya*."
[227] "Madrasat al-ghad," *al-Fajr*, 1, special (December 1919).
[228] "Al-Mudaris," *al-Fajr* 3, no. 1 (January 1921).

life…from between its two walls come men of the nation and virtuous women." The purpose of her articles describing the Swiss school is to help work towards the improvement in the conditions of "our schools"; to take this model "to our beloved country and transplant it to the woods of Beirut, and establish it for the education of the girls of the nation and especially the Muslims of us."[229] Here, we see the modern European school as the model school: one that is clean, comfortable, well-constructed, and designed for the advancement of both the girls and the nation. In calling out the poor educational situation for Muslim girls in particular and linking them to all "girls of the nation," Dimashqiyya envisions national advancement taking place only if *all* girls have access to good education and educational institutions—and includes Muslims in her vision of the nation.

She spends the rest of her two-part article, highlighting the physical space of the school, and the way in which it is designed for the advancement of schoolgirls and nation. On the playground, she witnesses the girls involved in a variety of diversions. She notes the layout of the playground as apt for both the development of the body and the mind. In addition to including an area for "sporting games," the playground has large shade trees, under which benches allow the girls to rest, as well as an area wreathed by flowers and aromatic herbs, ideal for studying, reading, writing, and reflecting. Such a setting, Dimashqiyya writes, "renews the strength of the mind and improves the mental faculties."[230]

[229] "Al-Madrasa," *al-Fajr* 1, no. 1 (January 1919).
[230] "Al-Madrasa," *al-Fajr* (January 1919).

In the classrooms Dimashqiyya visits, which are set up for different subjects including physics, chemistry, geology, and handcrafts (i.e., weaving and embroidery), she describes their large rectangular windows that allow air and light to enter the classroom, green walls, and a size that is more than large enough to accommodate the twenty students that use it. The similarity in size, shape, and organization among the different classrooms, as well as the fact that "there is not anything in them save seats and desks and a writing board on the wall with some drawings and flags and maps," makes the rooms "equipped for an environment of study."[231]

When going into more detail about the "pictures and maps" found on the walls of the classrooms, Dimashqiyya connects them to the development of students' national feeling. She writes, "I saw…famous men, representatives of freedom, martyrs of patriotism, and philanthropists." She notes that the maps and pictures imbue students with love of country and virtue, and provide them with a model for their own actions. She closes her article by noting that the qualities that she saw (and has now presented to the reader) at the Swiss school were vital for the elevation of the children of the nation and for the encouragement of loyalty towards it.

The studious and national-consciousness-raising environment of the classroom is complemented by a "spacious" library with "comfortable-looking chairs,"

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[231] "Al-Madrasa." Benjamin Fortna argues that popular depictions of the schoolroom in the late nineteenth-century Istanbul depicted the schoolroom of the traditional *Kuttab* versus the modern school as one of extremes: "Crowded, dimly lit and airless, the old schools were characterized as primitive, even barbaric. What learning took place here, these depictions suggest, did so in spite of the worryingly sensual rocking back and forth of the children in their crowded classes and the incessant din of the children shouting...their lessons." Dimashqiyya's comment on the pleasant setting and set-up of the room perhaps stands in intentional contrast to such a vision, which would likely have been familiar to regular readers of the press. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 54.

tables fit “for laying down books and instruments that the students use for study,” and books indexed using a method that “is convenient for the students to quickly find the books that they desire” and that allow them to explore further topics of study “without trouble and toil.”[232]

Dimashqiyya conceptualizes the space of the girls’ school as a key site in the formation of national identities, belonging, and understanding. While it is clear that she finds this modern, European school to be an ideal example of the type of school that all children should attend, she also sees it as a model that should be adopted by the people of her country for the advancement of its girls and women and thus the nation. Indeed, though educationalists and governments in the Middle East had been incorporating “modern” ideas about pedagogies into their schools since the mid-nineteenth century, most of these schools were for boys. Furthermore, though education had long been seen as key to the development of national feeling, girls’ and women’s primary participation in that development was through their roles as wives and mothers. In highlighting the different classrooms that she finds, Dimashqiyya suggests that girls’ education should ensure both their refinement and their intellectual development. Her discussion of and focus on scientific classrooms and the maps and pictures meant to encourage students’ patriotism shows less emphasis on the school as a site for the development of the girls’ abilities in the home, and more on its role in the development of their minds and national feeling.

Schools as sites for the development of girls’ national feeling, and thus the nation, can be seen throughout the pages of the press. In the fourth issue of *al-Marʾa*

[232] “Al-Madrasa,” *al-Fajr* 1, no. 2 (March 1919).

al-jadida, Salma Sayigh contributed an article titled “al-Mudaris al-wataniyya” (National Schools), in which she recounts a meeting she had with Madame Saule, one of the SIP’s school inspectors.[233] This meeting took place after the end-of-year examinations and the awarding of secondary school certificates to “patriotic [young women] students.” In the meeting, Sayigh sought both assurance and advice from Saule. While Saule is quick to give assurance—that the students who were awarded the certificate convinced her of “the intelligence of Syrian girls[, which] promises good results in the near future”—Sayigh’s account indicates that she is less willing to give advice. Indeed, when Sayigh presses Saule on the purpose of their meeting—to ascertain what needs to be done in order for the nation’s schools, and thus the nation, to succeed, Saule hedges, noting the limitations placed on her by her role as a representative of the French occupation government.[234] Sayigh presses however, and Saule responds, a bit heatedly:

> I already deviated from their [SIP] limiting conditions, but you want my opinion on your schools? The schools in this great country [France]…observe one vision and one program, and their teachers studied the origins of education in one school. Where are your national teachers? From where do teachers graduate? Yes, there are some ladies who know the origins of education but they learn in foreign schools so they – whatever they say – are tinted by an English or French pigment. And I do not look at this issue – as you have seen – as

[233] Sayigh, “al-Mudaris al-wataniyya,” *al-Mar’a al-jadida* 1, no. 4 (July 1921). Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections, American University of Beirut, Lebanon (hereafter AUB). Almost without exception, the writers in the women’s press use variations of “watan” (literally translated as homeland, fatherland, patria) in ways that appear to describe things as “national.” The Arabic word for national, “qawm,” in the articles I have looked at closely so far, appears rarely. Sayigh was a prominent member of the women’s movement in the first half of the twentieth century. She was also heavily involved in girls’ education, being associated with Zahrat al-Ihsan, Ahliah, and the American School for Girls in Beirut at different periods and in different functions. Saule worked for the French Public Instruction Service. Throughout the mandate period, beginning in 1920, she traversed both Syria and Lebanon inspecting schools throughout the Mandate period. While she typically inspected girls’ schools, she also filed reports for schools for young boys’ schools.

[234] Sayigh, “al-Mudaris,” *al-Mar’a al-jadida* (July 1921).

> an employee of France. I look at it as an individual observer who wishes your country a fine life. And you will not have a fine life until your schools improve.[235]

Sayigh then asks Saule how they might bring about such improvement. Saule responds: "Unification of the program is all that is required, but is there a way to unite them? And if they are united, where is the teacher to apply it? Where are the buildings? Where are the books? Where are the materials? This is not done in a year or two years but we have to wait until there are graduates from the teaching school."[236] After this pronouncement, Sayigh appears to have ended the meeting somewhat abruptly, noting that she stood up, thanked Saule, and that, as she walked out of the office, she said, "There is no life for us before our schools advance."[237] Indeed, for Sayigh and many writers in the press, "educational unity" such as that described above could not come about in the context of colonial domination or occupation, nor through a sectarian state and educational system.[238]

Two months later, in the September 1921 issue, Mariam Zata wrote an article responding to Sayigh's July article and again raising the question of the "national school." Zata writes that Sayigh's closing statement had the effect of "motivating the citizenry…to walk and not stand still"—to both support and expand the "national school."[239] Zata uses the example of Ahliah, a school that "grew from small seeds but fell into fertile earth," fed by "the love of the people" and which is "the drug [that] has

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[235] Sayigh, "al-Mudaris," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (July 1921).
[236] Sayigh, "al-Mudaris," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (July 1921).
[237] Sayigh, "al-Mudaris," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (July 1921).
[238] I will discuss this more in the final section of this chapter, which discusses the "national school" as discussed in the women's press.
[239] Zata, "al-Mudaris al-wataniyya," *al-Marʾa al-jadida*, 1, no. 5 (September 1921), AUB.

been known to treat the national disease" (what is described elsewhere as ignorance and simple-mindedness) through the teaching of independence, self-respect, self-reliance, and the learning of the country's national language.[240]

Zata recounts a meeting between Madame Saule and Mary Kassab, the principal of Ahliah. They met to discuss the French secondary school certificate and, in Kassab's estimation, its "unsuitability for patriotic schoolgirls."[241] Kassab poses the following to Saule: "the subjects of the brevet are in conformity for French girls, not Syrian girls. Truly, how can a Syrian girl know French history well when she does not even know the history of her homeland? And how is it patriotic to study and improve French more than her language, Arabic?"[242] Kassab also responds to a criticism found in early inspection reports (and suggested in Saule's interview with Sayigh)—that the majority of teachers at Ahliah are from American and English schools, and are thus trained in Arabic, with little or no French. Kassab suggests that the only way to fix this is to develop national schools like Ahliah, from which students can graduate knowing both languages – Arabic and French.[243] Saule agrees with Kassab (with a

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[240] Zata, "al-Mudaris," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (September 1921).
[241] Zata, "al-Mudaris," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (September 1921).
[242] Zata, "al-Mudaris," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (September 1921). Kassab seems to be hinting at notions of French republican citizenship here, when she highlights the need for the primacy of Syrian history and language over French if Syrian/Lebanese are to be successful not only in the French exams, but in creating a nation or national idea. Indeed, while Thompson explores how various groups appropriated and understood notions of republican citizenship during the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon, Sbaiti looks at the centrality of history, geography, and language education in building up competing conceptions of the Lebanese state in girls' schools from the beginning of the mandate period through to the outbreak of the civil war in 1975. Kassab's statement suggests a combination of the two. Perhaps Kassab is also gently poking at the irony of the French Mandate given its ideals of citizenship. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; Sbaiti, "Lessons in History".
[243] Kassab's suggestion here is an interesting one. While it seems, on the surface, that the school is attempting to meet French SIP requirements and aims in both education and the future direction of the country, the continued tension that exists between Ahliah and the French High Commission throughout the mandate period, as indicated in inspection reports, correspondence, and files related to French-required openings and closings of the school, would seem to indicate that this is some kind of

face that reflected “all due attention and impressed admiration,” no less), saying that though the brevet is appropriate for French girls, “to bestow on them the duty of the French soul,” the SIP is “now organizing a program that is appropriate for Syrian girls…and authorizes the distribution of an exam in different subjects in the Arabic language with a good knowledge of French.”[244] The skills honed in preparing for such an exam would thus allow students to teach or pursue other professions.

The role of national schools in creating a cadre of professional national teachers can be seen in an article from the same September issue discussed above. In this article, titled “Bint al-madrasa” (Schoolgirl), a secondary school graduate, Alice Saʿad, shares her thoughts after visiting four schools, some national and some foreign.[245] She concludes that the modern school needs to provide its girl students “knowledge of economics and homemaking, communities of people, the upbringing of children and the taking care of their health, withstanding harmful fashions and habits, illusions, and myths, to be simple in food and clothing, and to be kind and simple in transactions and contracts.”[246] These schools must also encourage “self-reliance in earning a living” among their graduates “because the girl cannot only depend in life on what the man offers her.”[247]

These articles show the multiple, sometimes competing, goals of girls’ education in this early period. They reveal an active engagement with French aims

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appeasement instead of an actual desire to meet the demands of the French. Further, as indicated in additional articles in the magazine, the primary language of instruction in all national schools should be Arabic, with any others taking a back seat.

[244] Zata, “al-Mudaris,” *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (September 1921).

[245] Saʿad, “Bint al-madrasa,” *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (September 1921), AUB. Unfortunately, she does not note which schools she visits.

[246] Saʿad, “Bint,” *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (September 1921).

[247] Saʿad, “Bint,” *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (September 1921).

and ideals, particularly the harnessing of the ideals of patriotism through love of country engendered by the study of that country's history and language. It is equally clear that, while French ideals *may* serve as a model, in order for the nation and its girls and young women to be successful, national schools and exams that teach Arabic and the history of Lebanon and Syria are the only way for these values to be instilled. Furthermore, these articles highlight the importance of national schools for the training of national teachers. For Sayigh, Kassab, and Saʿad, it is only in the national school—where Arabic and local history are taught—that such a training can occur.

At the same time, however, the women's press is filled with articles on homemaking, childrearing, and the importance of the home for the nation. What, then, is the purpose of the education girls receive? For the home? For the nation in the home? Or, for the nation?

READING HOME-MAKING AS NATION-MAKING

This section examines the ways in which the rhetoric of home-making can be read as nation-making in the women's press by analyzing a ten-part fictional correspondence between Salma and her daughter Mary printed in 1920 issues of *al-Fajr*. The letters offer insight into the middle-class ideals that framed discussions of women's participation in national life and how women used them to communicate a broader vision of their role than these ideals might suggest. Using Stephen Greenblatt's notion of self-fashioning[248] and Nan Enstad's definition of political

[248] Greenblatt suggests that, through literature, individuals can embody and negotiate the cultural and social expectations that circumscribe their lives. Literature is a "manifestation of the concrete behavior of its particular author"; an "expression of the codes by which behavior is shaped"; and a "reflection

subjects[249], I argue that this correspondence, though ostensibly about domestic life and concerns, marshals the discourse of domesticity—women as educated managers of the home, their children, and their husbands—to articulate women's role in public, national life. Thus, when the correspondence describes the ideal middle-class woman and her domestic life through the mother-daughter and husband-wife relationships, it simultaneously fashions women as citizens, patriotically devoted to and shaped by the nation, partnering with their fellow citizens for its improvement.

The Correspondence. The first letter introduces the reader to the two correspondents: Salma and her daughter Mary.[250] In this letter and the next, Salma

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upon these codes" by an author. Assuming that the correspondence between Salma and Mary was written by Abillamʿa, Greenblatt's framework allows us to read these letters as a manifestation of her social positioning—educated and middle class—in Beirut society; an expression of the various codes—female respectability, middle-class morality, and cultural constructions of women's "place"—that shaped her understanding, position, and viewpoint as expressed in the correspondence; and her own ideas about these same codes. Thus, a text that deals with domestic matters can also be read as a text that seeks to shape, subvert, and prop up the existing cultural milieu, in this case, dominated by middle-class ideals that placed women's primary role in the home. Further, within the context of nationalist and anticolonial movements and conversations about the individual's relationship to the state, a text about domestic life becomes a text about and commentary on national life, and the relationships found within the house become relationships found within the nation. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 4; Keith David Watenpaugh. *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); and Abou-Hodeib, *Taste for Home*.

[249] Enstad analyzes workingwomen's consumption of fashion in the early twentieth century to show how they constructed themselves as middle-class ladies, giving their clothing-commodities, and thus their actions, political significance. In claiming "ladyhood" by donning its clothing, strikers made their claims legible in the larger culture, defining themselves as political subjects. While Enstad's strikers used the cultural and economic importance of fashion to articulate their political goals, Abillamʿa used the cultural, social, and political power of the discourse of domesticity to define women as political subjects and lend clarity to women's claims to social and political life. In fashioning women as political subjects and citizens, Abillamʿa used her magazine to grapple with the larger social and cultural structures that limited women's participation in public, national life. By using the familiar tropes of domesticity—motherhood, marriage, and domestic life—the correspondence shaped, responded to, and reimagined women's role in national life—as women devoted to the nation, working with their fellow citizens outside the home. Enstad, "Fashioning Political Identities: Cultural Studies and the Historical Construction of Political Subjects," *American Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1998): 750.

[250] The correspondence almost always appeared under the title "Murasala bayn al-umm wa-l-bint" (A Conversation between mother and daughter). The only exceptions are in November and December 1920, when the letters appeared under the titles "Risala min al-umm ila al-bint" (Letter from Mother to Daughter) and "Risala Mari ila ummaha Salma" (Mary's Letter to Her Mother Salma), respectively.

provides practical advice on maintaining a home that keeps it, and Mary, desirable for Mary's new husband, Henry. In both letters, Salma lavishes Mary with declarations of her love, lays out the potential dangers that await in married life, and provides examples of the homes, women, and social gatherings best suited to a modern, middle-class home built on companionate marriage. In the third letter, Mary thanks her mother for her advice, noting that she will use it as "a beacon against stumbling blocks in my path," which, the reader assumes, may emerge in Mary's marriage.[251] Salma's reply in the fourth letter introduces the reader and Mary to the impediments that stand in the way of a happy home and married life: men.

Mary's next letter shows that all is not well in her home, confirming Salma's earlier warning. Mary, confused by a husband who has gone from doting partner to cruel tyrant, tells Salma that she is not sure she can follow her mother's advice. In the seventh exchange, Salma affirms the necessity for Mary to focus on creating a happy home life for Henry, encouraging her to reply to outbursts like the one shared in Mary's previous letter by using her "womanly characteristics" to both confront Henry and win him back to her. Mary replies to Salma, thanking her for her advice and for reminding her of her love for Henry. It appears that Mary has learned and implemented Salma's lessons successfully. The series ends with Mary's own examples of the homes, women, and social gatherings Salma encouraged Mary to emulate, showing the home that is possible when women follow the examples, guidelines, and warnings laid out by Salma.

[251] "Murasala bayn al-ʾumm wa-l-bint," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 2 (February 1920).

The Mother-Daughter Relationship. The letters' title, "Murasala bayn al-ʾumm wa-l-bint," describes them as a correspondence between a mother and her daughter. When reading the letters as texts that speak about the nation and women's roles in it, the relationship between Salma and Mary becomes a relationship between the mother-nation and its daughter-citizens.[252] This relationship fashions a citizen nurtured by the nation and characterized by her patriotic devotion to the homeland.

In one iteration of the mother-nation/daughter-citizen relationship, we see the mother-nation acting as nurturer and guide to her daughter-citizen. In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Arabic literature, the nurturing nature of the mother-child relationship was both metaphorical and literal. Metaphorically, the mother established the moral and physical character of her children. Literally, intellectuals called on the mother to nurse her child at her own breast; only through this physical nurturing, in addition to proper upbringing, could a mother create the physical and moral foundation necessary for the success of her children as adults and, ultimately, of Arab civilization.[253] The correspondence recognizes the essential nurturing role of the mother. Mary writes, "You want me to be outstanding so that this dawn returns to you…that it is possible for a daughter to be planted by your hands, watered from the source of your affection, and nourished by your strength."[254] Indeed, notes Mary, "the moral influence over children is developed from the cradle and at the breast of the

[252] In Arabic, the words for mother, *ʾumm*, and the word for nation, *ʾumma*, come from the same root, showing the linguistic connection between the two. This connection came to have particular meaning in the development of Arab nationalism in the mid-twentieth century. Yasir Suleiman, *Arabic in the Fray: Language Ideology and Cultural Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).
[253] Ferguson, "Tracing Tarbiya," 229-281.
[254] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* (February 1920).

mother."[255] Here, we see Mary's recognition of the mother's role in creating strong daughters of the nation. We also see, however, that daughters—and thus the mothers who have raised and nurtured them—are essential for the creation of a new and brighter future: the mother-nation gives of herself and toils to create "outstanding" daughters in order to bring about the renewal of the mother-nation.

The mother-daughter relationship also reveals the fashioning of women citizens patriotically devoted to the homeland. Throughout the letters, we see that Salma's relationship with her daughter is borne of more than duty and that Mary reciprocates her love and devotion and acknowledges its necessity for life. When reading this relationship as one between the mother-nation and its daughter-citizens, the love described here can be seen as that of the love of the nation for its daughters, and the love of the daughters – citizens and patriots – for their nation. In Salma's first letter to Mary, written upon her return home after her month-long visit with Mary, she proclaims sadness at being apart from Mary, only tempered by "my good hopes and beautiful wishes for your glorious future with your husband, who loves and respects you."[256] In her second letter, we again see Salma's love for her daughter when she writes that a mother finds "bliss in the bliss of her daughter! And her happiness is in the happiness of her daughter…. And how many of the mother's kisses…are from feelings of genuine love: a powerful, naturally-inherited affection. /

[255] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* (February 1920).
[256] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* 1, special (December 1919).

Affection that increases with each day! And grows over a lifetime."[257] This love creates the "good land and fertile soil" from which devoted daughters emerge.[258]

Mary returns the devotion: "I am aware of the affection that shakes my limbs upon recollection of your name."[259] Mary continues, "My brain is satiated from your wisdom and your advice, filled with your etiquette lessons.…It [Salma's advice] will be my own private constitution [*dustur*], serving as a guide in my present and future life."[260] She closes by giving Salma her confidence, affection, and respect, showing the trust she places in her mother-nation for her future as both a daughter and a citizen. Salma replies, writing, "Today, you are only at the beginning of the great stage of life – the new stage. The hard stage. The inconstant stage, where every day there are new rules and baffling developments. So don't you worry and don't give up hope, but be generous of heart, extensive in accomplishment, bold in thought."[261]

These examples show the selfless love the mother-nation bestows on its daughter-citizens, the hope the mother-nation holds for their future, and their devotion to and appreciation of the mother-nation. Salma's second letter shows the selfless nature of this love, resulting in boundless hope for the daughter-citizen's future. When expressing her "hope" and "security" in Mary's "glorious future," and in recognizing the "new…hard stage" on which Mary is embarking, Salma most directly speaks to Mary's marriage with Henry, but when reading Salma as nation and Mary as citizen, these are also expressions of the nation's hope for its women citizens'

[257] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 1 (January 1920).
[258] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* (January 1920).
[259] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* (February 1920).
[260] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* (February 1920). *Dustur* is the same word used for political constitutions.
[261] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 3 (March 1920).

future with their fellow citizens. Further, the “new…hard stage” is the stage of a nation in formation or of women as active participants, citizens, in national life, striving to be generous, accomplished, and bold.

Mary, as a diligent daughter of the nation who is also sustained by it, recognizes the gift of this love, leading her both to physical reaction and passionate expressions of her affection. Indeed, just as the nation loves its sons, it, at least as much, loves its daughters. Its daughters love and are devoted to the nation in return, revealing a mother-daughter relationship that fashions patriotic daughter-citizens nurtured by the mother-nation for her success so she can work for the uplift of the mother-nation.

The Husband-Wife Relationship. In addition to constructing a mother-daughter relationship that speaks to women as patriotic citizens, the letters construct a husband-wife relationship that, when viewed as having national and domestic meaning, articulates the relationship between men and women citizens. When taken beyond the bounds of the domestic sphere, one sees a commentary about what women must do to bring about equality between men and women and the social impediments that stand in the way of such progress.

The husband-wife relationship reveals a relationship between men and women citizens defined by mutual respect. According to Salma, women must show men respect. Doing so allows women to garner respect in return, which will bring about greater equality between men and women. Salma encourages Mary to gain her husband’s respect and continued admiration by maintaining herself and her home. In the first letter, Salma writes,

> You know that Henry…married you out of love and passion. Remind him, so you avoid chasing him from the house with annoyance, and so he does not wish for clubs and coffeehouses because you did not act right.
> Remember the words that he was moved by, repeat them, and make sure he hears them again.
> Remember the movements that delighted him and stirred his passions toward you and do these to remind him of what life was like.
> Remember the clothes that he smiled to see you in and wear them.
> Remember the conversation that used to make his eyes sparkle and remind him.
> Remind him of the seasons of your love – from the days of acquaintance and engagement and the development of your relationship. Make your house better than the coffeehouse and club.[262]

The husband-wife relationship outlined in the above passage and throughout the correspondence reflects the modern ideals of companionate marriage that emerged globally in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Instead of letting "men be men," Salma encourages Mary to create a space where she and her husband interact together, on their own and in mixed social company. In encouraging heterosocial interactions, Salma's advice here reflects changes in family structure begun in the late nineteenth century, in part shaped by the emergence of middle-class ideals and the middle-class family whereby "heterosexual sociability…united them in a familial unit isolated from kin and directed toward the 'nation'."[263] In using and promoting this discourse of modern, companionate marriage, Abillamʿa fashions both a citizen and nation where men and women interact in the public sphere as partners.

Articles throughout *al-Fajr* support the idea that men and women should work together for the nation and its success, and that women must create a space where

[262] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* (December 1919).
[263] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 144.

men will be willing to work with them. In an article contributed by Amina al-Khuri in January 1919, “Woman as a Lady,” the author writes that while men fill important roles in society, “woman was created to fill an equally important position …for she and he are partners in the home and homeland and the power of the partnership is in being equal.”[264] For al-Khuri, women’s advancement is particularly important, not only because woman is the “commander of leaders, manageress of inventors and discoverers, nurse of the sick, and guide of children,” but also because the refined woman, “garbed in courage and power…leads her nation (ʾ*umma*) in the path of glory and progress.”[265] This courage and power, wielded by women to lead the nation, can best be used by a woman who “takes pleasure in work and smiles when speaking,” and for whom “kindness is [her] scepter and smiling her crown in her kingdom,” qualities that will make her more appealing to the boys (and, presumably, the men, too) in her life.[266] This reminds the reader of Salma’s exhortations to Mary, to fashion both herself and her home in particular ways in order to please Henry and make their home appealing to him. Al-Khuri’s article makes the connection between women’s maintenance of themselves and their homes, rooted in middle-class ideals, and the role they serve for the nation, alongside and equal to men.

In the introduction to the special edition, Abillamʿa continues this theme. She writes that the magazine aims to prepare women and girls “to enter the battlefield of this life alongside men, cooperating together to promote and advance the homeland

[264] Amina al-Khuri, ““al-Marʾa ka-sayyida,” *al-Fajr* 1, no. 1 (January 1919).
[265] Also note that the use of ʾumma here implies nation rather than the Muslim community. Khuri, ““al-Marʾa ka-sayyida,” *al-Fajr* (January 1919).
[266] Khuri, ““al-Marʾa ka-sayyida,” *al-Fajr* (January 1919).

(*watan*) to the apex of civilization and prosperity."[267] Like Salma and like Khuri, Abillamʿa recognizes that while women are key to the nation's success in partnership with men, they must work to improve themselves to ensure that success.

At the same time, however, the correspondence also shows that the burden is not entirely on women for the success of private home and public nation. Salma notes that the greatest hindrance to women's advancement in society is the disrespect they receive in the home while at the same time receiving the semblance of respect outside of it. The correspondence first introduces the reader to this problem in the fourth letter. Salma describes a scene she and Mary encountered: "You were amazed at the refinement of the handsome young man we saw the other day with his wife when she dropped her handkerchief and he swooped down and picked it up for her, showing that he submits to and respects her as she is the ruler to which he bows down."[268] Salma continues:

> Oh, my dear, if you followed them to the house and saw the revolution that happened under the outer doorway, if you saw it! There, at the entrance to the house, that small universe, this global paradise, the naked truth of family life was revealed, as the wife became a slave and the husband master. All appearances of amiability, submission, and respect that he showed to his wife while out in society were shown to be a false coating.[269]

In her reply, Mary describes a similar scene under her own roof. Mary confronts Henry after he has returned home late two days in a row. She relates the following:

> Upon questioning he answered: I was at work!

[267] Abillamʿa, "al-Fajr," *al-Fajr* (December 1919).
[268] "al-Murasala," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 4 (April 1920).
[269] "al-Murasala," *al-Fajr* (April 1920).

> He said this with such a commanding tone that would silence an autocrat from answering. And you recommend that I be obedient; how can such severe orders be obeyed?
>
> Oh! That I feel men are naturally inclined to despotism. He is the tyrannical ruler and from his cruel nature kindness is rebellion and treatment with harshness is injustice![270]

The frustration Mary experiences in her interaction with Henry reflects some of the real-life difficulties women faced in working with men towards their and the nation's advancement. In the December 1919 edition, ʿAfifa Karam, staff writer for *al-Huda*, asks of *al-Fajr*: "Is he [the Lebanese man] a champion of this woman's magazine, advocating its development and revival? Or does he neglect it as its sisters were neglected before it so that it dies with agony in its breast?"[271] Karam connects men's support of women's magazines and their literary renaissance to the success of Arab society and nation.

In order to counteract or remedy men's tyranny over women in both private home and public nation, Salma affirms the advice already offered, but encourages Mary to reply to such outbursts with "the weapon of meekness, purity, tenderness, and softness" to both confront Henry and win him back to her.[272] This message is found elsewhere in the magazine. In Abillamʿa's introduction to the special issue in December 1919, she writes that, in this first year of publication, the magazine has flourished, "sometimes among flowers and sometimes among thorns," but all the

[270] "al-Murasala," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 5 (May 1920).
[271] ʿAfifa Karam, "al-Fajr" (The Dawn), *al-Fajr* (December 1919). *Al-Huda* was the longest-running Arabic-language newspaper in the United States, based in New York.
[272] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 6 (June 1920).

while saw women guiding men in this endeavor and inspiring confidence in its readers.[273]

Mary and Salma's exchange about Mary's problems with Henry comes immediately following the Syrian Congress's debate about women's suffrage. Mary's letter appears in the same issue as the articles about the Congress discussed at the outset of this chapter. Mary's problem and Salma's solution reflect the problems and general discussion of both articles, showing the clearest connection between this ostensibly domestic exchange of letters and women's role in public life.

Mary's next letter, published in the July 1920 issue and coming after both the conclusion of the debate regarding women's suffrage in the Syrian Congress and amid intensified French military activity for control of Greater Syria, moves on from this strife between citizens, focusing instead on how women can go about earning their place in national life given the limitations laid out in the letters and in public debate on the topic. In the correspondence, it seems that Salma's advice was perfect as, after thanking her for it and for reminding her of her love for Henry, Mary quickly moves on to recounting her friend Wadad's birthday party, which she attended with Henry. At the end of this letter, Mary expresses her desire to host a similar party but says that she needs Salma's help to ensure its success. Salma assents to Mary's request and offers some suggestions. In the tenth and final letter of the correspondence, Mary provides a thorough overview of the party. In Mary's description of these two parties, we see the outcomes and realization of the advice and ideals espoused in the rest of the correspondence, revealing a nation where men

[273] Abillamʿa, introduction, *al-Fajr* (December 1919).

and women interact together and women lead the way, supported by their husbands, in open, intellectual conversation and debate with their fellow citizens, addressing the accusations made against women in the Syrian Congress.[274]

Mary's July 1920 letter goes into some detail about the gathering at Wadad and her husband Fuʾad's house, from the guests' introduction to the house to the food they ate and games they played, commenting on Wadad's good manners, amiability, and lively spirit and Fuʾad's participation. Mary highlights two lessons learned from this party. First, she notes that Wadad moved among her guests throughout the evening, introducing and sparking conversation between those who did not know each other so that, by the end of the evening, "no one felt he was a stranger to the other."[275] Her second observation comments on Wadad and Fuʾad's relationship: "Her respect is for her husband and his respect is for her. Whenever he spoke to her or she to him, she did so cheerfully and respectfully, neither accounting for anything without the other. They were one spirit."[276] When reading the letters as using domesticity to articulate women's role in national life, Mary's recounting of and reflection on Wadad's party is a comment on women as citizens and women's relations with their fellow citizens: Women best serve the home, and thus the nation, through amiability, bringing people together across difference or lack of acquaintance, and leading the way, supported by their husband-citizens. Their husband-citizens support them because of the mutually respectful relationship she

[274] Accusations include their lack of preparation for political rights, for a variety of reasons, largely social and cultural, and men's objection to it based on this lack of preparation.
[275] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 7 (July 1920).
[276] "Murasala," *al-Fajr* (July 1920).

has fostered between them and because of the skills she brings to both home and nation.

In Mary's letter describing her own party, found in the December 1920 issue, we learn that Salma *and* Henry are sick the day of the party. Thankfully, Mary enlists a friend, Adib, to assist her in Henry's place. After enjoying appetizers, the guests moved from the reception hall to the parlor, where they played games. These games gave way to a debate about women's rights. Mary notes that "the vast majority of the men were opposed to the current goal of women and their pursuit of equality with men, women's positions taken in politics, the press, and so on."[277]

Mary shares an analogy given by one of the guests to explain why he objects to many of women's goals: "My little girl who is five years old thinks she can do everything that she sees me doing.…Likewise, women think that they are competent for the most difficult jobs, deserving of most positions, and equal to the finest men. She thinks she has been given an instinctive preparation that makes her able to do everything."[278] This speech echoes those given in the Syrian Congress debating women's fitness for suffrage – women as children, unprepared for and unable to enter the public sphere – whether in the press or politics.

Though Mary does not comment on this analogy or the women guests' opinions about women's goals, which could lead us to assume that she (and thus, Abillamʿa, the author of this fictional correspondence) supports this opinion, some alternate readings are possible. First, it shows the girls and women being educated

[277] "Risala Mari ila 'ummaha Salma," *al-Fajr* 2, no. 10 (December 1920).
[278] "Risala Mari ila 'ummaha Salma," *al-Fajr* (December 1920).

by this magazine the ideas and debates they are up against—and that the lessons imparted in this correspondence and throughout the magazine are of the utmost importance for both women's and the nation's progress. The articles already shared, as well as the very existence and purpose of *al-Fajr* as laid out earlier, support women's work to advance themselves for participation in national life alongside men. Second, it serves as a guide for the magazine's men readers to show them the dominant views held by many men in contrast with the abilities of women (and the foibles of men) evidenced in the correspondence and throughout the magazine.[279] Indeed, the correspondence simultaneously encourages women to be amiable, to garner their husbands' respect and love by creating a happy home-nation, to counter their husbands' tempers with their womanly weapons of meekness and gentleness, and to use their virtues to work with their fellow citizens to improve the nation. Ultimately, Mary's successful hosting of this party, supported by an ill Henry, leaves the reader feeling hopeful. Mary has used her womanly powers to subdue Henry, and by hosting a successful social gathering, she has solidified his affection for her, as well as the regard of her friends, showing the promise of (but, still, the impediments inhibiting) women's inclusion in national life outside the home.

By reading the correspondence as a conversation between a mother and daughter regarding domestic concerns *and* as one between mother-nation and daughter-citizen, we see that, while the view that women belong in the home and

[279] Marilyn Booth has shown that scholars must be mindful of the publications included in the "women's press." *Al-Marʾa fi al-Islam* (Egypt, late 19th/early 20th century), for example, dealt more with shifting conceptions of the ideal, modern Egyptian man than of the Egyptian woman. Booth, "Women in Islam."

women best serve the nation as educated mothers and wives of the nation's men is maintained, this view is also in some ways subverted. It is the conception of women as mothers also to the nation's daughters that challenges the usual portrayal of women primarily as mothers to the nation's sons. Further, we see the fashioning of patriotic women citizens, nurtured, guided, shaped by, and devoted to the nation. In viewing the husband-wife relationship as insight into the relationship between men and women citizens, we see women working to earn the respect of their fellow citizens, prepared for and participating as equal partners in the home and national life, meeting and overcoming the challenges placed on them by both men and custom. It shows, finally, how Abillamʿa used the discourse of domesticity to fashion women citizens as political subjects who will play a vital, public role in the nation.

"*Al-Madrasa al-wataniyya*" in the Women's Press

This section shows the melding of the discursive and the material—actual schools—in discussions of girls' schools and girls' education in the women's press. It examines the claims made on girls' schools by writers in the women's press. While the French viewed education and educational institutions as apolitical sites for the creation of loyal colonial citizens, local people saw schools as pillars of cultural and political nation-making. These claims can be found most clearly in the Beirut women's press of the 1920s. In the magazines examined here—*al-Fajr*, *al-Marʾa al-jadida*, and *Minerva*—short articles on particular girls' and coeducational schools reveal their political significance.[280]

[280] While this chapter focuses on the importance of these schools in a particular, possibly unique, moment—the early 1920s—the importance of these schools to the national project extended beyond this period, and is discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

A July 1921 article in *al-Fajr* discusses the importance of the national school—*al-madrasa al-wataniyya*—and thus the national schools included in press accounts in particular, to the national project:

> We need the national schools: the national schools are the only hope for this miserable nation, the national schools lay the foundations of true education (*al-tarbiya al-sahiha*) for the children of the country (*bilad*) and instill in them a nationalist spirit (*al-ruh al-qawmiyya*). The national schools teach the children/people of the country (*abnaʾ al-bilad*) the differences of their disputes, inclinations, and doctrines, placing them on one seat, planting in their hearts and minds one patriotic educational spirit.[281]

Such schools, which the author exhorts the government to support, will give the people "a new elevated patriotic upbringing (*tarbiya wataniyya jadida ʻaliya*) that leads them away from… sectarianism to affection, solidarity, and brotherhood in the name of the homeland (*watan*)."[282] This vision of the nation—of citizens of the nation rather than a particular religious community—stands in contrast both to many nationalist visions of the nation and to French colonial policy. That it is discussed and advocated for in women's magazines reveals the alternatives women posed to the dominant colonial and nationalist visions of the nation's future, as well as their recognition of the dangers a sectarian state posed, both to the unity of the nation and to women's place in it.

Ahliah, for example, is often described in the press as a "national school," one that can—and is necessary to—"guard[ing] the country's (*bilad*) interest" and leading

[281] "Madrasa al-musawa," *al-Fajr* 3, no. 7 (July 1921).
[282] "Madrasa al-musawa," *al-Fajr* (July 1921). The term "national school" used throughout this section refers to the schools described by the phrase "madrasa wataniyya".

young people to "faithfulness to the homeland (*watan*)."[283] Articles about Ahliah further highlight the national character of the school by describing visits from artists like Lebanese poet Khalil Mutran, intellectuals and community leaders like AUB professor and attorney Bulus al-Khawli, and government officials like Husayn Bey al-Ahdab, *muhafidh* of Beirut, and Sheikh Muhammad al-Jisr, a prominent Muslim notable from Tripoli.[284] In mentioning these individuals, the author of these pieces connects the school to representatives of the nation: poets, intellectuals, and government officials. Students' preparation for serving the homeland—as educated patriots and mothers—is indicated in remarks made by the above, as well as in speeches delivered, poems recited, songs sung, and novels and plays acted out by students in formal and colloquial Arabic, as well as displays and presentations by the school's scouting troops.[285]

The women's press also described Zahrat al-ihsan as a national school vital for the future. Unlike Ahliah, which the press frames as serving a distinctly national, non-sectarian purpose, the nation created by schools like and graduates from Zahrat al-ihsan appears to be more contested. In some instances, press accounts highlight the importance of the school for the nation's *cultural* renaissance. One article

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[283] "Madrasa ahliyya bayrut," *al-Fajr* (July 1921); "al-Madrasa al-suriyya al-ahliyya," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 1, no. 3 (June 1921), AUB.

[284] "Fi al-madrasa al-suriyya al-ahliyya," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 4, no. 7 (1924); "al-Madrasa al-ahliyya l-il-banat," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 4, no. 8 (1924); "Madrasa ahliyya l-il-banat," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 5, no. 8 (1925), AUB. Khawli was also an early and significant supporter of Ahliah, serving on its first administrative committee and continuing to serve on its administrative and other committees throughout the 1920s, at least. *Min masirat*, 12-15. Jisr was also put up as a candidate for president in 1932.

[285] "al-Madrasa al-ahliyya l-il-banat," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 4, no. 8 (1924); "Madrasa Ahliyya l-il-banat," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 5, no. 8 (1925); Mishal Effendi Zakkur, "Madrasa *watan*iyya"; "al-Madrasa al-ahliyya l-il-banat," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 4, no. 8 (1924); and "Madrasa al-banat al-ahliyya," *Minerva* 5, no. 1 (April 1927).

describes a speech given by the visiting Greek Orthodox Bishop that praised the "great ability of the students in the "art of composition," evidence of the school's role in the "scientific renaissance" and "progress in science and literature."[286] Almas Sliman, an early graduate of the school, reinforces this view when she writes about the importance of the dawn—and its call to science and freedom—in combatting the ignorance of the mind and corruption of the soul that had defined mankind to this point.[287] Sliman calls on the same ideals expressed by the Bishop and, according to him, taught in the school. Though neither article states the connection between "scientific" progress and national uplift, such a connection would have been familiar for readers, as it was a common refrain in the press since the nineteenth century: women, their education, and their advancement were often at the center of this narrative of backwardness versus progress.

Still other press accounts place the school's "national" and political credentials front and center by describing the school as "*Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan al-wataniyya*" (the patriotic or national Zahrat al-ihsan school). Here, the school's role in the national renaissance can be seen in the "eloquent accent" of the students' Arabic, evidence of the school's care in teaching it.[288] By teaching "the language of the parents and grandparents," public confidence for the schools that teach it grows, increasing the schools' enrollment and, thus, service to the nation.[289] Indeed, by

[286] "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Fajr* (January 1919).
[287] Almas Sliman, "ʿAtifa," *al-Fajr* (January 1919).
[288] The importance of Arabic language instruction is a common refrain among these pieces, and in pieces that talk about "national education" more generally. "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 1, no. 4 (July 1921), AUB.
[289] "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (July 1921).

enrolling their daughters in national schools like Zahrat al-ihsan, families can "increase [the school's] active and steady service to the nation," which will, ultimately, strengthen the nation.[290]

Articles in the women's press also highlight Zahrat al-ihsan's role in *both* the intellectual and national renaissance when they describe speeches given by well-regarded people, including Mary Yanni and Jirji Baz, discussed above; performances given by Lebanese artists, including Mitri Murr (1880-1969)[291] and the school's students; audience members, who include among them alumnae and other intellectual and communal leaders; and audience reactions to hearing student presentations.[292] Indeed, one article closes by noting that "The crowd left with relief in their souls and praise on their tongues for this new national women's school. It is to be supported by all lovers of the nation (*watan*) and nationalism (*qawmiyya*)."[293]

Press coverage of these "national schools" was not limited to schools like Ahliah and Zahrat al-ihsan, located in Beirut and with notable alumnae active in the women's and other political/intellectual movements in the Middle East. Other schools—outside Beirut though often still connected to the various intellectuals and intellectual currents circulating around the region—were also covered for their importance to the national, political project. A short piece on *Madrasat al-musawa*, a

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[290] "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (July 1921).
[291] Tripoli-native Mitri al-Murr, in addition to being a noted composer, was the Archon Protopsaltis (First Cantor) of Antioch in the Greek Orthodox Church. Though he was born in Tripoli, and spent the first thirty plus years of his life there, most of his life was spent in Beirut, with brief stints in Damascus during WWI and among the Syrian and Lebanese in the United States in the early 1930s. "Mitri al-Murr." https://analogion.com/site/html/MitriMurr.html.
[292] "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 1, no. 3 (June 1921); "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (July 1921); "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *Minerva* 2, nos. 9-10 (December 1924-January 1925).
[293] "Haflat zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 2, no. 8 (August 1922).

co-educational school in ʾAnfeh, located in northern Lebanon, founded by Jibran Makari in 1907, holds up the school as "an example of elevated instruction (*al-tarbiya al-ʾaliya*), perfect refinement (*al-tahdhib al-sahih*), a model of patriotic spirit (*al-ruh al-wataniyya*) fluttering among all."[294] The article describes it as a shining example of "*al-mudaris al-wataniyya*," preparing "today's sons and daughters and tomorrow's men and women."[295] Indeed, an article about the school appearing several years later described it as a school of the renaissance (*al-madrasa al-nahida*), with a "patriotic director" and its boy and girl students giving speeches, debates, and poems in Arabic that heartened their listeners for the education they received there.[296]

Articles about other schools echo some of what we see with Zahrat al-ihsan: the school as a site of cultural renaissance. *Madrasat al-amur al-khayriyya*, for example, a school for Muslim girls run by Asma Abillamʿa, Najla Abillamʿa's sister, is described as an institution in which girls are educated for and guided on "the perfect path to become mothers of the expected tomorrow."[297] Another school, an "elementary vernacular school for girls" in Shwayfat, just southeast of Beirut, is described as having "brought together an elite group of nationalist/patriotic notables and writers" at its yearly celebration.[298] The article notes that they were "pleased with

[294] "Madrasa al-musawa," *al-Fajr* (July 1921).
[295] "Madrasa al-musawa," *al-Fajr* (July 1921).
[296] "Madrasa al-musawa al-wataniyya," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 5, no. 9 (1925), AUB.
[297] "Madrasa al-umur al-khayriyya," *al-Fajr* (July 1921).
[298] "Al-Madrasa al-wataniyya," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 1, no. 5 (August 1921), AUB. Inspection reports for this school, directed by a Miss Trad, were filed in 1920 and 1924. The 1920 report indicates that about 100 students attend this school, including a number of boys who are admitted up to the age of ten. The school's eight class levels were taught primarily in English. The report notes that all students, with the exception of the youngest class, learn French. The 1924 report shows a significant increase in enrollment, with 160 girls and 112 boys enrolled. While the number of classes decreased to seven in 1924, French hours increased to eight per week for all classes, with English only receiving five hours. This report notes that Arabic is stronger, with students showing good knowledge of reading and grammar, though with limited ability in explaining texts. Furthermore, two of the teachers were

the evidence of science and literature they saw," an indication of the principal's care in the young girls' upbringing.[299] Appearing under the heading "The National School," the reader is left with little doubt that the school is part of that national project, as are the educated, moral mothers of the nation who come from it.

Still other articles bring together the more overtly political importance of schools, like Ahliah, Zahrat al-ihsan, and Madrasat al-musawa, with the cultural and intellectual development—generally reserved for women—highlighted in coverage of Abillamʿa's school and the school in Shwayfat. Al-Sirat Boarding School in Aley, for example, is described as an "esteemed national school" founded by a compatriot in the *nahda*, ʿAfifa Sʿab, owner of the women's magazine, *al-Khidr* (The Boudoir).[300] The first annual report of the school describes it as taking an interest in upbringing (*tarbiya*) and education (*taʿlim*), with *tarbiya* serving as a way to instill good morals and *taʿlim* reinforcing respect for the rule of law through training in housekeeping, which was "a part of the curriculum under the supervision and training of teachers."[301] In describing the school's financial support as coming "from the homeland (*watan)* and the land of migration (*mahjar*)," the article frames such a program as important for the future of the nation.[302] The national importance of the school is reinforced in

American women, indicating that Trad "has not yet freed herself from foreign tutelage." Inspection Report: Shwayfat School, 1920, 1SL/600/9, IP, MAE, CADN; Inspection report of Miss Trad's School, Shwayfat, 4 December 1924, 1SL/600/37, IP, MAE, CADN.

[299] "Al-Madrasa al-wataniyya," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (August 1921).

[300] Published in Shwayfat, Sʿab's magazine, *al-Khidr*, was, like *al-Fajr*, one of the first women's magazine established in Lebanon after the end of WWI. She also contributed articles to *al-Tahdhib*, *al-mʿarif*, *al-Muqtataf*, and *Sawt al-marʾa*. She was educated in the "English School" in Beirut and then at the National School in Shwayfat. She founded the boarding school with her sister in 1925. Yarid and Bayyumi, *al-Katibat*, 97; Decision no. 2552 portant ouverture d'école privée, 25 August 1924. 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

[301] "Madrasat al-sirat al-dakhiliyya (l-il-banat fi Aley)," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 5, no. 9 (1925). AUB

[302] "Madrasat al-sirat," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (1925).

the documents Sʿab submitted to the SIP requesting its opening as she emphasized its national, patriotic, and non-sectarian purpose.[303]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the discourse on the connection between girls' education, the home, and nation, with a particular focus on the connection between education and nation-making. While much of the rhetoric and scholarship highlight the ways in which girls' education aimed to prepare girls for a life in the home, as partners to their patriotic husbands and mothers to their sons, it is also true that contributors to the women's press envisioned a place for women outside of the home—as patriots and citizens active in the life of the nation. Girls' education and their schools prepared them for such a future.

The above articles make two observations about the relationship between girls' education, the home, and the nation. First, all challenge the notion that men are the key to the success of the nation. While writers of the period proclaimed the national importance of women's roles, they often did so in the context of what women could do for men. Many of these articles, including the correspondence between Salma and Mary, push back on such a conceptualization, showing that women held an important place in the nation on their own. Second, at the center of women's ability to be active contributors to the nation in their own right was the need for a female education that developed their mind, not just their homemaking skills. For Salma, the development of women's minds would allow them to be good wives to

[303] Fandi Saʿab and Affifi Fandi Saʿab to the High Commissioner of the French Republic in Syria and Lebanon, 22 July 1922, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

their husbands and good hosts for their guests. In looking at this outside the sphere of the home, this chapter suggests the need for the development of women's minds in order to be good co-citizens and nation-makers. Such a view lines up with articles on the connection between education and nation, as well as with articles on the "national school," specific local schools that aim to raise patriotic citizens.

This nation envisioned in these articles was united and anticolonial, and sought to overcome sectarian difference. The authors in the press viewed the education received at these schools by its boy and girl students as essential for national success, whether for the creation of enlightened wives and mothers of the future or women patriots who could participate in the public and political life of the state. Such a conception is significant in that it posed an alternative to the colonial and various nationalist sectarian visions of the makeup of the state and the relationship of the citizen to it.

Chapter Two includes portions of material as it appears in *Journal of Middle East Studies* 2022 (forthcoming). The dissertation author was the primary researcher and author of this paper.

Chapter Three. Schools for Empire, Nation, and Community

In late spring 1921, Zahrat al-ihsan hosted a party at which upper-level students acted out an Arabic novel. A July 1921 article in *al-Marʾa al-jadida* praised the student actresses for their captivating performance and their fluency in Arabic, congratulating the school for its obvious "care…in teaching this language," evidence of its significant contribution to the "people's renaissance" and the uplift of the nation.[304] A June 1921 article in the same magazine described another recent party at the school attended by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Gregory IV (1859-1928; Patriarch 1906-1928), noting that in the Patriarch's blessing he encouraged "the attendees to come together in service of knowledge and girls' refinement [*tahdhib al-fatat*]."[305] Inspection reports filed with the French High Commission's SIP in 1920 and 1921, took a different view of the school. They note that the level of Arabic instruction at the school was "superficial" and "elementary," and that the school was "completely disposed to develop French education in the way that we indicate."[306]

In the above, we see a variety of actors—students, teachers, and administrators, intellectuals, sectarian leadership, and French colonial officials—making various claims on the school: as a site for the creation of patriotic citizens, educated mothers, and loyal colonial citizens. This chapter examines girls' schools as sites for contestation over state power, for the articulation of local demands and concerns, and for students to both shape and act out their citizenship, thus placing

[304] "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (July 1921).
[305] "Madrasa zahrat al-ihsan," *al-Marʾa al-jadida* (June 1921).
[306] Report, Session d'examen privé à l'école privée G.O. de Zahrat ul Ihsan (Beyrouth), 21 June 1920, 1SL/600/9, IP, MAE, CADN; Report, Ecole de Zahrat-el-Ihsan, Grecque-orthodoxe, 1921, 1SL/600/9, IP, MAE, CADN.

girls' school—and the students, teachers, and administrators who were associated with them—squarely in the political realm as key players in defining the state and the citizen in French Mandate Lebanon.

This chapter argues that girls' schools served as a site of claims-making. On the one hand, French educational policy and practice attempted to create colonial citizens loyal to France, a citizenship defined by and mediated along sectarian lines that empowered local communal leadership. On the other hand, school students, teachers, and administrators saw girls' education, and girls' schools in particular, as sites for the creation of national citizens and a strong future independent and non-sectarian state. That the concerns of and the tensions that existed between, among, and within these groups played out in the space of the school show the material and discursive importance of girls' education, and girls' schools, in defining the nation and women's role in it.

This chapter begins by examining how French colonial policy played out in two prominent Beirut girls' schools—Zahrat al-ihsan and Ahliah. It looks at the ways in which local people—schools administrators and students, the larger community, and intellectuals—responded to and/or operated within the French educational context. The chapter closes by looking at the nation imagined by schoolgirls and alumnae in in the context of home economics education at Kulliyat al-banat and SGS. This analysis shows that girls' schools were not apolitical sites for the creation of tomorrow's wives and mothers, but rather were sites in, onm and through which a variety of actors made political claims.

French and Local Aims and Claims in Zahrat al-ihsan and Ahliah

In its examination of the enactment of and response to French colonial policy in girls' schools, this section engages with the literature on French colonial education policy in the interwar period. Much of this scholarship focuses on the ways in which that policy sought to create loyal colonial subjects or citizens. In the period immediately preceding WWI and during the interwar period, the French colonial educational project aimed to exploit local peoples' class, ethnic and racial, religious, and geographic differences in order to divide the population, ensure a less educated populace, and create a small cadre of elites loyal to France.[307] At the same time, scholars have shown that education was a space for contestation, where local peoples and institutions propped up, challenged, and otherwise appropriated these policies for their own ends.[308]

In Syria and Lebanon, French colonial and education officials attempted to assure France's cultural, and therefore political, influence by aligning themselves with particular, generally religiously-affiliated groups. They did this by dealing with local individuals along communal lines; providing significant monetary support to private schools (generally affiliated with a religious institution and attended by Christians) at the cost of public ones (generally attended by Muslims); and creating a common

[307] See, for example Gamble, "Peasants of the Empire"; Martin, *The French Empire between the Wars*; Chafer, "Teaching Africans"; Marie-Paule Ha, "From 'Nos Ancetres, les Gaulois' to 'Leur Culture Ancestrale': Symbolic Violence and the Politics of Colonial Schooling," *French Colonial History* 3 (2003): 101-117; Gail Paradise Kelly, "Learning to Be Marginal: Schooling in Interwar French West Africa," in *French Colonial Education: Essays on Vietnam and West Africa*, edited by David H. Kelly (New York: AMS Press, 2000), 189-208; and David M. Pomfret, *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia*, 209-242 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 209-242.
[308] See, for example, Spencer D. Segalla, *Moroccan Soul: French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912-1956* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Chafer, "Teaching Africans"; and Kelly, "Learning to Be Marginal."

curriculum that centered French language, culture, and history.[309] They also privileged private over public education and boys' over girls' schools and did very little to develop secondary education for boys or girls.[310]

This section builds on the existing scholarship by examining how such a policy played out in Zahrat al-ihsan and Ahliah. It shows that the actions of imperial rivals and local realities complicated French aims throughout the Mandate period.[311] This section also explores the gendered dimension of this relationship, examining how the gendered civic order played out, in girls' schools and through girls' education and girl students.[312] Scholarship on education in the Mandate period has shown French preoccupation with boys' schools—as the future colonial administrators and main political and military opponents—and given a nod to the discursive and civilizational importance of girls' education in French colonial logic. Girls' education, though, was a

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[309] Dueck, *Claims of Culture*; Sbaiti, "'If the Devil Taught French'"; and Ouahes, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate: Cultural Imperialism and the Workings of Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2018).

[310] Elizabeth Thompson notes that the privileging of boys' over girls' education was true of both the state and the communities that established private schools. Citing both French reports and a history of the women's movement in Lebanon, she states that, in Lebanon, while "virtually all school-aged boys attended school, only 30 percent of school-aged girls were enrolled in 1930." Of those girls that attended school, 41% attended private schools and 29% attended public ones. While these numbers could reveal a lack of interest in public education on the part of families sending their daughters to school, the numbers suggest that there were not enough public schools for girls to enroll in: In 1924, there were 414 boys' and 79 girls' public primary schools in both Syria and Lebanon. By 1930, that number had increased to 513 boys' and 115 girls' schools. In that same period, 174 private primary girls' schools were established. The result of this lack of public investment in girls' education (on the part of the French and the Lebanese Republic after 1926), was that "official policy routed girls into private, and mostly religious schools." Further, because Christian missionaries or sects established most of these schools, more non-Christian girls went to Christian schools, so that girls' citizenship was mediated by religious elites. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 88-89; Chamman-Adisho, "*Mission Civilisatrice*," 83-84.

[311] Idir Ouahes and Jennifer Dueck examine French educational and cultural policy in the early and late Mandate periods, respectively, leaving the period between 1925 and 1936 understudied. Dueck, *Claims of Culture*; and Ouahes, *Syria and Lebanon*.

[312] See, for example, Abisaab, *Militant Women*; Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*; Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women*; Kaplan, Alarcon, and Moallem, *Between Woman and Nation*; Hyun Sook Kim and Jyoti Puri (HJ Kim-Puri), "Conceptualizing Gender-Sexuality-State-Nation: An Introduction," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 2 (2005): 137-59; McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons*; and Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*.

material concern as well. This concern reflected its discursive importance but also tied girls' schools to specific, political goals. This material and discursive importance was not limited to the French and French colonial thought.[313] Girls and their education served important cultural and political ends for local communities and for the students in the schools. In all cases, we see that those who worked in and attended these schools believed that girls and women were central, not secondary, to the larger colonial, national, and intellectual projects.

DISPOSED TO BE FRENCH? ZAHRAT AL-IHSAN AND FRENCH-LOCAL AIMS

Shortly after France's occupation of the Levant, Zahrat al-ihsan appealed to the SIP for funds to support its educational work. Schools receiving or requesting French subsidy or personnel came under the oversight of the SIP. Mlle Saule, an employee of the French High Commission (first mentioned in Chapter Two), filed most inspection reports for the girls' schools that received French subsidy; she conducted almost all inspections for Zahrat al-ihsan between 1921 and 1934.[314] The typical inspection report included the name and director or principal of the school, the religious community to which it was attached, the number of students enrolled, the number of teachers, the name and number of French instructors and their relationship to the High Commission, subsidy amounts received by the school from the French, and a report on the teaching of French within the school. Sometimes the reports included curricular content, textbook titles, exam formats, other incidents related to instruction, and suggestions for improvement.

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[313] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; and Sbaiti, "'If the Devil Taught French'."
[314] For background on Zahrat al-ihsan, see Chapter One.

On their surface, the reports filed for Zahrat al-ihsan show the French Mandate government's attempt to bring the school in line with French colonial education policy to varying degrees of success. Digging a bit deeper, one also sees individuals within and/or related to the school responding to the French program and aims, with actions that range from collaboration to rejection, and a variety of reactions in-between. These inspection reports, in conjunction with other colonial, school, and press sources (see Chapter Two), reveal girls' schools as sites for the negotiation of French colonial, sectarian, nationalist, intellectual, and local goals, as well as definitions of the nation, the citizen, and women as citizens. In all cases, schoolgirls serve as a conduit through which these various actors achieve these goals.

The promise of Zahrat al-ihsan to the French colonial project took a few forms. First, by allying themselves with the religious leaders of the Greek Orthodox community, or with the lay notables who sent their daughters to the school, the French could curry favor with community members looking to bolster their position, and the position of the community, with the French colonial authority. Additionally, the French could influence the thinking and intellectual development of those same people's daughters, which would further tie the community to France and the values it espoused.[315] Inspection reports show the colonial authority's attempts to bring the school in line with its project of creating loyal colonial subject-citizens.

In one of the earliest inspection reports, for example, Saule describes Zahrat al-ihsan as "a very important establishment," one that "is completely disposed to

[315] The French "built a clientele of religious patriarchs" as a way to spread French influence among the population. The provision of educational subsidies—including the detachment of French teachers—was one method they used to build their clients. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 54.

develop French education in the way that we indicate."[316] By 1924, it appears that such a view was on its way to being fulfilled, with three French teachers detached to the school by the High Commission, each charged with the three most senior classes and teaching over half of the school's 200 students.[317] In the next two years, three classes were added to the school's program, including a class leading to the brevet taught by French teachers from the *Mission Laïque* in Beirut. According to the November 1926 report, all of this was done in the name of the progress of French instruction at the school.[318] The larger political purpose of this improvement was to create students enmeshed in French culture and, thus, loyalty to France. In French logic, the loyalty of the students would then be passed on to their families, many of whom were important players in the region's political, economic, social, and intellectual life.[319]

French progress in implementing their program continued over the next decade or so. By early 1934, a French woman, Mlle Vincent, replaced the school's founding principal, Faride Trad; two local young women, Mlle Mocessian, an Armenian who had studied in France and obtained the CEP, and Mlle Loutfallah, an alumna of the Sisters of Charity, a French Catholic school in Beirut that taught many of the city's Muslim girls, replaced the two High-Commission-detached French

[316] Report, Ecole de Zahrat-el-ihsan, Grecque-orthodoxe, 1921, 1SL/600/9, IP, MAE, CADN.
[317] Rapport d'Inspection report no. 108, 14 February 1924; Rapport d'Inspection report no. 133: Ecole de Zahrat el-ihsan School, 15 and 17 December 1924, 1SL/600/31, IP, MAE, CADN.
[318] Rapport d'Inspection report no. 43: Ecole de Zahrat-el-ihsan (filles), 8 November 1926, 1SL/600/44, IP, MAE, CADN.
[319] Rapport d'Inspection report no. 43. Indeed, this report comments on the necessity of maintaining High-Commission-detached instructors in the school due to "the importance of the school and the quality of its recruitment." See the Introduction and Chapters One and Two for a fuller discussion of the connection between girls, women, and colonial womanhood/national success.

teachers.[320] The appointment of a French principal shows the French colonial authority's success in bringing the school fully under its influence. That French-educated local young women taught French, and that the report mentions them and their education specifically, indicates that Saule saw their posting as evidence of French success—both in educating girls and women, loyal to France, so that they could become French language teachers, and therefore propagators of French culture and civilization, and in implementing the French educational project in this school.[321]

These French goals also aligned, at least to some extent, with the goals of the school's administration. A July 1923 letter from the Mother Superior, Marie Jihan, for example, indicates attempts to meet some of the requirements and expectations of the French as she worked to organize the curriculum per French instructions and give over French instruction in the most senior classes to the High Commission-detached French instructors.[322] Here we see the implementation of the French curriculum—in both organization and teaching. The two High Commission-detached teachers assigned to the highest classes is particularly significant as they will be charged with teaching the most advanced students, those most likely to qualify for French exams and admittance to the French-directed Normal School.[323] Though the ideological

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[320] Ecole Zahrat el-ihssan, Inspection de 8 février 1934, 1SL/600/111, IP, MAE, CADN.
[321] Dueck, Ouahes, and Sbaiti have discussed the importance of French language instruction to the French colonial project in Syria and Lebanon. They show that French colonial officials viewed French language instruction as the instilling of French values and civilization: a child taught French would grow up with republican ideals and an inherent loyalty to France. Dueck, *Claims of Culture*; Ouahes, *Syria and Lebanon*, and Sbaiti, "'If the Devil Taught French'."
[322] Mother Superior Marie Jihan to the Councilor of Public Instruction for the High Commission, 3 July 1923, 1SL/600/21, IP, MAE, CADN.
[323] The Normal School was short-lived, however, with the nascent Lebanese government choosing not to fund it after 1926. Chamman-Adisho, "*Mission Civilisatrice*," 83-84.

position of Sister Marie Jihan is unknown, it appears that, at least in some ways, full implementation of the French program met both French and local goals.

As the French certainly viewed the school as an ideal site for the implementation of its program and thus the creation of loyal colonial citizens, and it appears that at least some among the schools' administration saw the school as benefiting from such a program, the Greek Orthodox communal leadership similarly sought to shape the school's program, and did so in ways that propped up and supported its own authority—and thus power—within the colonial structure. Furthermore, as we saw in Chapter Two's coverage of the school in the women's press, this group of stakeholders viewed girls' education as a project of women's refinement, most likely for their futures as mothers of a more enlightened community's sons.[324]

The Greek Orthodox sectarian leadership's close relationship with the school can be seen in a number of instances. The school was the site of a number of parties or gatherings held in honor of Church leadership. Those same leaders attended the school's yearly celebrations. In late spring 1921, for example, a celebration was held in honor of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch (whose jurisdiction included

[324] Souad Slim suggests a complicated relationship between the French and Greek Orthodox during this period. While she notes that most of the Beirut Greek Orthodox community was ideologically aligned with France, adhering to the notion of tutelage that justified the mandate system, they were also critical of French policy and practice, and found support from the British as the French increasingly allied themselves with the Maronite community. The Greek Orthodox community outside of Beirut and Mount Lebanon, however, tended to favor Arabism and, in the early mandate, supported Faysali rule. Slim, "From a Privileged Community to a Minority Community: The Orthodox Community of Beirut through the Newspaper *al-Hadiyya*," in Anthony Gorman and Didier Monciaud, eds., *The Press in the Middle East and North Africa, 1850-1950: Politics, Social History, and Culture* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 346-7; 351; 363-4.

Syria and Lebanon), Gregory IV, and in spring 1922, he and a group of clergy and laymen attended the school's end-of-year celebration.

The Beirut Greek Orthodox diocese also showed close interest in the educational program of the school. From the mid-1920s, of the three French teachers assigned to the diocese by the High Commission, at least two, and sometimes three, of those teachers were placed in Zahrat al-ihsan.[325] Additionally, and as mentioned above, a French woman, Mlle Vincent, replaced Faride Trad as principal in the first half of the 1930s. Given the structure of decision-making for Orthodox institutions, the distribution of *awqaf* (religious endowments), etc., a board composed of influential Greek Orthodox lay people and perhaps members of the women's charitable organization of which the school was its brainchild and namesake most likely approved this appointment.[326] Further, as discussed in Chapter Two, the archbishop and his retinue were regular attendees at the school's end of year celebrations.

These examples indicate the importance of the school for the community and, very likely, the importance of the students' families in communal, social, economic, and/or political life of the Beirut Greek Orthodox community. For at least some among the school administration and community members, as well as religious leadership, the school was an ideal vehicle through which to curry French favor. Assigning French teachers to it, appointing a French principal, and working diligently to

[325] Rapport d'Inspection report no. 43, 8 November 1926. For a school of its size, two French teachers is a lot, indicating the importance of the school – and the community it supported – to the Greek Orthodox and French political projects.
[326] Slim, "From a Privileged Community," 346. Slim notes that the families who had the most power within the Orthodox community in Beirut, Damascus, Tripoli, and Homs were the Jubayli, Trad, Bustros, Tabet, Daghir, Fi'ani, and Tueni families. The school's principal, Faride Trad was from one of these families. By 1954, the appointment of the "educational director" was made by the schools' society and approved by the archbishop. *Qanun jamʿiya wa rahbana zahrat al-ihsan*, 1954.

implement the French educational program in spite of some apparent opposition to it (discussed below) show this to be the case. Indeed, for the French and sectarian leadership, girls' education, and the students of this school in particular, served as a conduit through which other political goals could be met; the education received by the students furthered that goal, and created educated young women who would go on to raise children with French and sectarian loyalty.

At the same time, as inspection reports indicate that French influence in and over the school increased during the first decade and a half of Mandate rule, an occurrence that both school and sectarian leadership welcomed, they also show that the situation was more complicated than that. Indeed, French aims were simultaneously challenged, subverted, and negotiated by school administrators and teachers, who sought their own or their community's goals.[327] In all cases, we see hints of the meaning of the school for the school community – administrators, teachers, and students – as sites for engaging with and acting on these larger concerns.

In several instances, we see school administrators negotiating with the French over the implementation of the French program in an effort to meet community needs and demands. We see this most clearly in Saule's notes about the school's principal, Faride Trad, who has been with the school since its earliest days. These reports indicate that Saule finds much wanting in Trad's administration of the school. In a July 1922 report, for example, Saule writes that "the principal does not assist the

[327] I use the word "community" here broadly. It could refer to a sectarian community, but it could also refer to the school community more generally or the community(ies) of which an individual considers themselves a part.

staff" so that "discipline is excessively difficult to obtain" and there is "little diligence despite all our efforts."[328] A couple years later, Saule notes that Arabic instruction, which receives only one hour per day, has not improved. According to Saule, Trad "regrets not having enough time for Arabic" but is unwilling to reduce the hours given to handwork to increase Arabic hours, per Saule's recommendations, because she fears any innovations in this regard would lead to dissatisfied families.[329]

Though Saule does not note where Trad would like to find those hours, it is not hard to imagine that it might come at the expense of French language hours—whether in the context of formal language instruction or instruction in one of the other subjects, such as history, geography, or arithmetic. While Trad's actions could be chalked up to incompetence, disinterest, conflict with the religious establishment in the school (remember, the Mother Superior was working closely with the French around this same time to ensure full implementation of the French program), or self-interest, the report provides some evidence that Trad's evaluation of community interest in their children's education is accurate. When reporting that Trad is sick and has left the school in "complete disorder," Saule stresses the need to replace Trad in order to ensure the success of the French project but finds her recommendations running up against the needs and concerns of the school and local community.[330] Thus, while some in the community and within the administration are supportive of the French program, it would appear that others are more ambivalent—or at least

[328] Report, Ecole de Filles de Zahrat-El-Hissan [sic], 3 July 1922, 1SL/600/14, IP, MAE, CADN.
[329] Inspection report no. 108, 1924. Indeed, building students' skill in handicrafts was a defining feature of the school's curriculum from its inception. Kusti, "Al-Nahda," 134.
[330] Inspection report no. 108, 1924.

would like to see it implemented without abandoning those things they find important: handcraft hours, the continued appointment of the school's long-standing principal—a member of one of the leading Greek Orthodox families—and control over the direction of the school.

The ambivalence of the community toward the French project, the apparent disunity of the school's administration in its direction and curriculum, and tensions between French and various local aims (or realities) can be seen in the difficulties facing the school (and the French, as perceived by Saule), in the early 1930s. As a result of disagreement with certain nuns, and tension with French and, perhaps, communal leadership, Trad retired; the brevet students "deserted" the course, what Saule ascribes to a lack of organization and an inability to engage new teachers; and the CEP preparatory classes were removed (though those students were still taught by French teachers detached by the High Commission).[331] While the general sense of disorder recorded by Saule in the early 1930s could reflect a colonial and paternalistic mindset, it also reveals the competing claims made on the school—as well as the realities of its administration, the age of the principal, etc.—by its various stakeholders.

The failure of the implementation of the French programs, particularly the brevet and CEP, presents something of a conundrum. Nadya Sbaiti has shown the importance of French language learning and French exams for the middle and upper-middle classes during this period.[332] Given Sbaiti's analysis, as well as the fact of the

[331] Ecole Zahrat-el-Ihssan, Inspection du 29 avril 1931, 1SL/600/87, IP, MAE, CADN.
[332] See Sbaiti, "'If the Devil Taught French'."

expansion of the French curriculum in the school during the first fifteen years of the mandate, why would Trad, or members of the community push back? Could it have been ideological—an unwillingness to sit students for a French exam, as we saw in the case of Mary Kassab at Ahliah in Chapter Two? Could it have been low enrollment numbers in the upper grades? Or, curricular disorder as evidenced by, what appears to be, the competing goals of Sister Marie Jihan and Trad? In any case, Saule's description of Trad, as well as the difficulties Zahrat al-ihsan faced in the early 1930s, reveals that there was a debate over goals, aims, and curriculum within the school.

Such a view is further complicated by the fact that while a French principal, Mlle Vincent, ultimately replaced Trad, it took over two years following her retirement for this to happen, perhaps showing the power of the community, or of Trad's family, in decision-making for the school. And, though three local women replaced the High-Commission-detached French teachers, as discussed above, one of those women—Sister Natalie—appears to have been in conflict with the new French-led administration.

Saule's report notes that Sister Natalie taught the fifth elementary course, with twenty-two children. Of those students, Saule says there are "barely nine or ten students of the future," though some "are very enlightened." Her observation of Sister Natalie's teaching is generally negative. Though conceding that the students "read well," Saule finds the rest of the lesson lacking in pedagogical rigor and linguistic accuracy. She also notes that Sister Natalie is the only nun in the community who speaks French, though she has not, like the other teachers, obtained a preparation

notebook for organizing her lessons. Saule posits that Sister Natalie has hopes of directing French instruction in the school once the other French teachers have left. She notes, finally, that while Sister Natalie is "a little intelligent" and "could…become much better if she was willing," she is in conflict with the new French-appointed principal. Indeed, according to Saule, while Vincent's "authority[…is] well-established," a "splinter group where Sister Natalie is head" remains troublesome.[333] Saule's observation here suggests that at least some within the school did not support Vincent, showing her appointment to, perhaps, be more in communal leadership's interest than the school's interest. Indeed, when considering the goals of the male leadership of the Beirut Greek Orthodox diocese, discussed above, one could make the case that it sought a strong French-influenced program in Zahrat al-ihsan, in part to attract students, the children of prestigious families, and in part to secure their political power in the colonial state, thus propping up their own vision of the nation.

The above provides a view into the multiple and competing claims made on the school. As the French saw the implementation of a strong program supported by teachers detached by the High Commission and by young local women in the school, school administration, and sectarian leadership, not all teachers were completely on board with the project. While Saule's comments about Sister Natalie's character and teaching ability could be genuine critique, they must also be seen in the context of her other comments about Sister Natalie's desire to become the director of the French section at the school, as well as her, and it sounds like others' in the larger

[333] Ecole Zahrat el-ihssan, Inspection de 8 Février 1934.

community, opposition to the imposition of a French principal for the school (or, at the very least, Vincent). Indeed, as the French sought, and in some ways saw the realization of their colonial education policy, local women sought their own aims – whether for the community, their own goals, or in the interest of their students.

These inspection reports reveal a complicated picture of the situation at Zahrat al-ihsan through the mid-1930s. The school appears to have been fraught with tension, among staff, between the school and the French SIP, and between the school and Greek Orthodox community leadership. These tensions reflect the larger tensions that existed among the various groups that vied for and sought power in the first half of the Mandate. Indeed, the fact that these tensions existed shows the importance of the school, a girls' school, to the French, the community, and the individuals within it, revealing the material role girls' schools played in conceptions of nation and citizen during the mandate.

"A POLITICAL ATTITUDE CONTRARY TO GOOD ORDER"? AHLIAH AND FRENCH-LOCAL AIMS

Falling outside the supposedly simple sectarian division of private education in Lebanon, Ahliah was a bit of a conundrum for the French in the early Mandate period. Unlike the other schools examined in this dissertation, Ahliah was avowedly non-sectarian and saw itself as a "national" school, educating future patriotic citizens.[334]

Ahliah's formal relationship with the French colonial government began in November 1918, when the French occupation forces authorized the school to

[334] See Chapter One for a brief school history.

operate.[335] While the relationship appears largely amicable for the first few years, with positive inspection reports of, French subsidies for, and High Commission-detached French teachers to the school, French colonial and imperial concerns began to shape that relationship as early as 1920. As in the case of Zahrat al-ihsan, the relationship between the French and the Ahliah community reveals the ways in which girls' schools served as sites on which political claims were made.

Perhaps the clearest case of the multiple claims made to girls' schools and girls' education as revealed in Ahliah occurred in late 1924 and early 1925. In late October 1924, the High Commission approved the school principal, Mary Kassab's, request to add a boarding section at Ahliah.[336] Less than two months later, on December 1, 1924, French High Commissioner Maxime Weygand (1923-1924) signed an order closing the school for a period of three months, to begin in ten days. The Decision stated that Ahliah's closure resulted from a "derogation of the provision" of the October 1924 order by adding a mixed, rather than a girls', boarding section.[337] French colonial documents, however, indicate concerns about "a political attitude contrary to good order," with the closure justified by "the existence of a mixed boarding section" with six boys.[338]

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[335] Marie Kassab to the Representative of the High Commissioner, 13 December 1924; Marie Kassab to the Governor of Greater Lebanon (Vandenberg), 13 Dec 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.
[336] Letter, Marie Kassab, 16 June 1924; Councilor of Public Instruction to Mlle Kassab, 25 June 1924, 1SL/600/29, IP, MAE, CADN; Marie Kassab to the Councilor for Public Instruction, July 1924; Decision no. 2617 portant autorisation d'annexion d'internat à une ecole privée, 20 October 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.
[337] Decision no. 2660 portant fermeture temporaire d'école privée, 1 December 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.
[338] Councilor for Public Instruction and Inspector General of French Works to the Secretary General, 20 November 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

The school community—parents, administrators, teachers, and students—protested the closure. School histories and alumnae accounts tell a dramatic story of 100 students marching together under the banner of Ahliah's scouting troops led by the school's vice principal, Alice Abicarius, breaking through a wall of French soldiers guarding the central government building in order to demand that the new French High Commissioner, staunch secularist Maurice Sarrail, reopen their school. This demonstration, the intervention of the community, school administrators and board members, and local government officials and, as the French would tell it, the magnanimity of Sarrail, led the French to reopen the school by early January 1925.[339]

A closer look at this case, the events leading up to it, and those that followed – its telling by alumnae, school histories, the press, and official documents, reveals the various claims made on the school: French colonial and imperial concerns; intellectual and nationalist preoccupations; and the wants and needs of the school's parents, teachers, administrators, and students. In all cases, we see different visions of the nation and different meanings of girls' and women's citizenship.

French aims. French Mandate educational policy aimed to create colonial citizens loyal to France and imbued with French culture. These colonial citizens would use their loyalty to France to advance French interests in the region and help maintain colonial control. The French High Commission was also keenly aware that

[339] Along with Maxime Weygand, his predecessor, Sarrail envisioned a colonial civic order built on secular republicanism. Thompson notes, though, that this republicanism "was more a means of imposing direct French rule over colonial subjects than of granting them rights." Further, Sarrail's attempts to disempower religious elites and "elevate the status of peasants and workers" through tax and labor reform led to further entrenchment of existing local power structures that fell along sectarian lines. The outbreak of the Syrian revolt in the summer of 1925, as well as the defeat of the leftist bloc in Paris, led to a retrenchment of the limited and sectarian civic order first established under Henri Gouraud in the early 1920s. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 44-46, 50.

these colonial concerns were put in jeopardy by its imperial rivals also active in the region, including the British, Italians, Germans, and, increasingly over the course of the Mandate, the Americans.[340] These colonial and imperial concerns often overlapped and manifested in French interactions with and actions taken in relation to Ahliah through preoccupation with the "loyalties" of those associated with the school and in concerns about French education, and thus French influence, within the school. As in the case of Zahrat al-ihsan, this shows the political importance of girls' schools and girls' education to the larger colonial, imperial, and national projects taking shape.

The French High Commission's preoccupation with both its imperial rivals and the implementation of its colonial policy can be seen in its concern over the loyalties of those associated with the school—particularly members of the school's committee, board, and administration.[341] Throughout the Mandate period, local notables and other prominent community members, many of whom were significant players in the political, economic, social, and intellectual life of Beirut and the larger region, made up the community of school supporters and the school's board.[342] They included the likes of ʿAbdul Rahman Beyhum, ʾArif Nʿamani, Khalil Salibi, Nagib ʿArdati, Bulus al-

[340] Note that I make a distinction between "colonial" and "imperial" concerns. French colonial concerns refers to the relationship between colonizer and colonized (e.g., French and Syro-Lebanese), while imperial concerns refers to the relationship between imperial powers (e.g., French and British, Americans, etc.).
[341] French intelligence reports also show concern with particular teachers at various local schools, including Ahliah and Zahrat al-ihsan. "Note," September 1927, 1SL/V/1565, MAE, CADN; "Notes sur les Journaux et Revues Parraissant Actuellement a Beyrouth et au Liban, 22 Jun e1921, 1SL/V/2377, MAE, CADN. Cited in Ouahes, *Syria and Lebanon*, 126-127.
[342] See Chapter One for an overview of the transnational support given to the school by the Syrian-Lebanese diaspora.

Khawli, and Philip Hitti, as well as ʿAli Jumblat, Julia Dimashqiyya, ʾAnis Sheikh, ʿOmar Daoud, and Nicolas Jou.[343]

In the period leading up to the school's closure, intelligence reports were made on several of these individuals based on their affiliation with the school.[344] These reports reveal both imperial and colonial concerns. When the school first requested to form a committee to oversee its funding and educational program, for example, French intelligence reports describe one of the committee members, ʿAbdul Rahman Beyhum, as "suspect," a "notorious Sharifian," and advocate for Syrian independence.[345] A 1923 intelligence report mentions him again, this time alongside Dr. Najib ʿArdati, as having "an incontestable influence among Muslims."[346] Beyhum and ʿArdati are singled out alongside Bulus al-Khawli and Philip Hitti, noted to "have a great influence on Lebanon, especially in the region of the Shouf and Matn," regions dominated by Christians, and thus, in French colonial logic, open to French influence and control.[347] The report also highlights their affiliation with AUB, a school founded by American Presbyterian missionaries in the nineteenth century and a locus

[343] Report, Ecole Nationale Syrienne, 3 April 1920; Report, Ecole Nationale Syrienne, 7 March 1921, 1SL/600/9, IP, MAE, CADN; Governor of Greater Lebanon to the Public Instruction Service of the High Commission, 2 July 1921; Statut du Comite de l'Ecole Syrienne Nationale de Beyrouth, n.d., 1SL/600/14, IP, MAE, CADN; Members of the Patronage Committee and Consultative Committee of Ahliah to the Plenipotentiary Minister, 24 Deccember 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.
[344] These examples were all found in files related to the school in the French archives.
[345] Transmission, Administrative Councilor of the Sanjak of Beirut to Governor of Greater Lebanon, 13 June 1921, 1SL/600/14, IP, MAE, CADN. The transmission notes that Beyhum was chosen as delegate of the Young Muslims to be an envoy to the Geneva Congress, with the mission of claiming Syrian independence, without mandate.
[346] Note, Committee of Mlle Marie Kassab, 28 November 1923, 1SL/600/21, IP, MAE, CADN. Other notables included in this report were Badr Dimashqiyya, Assad al-Tarcha, Dr. Negib Ardati, Bulus al-Khawli, Nicola Zeheir, Philip Hitti, and Aziz Kassab.
[347] Note, 28 November 1923.

of Arab nationalist political agitation.[348] In these instances, though the French are clearly concerned with their imperial rivals, that concern overlaps with, and perhaps takes second place behind, that focused on the solidification of colonial control and authority. In the case of the 1921 request to form the school committee, this colonial concern can be seen in the fact that the French ultimately authorized it to form in order to ensure that the other modes of French influence—subsidies and the detachment of High Commission French teachers—would continue and thus "neutralize the nationalist influence" in the school.[349]

These intelligence reports also provide insight into the sectarian logic—working with influential persons and groups through their religious affiliation and power structures—at the heart of French colonial policy in Lebanon. Though both Ouahes and Dueck have shown the French to be more preoccupied with currying the favor of Christian sects in the early Mandate, as we saw in the case of Zahrat al-ihsan, the concerns voiced here show that the French attempted to align themselves with influential Muslims from early on as well. For example, Beyhum and ʿArdati's (among others') standing among Sunni Muslims, and their support of the school, challenged French influence among that same group, many members of which sent their daughters to French Catholic missionary schools such as the Daughters of Charity, Sisters of Besançon, and Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition.[350] French

[348] Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).
[349] This permission did, however, include caveats. Letter to the Governor of Greater Lebanon, 23 July 1921, 1SL/600/14, IP, MAE, CADN.
[350] Note, Marie Kassab School's relationship with AUB, 7 March 1924, 1 SL/600/29, IP, MAE, CADN; Note, 28 November 1923. The March 1924 note, referring to the November 1923 note, laments that the relationship between Ahliah and AUB has only increased in the intervening months; while the November 1923 note suggested that the school was "under the protection of Mr. Dodge," with

intelligence makes the importance of schools as sites of connection between imperial concerns and colonial policy clear: "the Muslim woman of the new generation occupies a social rank more and more important and acquires an increasing influence of the 'masculine element' that composes her family."[351] Having the daughters of influential Arab Muslims, mostly from Beirut but also from other places in *Bilad al-Sham*, the larger Middle East, and North Africa, swayed by American or anti-French ideas would not bode well for the French in Lebanon, the Middle East more broadly, or their colonial possessions elsewhere.

Like the French concern over divided loyalties among the Muslim notability, the specific focus on Khawli and Hitti's Protestant influence over Christians in Mount Lebanon reflects fear about their imperial rivals and their colonial authority. Khawli and Hitti's influence on these groups—and the American influence over them, as assumed by the French—also posed a challenge to French justifications for their mandate-protectorate over the region's Christians.[352] As with Beyhum and Ardati's

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"instructions to spread the Anglo-Saxon culture among Muslim children, who make up almost all the students," by March 1924, "the attachments of this school with the American University have been strengthened since Mr. Dodge took charge of the rents. He had paid, on 27 February, the sum of 200 livres, or, school rent for one year."

[351] Note, 28 November 1923. The note lists several factors for the popularity of the school for Muslim students. Among them include the presence of Badr and Julia Dimashqiyya, Abdel Rahman Beyhum, and Dr. Nagib Ardati on the school's Board. Further, the school "added a Muslim catechism course directed by Sheikh Abdel Basset Fatallah, secretary of the Municipal Council, and obliged to Badr Dimashqiyya." The note states that this was done on the counsel of Mr. Dodge.

[352] For a fuller discussion of France's framing of their mandate as protectorate, see Ouahes, *Syria and Lebanon*. For an analysis of the ways in which the mandate project was a result of the "imaginative labors" of nineteenth century French and Lebanese thinkers who "sought to make Mount Lebanon a space French in sentiments and substance," see Andrew Arsan, " 'There Is, in the Heart of Asia, … an Entirely French Population': France, Mount Lebanon, and the Workings of Affective Empire in the Mediterranean, 1830-1920," in *French Mediterraneans: Transnational and Imperial Histories*, edited by Patricia M. E. Lorcin and Todd Shepard (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 97. See also Edward A. Falk, "Lyon to Liban: Language, Nation, and Faith in the Jesuit Schools of Ottoman Lebanon," in *Entangled Education*, 165-180.

America-tinged influence over other Sunni Muslims' school choices for their young daughters, Khawli and Hitti's Amero-Christian influence over those deemed traditionally Francophile challenges French conceptions of their mandate as protectorate.

The French found these individuals' influence over Ahliah's students and potential clientele the most troubling. Indeed, given the larger colonial/political policy rooted in sectarianism that played out in schools, where certain schools were viewed as more pro-French than others (e.g., Zahrat al-ihsan), a school like Ahliah, which did not fit into a particular sectarian mold, posed difficulty for French colonial officials as they could not negotiate with its board and committee members, administration, teachers, and students in their usual terms. The perceived religious influences and associations of the school's committee members, in addition to the school's stated secular (and therefore multisectarian/non-sectarian nature) was thus viewed as a significant threat to the French, not only from the English and Americans but also because of the broad cross-section of Beirut/Lebanese society/power structure that the students—and their influential parents—represented.

In other instances, we see imperial concerns, particularly as it related to American and/or British influence, take precedence. Intelligence reports from 1923, for example, single out 'Arif Nʿamani and Khalil Salibi, both members of the school's committee. The report describes Nʿamani as "condemned by the Administrative Councilor of Greater Lebanon…currently in Egypt," occupied by the British.[353] Salibi,

[353] Director of General Security to the Councilor of Public Instruction, 12 January 1923, 1SL/600/21, IP, MAE, CADN. 'Arif Na'amani was also one of the delegates to the 1920 Syrian Congress that promulgated the Syrian Declaration of Independence on 8 March 1920. Thompson has shown that the

noted to be “originally Lebanese…married to an English woman” has “political tendencies [that] are generally anglophile.”[354] The report also states that “the rich families and Beneficent Societies” of Beirut subsidize the establishment itself, indicating the multiple influences on the school that could challenge French colonial aims.[355]

Mary Kassab and Alice Abicarius, the school’s principal and vice principal, respectively, also figure into these intelligence reports focused on imperial concerns. A January 1923 report describes them as Protestant and therefore Anglophile. It notes that Kassab is the sister of the Kassab brothers, “proprietors of the shop of the same name” in Suq Tawila and believed by the French to be supported by American missionaries.[356] The report refers to Abicarius as an “English protégé” and sister to the Procurator General of Haifa, a major port city in the British mandate of Palestine.

The SIP and French intelligence’s preoccupation with the school’s educational program and daily functioning also reveal French colonial and imperial concerns.

French undertook an international campaign against the Congress and its members to discredit it. Thompson, *How the West Stole Democracy*.

[354] Councilor of Public Instruction to the Director of Public/General Security, 6 January 1923. In this letter, the Councilor of Public Instruction requested information on N’amani, Tarcha, and Salibi. Director of General Security to the Councilor of Public Instruction, 12 January 1923. Here, the director of General Security notes that Salibi is a “painter”, who “has agreed to give free lessons in this school but would take the opportunity to make anti-French propaganda.”

[355] Director of General Security to the Councilor of Public Instruction, 12 January 1923.

[356] Director of General Security to the Councilor of Public Instruction, 12 January 1923. French reports often bring up Kassab’s brothers and her relationship to them. In early 1923, for example, Kassab requested a customs exemption for school supplies. The Councilor of Public Instruction informed the Inspector General of Customs that he had it on good authority that the exempted goods would be sold within the school, as had been done in the past, and used to support the “Kassab house,” which I believe refers to the Kassab brothers’ business. Councilor of Public Instruction to M. Merlenghi (Inspector General of Customs), 28 February 1923, 1SL/600/21, IP, MAE, CADN. A later November 1923 note describes Kassab and her brothers (Amine, Aziz, and Farid) as “a creation of Americans,” having been taught in the Protestant mission schools and being Protestant themselves. Further, the stores of the Kassab brothers on Rue de la Poste and Avenue des Francais sells American housewares and was given the start-up money from Americans. Note, 28 November 1923.

Indeed, the High Commission justified its continued support of the school, in spite of the questionable loyalties of many of its supporters, as a means to ensure control over "educational and instructional tendencies," as it required Kassab to provide details of Ahliah's program to the SIP.[357] The French believed that these "tendencies" were easily influenced by the English and English-language establishments given the perceived loyalties of the school's administration and leadership.[358] Indeed, one report describes that influence as "a relentless propaganda…[that] seek[s], above all, to deprecate and belittle the French."[359]

A report filed with the SIP by Mlle Lay, a French teacher detached to Ahliah by the High Commission in the early 1920s, provides a helpful view of the ways in which France's colonial and imperial concerns played out in the space of the school. She opens her report with a scathing description of Kassab: "Either it comes from a conscious ill will or it is the result of total incompetence, the director of the school, Mlle Kassab, has organized French education in such a way that the results are necessarily nil."[360] To add insult to injury, Lay claims that Kassab and Abicarius publicly denigrate French education and have a low regard for Lay and Mlle Hivert, the other French teacher; further, they employ local teachers with, according to Lay, limited French abilities.[361] Kassab's "incompetence" is capped by her refusal to allow

[357] Letter to the Governor of Greater Lebanon, 23 July 1921; Note, M. L. [Lay], 31 December 1921; Report, Mlle Paysse, 23 June 1922, 1SL/600/14, IP, MAE, CADN.
[358] Reply to the Governor of Greater Lebanon, 23 July 1921; Note from M. L. [Lay], 31 December 1921; Report from Mlle Paysse, 23 June 1922.
[359] Report, Mlle Paysse, 23 June 1922. Interestingly, her report frames this conflict as a linguistic battle between English and French. The importance of language, and language as a battleground in cultural supremacy, is discussed by Sbaiti, "Lessons in History"; and Dueck, *Claims of Culture*.
[360] Report, Ahliah's educational program, 21 December 1923, 1SL/600/21, IP, MAE, CADN.
[361] The Ahliah administration's relationship with French language instructors appears to be complex. While reports from French teachers detached to the school by the High Commission describe the anti-

Ahliah students to sit for the French brevet or CEP until a Syro-French exam is offered. Implicit in these critiques is concern about French influence in the school vis-à-vis local control and autonomy, seen in Lay's comments about the brevet and CEP, and about Kassab's apparent willingness to dispense with the French teachers if they do not like working at Ahliah.[362]

Lay connects this poor French education and lack of regard for French aims to English and/or American preference within the school. She writes, "In this National Syrian School, where most students are Greek Orthodox, where there are Muslims, Catholics, and only a small number of Protestants, the prayer is given in English. The songs are English (Protestant) religious. The scouting is an English lesson and is also, I believe, English propaganda."[363] In noting the religious background of the students when talking about the language of prayers, songs, and scouting meetings, Lay makes a direct link between religion and language: In French colonial logic, Catholics, Greek Orthodox, and Muslims are disposed to French language and culture. Protestantism, on the other hand, is clearly linked with English (both the language and the people). By noting that most students are not Protestant, Lay

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French feeling, poor level of French education, etc., the earliest inspection reports seem to indicate a true effort to improve French instruction in the school. Further, an earlier report filed by Paysse in 1922 notes that the school is looking to replace an ill-equipped local French teacher with a French national. It is possible that the apparent shifts in the school administration's relationship with the individual teachers in the school could be the result of changes in French colonial policy/larger political events/changes in the leadership of the school (e.g., the committee), but it seems more likely that tensions emerged between individuals – the local teachers and administrators and the French instructors detached by the High Commission who, by their own admission, and by the regular reports they filed with the SIP, essentially served as spies in the school. Report, Mlle Paysse, 23 June 1922.

[362] Report, Ahliah's educational program, 21 December 1923.

[363] Report, Ahliah's educational program, 21 December 1923. It is also interesting to note that she says most of the students are Greek Orthodox, when other reports indicate that most students are Muslim—indeed, that is the basis of French concern about American influence. See, for example, Note, Marie Kassab School's relationship with AUB, 7 March 1924, 1SL/600/29, IP, MAE, CADN.

attempts to strengthen her argument for the presence of English propaganda – with all of these students from these "non-English" religious sects, what other purpose could English have in the school setting than propaganda? Lay closes her report by making that connection explicit: "Just as we feel from the administration and among the students an indifference, a disdain for all that is French, we feel admiration, love, for that which is English."[364]

Lay's report prompted French intelligence to take a closer look at the school. A November 1924 intelligence report filed with the High Commission on anti-French propaganda in schools included Ahliah (or, as it was called in the report, The School of Marie Kassab). It reinforced the claim made by Lay and others in the preceding few years that Ahliah was a center of anti-French propaganda in spite of the French subsidy it had been receiving, again betraying French imperial and colonial concerns. The report refers to undue British and American influence due to the financial support Ahliah received from the "Anglo-American Protestant mission" immediately following the end of WWI, and to the "permanent contact" Kassab and Abicarius maintain with AUB.[365] French intelligence believed this continued contact and financial support meant that Kassab and Abicarius took directions from AUB. This American direction, according to the report, led to the employment of a Swiss-German French language teacher, Miss Stephan, with concerning pro-German and anti-French tendencies, and to the school's teachers, many of whom were Greek Orthodox, "becom[ing]

[364] Report, Ahliah's educational program, 21 December 1923
[365] Anti-French Propaganda in the Schools: The Marie Kassab School, n.d., 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

Protestant" in all but name.[366] The report gives particular attention to a student economics notebook that included notes in English "whose inspiration is clearly unfavorable to France."[367] While the report concedes that the notebook does not provide conclusive proof that the school supports the views expressed therein, it does provide "evidence of a wayward disorder, an indication of political preoccupation which cannot be allowed in a school."[368] Adding to all of this, the report notes "intense" German propaganda in the school found both in daily lessons and in the fact that Kassab and Abicarius received pedagogical training from Germans in Beirut.[369]

The above indicates French colonial concerns with maintaining influence in and control over the school as a means to enact colonial policy. Hearkening back to the earliest intelligence reports collected when the school's committee requested to form, the report shows some preoccupation with the school's connection to expressions of Syrian independence. It notes, for example, that, prior to the solidification of French rule, Ahliah received subsidy from Faysal's government. The report also describes Ahliah's students as the children of known anti-French

[366] Anti-French Propaganda, n.d. A follow-up letter notes that Stephen is originally from Geneva and had taught at the Greek Orthodox school in Tripoli the previous year. Councilor of Public Instruction and Inspector General of French Works in Syria and Lebanon to the Secretary General, 20 Nov 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN. The implication of this observation by the French here is a connection of some sort between the Greek Orthodox school in Tripoli and the American mission, an interesting proposition as the American mission saw the Greek Orthodox schools established in Tripoli in the 1920s as competition to their own educational establishments.
[367] Anti-French Propaganda, n.d.
[368] Anti-French Propaganda, n.d.
[369] Anti-French Propaganda, n.d.

agitators, including of the Salam, Itani, N'amani, Kharsa, and Ghandour families, among others.[370]

Thus, the French SIP based its closure of the school on these colonial and imperial concerns. In a letter sent to Emile Eddé, President of the Administrative Council, the French lay out their requirements for a quicker—late January—reopening of the school.[371] It called for the removal of Kassab and Abicarius, with replacements chosen by the school committee and in consultation with the High Commission. The committee itself would have to be reorganized. The letter also required the school to "entirely adopt the schedule, program, and organization of the official primary elementary and upper elementary curriculum," with proof of "methodical preparation for the Lebanese State exams." Further, the name of the school must be modified to remove "National" and "Syrian" from its title, "national" being reserved for official schools and "Syrian" being the incorrect adjective. And, finally, the boys' boarding section must be removed. The letter concludes that "the measures envisaged here permit…an assurance of order, to improve the condition in which the students are placed in the school, and to give them a better instruction. They can therefore only go to meet the legitimate wishes of families."[372] Though the

[370] Salim Ali Salam and Arif al-Na'mani were both members of the Syrian Congress in March 1920 representing Beirut. As far as I know, Salim Ali Salam did not send any daughters to Ahliah, though he may have had like-minded relatives who did. Arif Na'mani sat on Ahliah's board in the early 1920s. Thompson, *How the West Stole Democracy*, 339-345.
[371] The Representative Council was a "partly elected" body of leaders—mostly landowners and notables—from the country's dominant sects, with Christians over-represented and Muslims under. When the constitution was adopted in May 1926, the Representative Council became the Chamber of Deputies, which set up a "Senate…to represent sects and regions." Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 88-89.
[372] Letter to the President of the Representative Council, 16 December 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

letter frames these demands as in the interest of the school, its students, and the education they receive it, quite clearly, reveals a colonial government attempting to assert more direct control over a school that it deems not only inappropriately political but also acting contrary to French aims.

Local Aims. Notice of the school's closure prompted a swift response from the school's administrators, students, and community. These reactions, in combination with what we can glean of local intentions and opinions from the above-described reports, as well as press accounts, reveal local aims – rooted in both the quotidian and the larger political, social, and economic concerns of the day – that most often overlapped. At the very basic and daily level, the school and the community that supported it sought to educate its students within the larger context of colonial occupation and enormous political change, working within and negotiating the bureaucracy and ideology of a new colonial structure. At the same time, local peoples viewed the school – and the education of its students – as vital for the raising of patriotic future citizens, the health of the community, and the success of the nation.

Throughout correspondence between the school community and the French Mandate authority, one sees local people acting within the ideology of the colonial state—and particularly the notion of *mission civilisatrice* and French ideals of liberty—as they appealed for the school's, and the larger community's, needs.

Letters from parents call on French ideals to question the Mandate authority's decision and to express both more quotidian as well as larger national concerns. Two days before the school's closure, a joint letter from "parents of the students of the

Syrian National School," to the representative of the High Commission,[373] framed their concern about the impending closure around the needs of the students and the community, the importance of the school for the nation, and their belief that the decision to close the school ran contrary to French ideals. The letter opens by invoking France as a country of "liberty and equality," and as "emancipator of peoples and nations…propagator of an admirable civilization."[374] In the same breath, the letter castigates French officials for their reliance on "informers" to "arbitrarily close a school of 200 students," bringing "prejudice to a great number of families, sincere friends" of France.[375] The letter also emphasizes the importance of the school for the community and the nation, addressing both the reason for closure and, it would seem, the demands made by the French for the school's reopening. The parents state that the Syrian National School "is ours," founded and named prior to the occupation and Mandate, focused on the education of girls and boys "without distinction of rite nor religion" – no politics involved – with the goal of making "the good housewives of tomorrow" and sowing "in young hearts the germs of patriotism."[376] They emphasize their strong faith in the school, its personnel, and the education their children receive there, shown by their financial support of the school.[377]

[373] The Mandate authority postponed the closure date from 16 to 25 December to give time for Kassab and Ahliah's administrators to ensure students and staff were fully rehoused. Office for Public Instruction to Marie Kassab, 16 December 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.
[374] Parents of al-Ahliah to the representative to the High Commissioner for Syria and Lebanon, 23 December 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.
[375] Parents of al-Ahliah, 23 December 1924.
[376] Parents of al-Ahliah, 23 December 1924.
[377] Parents of al-Ahliah, 23 December 1924.

A letter sent to the High Commission by Amir Said ʿAbd al-Kader al-Jazaʾiri also expresses these sentiments. A father of students in the school, short-lived post-WWI governor of Damascus, and grandson of famed Algerian anti-colonialist Abdel Kader Jazaʾiri, Said Jazaʾiri uses the language of the *mission civilisatrice* to express his concern for the students and their families.[378] He writes to a "noble" France, propagator of "civilization and science," wondering how the accusations made against the school, as well as the disadvantage to students caused by the closure, meets these characteristics.[379] He connects his interest in the school to his love of France and to the school's service to France.[380] In both letters, then, we see parents drawing on the language of French civilizational superiority to invoke their educational and national needs.

Kassab's official response to the High Commission shows a similar appeal to French ideals, the everyday need to educate students, and the needs of a community and nation in the midst of change and upheaval. Kassab opens the letter by acknowledging receipt of the decision closing the school. In addition to objecting to

[378] Abdelkader Jazaʾiri (1808-1883), born in Ottoman-occupied Algeria, waged a seventeen-year resistance to French colonization of Algeria. For his efforts, the French exiled him from Algeria. He was later pardoned and spent the rest of his life in Damascus. During the violence of the 1860 massacres, he provided shelter to Christians. For all of this, he has often been painted as both an anti-colonial and pan-Arab hero. His grandson, Emir Said Abdelkader Jazairi (1883-1970), eager to live up to his grandfather's name and family history, declared himself governor of Damascus as the Ottomans retreated at the end of WWI. He was ultimately arrested and banished by the combined Arab and British government, first to Beirut and then to France. He returned to Damascus in 1924. During the French bombing of Damascus in October 1925, like his grandfather before him, he sheltered 3000 Damascene Christians and then "headed a delegation of Damascus notables to Beirut, where he demanded a ceasefire from the French High Commissioner, Maurice Sarrail." Sami Moubayed, "Two September Weeks that Saved Damascus in 1918." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Fall 2015): 382-3.

[379] Abd-el-Kader to the Representative of the High Commission, 8 December 1924, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

[380] Abd-el-Kader to the Representative of the High Commission, 8 December 1924.

the language of the decision itself, she calls on the school's social-political connections to support her decision for a "mixed" boarding section. She notes the sons of Prince Said Abdel-Kader Jazairi among the boy boarders. He also boards his four daughters there. She writes: "This prince…has studied this question himself. If he had been the slightest discommoded, he would not have entrusted his daughters to us."[381] Here, Kassab makes a not-so-subtle point about the clientele that this decision is affecting – not only the families, notable and middle class, of Beirut and environs, but also significant players from across the Middle East, and within the French imperial imaginary.[382]

Kassab also makes a moralistic appeal when pointing out the material consequences of the French decision, connecting the closure of the school with French civilizational standards. She writes, "it is impossible not be struck by the enormity of the penalty prescribed for persons who have nothing to do with the offense charged."[383] In this case, 200 students, most of whom are young girls and women, will have their education cut off. Seventeen teachers "who do not have alternatives to their salary," will be left without employment, placing them in a bad moral and material situation. In this entreaty, Kassab invokes middle class, modern preoccupation with the importance of girls' education and the threat of women's

[381] Marie Kassab to the Representative of the High Commissioner, 13 Decemeber 1924; Marie Kassab to the Governor of Greater Lebanon, 13 Decemeber 1924.
[382] See, for example, Arsan, "There Is…".
[383] Kassab to the Representative of the High Commissioner, 13 December 1924; Kassab to the Governor of Greater Lebanon, 13 December 1924.

moral depravity, again connecting people's everyday concerns – going to school and to work – with larger French colonial concerns and goals.[384]

The final section of Kassab's letter challenges French intelligence documents' characterization of the school as anti-French and political by appealing to French ideals and goals, as well as local visions for the school, all with the aim of reopening it. She reiterates the educational and practical function of the school for the community, challenging French characterizations of the school as a hotbed of political activity or anti-French propaganda and emphasizing the importance of the school to the community, its children, and the school's students. She also notes the importance of a close relationship between the school and the government, stating her willingness to implement the program the French deem appropriate and emphasizing that the educational program of the school is indeed aligned with French values: "Your intelligence will undoubtedly allow you to discern the disinterested character of our activity and the nobility of our efforts, which tend to spread culture and science, particularly those of France, [and allow your] representatives…[to] listen to our plea and respond to it with the benevolent gesture everyone expects of them."[385] Here, as in the rest of the letter and in the letters sent to the High Commission by parents of the school, Kassab emphasizes loyalty to France, the importance of the school to the community and her desire to work with the French Mandate government to meet their and the school's goals. Though these

[384] Thompson links any concerns the French had over women's morality with colonial concerns: Women's health wasn't considered in public health programs except as it related to prostitutes, which were likely to be used by French colonial officials. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 84-87.
[385] Kassab to the Representative of the High Commissioner, 13 December 1924; Kassab to the Governor of Greater Lebanon, 13 December 1924.

letters appeal to the French, including through its use of paternalistic language, they do so in the interest of the school, the community, and the nation.

Ultimately, the incoming High Commissioner, Maurice Sarrail, decided to reopen the school. While he most likely made this decision as part of his attempt to limit the privileging of religious communities begun under the first High Commissioner, Henri Gouraud (1919-1923) and, to an extent, lessened under Weygand, the events leading up to the reopening are instructive for the purposes of this dissertation for what it reveals about nation- and citizen-making.[386] In particular, we see a school administration negotiating the needs of the school and the community it served as well as French expectations and demands. We also see students staking a claim in their school, ensuring their own and their nation's future.

On the administrative and school community side, we see various actors working within the confines and expectations of the French colonial government to meet the community and school's needs. On January 5, 1925, members of Ahliah's Consultative and Patronage Committees met with a representative of the High Commissioner and agreed to a set of terms that would allow the school to "reopen its doors and resume its salutary work of education and instruction": withdrawal of the four boy boarding students; application of the instruction program of the State of Greater Lebanon (i.e., the French SIP instruction program); submission of the school to surveillance by the High Commission; suspension of Abicarius for a period of three months, beginning at the date of the closure of the school."[387]

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[386] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 44-5.
[387] Bulus Khawli to the High Commissioner for Syria and Lebanon, 8 January 1925, 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

At the same time, the committee members make their objection to the closure, the rationale for it, and the requirements for the school's reopening equally clear when they write that they accept these imposed conditions the *French* "Secretary General considered indispensable to the reopening of the School."[388] Further, they state that they do not agree with the Councilor for Public Instruction's characterization of the activities that go on in the school. Echoing Kassab's letter to the High Commission discussed above, the Committees acquiesce to French demands, thus allowing the education of the school's students to continue. Like Kassab, they make it clear that they do not agree with the High Commission's assessment of the activities that had occurred in the school, nor its justification for the school's closure. They also make it clear that they do this because of the important role that the school serves in the community.[389]

Local press sources, school archives, and student memoirs about the school's reopening also give us insight into the overlap of daily- and political-level concerns that shaped local people's relationship with and perception of the school. From these sources, we learn that in early January 1925, a large group of Ahliah students and teachers descended on the Grand Serail. The school reopened shortly thereafter. Descriptions of this event in the local press and in student memories, like the above instances, show local peoples staking a claim in their nation's future. An article published in *Lisan al-Hal* (The Mouthpiece), for example, gives us some insight into

[388] Khawli to the High Commissioner, 8 January 1925.
[389] Khawli to the High Commissioner, 8 January 1925.

both local and French aims.[390] Titled “For the Sake of Ahliah School,” the article is included in French archival documents of this whole affair. That French intelligence reviewed press accounts for coverage of the school, and saw fit to include them in its colonial archive, shows their belief in the successful outcome of this particular issue. Indeed, it provides a nice, tidy bow on the French story: French concerns allayed, a grateful local population, and women put back in their place. At the same time, the article itself shows local agency as school administration, staff, and students ascribed their own importance to the school and its reopening.

The article describes the following scene: In thanks, gratefulness, and recognition of French beneficence, Mary Kassab led a group of students and scouts to the Serail to thank Sarrail for re-opening the school. Miss Abi Shahla, a student in the school and relative to one of its teachers, gave a speech, translated into French:

> “In the name of the students of the Syrian National School, I present to your excellency our thanks for your kindness in reopening our beloved school, which had been closed by the High Commissioner. The first Monday of January, the day you came and the day our school opened, is the beginning of a new age in the history of our country for progress and advancement. When we were informed of the order that our school must be closed, we were afraid, as were all the people. From then on, our eyes turned to the lofty ideal that was promised us that would come to our country, and we put all our hopes in it; you have been the subject of our hope. So thank you, respected General, and we are among those acquainted with your courtesy and will demonstrate our gratitude to you, not only by sincerity, but by striving to continue for the sake of refinement (*tahdhib*) and serving the country (*khidmat al-balad*), which will run its course from today. Long live France, and long live General Sarrail.”[391]

[390] *Lisan al-Hal* was founded in Beirut in 1877 by Khalil Sarkis and was one of the most influential magazines in the region through the interwar period. Ami Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 41-42.
[391] “Fi sabil al-madrasa al-ahliyya,” *Lisan al-hal* (1925), 1SL/600/30, IP, MAE, CADN.

On its surface, this account puts French beneficence in focus. A closer look shows that the participants in the event put the school—and the community it serves—at the center of the nation's future. While Abi Shahla cites the promise of French civilization for the country, and gives credit to the French for giving them hope in their nation's future, it is, ultimately, the school's reopening that ensures the continuation of this progress, thus placing the school at the center of the country's success.

School histories and alumnae accounts also show that its students recognized its important role—and the role they could play in ensuring the success of both their country and their school. These sources highlight the role that students, and their school-based organizations—not the French— played in the school's reopening.

School accounts, and the memoir of the school's most notable alumna, Wadad Makdisi Cortas, recount members of the school's scouting groups, led by Abicarius, marching on the Grand Serail to demand the reopening of their school. In one telling of the incident, 100 students "broke through" a line of French soldiers and entered the building, demanding to meet with Sarrail. In this telling, these actions led to the school's reopening.[392] In Cortas' memory, after Kassab announced the school's immediate closure "one morning in 1925," Abicarius "stood up and insisted that all of the Scouts come to the school garden the following morning in full uniform. Nearly one hundred uniformed girls and boys showed up, arranging ourselves in rows to march to the government house. Our leader [Abicarius] and principal [Kassab], both in uniform, led the way."[393] Cortas memory here highlights the school—and the

[392] *Min masirat al-ahliyya*, 22.
[393] Wadad Makdisi Cortas, *A World I Loved: The Story of an Arab Woman* (New York: Nation Books, 2009), 35-36.

scouting group in it—as a site for the expression of anticolonial sentiment. The accounts of the event found in school histories frame the school's identity as a nationalist, anti-French school during the Mandate. Interestingly, this event is not mentioned in French sources, nor in the women's magazines that I looked at, outside of the *Lisan al-Hal* article included in French records of Ahliah's closure, which presents things rather differently.

Such a view of the school, as important for the political—not just social or cultural—future of the nation, is not limited to alumnae memories and school histories. Indeed, accounts of Ahliah in the women's press describe it as a "national school" (see Chapter Two). And students, even at this early date, saw it as such—and were encouraged to do so. A 1924 speech delivered by Lebanese poet Khalil Mutran at Ahliah, for example, exhorted the boy scouts and girl guides to work for the benefit of the nation/homeland.[394] In her memoir, Cortas recounts that school activities while she was a student "nourished our patriotic feeling."[395] In her role as principal of Ahliah from 1935 to 1974, Cortas continued and expanded the national importance of the school as a site for the expression of patriotism, nationalism, and Arab nationalism. Indeed, for Cortas, Ahliah stood as a beacon of Arab culture and identity in a sea of French schools while she was principal during the Mandate.[396]

While it would be nice to know which account of the events leading up to the school's reopening is the more accurate, what matters here for talking about the importance of girls' schools, and girls' education, to conceptions of women's

[394] "Fi al-madrasa al-ahliyya al-suriyya," *al-Mar'a al-jadida* 4, no. 7 (1924), AUB.
[395] Cortas, *A World I Loved*, 34.
[396] Cortas, *A World I Loved*, 82-83.

citizenship in Lebanon is that students *did* get involved, in some way, when calling for the reopening of their school. Whether they marched on the Grand Serail in protest, or came to the city center at the behest of a principal attempting to make nice with the French, girl students play an important role in the school and in defining the future of the state. Here, in their own small world, schoolgirls stood up for their school, showing both the importance of their school to the national project and that they *will* play a role in that nation, now or in the future.

The above shows how French and local aims interacted, competed, and played out within and around Ahliah. It also shows the ways in which students appropriated these aims in defense of their school, their nation's future, and their own futures in the nation. While the events described here fell early in the Mandate and occurred over a short period of time, it is an excellent case study when examining the school's national significance. Indeed, school alumnae from the mid and late mandate periods have strong memories of Cortas' efforts to instill a sense of patriotism and pride in her students that ran counter to French aims. One alumna, Mona Taqla, a graduate from the early 1940s, recounted to me a speech she gave, in the presence of a French representative, excoriating France's continued occupation of Lebanon. For her, this was clearly a significant moment. In telling it to me, she stood up and repeated what she had said at that time. Further, her experience at Ahliah, and the connections she made there, gave her a voice outside the school, as she began writing for *Sawt al-Marʾa* in 1945, while still a student there. She also contributed to other Beirut newspapers, including *Dunya al-Marʾa* (Women's

World) and *al-Adib* (The Writer), other Beirut-based newspapers founded in the interwar period and after.[397]

Claiming Home and Community in Kulliyat al-banat and Sidon Girls' School

Conflict with the French shows one way that various actors made claims within and in relation to girls' schools and education. This section moves from the colonial/imperial to more closely examine how girls and young women operated within their schools, responding to colonial aims, communal aims, and larger international goals and agendas. It examines the home management (*tadbir al-manzil*) curricula of Kulliyat al-banat and SGS. The stated goal of these programs was the training of homemakers (*rabbat al-bayt*) for making good Muslim and/or Christian homes and children. In both cases, such preparation was essential for the success of the nation. For the board of the Maqasid, Kulliyat al-banat students educated in the science of home management would lead the community (ʾumma) to success, strength, and power in the future nation. For the members of the Syria Mission, such "practical education" would create graduates—of any sect—steeped in the ideals of Protestant Christianity, who could encourage the creation of clean, modern, democratic homes, influence their communities, and thus improve the overall health and success of the nation. Also, in both cases, we see the ways in which students and communities shaped the curricular goals for their own ends – as

[397] She was an otherwise very soft-spoken person, at least with me, and this was a significant change in her demeanor. When I arrived to meet with her, she had several issues of *Sawt al-Marʾa* waiting to show me. Mona Taqla, 30 June 2017. *Dunya al-Marʾa* began publication in 1960 and was a monthly women's magazine. *al-Adib* began publication in Beirut in 1942 and continued through at least 1967. It described itself as a magazine that looked at literature, law, sciences, politics, and society. AUB University Libraries Catalog, "al-Adib" and "Dunya al-Marʾa." Accessed 1 September 2021.

women serving the nation in the home but also as women serving the nation through education and professional lives.

In engaging more deeply with questions about home economics curricula, I place the history of education in the French Mandate for Lebanon in its larger international context. According to Ellen Fleischmann, the home economics program developed at SGS, as well as programs that developed globally throughout this period, "should be situated within a broader, global historical context in which domesticity was integral to the globalized project of modernity that accentuated nation building; the development of consumer, capitalist economies; and the central role played in these processes to a new middle class."[398] Thus, while histories of the French Mandate in Lebanon might push us to look at the region on its own, or as a unique case within the larger French colonial milieu, the experiences of the people living on the ground challenge us to consider the larger debates in which they participated, the ways in which they used the space of the school to make these claims, and/or how the space of the school facilitated the making of these claims. Further, it begins to show the importance of women in the movement of ideas and ideologies across the Middle East.

Home Management, Childrearing, and Euthenics during the Interwar Period

Since the late nineteenth century in the Middle East, intellectuals, reformers, politicians, and women wrote of the link between the well-managed, modern home and national success or strength. Additionally, students in Egypt and Iran could take

[398] Fleischmann, "Lost in Translation," 59.

courses in the "domestic arts."[399] In the interwar period, home economics courses proliferated in girls' schools, and home economics work expanded worldwide. In the Middle East, missionaries and local women founded the Near East Home Economics Association, and local people and groups formed national and country-specific associations. The emphasis on home economics coursework and its related disciplines (euthenics, public health, etc.) laid the groundwork for the internal and international development programs and projects that defined the post-WWII period.[400] In Lebanon, robust home economics coursework and its emphasis on the scientized and feminized management of the home and the national community, began at SGS but was soon implemented at most other girls' schools, including ASG, TGS, the girls' schools of the Maqasid, and Ahliah, as well as in the public primary and Normal school program and other private schools in the country (see the Introduction). It also led to the development of a euthenics (improvement of community health through the improvement of living conditions) major at AJCW; and the establishment of rural educational projects run by AJCW and AUB students throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

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[399] Ellen Fleischmann provides a really helpful overview of the literature on home economics in her article, "Lost in Translation." For the importance of home management in the Middle East context, see, for example, Ferguson, "Tracing *Tarbiya*"; Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 104, 109; Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman*; Najmabadi, "Crafting," 100-107; and Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play." Outside of the Middle East, "domestic sciences" programs began in the United States in the country's land grant colleges. The first such program was established at Iowa State College in 1871. Virginia B. Vincenti, "Chronology of Events and Movements Which Have Defined and Shaped Home Economics," in *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession*, edited by Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti (Cornell University Press, 1997), 321.

[400] The development projects of the interwar period became a central feature of US "soft power" in the Middle East and elsewhere during the Cold War. They also served as the base of internal development programs in many formerly colonized countries in the post-WWII period. See for example, Mire Koiari, "'The World Is Our Campus': Michigan State University and Cold-War Home Economics in US-Occupied Okinawa, 1945-1972," *Gender and History* 23, no. 4 (April 2012): 74-92.

Scholars have also examined the link between home economics and women's "progress." While many scholars of the home economics movement in the US, and of the "cult of domesticity" globally have pointed out the limitations this placed on women's options, more recent scholarship has begun to push back on this characterization, showing the many ways in which home economics training allowed women to participate in political, social, economic, and cultural life in traditionally "masculine" ways. Indeed, beginning in the early twentieth century in the United States, women home economists served as advisors to companies, supported rural electrification, and successfully brought about changes in public health and utilities practices. Scholars of women and the home in the Middle East have examined the ways in which the discourse of domesticity gave women permission to be visible in the public sphere, and gave them opportunities to actually do so.[401]

Thus, the home economics programs that developed at the girls' schools in Lebanon were part of a larger, decades-old, truly global discourse and movement that simultaneously cast women as home makers and necessary for the success of the nation.

MAKING HOMEMAKERS (*RABBAT AL-BAYT*) AT KULLIYAT AL-BANAT

The Maqasid's 1932 annual report notes that the school would give special attention to home economics, modelling its program on the Society's vision for its graduates and the programs developed in Lebanon and throughout the region beginning in the late 1920s. In addition to bringing their school on-par with the most

[401] Najmabadi, "Crafting"; and Johanna L Peterson, "Fashioning Women Citizens in *al-Fajr*: Reading the Domestic as National in a Conversation between a Mother and a Daughter, 1919-1920," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 18, no. 3 (2022): forthcoming. See also, Chapter Two.

prestigious of national and foreign schools, the home economics program at Kulliyat al-Banat and the preliminary training offered in all of the girls' primary schools by the end of the Mandate period, reflected the type of graduate that the Society aimed to create: a young woman "able to manage her home, knowing the principles of raising her children according to the most modern scientific methods,"[402] thus increasing "the happiness of the family and mak[ing] the girl fit to be a true housewife."[403]

In pursuit of that aim, by the mid-1930s, students at Kulliyat al-Banat in the secondary department had five hours of instruction in "cooking, food science, sewing, childrearing, home medicine, health maintenance, and others related to family life and household duties (*al-wajibat al-manziliyya*)."[404] The school also hired two teachers trained in home economics, and purchased "state of the art supplies" for the program. The principal of the school visited SGS (discussed below) in view of improving the program offered at Kulliyat. In addition to making home management a significant part of the regular curriculum (only Arabic and French language instruction had more instruction hours), Kulliyat al-banat graduates could return to the school and enroll in home economics lessons for a small fee. For non-Kulliyat graduates, the school administration created a home economics class that students who had completed the sixth primary or third secondary grades could enter.

[402] "Bayan aʿmal, 1932-3," *Bayan,1918-1936*, 3.
[403] "Mudaris, 1354-1355 (1935-1936)," *Bayan mudaris*, 60.
[404] "Mudaris, 1354-1355 (1935-1936)," *Bayan mudaris*, 60.

The Society's 1938-1939 annual report notes that five students received the school's Home Arts Certificate (*shahadat al-fanun al-manzali*).[405] Of those five students, two, Wadad Badran and Nadia Badran, became teachers at the two free girls' primary schools of the Maqasid in Beirut in the years immediately following their receipt of that certificate. Wadad Badran taught at Fatima al-zahraʾ for five years and Khadija al-kubra for one.[406] Nadia Badran taught at Khadija al-kubra during the school year following her receipt of the home economics certificate.[407] Most likely, both left teaching for marriage, possibly migration and marriage, and still possibly, higher education or teaching elsewhere. Notably, neither Wadad nor Nadia, nor any of the other five home arts certificate awardees received other certificates, though Kulliyat al-banat prepared students for both the CEP and brevet exams by this point.

The tension inherent in the educational program of girls' secondary schools, discussed in Chapter One, encourages us to look at the home economics program as one that created homemakers (*rabbat al-bayt*), but also gave women the opportunity to pursue professional lives and participate publicly in community and national life. This tension can be seen in the certificates obtained by the schools' students, the teaching careers of some former students, and in changes seen as early as the mid-1940s in the aim and purpose of the school, based on the Society's annual report and some of the longer-term changes seen into the 1950s and 1960s.

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[405] "Bayan aʿmal, 1357-1358 (1938-9)," *Bayan, 1935-49*, 10. Unfortunately, this is the only year that awardees of this certificate are indicated in the annual report. It is unclear if the practice discontinued, or if the Society decided to no longer include it.
[406] "Bayan aʿmal, 1358-1360 (1939-1943); Bayan, 1359-1360 (1940-1941); Bayan aʿmal, 1360-1 (1941-1942); "Bayan aʿmal, 1361-1362 (1942-1943)"; "Bayan aʿmal, 1362-1366 (1943-1947)," *Bayan, 1935-49*.
[407] "Bayan aʿmal, 1359-60 (1940-1)," *Bayan, 1935-49*.

As the Society worked to raise the level of education received by its students in the secondary and primary schools, it began to prepare its students to take the various institutional and state exams. In the 1925-6 school year, the Society introduced its own primary certificate in its primary schools. Nineteen students passed the exam that year, seven of whom were girls at Madrasa Fatima al-zahra'. Five years after Kulliyat al-Banat's founding, in the 1932-3 school year, the first students took and passed the Lebanese CEP superieures and brevet.[408] Two years later, Kulliyat al-banat awarded students the school's secondary certificate for the first time, and a decade later Kulliyat al-banat students began sitting for the government baccalauréat and receiving the school's diploma.[409]

The distribution of successful seating of the brevet exams between the boys' and girls' secondary schools provides some interesting insight into the futures for which the schools aimed to prepare their students. The first Kulliyat al-maqasid (a boys' school) student passed the government brevet in the 1928-1929 school year. Between 1930 and 1940, a total of 47 Kulliyat al-maqasid students passed the government brevet exam. The first Kulliyat al-banat students passed the government brevet in the 1932-1933 school year. Between that year and 1940, twenty students

[408] The CEP allowed students to enter the normal section of any school that had it, while the brevet qualified them to become teachers in government schools. "Mudaris (1351-52 AH, 1932-3 BCE)," *Bayan mudaris*, 25.

[409] Two students received both the school's diploma and the baccalauréat (first department for both) in that year – Zakia Nsuh Qutb, who taught at Khadija al-kubra in the same year that she took the second baccalauréat and received Kulliyat's secondary diploma, and Nijah Hamza Baydun, who attained the two diplomas of the school, as well as the two departments/sections of the baccalauréat, in consecutive years. Interestingly, it appears that Nijah only came to Kulliyat (and the Maqasid schools more generally) to prepare for these exams, as she received no other certificates while there. This is in contrast to Zakia, who received both the government and school primary studies certificates, the certificate in Quran recitation, and the government brevet certificate while studying at Kulliyat al-Banat.

passed that exam. These numbers get more interesting when we look at the percentage of students who passed these exams in relation to the total number of secondary students in each school during the same period. Between 1930 and 1940, Kulliyat al-maqasid enrolled approximately 1480 students. In the same period, Kulliyat al-banat enrolled approximately 280 students. When looking at these numbers in proportion, we see that, of the 1480 Kulliyat al-maqasid students, barely three percent of students passed the brevet. In that same period, twice the number of Kulliyat al-banat students passed the brevet.[410]

While these numbers are incredibly small, they still provide some helpful insight into the students of these schools and their futures. First, it is perhaps not surprising that the number of students at Kulliyat al-maqasid taking the brevet was comparatively low, since those students were able to sit for the baccalauréat, a requirement for entrance into several professional fields by the early 1930s (see the Introduction), for almost that entire decade.[411] Teaching remained a more "respectable" occupation for women from diverse backgrounds throughout the Mandate period and, indeed, was one of the few occupations open to women during this period. Because the brevet qualified students to teach in the government normal schools, young women wishing to make their own way, at least for a time, chose to take this exam. Indeed, of the twenty students who sat for and passed the government brevet between 1930 and 1940, almost all—eighteen students—became

[410] I do not know, however, how many students attempted to take the brevet.
[411] And, in fact, 149 students passed one or both of the sections of the baccalauréat exam between 1930 and 1940, ten percent of the total number of Kulliyat al-maqasid secondary students.

teachers in one of the girls' schools of the Maqasid.[412] It also appears that those who received the brevet were more likely to make a career out of teaching than those who did not (or, at least, those who did not receive their brevet while students at the schools of Maqasid). The average length of service for teachers in the Maqasid's girls' schools between 1920 and 1949 was about three years. Those who received the brevet, however, averaged almost five years of teaching, with over half of the twenty teaching for four or more years.

Interestingly, though, the attainment of the baccalauréat did not have the same correlation to teaching for Kulliyat al-banat students. Between the 1945-1946 school year (the first year Kulliyat students sat for the baccalauréat) and 1948-1949 school years, nineteen students received one or both of the Lebanese baccalauréat certificates. Of those, two became teachers in the Maqasid. In that same period, 47 students received the diploma of the school, which followed the same program as the baccalauréat. Of those students, four became teachers for the Maqasid.[413] What those students did beyond that, however, is less clear; most, likely, went on to marriage rather than higher studies or a profession.

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[412] Students could also sit for the school's brevet, which appears to have qualified them to teach in the Maqasid schools. Between 1920 and 1949, 22% of the students who took the school's brevet became teachers, for at least some amount of time, in the Maqasid girls' schools.

[413] To put all this into context, of the over 25,000 students who attended the girls' schools of the Maqasid for some amount of time between 1930 and 1947, 921 certificates were awarded. Most of those certificates were the primary or Quran recitation certificates awarded by the schools. Further, there were only 283 secondary girl students in the 1930s (and, in fact there were fewer than that, since this number includes students who were in the program for all three years. Of those 283 students, twenty received the government brevet, 22 the school or Society's brevet, five the home arts certificate, and 56 the school's certificate in Quran recitation (again, there is overlap in these numbers). At the same time, Kulliyat al-maqasid students began receiving the secondary certificate at the end of the 1929-1930 school year, the baccalauréat in the 1932-1933 school year, and the school's diploma in the 1936-1937 school year. In the same year that the first two Kulliyat al-banat students took the baccalauréat, 51 Kulliyat al-maqasid students were successful on the same exam.

In pursuit of the Society's aim to raise the level of teaching in all its schools, it appears that at least some Kulliyat graduates and Maqasid girls' school teachers (these were not necessarily synonymous), made teaching a career. Of the approximately 275 teachers who taught at three of the girls' schools of the Maqasid (some of whom would have also taught at the fourth girls' school – ʿAʾisha ʾumm al-muʾminin – but I did not find information on the teaching staff there) between 1920 and 1949, about eighty of them taught for twelve or more years. Within any given girls' school, between 25 and 35% of the teaching staff taught for over the average three years of teaching, teaching for about twelve to fifteen years. Of those, ten taught for fifteen or more years, with the longest-serving teacher, Fatima Nija, teaching for 26 years, and the next longest, Edith Mazhar, teaching for 24 years. At least one teacher, ʿAʾisha Marʿai, introduced at the beginning of Chapter One, served as a teacher and administrator through at least the 1960s.

While these numbers suggest that the Society was most successful in the creation of wives and mothers of the ʾumma, an observation that is true of all of the schools examined here, we also see a good number of students pursuing teaching careers, whether for the short or long-term.[414] We also see that students had examples of professional women. Throughout the period in question, the Society hired specialized teachers for specific subjects, and even brought in women "experts" from Egypt, including Samia Zaki, who taught home economics in the 1940s, at

[414] These numbers may also be suggestive of the religious or ideological bent of the students and their families that attended the Maqasid. One of the Ahliah graduates that I interviewed noted that the Maqasid attracted more conservative Muslim families, who *may* have sought a more tailored education for their daughters. Selwa Lorenz, 8 July 2017.

least.[415] The Society also supported some girls to study at Dar al-'ulum in Egypt (see Chapter One), the aim of which was to create teachers for the Society.

By the mid-1940s, the goals of the Society—or perhaps the community—for its young women secondary school graduates appears somewhat changed. This can be seen in the expanded secondary program in these years, as well as the introduction of courses leading to the baccalauréat. It can also be seen in the 1946-1947 annual report. In addition to noting that the Society had "established…a special section for home management," child-rearing, and the related arts, it highlights Kulliyat al-Banat students speaking in public, outside the school, and comments on the establishment of a scouting troop in the school. The scouting troop is described as preparing the school's graduates "to be working ladies (*sayyidat ʿamilat*) in the future."[416] These alternative futures and possibilities can be seen in the magazine of the Society of the Arab Girl's Renaissance (*Jamʿiya nahda al-fatat al-ʿarabiyya*) in the school, *Ghirs wa Shams* (*Seedling and Sun*). In 1955, for example, students submitted articles about the relationship between women's participation in public life and the home, home education problems, and the girl as a "reformer in society."[417]

The tension revealed above – of robust home economics education, the expansion of educational level to include preparation for the Lebanese baccalauréat, and the addition of extracurriculars that encouraged students to operate in the public

[415] This information can be found in the Society's reports from at least the 1930s, on. The Maqasid alumna that I spoke with also mentioned this. Inʿam Qabbani, 2 June 2017.
[416] "Bayan aʿmal, 1362-6 (1943-7)," *Bayan, 1935-49*, 5.
[417] Nija al-Khatib, "Is the participation of women in public life a threat to our domestic selves?" *Ghirs wa Shams*, no. 4 (June 1955): 40-1; Safa' Marʿai, "Home education problems." *Ghirs wa Shams*, no. 4 (June 1955): 42-5; Amina ʿAbbas, "The girl is a social reformer," *Ghirs wa Shams*, no. 4 (June 1955): 46-7.

and political world, is a reflection of the tensions that existed in the school always. Indeed, while the school aimed to create homemakers, it simultaneously aimed to create a cadre of trained, professional women teachers who would be qualified to teach those homemakers. It seems, however, that the Society struggled somewhat in attaining this latter goal. Madrasa Fatima al-zahra', the first girls' primary school established after WWI, did not offer courses leading to the primary certificate until the mid-1930s. A handful of students, however, took it of their own accord, and passed, in the few years preceding. Similarly, Kulliyat al-Banat did not begin offering courses leading to the baccalauréat until the 1946-7 school year, but in at least one year prior to that, students were already taking and passing the exam. This would seem to indicate that, at least to some extent, students and their parents, rather than the Society itself, pushed the Society to increase the level of education offered at all of the schools.

HOME ECONOMICS AT SIDON GIRLS' SCHOOL

SGS established its home economics curriculum in the 1926-1927 school year, making it one of the first schools to introduce a robust home economics program in Lebanon. During the 1928-1929 school year, after moving to a new school site outside of Sidon proper, it began a program of cooperative living and learning.[418] In her work on the home economics program at SGS, Ellen Fleishmann has highlighted the incongruent, inconsistent, and inherently contradictory nature of the home economics training received by the students at SGS. She notes that this

[418] Personal Report of Charlotte H. Brown, 1926-7; Personal Report of Irene Teagarden, 1927 RG90/2/3; Personal Report of Lois C. Wilson, 1 Sep 1927, RG115/2/3; Annual Report of Sidon Girls' School 1928/1929, RG115/17/18, PHS.

was a reflection of the competing goals of the American home economics movement itself—academic discipline or practical training for life in the home—and thus in the training received by the SGSs program's designer, Irene Teagarden.[419] In this section, I expand on some of what Fleischmann discusses about SGS, focusing on the ways in which the school's students, and the larger community, attempted to translate the lessons learned to their own context, thus claiming the school and the lessons learned therein, for themselves.

Alongside the development of Girard Institute's manual training program for boys, the home economics program in SGS aimed to provide "practical education" for the region's children.[420] Coursework included "Textiles and Clothing, Dressmaking, Foods, Dietetics, Home Nursing, Child Care, [and] the Home."[421]But, the future imagined by administration, teachers, and students in fact extended beyond the home and into the community. The school's 1929-30 annual report indicated the curriculum's aim to train "girls for homemakers and community leaders in Syria."[422] This twin goal—of home and community development—remained throughout the interwar period and beyond, with the 1950-1951 annual report noting that "Sidon Girls' School sets up two goals in the field of Homemaking Education; first, to prepare

[419] Fleischmann, "Lost in Translation," 57-62. Fleischmann works to push back on American missionaries' claims to uniqueness and modernity by highlighting the problems of the program, that the home economics training that already existed in the Middle East since the 19th century, and the ways in which SGS graduates subverted the training and goal of the school through their post-graduation personal and professional lives.
[420] Summary Report of the Syria Mission, 1926-1927, RG492/15/24, PHS. This focus on practical education is in contrast to both TGS and ASG, which explicitly aimed to prepare students for junior college or university work. The emphasis on "practical education" was not unique to SGS or the American Mission, and was also a key component of French primary education, particularly in rural schools.
[421] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1927-1928.
[422] Sidon Girls' School Report 1929-1930, RG 115/17/18, PHS.

and enable intelligent homemakers who will not only be skillful in home management, but will also appreciate the values of attitudes and relationships in family life, and be able to integrate their homes into a changing society; second, to cooperate in interpreting Home Economics to the community and to government agencies responsible for National Education."[423] Such a goal was realized in a number of ways. This section will examine two ways this goal was reached: in the work of the school's Home Economics Club and the role of the school, its teachers, and its graduates in the expansion of home economics education in Lebanon and throughout the Middle East.

During the 1926-1927 school year, the same year the full home economics program was inaugurated at SGS, a Home Economics Club was established. The success of both the home economics program and the Home Economics Club can be seen in the doubling of school enrollment numbers during the 1927-1928 school year, and in the initiation of twelve new members into the Club in that same year. With few exceptions, enrollments at SGS, and in the home economics department in particular, steadily increased during the interwar years. The work of the Club itself, as well as the work it inspired, shows the realization of the second of the program's goals: to create community leaders in Syria. While the program aimed to make the home the center point out of which community improvement and leadership might emerge, the activities of the Home Economics Club and the work that resulted from it, as well as the lives of the school's graduates complicates that aim.

[423] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1950-1951, RG 115/17/18; Personal Report (Mrs. F. L.) Dorothy Olds White, RG 492/6/16, PHS.

One of the Club's primary functions was the "promotion of Health Week." During the 1927-1928 school year, when the Club's role in health week began, "the entire school was weighed and measured. Cleanliness, Food, Exercise and other subjects having to do with health were taken up" and shared through stories, talks, posters, and plays.[424] Over the next few years, the Home Economics Club moved from organizing the planning and implementation of "Health Week" in the school to going out and doing work in the community. During the 1929-1930 school year, for example, the Club undertook "some Health work in the villages around Sidon…consist[ing] mainly of health stories, health talks and games."[425] A few years later, in the 1932-1933 school year, the Club "ma[d]e a sanitary survey of Sidon" that included visits to the men's and women's prisons, the public bath, the slaughter house, and the meat, vegetable, and milk markets.[426] The Club presented its findings to the school and members of the Sidon community and the Beirut Women's Club, an organization that participated in the Arab Federation of Women's Clubs. The result was the formation of the Sidon Women's Club, whose stated purpose was "The Improvement of Family and Community Life."[427] Its membership included women from some of the town's leading Druze, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian families. During its first year it organized committees to improve conditions in prisons, for the poor, and for the health of the community, and at the end of that year it participated in

[424] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1927-1928.
[425] Sidon Girls' School Report 1929-1930.
[426] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1932-1933; Annual Report Sidon Girls' School, 1933-1934, RG 115/17/18, PHS.
[427] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School, 1933-1934.

the Convention of the Arabic Federation of Women's Clubs in Beirut.[428] The Sidon Women's Club was active throughout the 1930s and 1940s, bringing about changes in sanitation regulations, establishing a school managed and run by the club for the city's poor, and bringing prominent people to speak regularly in Sidon.[429]

The connection between the Sidon Women's Club and SGS' Home Economics Club clubs was strong. In the 1943-1944 school year, for example, one of the speakers invited by the Women's Club, Dr. Jamal Karam, was a former student and graduate of SGS. The president of the Club, a Druze woman, was a former student, as were many members who "promoted and reported [on]…committee work."[430] The vice president was a teacher, and the manager and teacher of the folk school of the Club were graduates and former teachers.[431]

The year after their successful health survey of Sidon, the Home Economics Club again returned to village work, planning "a series of health demonstrations and lessons for villages near Sidon."[432] Upon learning of this project, the Executive Secretary of the Mission's Educational Committee suggested that the lessons prepared by the Club be developed as a unit in the curriculum for the Mission and Mission-affiliated village schools.[433] In the mid-1940s, the Club visited the Mission school in Nebatiyeh to introduce "the modern ways of taking care of infants, the bringing up of children, and the proper selection of colors for clothes" to the

[428] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School, 1933-1934.
[429] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1940-1941, RG115/17/18, PHS; Personal Report of Irene Teagarden, 1935; Personal Report Dorothy Olds White, 20 June 1935, RG492/6/16, PHS.
[430] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1943-1944, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[431] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1943-1944.
[432] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School, 1933-1934.
[433] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School, 1933-1934.

fundamental home economics education provided at that school.[434] The Club also "entertained the students from the School of Homemaking of the Jubreil Rural Fellowship Center [and]…cooperated in the program."[435] In that same year, the Club adopted the school for fundamental education in Bint Jebeil as their special Rural interest, visiting the school to conduct programs on "Dress and Cosmetics, Floor plans for a Home, Toys, Finger Painting and Flower Arrangement."[436]

In addition to this more "local" work, the Home Economics Club connected the school to Beirut, the larger Middle East, and international community. An SGS alumna, Dr. Jamal Karam-Harfouche a professor and chairman of the sub-committee on Welfare at AUB, sent regular requests to SGS to have students present at exhibits on child welfare.[437] The 1946 exhibit "was turned over to the Home Economics teacher and the Home Economics Club."[438] Tasked with creating an "attractive, convenient and hygienic" baby's room, the Club set up their Beirut nursery

> with applique curtains to match the lampshade; baby basket and net to replace the unhygienic Lebanese cradle; baby bed fitted to the last detail of yellow bunnies, and a rose and blue comforter to fit the color scheme; doll bed to match; child's wardrobe; layette; bath tray and tub; classified play equipment and home-made soft toys," complete with a doll, Leila, who was used for demonstrations on infant hygiene.[439]

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[434] The purpose of the American school in Nebatiyeh was largely evangelistic, though some students did move on to SGS. Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946. RG115/17/18, PHS.
[435] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946.
[436] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946
[437] Karam-Harfouche graduated from SGS in the early 1930s. She went on to AJCW, graduating from there in 1935 and moving on to AUB to eventually receive her MD in 1941. "Achievements of LAU Women Graduates throughout Its History," *LAU Magazine and Alumni Bulletin* 13 (no. 4) (2011): 30-31. https://issuu.com/lau-publications/docs/lau-magazine-vol13-issue4-winter2011/31; "Dr. Jamal Karam Harfouche," *al-Raida* 6, no. 25 (1 August 1983): 2. http://iwsawassets.lau.edu.lb/alraida/alraida-25.pdf.
[438] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946.
[439] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946.

In addition to creating the exhibit and displaying their skills in child care and training, the members of the Club "were called upon to tell their story again and again to visitors, both sympathetic and skeptical."[440] Dr. Karam-Harfouche requested them to come again the following year, during which they had the "opportunity to explain the Home Economics program of the school."[441]

In the early 1950s, the Home Economics Club, "cooperated in planning and entertaining a Home Economics Conference for teachers and students of Home Economics in Mission Schools."[442] An SGS Club member, Nadia Hashisho, "conducted a spirited discussion on the subject, 'How can I apply what I learn in Home Economics to my life as a homemaker in the future'?" in the students' group.[443] "The conclusions were that the younger members of the family should try to make satisfactory adjustments with their elders even though this calls for some compromise; and that a separate home for the bride and groom is desirable."[444] The club regularly corresponded with a former advisor and teacher, Miss Nejla Kurban, by then living in Australia, and with Future Homemakers of America. It was also an affiliated member of the International Committee for Child Welfare under the direction of Karam-Harfouche.[445]

The school also appears to have played a significant role in the expansion of home economics schooling into the rest of Lebanon and Syria, meeting the twin

[440] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946.
[441] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946.
[442] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1949-50. RG115/17/18, PHS.
[443] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1949-50.
[444] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1949-50.
[445] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1949-50.

curricular goal of creating community leaders and shaping government educational programs. While for the missionaries (and surely for some, if not many, of the students), such contacts were an indication of the school's and thus Protestant Christianity's reach in the Near East, when viewed from the perspective of the creation of citizens who were active participants in the public and political life of the state, it is clear that the home economics training received at SGS prepared students not just for lives as wives and mothers, but for lives where they might actively shape government educational and public health policy and their communities.

Beginning as early as the 1929-1930 school year, governments and institutions throughout the Middle East requested SGS graduates for the particular skills acquired in SGS' home economics program.[446] One SGS graduate, who returned to the school after it established a course in Dietetics, was hired as a dietician in the YWCA summer camp in the Lebanon mountains, and was noted to be "the first Syrian girl to hold a Home Economics position."[447] In the 1931-1932 school year, the Iraqi government requested two students from SGS "to organize and teach Home Economics" there. In the following school year, two 1932 graduates and missionary Buena Hixson traveled to Iraq to lead "The School of Home Arts."[448] According to the SGS school report for that year, the program was wildly successful,

[446] Sidon Girls' School Report 1929-1930. RG115/17/18, PHS. The earliest requests came from the "Inspector of Moslem Schools in Palestine" to organize and teach home economics at a large girls' school in Jerusalem; the YWCA; and a local Muslim school.
[447] Letter from unknown in Sidon, August 1929.
[448] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1931-1932, RG115/17/18, PHS; Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1932-1933.

with more students seeking admission than there were spaces, and the Iraqi government requesting more SGS alumnae to serve as teachers in future years.[449]

In later years, contacts with government and other agencies only increased. A woman speaker "of some note" at SGS's commencement (a first, in that year) "expressed her intention of writing an article for a well known journal advocating that the Government support a group of students at S.G.S. to prepare them for teaching Home Economics in the government schools."[450] In 1941, Alice Naccache, wife of then-President Alfred Naccache, and the Mother Superior of the *Dames de Nazareth* in Beirut visited the school. Both were interested in the school's home economics program. According to the report Naccache visited the school as research for her idea to open schools to train cooks and housekeepers throughout the country. The Mother Superior shared that she and the other nuns thought "that their school might be enriched by the addition of such courses as we teach here."[451] Then, in the 1950-1951 school year, Dr. Raif Abillamʿa, then-minister of Education of Lebanon (and brother of Najla Abillamʿa) requested that SGS home economics teachers create a training class in fundamental education for rural schools, which stemmed from the school's participation in the development of home economics in the mission's village schools since the 1930s. The course they created "included Psychology; Family Relationships; Arab Rural Culture; Academic skills, namely Arithmetic; Arabic, Literacy; Child Psychology; Socio-economic geography; Hygiene; Music for children;

[449] Annual Report Sidon Girls' School 1932-1933. During the 1932-3 school year, SGS added a "Teaching Home Economics" course to its third High Class, in order to prepare graduates to become home economics teachers.
[450] Annual report Sidon Girls' School, 1934-1935, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[451] Report of Sidon Girls' School, July 1942, RG115/17/18, PHS.

Homemaking Skills; Management: Curriculum Building, Practice Teaching in S.G.S. and Jubreil; the Field Trips to Nabatiyeh and Bint Jebeil." While teachers and students were quite interested in training, the removal of Dr. Abillamʿa in that same year left "the future of the training class and…the trainees hang[ing] in the balance."[452]

As already noted, the school's influence was felt throughout the Middle East, and perhaps most particularly in the newly-independent Syria in the mid to late 1940s. During the 1945-6 school year, for example, a secretary in the Syrian Ministry of Education visited the school. While his primary purpose was to make sense of the educational standards set by the disparate curricula and diplomas of Lebanon's private schools, he noted that "he was favorably impressed with the educational set-up at Sidon Girls' School and would, if he had the authority, introduce some thing of the same type of Home Economics program into the government schools for girls in Syria."[453] A few years later, Irene Teagarden, SGS's principal, traveled to Syria and spent several days in the Ministry of Education with Ava B. Milam, advisor to the ministry from the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization. Teagarden also met with several government officials, who expressed interest in both home economics and the set up at SGS. This trip resulted in a visit from Syria's Director General of Education, the chairman of the Committee on Education, several government Inspectors of Education, and about a dozen teachers from Damascus-area schools to SGS, where they spent "a day and a night," observing the program, taking tours, and

[452] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1950-1951; Irene Teagarden to W. G. Greenslade, 13 August 1951, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[453] Report of Sidon Girls' School 1945-1946, RG115/17/18, PHS.

experiencing first-hand the skills the school developed in its students.[454] This visit was followed by frequent, unexpected visits from school officials, many from Damascus, "to 'see the Home Economics School'."[455]

The most immediate result of the Syrian officials' and teachers' visit to the school was a workshop conducted for Home Economics teachers in Syria by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations in cooperation with the Syrian government and SGS. Teagarden, three SGS home economics teachers, an SGS graduate, "now a homemaker," and a current student spent two weeks in Damascus, from July 9-23, 1951. In addition to the event's organizers, the SGS group was joined by a Miss Dawson of the American College for girls in Cairo, a Miss Westly of the Beirut College for Women (formerly AJCW), and "some eight Syrians."[456] The workshop was attended by about 100 Syrians from all over Syria, including Aleppo, Latakia, Homs, Hama, Deir al-zor, Damascus, and several villages. The group from SGS "was responsible for the teaching of courses and preparation of material in the Arabic language in Food and Nutrition, Child Guidance, Home Management, Family Life, and Methods of Teaching Home Economics."[457] While Teagarden saw great promise in the event, she was also aware of the precarity of it continuing, given the instability in the Syrian government (indeed, before the end of the event, the director general of education left and was replaced).

[454] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1950-1951.
[455] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1950-1951.
[456] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1950-1951.
[457] Annual Narrative Report Sidon Girls' School 1950-1951.

While the government connections and contacts were very important, perhaps of greater significance was the former students, graduates of the program, etc., who went out as teachers throughout the Middle East. This movement was made all the more significant by the many schools that reached out to SGS to learn more about their programs. In the mid-1930s, a representative of the Maqasid and the principal of Kulliyat al-banat visited the school "in order to engage teachers of Home Economics" for that school year.[458] Toward the end of that same year, Kulliyat al-banat's principal "returned bringing with her two large busloads of her students from the higher classes with the idea of interesting them more in Home Economics and with the hope that some of the girls after graduation would study further at S.G.S."[459] In the late 1930s, an SGS graduate "accepted a position as teacher of Home Economics in the American Mission School in Cairo for the coming year."[460] While this was the first "contact" with Egypt through the Home Economics department, the report notes that "a number of teachers have gone out in the past few years to Iraq and Palestine," and efforts were being made in that same year to increase the number of students attending SGS from Palestine.[461] In the early 1940s, students from the AJCW and Ahliah visited the school.[462] AUB education students also visited the school in order to "learn something about a home economics school."[463]

[458] Annual report Sidon Girls' School, 1934-1935, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[459] Annual report Sidon Girls' School, 1934-1935.
[460] Narrative Report of Sidon Girls' School 1936-1937, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[461] Narrative Report of Sidon Girls' School 1936-1937.
[462] Report of Sidon Girls' School, July 1942.
[463] Report of Sidon Girls' School, July 1942.

All of these contacts were supplemented by the contacts made among women through the Near East Home Economics Conference, the first of which was held at SGS in 1935, and in fact sprung from the home economics program begun there. That first conference include "thirty-six delegates representing Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan," as well as several homemakers.[464] Between that first conference and the second, women in Iraq had created their own Iraq Home Economics Association, headed by Nahida Haidary, teacher in the School of Home Arts in Baghdad and a graduate of the School of Home Economics in Angora [Ankara], Turkey."[465]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have made the case that girls' education, and girls' schools in particular, had a material role in defining the nation and the citizen in French Mandate Lebanon. Rather than apolitical sites for the creation of modern and educated wives and mothers, the discussions, tensions, and events discussed in this chapter show that schools were political sites, where international, colonial, imperial, and local concerns played out. These concerns reflected issues and debates occurring at the political level as it related to ideas about the nation and the individuals' role within in.

[464] Irene Teagarden, "Home Economics Conference," *Syria News Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (1935): 18-9, Box 1605, *Syria News Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (1935), NEST. Also included in the Syrian Mission Newsletter: Newsletter no. 285 (Tues 17 September 1935), Box 161, Newsletter of the Syria Mission 1, nos. 1-395 (February 1927-December 1937), NEST.
[465] Personal Report of Irene Teagarden, 1 September 1936, RG90/2/5, PHS. This was most likely at Ankara University, the first public university founded by Mustafa Kamal Ataturk in 1923.

Inspection reports filed with the SIP about Zahrat al-ihsan provided insight into the ways in which the French implemented their educational project in a particular school. The French viewed the school as ideal for the implementation of its colonial project of creating loyal colonial subject-citizens through the school's adoption of the French curriculum and by meeting the desires of sectarian leadership. They also gave glimpses into how groups and individuals of the school community challenged, subverted, or propped up that project. Sectarian leadership viewed the school as a means through which to develop both their relationship with the French and create the next generation of wives and mothers for the community. The local community, and some within the school, viewed the school as important both for the community itself and for the development of the nation.

The case of Ahliah and its closure by the French High Commission in late 1924 revealed how colonial logic and imperial rivalry shaped the French SIP's relationship with the school. It also examined how local people operated within this colonial and imperial context, showing first how school leadership and parents used the language of French cultural superiority to meet their own ends, namely, the reopening of the school and the necessity of that reopening for the success of the nation. Students' responses to the closure revealed another vision of the school and the nation—one that was avowedly anticolonial and dependent on the active participation of the nation's girls and women.

In the case of both Zahrat al-ihsan and Ahliah, girls' schools served a material role in defining the nation and the citizen and as a sites through which larger political goals were realized. In many ways, girl students were a conduit through which those

goals were achieved. While the case of these two schools might suggest that the defining of nation and citizen was limited to adults—colonial officials, teachers and administrators, sectarian and communal leadership, intellectuals, and community members, the case of home economics education in the girls' schools of the Maqasid and SGS challenge such a view. The final section, in its examination of the home economics programs at the schools of the Maqasid and SGS shows the ways in which students and school communities claimed the school—and the lessons learned—for themselves. For the students of Kulliyat al-Banat, though they received significant training in home management in order to meet the Society's aim to create homemakers of the ʾumma, many chose instead to go into teaching, taking and passing the government exams that would qualify them to teach and/or pursue professional lives. At SGS, the home economics program offered students, teachers, and administrators the opportunity to claim both the school and the scientized home for themselves, shaping government policy and programs to meet their expectations of community and state. The next chapter will provide even more insight into the ways in which students appropriated their schools and their educations for themselves and the futures they imagined.

Chapter Four. "The School is Ours": Making, Claiming, and Defining Citizenship in the Informal Curriculum of Girls' Schools

Edma Bayouth completed her schooling at SGS in the early 1920s.[466] She knew she wanted to pursue a career. While SGS had good connections to the other American and British teacher training and nursing schools, Bayouth wanted to become a secretary. At that time, one way to gain secretarial training was to take courses offered through the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), headquartered in Beirut. Shortly after Bayouth began secretarial training in Beirut, Ruth Woodsmall, area director of the YWCA for Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, approached her to conduct a study of social institutions in Lebanon. In addition to acquainting Bayouth with Lebanon's social services, her study also made her aware of "how miserable the conditions of working girls and children were."[467] Soon, Bayouth became the Industrial Secretary for the Beirut Service Center. As Industrial Secretary, she conducted studies of the working conditions of women and children in factories, and provided services for them. In 1934, she became the Director of the Beirut YWCA, a position she held until 1966, when she became the YWCA National Director. She retired in 1977, after over forty of service to the YWCA, to Lebanon, and, most importantly for her, to the working girls and women of Lebanon.[468]

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[466] I am not sure of the exact year that she graduated. Bayouth's name is variously spelled: Bayoud, Beyoud, Beyouth. Her first name is also sometimes written as "Edna."
[467] Najla Husni, "Edma Bayouth." *Al-Raida* 3, no. 11 (February 1980): 2-3. http://iwsawassets.lau.edu.lb/alraida/alraida-11.pdf.
[468] This biography was compiled from a few sources: Husni, "Edma Bayouth"; Leila Shaheen da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA: One Hundred Years of Service* (Beirut: The National YWCA of Lebanon, 1999); "Far from cancelling a July meeting of delegates." *Daily Sta*r, http://www.dailystar.com.lb/GetArticleBody.aspx?id=99220.

Bayouth's story provides a helpful entrée to the themes of this chapter. Her life shows how foreign missionary institutions not only served local needs but, in time, became deep-rooted local institutions that facilitated girls' and women's economic and personal advancement.[469] In addition to the educational and professional opportunities they provided their students, "foreign" schools also served as worksites shaped by the needs and demands of their local workforce. Furthermore, Bayouth's choice to pursue secretarial training, rather than nurse or teacher training, shows how students subverted and/or negotiated the formal curricular goals outlined in Chapter One.[470]

Institutions like the YWCA gave women the space to participate directly in the public sphere. Bayouth's work as Industrial Secretary and then as Director of the Beirut YWCA allowed her to interact with working people, school children, and teachers, as well as factory owners and government officials. Through her work, Bayouth was part of the inter-class effort that brought about the first labor law following independence, which provided protections for working women and children; teachers in private secondary schools also used it as a tool to claim their rights (discussed in the last section of this chapter). Bayouth's life story provides evidence of the values instilled in students through their secondary education, values that simultaneously came out of and directly challenged the curricular and, in the case of

[469] I have addressed this more fully in the Introduction and previous chapters. Ultimately, I am making the case that, in the eyes of at least some of the people at the time, these institutions had more meaning as national institutions than as colonial or neo-imperialist ones. This chapter, then, seeks to show how these institutions became "local" both in their makeup and in their perception by Lebanese women and girls.

[470] Though the SGS home economics curriculum had not been developed by the time Bayouth graduated, most of the very few graduates who chose professional life went into nursing, teaching, or missionary/evangelistic work.

the American schools, colonial, goals of the schools. Thus, we see the central importance of girls' schools, and girls' education, to conceptions of women's citizenship and to the ways in which it was enacted and acted out.

In this chapter, I argue that through their activities in and through schools, schoolgirls and girls' school alumnae articulated a social citizenship defined by a sense of shared responsibility through community improvement, the building of similarity across difference, participation in public life, and the making and claiming of rights through public institutions. Focusing on ASG, TGS, SGS, and Ahliah, the chapter looks at schoolgirls', alumnae's, and teachers' participation in the YWCA; the scouting movement; and labor agitation. In examining how girls and women, students and faculty in girls' schools, made, claimed, and defined the limits of citizenship through their participation in schools' "informal" curriculum – clubs, organizations, lessons imbibed but not explicitly taught, we see that girls' schools created graduates who were not only prepared to participate in civic life but who *did* participate in it, first as schoolgirls and then as women.

The Young Women's Christian Association

The YWCA began its life in Lebanon informally, as Bible study and fellowship meetings for American Presbyterian missionary women living in Beirut at the turn of the twentieth century.[471] By 1912, the women organized the first local YWCA committee to work among women in Beirut, Ayn al-rummaneh, and Suq al-gharb.[472] In that same year, upper-level students at the ASG in Beirut, in celebration of the

[471] da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 85.
[472] da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 85; American School for Girls Annual Report 1911-1912, RG115/3/1, PHS.

school's fiftieth jubilee, established a branch of the YWCA.[473] By at least 1915, there were both "senior and junior divisions" of the YWCA holding regular meetings and undertaking committee work at SGS. By 1920, the TGS branch of the YWCA held weekly meetings, saw increases in its membership, and sent delegates to the YWCA conference in Beirut.[474] Also in 1920, in consultation with the American women already doing YWCA work in Beirut and in concert with the Near East Relief and American Red Cross, two American secretaries from the Constantinople Service Center established the YWCA's second service center in the Middle East, housed at the Jessie Taylor School in the Basta neighborhood of Beirut.[475] With the weight and finances of the American YWCA behind it, and under the leadership of American YWCA secretary Lettie (Dorothy Eda) Brown, the Beirut Service center got to work, providing educational and recreational programs "to educate and form public opinion on social, industrial, and international questions," as well as hostel accommodations, for the girls and women of the city.[476] Thus, the girls and women of the YWCA, working in the socially acceptable realm of social and charitable work, actively participated in public, and political, life.[477]

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[473] American School for Girls Annual Report, 1911-1912.
[474] Report of Sidon Seminary, 1915-1916. RG115/17/18, PHS; Report of Tripoli Girls' School for the year 1920-1921.
[475] da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 16.
[476] da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 84-5; Nancy Boyd, *Emissaries: The Overseas Work of the American YWCA 1895-1970* (New York: The Woman's Press, 1986), 290; "Y.W.C.A. Eastern Mediterranean Federation Conference," *Blue Triangle News* (May 1931): 3. RG115/20/14, PHS. While it was a locally-led and run organization by the early 1930s, the YWCA remained (and continues to remain) dependent on American and other international sources of funding, both from the larger organization and from individuals, many of whom were associated with the American missionary work in the Middle East. da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 90-92.
[477] Notable scholarly works on the politicized nature of women's benevolence include Lori D. Ginzburg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1994); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore,

Though the YWCA always had an evangelistic mission and purpose, over the course of the interwar period it, increasingly, became a vocational training and community support service rather than a tool of evangelism. This section examines the ways in which YWCA work among schoolgirls and alumnae fostered the development of a sense of shared responsibility for school, neighborhood, city, country, and world. In imagining themselves as part of this expansive community, and in their active contribution to its wellbeing, schoolgirls acted out, publicly, the citizenship they imagined for themselves.[478] For the women who volunteered and made professional lives with the YWCA, most of whom were educated and middle class, alumnae of and teachers at the schools examined in this dissertation, the

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Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; Mary McCune, *The Whole Wide World, without Limits: International Relief, Gender Politics, and American Jewish Women, 1893-1930* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005); Jonathan Daniel Wells and Sheila R. Phipps, eds., *Entering the Fray: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the New South* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010); Jayne Morris-Crowther, *The Political Activities of Detroit Clubwomen in the 1920s: A Challenge and a Promise* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2013); and Gabriela Gonzalez, *Redeeming La Raza: Transborder Modernity, Race, Respectability, and Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[478] The creation of international solidarity, identity, and/or citizenship through YWCA work is the topic of much of the scholarship of the YWCA. With one notable exception, this work largely focuses on how YWCA created a feeling of international solidarity for American and European women working in non-American and -European places. See, for example, Nancy Gentile Ford, "The Old Country Service School: Gender, Class, and Identity and the YWCA's Training of Immigrant Women in International Social Welfare Philosophy, 1919," *Peace & Change* 23, no. 4 (1998): 440-54; Karen Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 191-227; Charles A. Keller, "The Christian Student Movement, YWCAs, and Transnationalism in Republican China," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 13, no. 1 (2006): 55-80; Elizabeth Littell-Lamb, "Caught in the Crossfire: Women's Internationalism and the YWCA Child Labor Campaign in Shanghai, 1921-1925," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 32, no. 3 (2011): 134-66; Zornitsa Keremidchieva, "From International to National Engagement and Back: The YWCA's Communicative Techniques of Americanisation in the Aftermath of World War I," *Women's History Review* 26, no. 2 (2017): 280-95; Izzo AL, "'By Love, Service One Another': Foreign Mission and the Challenge of World Fellowship in the YWCAs of Japan and Turkey," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, no. 4 (2017): 347-72; Malin Gregersen, "Weaving Relationship: The Personal and Transnational Encounters of a YWCA Secretary in China," *Social Sciences and Missions* 30, nos. 1-2 (2017): 74-94; Emily Rook-Koepsel, "Constructing Women's Citizenship: The Local, National, and Global Civics Lessons of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur," *Journal of Women's History* 27, no. 3 (2017): 154-75.

citizenship they acted out can be seen in their work with and within schools, conducting research on labor and living conditions, and working for labor reform and on behalf of refugees.[479]

THE YWCA IN AMERICAN MISSION SCHOOLS

The YWCA was most active in American mission schools through the first half of the 1920s. By the late 1920s, the SGS YWCA had been replaced by the Society of Christian Endeavor and the ASG YWCA had been disbanded over concerns "that many girls joined from habit, or because it was a thing to do," leading to "unsatisfactory" meetings and "discouraging" results in character building.[480]

In the early 1920s, however, the ASG and TGS YWCAs were thriving; the TGS club was active and expanding, and, in 1922, the membership roster of the ASG chapter of the YWCA numbered forty-six.[481] By the mid-1920s, the ASG YWCA was

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[479] There has been a good amount of scholarship on the YWCA, women, and work in the American and some in the British context. See, for example, Angela Woollacott, "From Moral to Professional Authority – Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women's Self-Construction in World War I Britain," *Journal of Women's History* 10, no. 2 (1998): 85-111; Katrina Hagen, "From 'Industrial Girls' to 'Career Girls': Postwar Shifts in Programs for Wage-Earning Women in the Portland YWCA," *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 3 (2003): 204-8; Sarah A. Gordon, "'Boundless Possibilities': Home Sewing and the Meanings of Women's Domestic Work in the United States, 1890-1930." *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 2 (2004): 68-91; and Dorothea Browder, "A 'Christian Solution of the Labor Situation': How Workingwomen Reshaped the YWCA's Religious Mission and Politics," *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 2 (2007): 85-110.

[480] At SGS, the Society of Christian Endeavor took over much of the evangelistic work of the YWCA beginning in the 1920-1 school year. The Society of Christian Endeavor had distinctly evangelistic purposes. Founded in Portland, Maine, in 1881, by 1895, the World's Christian Endeavor Union was organized, with Christian Endeavor organizations appearing in the Middle East as early as 1898, in Egypt (though, according to Mission records, a Christian Endeavor was founded at Tripoli Girls' School in 1897). The Society of Christian Endeavor had branches at SGS and TGS throughout the interwar period, and the Beirut Church sponsored a Christian endeavor through which, it seems, interested ASG, AJCW, and AUB students could participate. Report of Sidon Girls' School, 1920-1921, RG115/17/18, PHS; "A Brief History of Christian Endeavor" (2005), 8, 10, 27, http://www.worldsceunion.org/history; Report of Tripoli Girls' School for 1897, RG115/18/8; Summary Report Syria Mission, 1929, RG492/15/24; Annual Report of the American School for Girls, July 1928-July 1929, RG115/3/1; Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1929-1930, RG115/3/1, PHS.

[481] Of these 46 members, 36 were Covenant and the rest associate. Membership in the ASG YWCA was limited to students in the Academic Department, which comprised the upper-level classes. A Covenant member was a Protestant Christian, while an Associate could be a member of any religion.

completely student-led in the planning and execution of the club's activities and in the leadership of the association in the school.[482] Through fundraising and work in the local community, YWCA members at ASG and TGS imagined and acted out a future independent state rooted in communitarian ideals of shared responsibility, where they worked with their fellow citizens for the uplift of their local, national, and international communities.

Through their fundraising activities, the students of the ASG and TGS YWCAs supported the most vulnerable in their local community, connecting the plight of people, children and women most particularly, across nations.[483] For the ASG YWCA, fundraising activities included hosting and delivering lectures on the position of women at the international level, putting on plays, including a pageant about Japan, and making and selling "a number of useful articles."[484] At TGS, YWCA members gave plays and collected offerings. The school YWCAs used money raised through these efforts to help the local, regional, and international communities.

To be an Associate, a student had to sign a statement: "'recognizing in the Association Covenant an ideal of Christian life, I desire to place myself under the influence of the Association and to seek the help of its meetings.'" Given these requirements – of religion and age/school class – the 46 members most likely included both students and faculty, as the 1922-1923 enrollment figures note 37 students in the Academic Department and 95 total Protestants/Christians among all grade levels. Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1922-1923, RG115/3/1; Departmental Report of the Educational Committee, Dec 1924, RG115/7/6; Report of Tripoli Girls' School for the year 1920-1921, PHS.

[482] Annual Report of the American School for Girls Beyrouth, 1924-1925, RG115/3/1, PHS.

[483] Recent scholarship on women in the Middle East has examined Arab women's work in the larger international feminist and peace movements during the interwar period and early independence period. See, for example, Charlotte Weber, "Between Nationalism and Feminism: The Eastern Women's Congress of 1930 and 1932," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 4 (2008): 83-106; and Nova Robinson, "Arab Internationalism and Gender: Perspectives from the Third Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1949," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 48, no. 3 (Aug 2016): 578-583.

[484] The American School for Girls Report 1921-2; Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1924-1925.

Locally, the ASG YWCA donated its fundraising proceeds to the Hamlin Memorial Sanatorium, the Beirut School for the Blind, Armenian refugee children, particular charity cases, including a graduate of the ASG in the hospital with tuberculosis, a free summer school in some Lebanese villages, and orphanages in Ras al-Matn and Antelias.[485] At the regional level ASG raised funds for a new YWCA building in Jerusalem.[486] Internationally, the TGS and ASG YWCAs undertook fundraising initiatives to support children suffering from famine in China, with the ASG YWCA raising P.Syr. 4464 and the TGS YWCA's offering amounting to P.Syr. 690.[487] In 1920 dollars, this amounted to just under USD 400, a considerable sum.[488]

Students involved in YWCA at ASG and TGS also encouraged members to interact with their local communities, working together for its improvement. At the ASG, students in the mid-1920s taught English, French, and Arabic to about thirty-five girls at the YWCA Hut in the Armenian Camp several days a week for one

[485] Report of the American School for Girls, 1920-1; ASG Report 1921-2; American School for Girls, Beyrout, Syria, Annual Report, 1923-1924; Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1927-1928, RG115/3/1, PHS.
[486] The American School for Girls Report 1921-2.
[487] Drought conditions in 1919-20 led to crop failures in five provinces of China's northern plain, affecting at least 20 million people. Of those, three percent, or approximately 500,000 people, died because of the famine. Pierre Fuller attributes the relatively low death toll, in part, to the work of international relief from organizations such as the YWCA but, more significantly, to local efforts – Buddhist and other charities, the local military establishment, and the residents of the communities themselves. See Fuller, "North China Famine Revisited: Unsung Native Relief in the Warlord Era, 1920-1921." *Modern Asian Studies* 47, no. 3 (2013), 820-850. The American School for Girls Annual Report 1920-1921; Report of Tripoli Girls' School for the year 1920-1921, PHS.
[488] This amount is based on historic currency exchange rates found in Joseph Ulmer, *International Trade in MICA* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1930), 167. If we look at the rate of inflation in the 100-year period since, that USD 400, in today's dollars, is a little over USD 5500. Inflation numbers come from the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index inflation calculator, comparing January 1921 with January 2020. https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm

term.[489] They also gave up their Saturday and Sunday afternoons to work at the YWCA Service Center helping "the poorer children in Beirut," and coordinating activities to produce "warm dresses, bags for candy, scrap-books, etc. for the less fortunate."[490] At TGS, YWCA members presented "a series of tableaux…emphasizing Childhood, Girlhood and Motherhood of the different races and the help being given them by missionary agencies" after studying their work in Egypt, China, Korea, Siam (Thailand), and India.[491] Salma Habbaz, the YWCA faculty leader during the 1924-5 school year, "brought a number of good speakers to the girls, including…graduates of our own school," and organized a field day at which TGS students performed a variety of athletic feats to an audience of 148 visitors.[492] Like the ASG YWCA, TGS students also sewed and distributed items for fellow students and those in the surrounding community.[493]

Taken together, these activities show the ways in which schoolgirls imagined their communities and acted out their citizenship through their work in the YWCA. As they raised funds and provided services through the YWCA, they imagined themselves to be part of a community that was local (school, neighborhood, city), national, and international. As members of these communities, students who participated in YWCA activities practiced a social citizenship defined by a sense of

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[489] Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1924-1925. These students most likely visited the Greater Beirut camp, established in 1924 near the port of Beirut. T. H. Greenshields, "The Settlement of Armenian Refugees in Syria and Lebanon, 1915-1939" (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 1978).
[490] Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1926-27, RG115/3/1, PHS.
[491] Report of Tripoli Girls' School for the year 1920-1921.
[492] Report of the Tripoli Girls' School, 1925, RG115/19/8, PHS. The report notes that other speakers that year included Dr. Nelson and Mr. Leavitt, who were missionaries, and "Mualim [sic] Jabrial" who was the TGS's Arabic teacher.
[493] Report of Tripoli Girls' School, 1923-24; Report of the Tripoli Girls' School, 1925, RG115/19/8, PHS.

shared responsibility for their community, broadly conceived, working together across difference in support of that community. They also participated in public life. For students, this occurred through the work they did with refugees, working children, and in displaying their athletic prowess and knowledge through field day and presentations. It is also significant that virtually all of the work undertaken by the ASG and TGS YWCA groups and outlined here involved fellow students and children. While one could suggest that this prepared students for their futures as mothers and life in a woman-dominant sphere, it also shows students as caring for their fellow citizens in order to help them as a group and to improve the overall health of their school, city, nation, and world.

Over the course of the 1920s, the Girl Reserves increasingly took over the work of the YWCA in ASG and TGS. After the mid-1920s, and until the post-independence period, school reports make little mention of the YWCA, though work with and within the schools continued.[494]

CHARITY FOR THE NATION

In addition to the work that the YWCA did through school organizations like those at the ASG, SGS, and TGS, the YWCA Service Center in Beirut, staffed by American and local employees and volunteers, conducted research on the working conditions of women and girls at local factories, lobbied local and international

[494] Much of this direct work (rather than through the proxy of the Girl Reserves) shifted to the AJCW, AUB, and other post-secondary educational institutions over the course of the mandate; by the early post-independence period, for example, the Jessie Taylor Center in Beirut, which was the early home of the Beirut Service Center and later became a YWCA education center, ran a full program of social services staffed by the students and teachers of ASG, AJCW, the Near East School of Theology (NEST), Beirut Syrian Teachers' College (BSTC), YWCA, and the Sociology Department and Student Protestant House of AUB. Note, W. A. Freidinger, November 1947, RG492/15/22, PHS. The YWCA also worked with the AJCW and AUB in establishing, staffing, and expanding its rural programs.

governments on behalf of industrial workers and refugees, and established vocational training aimed at both the general public and the city's marginalized. In the process, the YWCA, like the Girl Reserves discussed below and the schools themselves, discussed in the final section of the chapter, became a local institution.[495] Through their work with the YWCA, women articulated a citizenship based in shared responsibility for the community and participation in public life.

One way this vision of citizenship can be seen is in the YWCA's programming aimed at addressing the needs of women and children industrial workers. In the mid-1920s, the YWCA secretary tasked Bayouth with organizing a YWCA club in Beirut. She "went downtown where girls worked in a printing press, in hat shops, in dress-making, and invited them to the YWCA and organize a club," complete with an initiation service with 25 girls from a variety of religious backgrounds.[496] As the Industrial Committee secretary, Bayouth researched the working conditions of women and girls, and made a survey of the social agencies in the city of Beirut.[497] Her advocacy for working women and girls continued throughout the interwar period.

The YWCA, along with other women's organizations, inaugurated "Child Labor Week" in 1939. The YWCA emphasized the collaborative nature of this project with other women's organizations, the government, and existing law, and defined child labor as a national problem as "child life is the greatest wealth of the country," in

[495] In 1927, local members of the YWCA organized first campaign to raise local funds. By the mid-1930s, the association was led by local women; Edma Bayouth was appointed director of the Beirut YWCA in 1934, and Adele Nucho became the first Lebanese president of the Beirut YWCA in 1937. da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 86; 78. Articles on the YWCA also appear in *al-Mar'a al-jadida*.
[496] Bayouth quoted in da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 20.
[497] da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 85-6. Bayouth was appointed the director of the Beirut YWCA in 1934, a position she held until the 1960s. Husni, "Edma Bayouth," 2.

need of protection.[498] The result of "Child Labor Week," and ongoing research throughout the interwar period, led to the establishment of YWCA city and country summer camps for poor children; the creation of employment services, especially for refugees; lobbying for the creation of labor laws to protect the rights of women, and especially children; and the offering of business girls', leadership, and vocational trainings.[499] Pressure from the YWCA, in concert with other groups and organizations, led to the passage of the 1946 Lebanese Labor Code.[500]

In addition to working to represent the interests and meet the needs of vulnerable and needy populations, the Lebanon YWCA provided professional training programs. In the late 1920s, the YWCA enrolled almost 200 girls in educational classes that prepared them for professional life, including typewriting, shorthand,

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[498] "Points to remember in giving a talk about child labour week," n.d., 115/20/14, PHS. Though none of the documents about this topic are dated, a letter from May 1940 refers to events for the "second annual Child Labor Week," which leads me to conclude that the previous documents are from 1939. Further, the documents immediately preceding these in the record are from 1938. Helen Crawley to Mr. Nicol, 2 May 1940; James H. Nicol to Miss H. Crawley, 23 February 1938, RG115/20/14, PHS.

[499] da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 86-87. A further and very promising line of research is on the YWCA's work with refugees. In the immediate post-WWI period, the YWCA worked with Armenian refugees; in the 1930s, attention shifted first to Kurdish and Assyrian refugees from southern Turkey, and then to refugees from Alexandretta at the end of the decade. In 1948, work with Palestinian refugees began after their expulsion from the newly-created state of Israel. Throughout the Lebanese civil war, the YWCA worked with internally-displaced Lebanese and Palestinians, including residents from the south of Lebanon, Zahle, and the Chouf. da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 84. The YWCA's work with Palestinian refugees post-1948 offers particular insight for a few reasons. First, missionary and other local aid organizations, of which the YWCA was a part, were among the first to respond to the Palestinian refugee crisis following their removal from Palestine in 1948. Second, in addition to working with UNRWA, the American Mission, and other organizations to provide various types of relief, the Lebanon YWCA brought Palestinians and Lebanese together in their relief work. Third, the big relief project focused on here involved professional opportunities for women, making the aid given not only about short-term charity but creating the infrastructure necessary to deal with the long-term ramifications of the population influx. See United Presbyterian Church in the USA Syria Mission Records, 1808-1967, YMCA/YWCA 1929-1952 (RG115/ 20/14), PHS.

[500] "A law regulating the employment of women and children in industry," 17 April 1935, RG115/20/14, PHS; da Cruz, *The Lebanon YWCA*, 21. As discussed more in the section on labor agitation in girls' schools in this chapter, much of the scholarship on the Lebanese Labor Code of 1946 focuses on the work of more formal power holders, including the nascent Lebanese government. Robert J. Lampman, for example, credits pressure from the International Labor Organization for the legislation. Lampman, "The Lebanese Labor Code of 1946," *Labor Law Journal* 5, no. 7 (July 1954): 495.

English, Arabic, and sewing classes.[501] Working with the growing Girl Reserves groups, the YWCA served close to one thousand girls in Beirut at camps for poor urban and rural children and for the basic education of industrial girls, as well as through "work outside centers" for industrial girls.[502] Throughout the interwar period, the Beirut YWCA worked with factory girls to provide them with some education and physical activities, and to teach them about personal hygiene, workers' rights, and workers' pride. These activities, in addition to work with the Girl Reserves, held the most meaning to Bayouth, speaking some forty years later. Asked what activities were dearest to her, she responded: "watching the factory girls, who came to the night schools, develop new healthy attitudes towards work, employers, and better health habits…Summer camps…where the girls were given the opportunity to be creative in all aspects.[503]

The work of the YWCA, and thus of the women and girls' who membered it, reveals a citizenship rooted both in shared responsibility for community (local, national, and international) and in women and girls' participation in the life of the state. In schools, such a vision of citizenship was acted out by schoolgirls who raised funds for those in their schools and those abroad, who undertook projects and service work to meet the needs of and improve (albeit in small ways) the lives of those in their community. For the women who joined the YWCA, creating opportunities for girls and young women to join the YWCA, lobbying for labor reform,

[501] The Y.W.C.A. in Beirut, n.d., RG115/20/14, PHS. Though there is no date included, my best guess is that this is from the late 1920s, as the next group of documents is dated 1928.
[502] The Y.W.C.A. in Beirut.
[503] Husni, "Edma Bayouth," 2.

and offering and administering vocational training reveals a citizenship rooted in a sense of shared responsibility for the community. This work – of both schoolgirls and YWCA women – reflects a vision of the nation where girls women participated in both public and explicitly political ways. Through these activities and the ideals reflected in them, one can imagine the nation visualized by Lebanese girls and women during the interwar period – a country that supported the most vulnerable, that recognized and valued clarity and strength of purpose over sectarian division, and where local women worked, in the confines of institutions but also in public ways, to bring about change to their communities, country, and the world.

The Scouting Movement

Alice Abicarius established the first girls' scouting program in Lebanon (and, indeed, the whole Middle East) by 1921 at Ahliah.[504] During the 1922-1923 school year, Anna Kennedy, an American missionary, helped found a Girl Guides troop at SGS.[505] The following year, the SGS Girl Guides increased its membership, from sixteen to twenty-five students, and expanded its service within the school.[506] By the mid-1920s, girls' scouting organizations secured a foothold in girls' secondary schools, with troops at SGS, ASG, and Ahliah; students formed scouting troops at TGS and Kulliyat al-Banat in the late 1920s and mid-1940s, respectively.[507] As far as

[504] "Lamha min tarikh al-ahliyya bi-qalam mudiratiha al-thaniyya al-sayyida Wadad al-Maqdisi Qirtas", in *Min masirat al-ahliyya*, 21-2. Histories of Ahliah put the scouting program founded by Abicarius in 1921 at the latest. While the precise year is not indicated, an April 1921 article in the women's magazine, *al-Marʾa al-jadida* discusses the club's foundation as the first scouting troop for girls in the Middle East. "al-Kashafa" (Scouting), *al-Marʾa al-jadida* 1, no. 1 (April 1921), AUB.
[505] Personal Report Anna R. Kennedy, 1922-23, RG90/2/2, PHS.
[506] Annual Report of Sidon Girls' School, 30 June 1924, RG115/17/18, PHS.
[507] At ASG, the Girl Reserves was established November 1928. Between 1923 and 1928, the ASG scouting organization was the Girl Guides. In any case, students appear to have been very interested in the Girl Guides and, later, the Girl Reserves, from the get-go. ASG Annual Report, 1923-1924;

I have been able to tell, a scouting troop was not established at Zahrat al-ihsan, at least not by the early 1950s. The establishment of girls' scouting organizations at the three American schools, Ahliah, and Kulliyat al-Banat was part of the larger scouting movement that began in the years before WWI. During the interwar period in the Middle East, the scouting movement expanded significantly and had a nationalist significance. Indeed, by the mid-1930s, the French High Commission found itself increasingly concerned with the activity of boys' scouting troops as threats to the colonial power.[508]

While the French Mandate authority and much of the scholarly literature since focused on boys' scouting groups, girls' scouting groups – whether the Girl Reserves, Girl Guides, or Girl Scouts – also took part in the public sphere, contesting, redefining, and pushing the limits of what it meant to be a citizen in French Mandate and independent Lebanon. The activities and projects led, begun, or encouraged by girls' scouting organizations reveal a citizenship rooted in building similarity across difference and direct participation in civic and public life. This section pays particular attention to the girls' scouting organizations that operated at ASG and Ahliah, focusing on solidarity-building activities, civic involvement, and public demonstrations.[509] Such an analysis allows us to see the ways in which girls articulated, practiced, and acted out their citizenship.

Annual Report ASG, 1928-1929. The first explicit mention of the Girl Reserves at TGS is from the 1932-1933 school annual report, though the report's wording makes it sound like it is relatively well-established by this point. Tripoli Girls' School Annual Report for 1932-1933, RG115/19/8, PHS. By independence, Kulliyat al-banat sponsored a girls' scouting organization.

[508] See, for example, Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*; and Dueck, *Claims of Culture*.

[509] I chose the ASG and Ahliah girls' scouting organizations for a few different reasons. First, given their location in Beirut, the seat of both the French mandate government for Syria and Lebanon and the emerging national government of Lebanon, these groups had more opportunity to engage directly

BACKGROUND

The girls' scouting movement during the interwar period comprised several different organizations, including the Girl Scouts, the Girl Reserves, the Campfire Girls, and the Girl Guides. Girl Guides and Girl Reserves appear to have been the most common in Lebanon during the interwar period. The below provides a brief overview of these two organizations.

The Girl Guides originated in England in 1912 as the sister organization to the Boy Scouts, founded at the turn of the twentieth century. In that year, Agnes Baden Powell, sister to Boy Scouts' founder Robert Baden-Powell, wrote *Handbook for Girl Guides, or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire*. Though this articulation of the Girl Guides had clear imperialist aims, Abicarius used the principles found in Robert Baden-Powell's 1908 *Scouting for Boys* to lay the foundation for the Girl Guides group established at Ahliah in 1921.[510]

The YWCA in the United States established the Girl Reserves in 1918 as an offshoot of the mother organization to meet the needs of its members between the ages of twelve and eighteen.[511] The Girl Reserves arose out of girls' demand "to

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with the state. Second, both schools were closely associated with the Beirut YWCA; for the ASG, this took the form of a YWCA group within the school until the late 1920s, and for Ahliah this meant coordination with and student, teacher, and alumnae connections to the YWCA. Third, both the ASG and Ahliah were flagship institutions, as were the girls' scouting groups that came from them. Ahliah's scouting group was, in fact, the first girls' scouting group in the Middle East; Ahliah also takes credit for "Arabizing" the scouting movement.

[510] Ahliah's connection to the Girl Guides, rather than the Girl Reserves or Girl Scouts, can be seen in an overview of the scouting movement at Ahliah written in the 1950s. "al-Harakat al-kashfiyya," in *al-Ahliyya*, 1956-1957. Further, the above-mentioned 1921 article in *al-Mar'a al-jadida* on the scouting movement in the Middle East, includes the principles of the scouting movement, adapted from Robert Baden-Powell's 1908 handbook for Boy Scouts. "al-Kashafa."

[511] The Girl Reserves was a separate organization from the Girl Scouts and the Campfire Girls, which were two other American girls' scouting organization. The Girl Scouts, inspired by and growing out of the Boy Scouts (originally founded in England in 1907 and established in the United States in 1910), focused on teaching "girls traditional women's roles" alongside "outdoor adventure and civic

interpret the Association purpose in terms of their own lives" in order to "learn to make wise choices, to share the responsibility of girls around the world for helping to bring into being the Kingdom of Friendly Citizens," in a way that best fit their own personalities.[512] Thus, the Girl Reserves focused on "learning new skills, talking things over together, taking part in dramatics, athletics, handicraft, riding hobbies," all in order to find "their places as citizens of their communities and the world."[513] This vision informed the work of the Reserves groups established in the American schools.

In spite of the British, American, and imperialist origins of the two organizations, the girls and women of the Girl Reserves and the Girl Guides viewed them as important tools for developing girls' national feeling and patriotism. Thus, they quickly became local institutions, peopled and led by local girls and women, and were organizations through which schoolgirls articulated their citizenship. In a 1921 article she wrote for *al-Mar'a al-jadida*, Abicarius outlined the history of the scouting movement and the foundation of the scouting troop at Ahliah, connecting scouting to patriotic feeling. In discussing its establishment in eastern Europe in the pre-WWI period, for example, Abicarius notes that scouting "helped the patriotic spirit (*al-ruh*

opportunities." The Campfire Girls were more closely associated with the American Boy Scouts and focused less on civic opportunities than did the Girl Scouts. Jennifer Helgren, *American Girls and Global Responsibility: A New Relation to the World during the Early Cold War* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 5-6.

[512] Pamphlet, Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A. (Girl Reserves) (New York: Girl Reserve and Publicity Departments National Board, Y.W.C.A., 1929).

[513] Pamphlet, Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A. Helgren notes that the "explicitly Christian mission" of the YWCA meant that the Girl Reserves stressed "international Christian fellowship" over patriotism, and that "its social gospel dedication to 'social justice and community empowerment' was international as well as local." Helgren, *American Girls*, 6.

al-wataniyya)" grow there.[514] At Ahliah, scouting embodied the patriotic bent of the school, and served as a vehicle for resistance against the French.[515]

At ASG and SGS, the Girl Reserves held a significant and permanent position by the mid-1920s, with local teachers and students leading it.[516] During the Girl Reserves' second year at ASG, Mary Joly, an alumna studying at AUB, led the forty-strong Girl Reserves group.[517] During the 1930s, several local teachers, including Mary Kurani, Julia Shahla, Selwa Abdelkarim, and Minnie Katibah, sometimes alongside missionary personnel, led the Reserves.[518] Their leadership was supplemented by local YWCA secretaries, such as Najla Cortas and Adele Rayes, who worked closely with the ASG Girl Reserves throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, at least.[519] In the late 1930s, a local teacher expanded "Play Day," a day for inter-school sporting competition and play, which eventually became a nation-wide competition in the post-WWII period.[520]

Activities of Girls' Scouting Groups at ASG and Ahliah

The activities of the ASG and Ahliah girls' scouting organizations allowed students to articulate a citizenship in which they built solidarity across difference and

[514] "al-Kashafa," *al-Mar'a al-jadida* (1921)
[515] "Lamha min tarikh al-ahliyya," 21.
[516] To give some idea of the Girl Reserves' strength in ASG, by the 1929-30 school year, there were 72 students in the school's three Girl Reserves clubs. The total student population in that year was 250 (196 in the upper levels and 54 in the primary), making this a significant number of participants. Annual Report, ASG, 1929-1930.
[517] Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1924-1925.
[518] Annual Report American School for Girls Beyrout Syria, 1932-1933; Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1933-1934; Annual report American School for Girls Beyrout Lebanon, 1934-1935; Annual Report of the American School for Girls, Beirut, Lebanon, 1935-1936; Annual Report, 1939-40, American School for Girls – Beirut, RG115/3/1, PHS.
[519] Annual Report, ASG, 1935-1936; Annual Report – 1938-1939, American School for Girls – Beirut; Annual Report, 1939-40, ASG, RG115/3/1, PHS.
[520] Annual Report, 1938-1939, ASG.

directly participated in civic and public life. This work simultaneously supplemented and challenged the formal curriculum discussed in Chapter One, and aligned with the activities of other campus organizations.

The makeup, purpose, and activities of the girls' scouting groups at ASG and Ahliah reveals the ways in which students and their troop leaders acted out a citizenship that sought to overcome differences in pursuit of common goals. Girls' scouting organizations, like the YWCA and the myriad student organizations that existed before and alongside them, attracted students from a diversity of backgrounds, including a variety of religious traditions. In the context of interwar Lebanon, steeped in a history and colonial civic order in which power was (and is) apportioned based on sect, an organization that brought girls together across these differences gives it particular significance. In the case of the Girl Reserves, part of the YWCA and therefore, ostensibly, a Christian institution, belief in democratic principles (espoused by Christianity, as the missionaries believed) remained the only requirement for participation. Abicarius' vision of scouting at Ahliah aligned with the non-sectarian nature of the school that sought to bring together girls to improve themselves and their communities, and to instill in them and those around them the national spirit. The importance of girls' scouting organizations to articulations of girls' and women's citizenship can be seen in weekly school assemblies, annual "Play Days," hiking and picnic excursions, and rallies and conferences.

The administrations of the ASG and Ahliah brought students, faculty, and community members together through regular weekly assemblies. Wadad Makdisi Cortas, principal of Ahliah from 1935 to 1974, introduced Friday assemblies shortly

after her principalship began. Through these assemblies, Cortas instilled in her students a nonsectarian, Arab nationalist vision of the state and reiterated the students' role in such a nation. She emphasized the values of patriotism, self-reliance, and, most importantly for Cortas reflecting on them in later years, international solidarity. She did this in her own talks, and by inviting prominent Lebanese, Syrian, or Arab musicians, artists, poets, writers, politicians, activists, and the like, to the school.[521] In addition to outside invited guests, Cortas encouraged individual students and student groups, including the girls' scouting troops, to participate in and lead these assemblies. Alumnae, whether boarding or day students, all speak to the nationalist spirit that infused every aspect of their school experience. Indeed, alumnae from the 1930s to the 1950s maintain a strong connection to the school, and hold on to memories of standing up to the French, which they attribute, in part, to the messages and lessons imparted at these assemblies.[522]

At the ASG, the weekly assemblies generally consisted of invited speakers and short informative pieces, most often organized and led by the school's American administration. These assemblies had a distinctly religious or Christian ethic-type message, and many of the speakers were members of or affiliated with the members with the Mission.[523] At the same time, however, like at Ahliah, these assemblies

[521] Cortas, *A World I Loved*, 82-83.
[522] Haibat Turk, 8 July 2017; Mariam Said, 20 June 2017; Mona Taqla, 30 June 2017
[523] During the 1931-1932 school year, for example, several members of the Mission spoke at these meetings, and the pastor of the Beirut church, Reverend Mufid Abdelkarim came on the first Friday of every month. Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1931-1932. Students who attended the School Girl conferences (annual conferences for students at mission schools that had a distinctly religious program) presented at these assemblies, in at least one instance reproducing the program of the meeting for which ASG students had been responsible. Annual Report, ASG, 1928-1929.

offered students opportunities for leadership in their school community, sharing messages and experiences that, in sum, were meant to create a school and, ultimately, national community from among the diverse students and experiences.[524] Further, as shown in Chapter One, during this period, part of the Christian ethic (but also missionary and neo-imperialist goal) was developing moral, upright citizens prepared to participate in a democratic society.[525] So, like Ahliah, the message students imbibed was one of patriotism and calls for community-building.

In students' participation in these assemblies, as members and representatives of the schools' scouting troops or other student organizations, Ahliah and ASG students participated in and actively shaped the school community of which they were a part. They acted out and encouraged the development of a girl-centered community wherein students had the ability to shape their school (and larger) community through presentations and leadership. Further, in providing reports of their experiences at nation-, region-, or city-wide conferences, students passed on the conversations and ideas discussed there, which included girl students from across

[524] Students organized and led these assemblies since at least the early 1930s. During the 1931-1932 school year, for example, three groups of students took charge. This included that year's class of seniors and the Questers (a devotional group), and the High School Club of the Girl Reserves, which "conducted a Ceremonial service" for the students and "which the students enjoyed very much." While the students received assistance from the teachers, the students were responsible for carrying out the plan and the assembly. Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1931-1932. By the early 1940s, these assemblies were divided into two types – those where speakers were invited to attend and those where students led the way. During the 1941-1942 school year, various of the high school classes took it in turn to put on programs, including "one girl in the ninth class [who] wrote some Arabic poetry" of a very high quality. Annual Report – A.S.G. for 1941-1942, RG115/3/1, PHS.

[525] This goal can be seen in talks on childcare and training, club work among village girls and women, middle class respectability in comportment, dress, and book choice, and missionary work in Java by women members of (or visitors to) the Mission, as well as a talk on the International Congress of Women at Istanbul provided by an ASG alumna, Widad Sebai. Annual Report, ASG, 1934-1935; and Annual Report, ASG, 1935-1936, RG115/3/1, PHS.

the country, creating a larger narrative about what it meant to serve their community (whether that was family, school, city, country, or world).

Annual "Play Days" provided another opportunity for students to build solidarity across difference. Initially begun under the aegis of the ASG Girl Reserves, and as part of the school's formal curriculum, in the early 1930s, play days became an annual informal competition among girls' schools in Lebanon that brought students together from across the country through physical competition. Organizers of the play days recognized the emotional and developmental benefits of sporting competition, allowing students to develop good sportsmanship and to get to know others from outside their school.[526] The first competition, held in spring 1931 in the newly-completed ASG gymnasium, included "the best players" from SGS, AJCW, and Brummana Girls' School.[527] In the following years, a committee of representatives from the different girls' schools was formed and drew up a set of rules; by the mid-1930s, this group established an annual "Play Day" for "all of the Beyrout clubs."[528] In the late 1930s, under the direction of ASG athletic directory Lily Trabulsi, these "Play Days" really took off.[529] In her second year as athletic director, the "Play Days" expanded from the usual basketball games and volleyball matches to include relay

[526] Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1931-1932.
[527] American School for Girls Annual Report 1930-1931. This is not unique to the Girl Reserves or to ASG, as sport was viewed as both a colonial and nationalist tool since the nineteenth century. See, for example, Huijie Zhang, "Christianity and the Rise of Western Physical Education and Sport in Modern China, 1840s-1920s," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 8 (2015): 1121-6.
[528] From the available material, it is not clear what schools are included in "all of the Beirut clubs." Most likely, they were largely mission or mission-affiliated schools, though the "Syrian national school" (probably Ahliah), was also included. Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1931-1932; Annual Report ASG, 1934-1935.
[529] Annual Report ASG, 1938-1939; American School for Girls Annual Report, 1937-1938, RG115/3/1, PHS.

races, drills, and other displays of physical ability.[530] In the third year under her direction, “Play Day” included nine schools; it would have included ten, but the tenth school “was so entirely unfamiliar with the American schools in Beirut” that they missed all of the committee meetings and, upon traveling to the city for the competition day, went to AUB instead of AJCW.[531]

When “Play Days” revived in 1951 after the hiatus of WWII, independence, and the shifting geopolitical, social, and economic terrain of the late 1940s and early 1950s, ASG competed with SGS, TGS (with SGS travelling to ASG and ASG sending students to TGS), and five non-American Beirut schools. This competition was followed up by an invitation to participate in a basketball tournament organized “by a Maronite Nuns School.”[532] This inter-city competition continued for at least a couple more years, with the ASG students taking home the basketball cup at the “Interscholastic Competition” in both 1952 and 1953.[533]

In fostering camaraderie and good sportsmanship, play days allowed students to imagine a broad definition of community and practice a more flexible understanding of cooperation. For the missionaries who taught at girls’ schools, athletic competition reinforced “the Christian ideals of cooperation and good-will, of give and take, of meeting defeat in as good a spirit of success are important attributes in this phase of the girls’ education.”[534] These values, however, appear to

[530] Annual Report 1938-1939, ASG.
[531] Annual Report ASG, 1939-1940.
[532] American School for Girls Annual Report, 1951-1952.
[533] ASG Annual Report 1953, RG115/3/1, PHS.
[534] American School for Girls, Beirut, Annual School Report, 1949-1950. RG115/3/1, PHS.

have been more universal, as indicated by the participation of girls' schools from across the city of Beirut and country.

Other types of competitions reveal the ideals the play days engendered. The Spring Festival, begun in the 1940s, a music festival sponsored by the Near East Music Teachers Association, and the Annual Folk Dance Festival, held at AUB and begun in the 1951-1952 school year, brought students from across the city and country together and reflected larger trends.[535] In the case of the Spring Festival, over seventy ASG students participated in the 1944-1945 festival.[536] The Folk Dance Festival reflected the rural/development-oriented ideologies of the 1950s, as they allowed participants to reconnect to a more "authentic" rural, Arab past.[537] The Folk Dance Festival stood out in many Ahliah alumnae's minds as an event that brought the schools of the city, and the city itself, together.

While "Play Days" began as an activity for Girl Reserves groups in Beirut and beyond to get together for athletic competition and to practice good sportsmanship, they came to include students from across the city and country, creating a community of schoolgirls who would, in time, become adult citizens in an independent Lebanon.

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[535] ASG Annual Report, 1944-1945.
[536] ASG Annual Report, 1944-1945.
[537] Cortas discusses this turn towards the folkloric, to the rural, to the Arab, beginning in the early 1950s in her memoir. *A World I Loved*, 105-106. The 1956-1957 yearbook includes images of Ahliah students participating in folk dancing (*raqs al-sharqi*) competition held at AUB. While this provides some specific examples of what this looked like in the early to mid-1950s in Lebanon, "rural work" was a general concern from a welfare perspective beginning in the mid-1930s, and was an important part of state and educational projects throughout the Middle East. In the 1950s, rural work took on increased importance, and a different meaning, with the emergence of development and modernization theories. For the Lebanese context, see Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski, "Women Students at the American University of Beirut from the 1920s to the 1940s," in *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History*, edited by Inger Marie Okkenhaug an Ingvild Flaskerud (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 67-84; for the Turkish context, see, for example, Sibel Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

"Play Days," alongside the Spring and Folk Dance Festivals, encouraged the development of a community defined (and ultimately strengthened) by its diverse students, modeling the type of community students could participate in as adult citizens.

Hiking and picnic excursions, which remained a scouting-only space throughout the interwar period, also encouraged students to build a sense of solidarity across difference, and to develop national feeling. Outings to places like the Dog River (*Nahr al-Kalb*) or *Nahr Ibrahim* allowed students to grow physically and mentally; to imagine and experience their community outside the context of the school and instead on the land that community was to be an inheritor of.[538] Additionally, the land around both rivers holds the ruins of the various civilizations that have occupied Lebanon, allowing students to connect more deeply with the land, their country, and its history.[539] By connecting to a shared land and past, differences of class and creed could be overcome, to be replaced by shared sense of community, a community defined by and made up of girls and women.

Finally, the Girl Reserves allowed students to participate in and make claims on the institutions of public and civic life. Girls' engagement with public processes occurred through programs with working women and children, work with local governments, and public displays of opposition to the government. Much of the work of the ASG Girl Reserves during the Mandate period centered on assistance to

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[538] "Girl Reserve Department," *Blue Triangle News* (May 1931), 7-8. RG115/20/14, PHS.
[539] Studies on nationalism emphasize the importance of the land to both national feeling and to citizenship itself. See, for example, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); and Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

working women and children. The local and international YWCA, which concerned itself with women and children who worked in industrial settings, facilitated this work. During the 1934-1935 school year, for example, Najla Cortas, an ASG alumna and YWCA officer, directed the activities of both the "elementary club" and older Girls' Reserves at ASG. Her supervision was supplemented by that of Selwa Abdelkarim, a teacher and recent graduate of ASG who worked with the younger students, and Minnie Katibah, another teacher. In that year, as part of Health Week, the older Girl Reserves club "visited one of the factories in Beyrout [sic] that they might observe the conditions under which the factory girls do their work."[540] They also gave lessons in reading and writing "to one of these girls who was anxious to learn."[541] In the 1935-1936 school year, Mary Kurani joined Katibah and Cortas as the new head of the elementary Girl Reserves unit. Again during health month, both clubs studied public health, with a focus on conditions in Beirut. This study led to "a number of interesting excursions…to bakeries, the market places, and to factories."[542] Edma Bayouth, by then Director of the Beirut YWCA, delivered talks to the Girl Reserves about the health conditions of children factory workers before the students visited the factories. Volunteer work in factories continued the following year, when members of the Upper School Girls Reserves "went down to a factory on Saturdays" and taught the girls working there during the noon hour.[543]

[540] Annual Report ASG, 1934-1935.
[541] Annual Report ASG, 1934-1935.
[542] Annual Report of the American School for Girls, 1935-1936, RG115/3/1, PHS.
[543] Annual Report ASG, 1936-1937.

During the 1937-1938 school year, the ASG Girl Reserves undertook a year-long study of the Beirut municipality. Divided into chaperoned groups, reserves members went to the different municipal departments, including the Health Department, the Water Works, and the Customs House. Municipal officials led each visit, taking "great pains to facilitate the understanding of the visitors of what they were seeing." Several of these same officials also gave talks at the school about their departments' work. The Health Department representative suggested "practical ways…by which the students could further the task of his Department."[544] By the close of the decade, ASG Girl Reserves members, under the guidance of YWCA Girl Reserves Secretary Adele Rayes, chose to study industry for their year-long research project. This study led to a variety of service projects, including Saturday service work playing games with working girls at a factory by the Beirut River during their noon hour break.[545]

This "industrial work" undertaken by the ASG Girl Reserves in the second half of the 1930s brings together the other two themes dealt within in this section—community improvement and working across difference—and how this manifested in schoolgirls' participation in the institutions of public and civic life. In working with industrial girls as playmates and tutors, for example, schoolgirls worked towards community betterment and did so in ways that transcended (or could lead to the transcendence of) class difference. Further, by undertaking studies of the local municipality, how it worked, and how they could further the aims of the municipal

[544] Annual Report ASG, 1937-1938.
[545] Annual Report, ASG, 1938-1939.

government, and in providing services to industrial workers, Girl Reserves members both engaged directly in and took on the role of civic life, thus bringing their work into political life.

At Ahliah, the girls' and boys' scouting clubs also participated directly in civic life. As discussed in Chapter Three, in November 1924, French High Commissioner, Maxime Wegand closed Ahliah, ostensibly for failing to request the addition of a boys' boarding section, but also because of fears about American propaganda and anti-French subversion in the school.[546] In December 1924, Ahliah Girl Guides and Boys Scouts, led by Abicarius, marched on the Grand Sarrail, the seat of the French mandate government. The 100-strong student contingent, marching under the banner of Ahliah's scouting troops, broke through the wall of French soldiers guarding the Sarrail in order to demand that the new French High Commissioner, Maurice Sarrail, reopen the school.[547] In one alumna's account, this demonstration, coupled with the interventions of the community, led the High Commission to reopen the school by early January 1925.

The ASG's Girl Reserves aimed to create citizens rooted in middle class, Protestant American ideals. The Ahliah Girl Guides viewed scouting as key to national success, to build students' patriotism and a sense of attachment to the homeland. In both schools, scouts acted out and practiced a social citizenship that built commonality across difference and participated in public and civic life. Though this shared meaning was most likely part of the shared heritage of the schools, it also

[546] See Chapter Two for a full accounting of this incident.
[547] "Lamha min tarikh al-ahliyya," 21-22.

speaks to the ways in which students shaped the meaning of the organizations of which they were a part, regardless of their legacy.

Making and Claiming Space: Teachers and Labor Rights in American Schools

Towards the end of the Mandate and into the early independence period, women used the claiming of rights, specifically labor rights, to act out their social citizenship. While for working women this manifested in labor agitation through strikes, protests, and the like, Lebanese—and particularly Lebanese women—who worked in various capacities for the American Mission began, in the late 1940s, claiming their rights as workers through the claiming of indemnity.[548] In September 1946, the Lebanese Parliament passed the Labor Code Act, the result of years of labor agitation by workingwomen and men.[549] The law applied to all classes of workers, save domestic servants, non-commercial or industrial agricultural work, family businesses, and government or municipal workers employed on a probationary or daily basis.[550] It applied to all employers, except those excluded by special

[548] Indemnity refers to both legal protection from and compensation for damages or losses related to termination, retirement, or voluntary removal from a position. Indemnity cases that were brought forward before passage of the 1946 law were most likely based on the scant labor law that existed under the French Mandate. In 1934, the French introduced legislation around employment contracts that provided for damages in the case of wrongful termination, and in 1937 this legislation was revised to include dismissal pay. Further, in 1935, "the first regulation of working conditions appeared" for working women and children in "dangerous and unhealthy industries." Lampman, *Lebanese Labor Code*.

[549] While traditional accounts of the passage of the 1946 Lebanese labor law focus on the role of the government, more recent scholarship such as that of Malek Abisaab, shows that the state was "forced to formulate new labor laws by the workers' incessant and intensified protests" beginning with the first whispers of independence from the French in 1943. Indeed, for Abisaab, the demands of workingmen and women and the passage of the 1946 labor law was evidence less of the nascent state's strength and more of its fragility. Abisaab, *Militant Women*, 68-69.

[550] Labour Code Act, 23 September 1946. Translated from the official French translation published by the Société d'Impression et d'Edition, Beyrouth, December 1946, Section 7. International Labour Office, Legislative Series 1946, A-NZ—Leb. 1 (Geneva, Switzerland, 1948): 781-802. https://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/P/09607/09607(1946).pdf

provision. The applicable employers included “Lebanese or foreign teaching establishments, welfare societies or foreign companies having an undertaking, agency or branch in the country,” thus bringing American Mission schools and their Lebanese employees under the purview and protection of the law.[551] The law also included specific provision for termination of contracts between employees and employers; these sections were the basis on which all indemnity cases brought before the Mission – freely given, highly contested, or somewhere in between – rested.

Between 1943 and 1953, former employees of the Mission brought 64 indemnity requests forward. Thirty-four of these cases came from mission schools, seventeen from the American Press, and five from either Hamlin Memorial Hospital in Deir al-zor or Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Tripoli. One was from the Jubrail Rural Fellowship and five were not indicated.[552] Thus, up to 37 indemnity cases came from employees of Mission schools or their affiliates (such as Jubrail), more than half of the total number of cases. Of that total, at least 26 were filed by women. While the fact that the schools employed a larger number of local workers when compared, for example, to the American Press, might account for these numbers, that fact does not fully explain why the vast majority of workers who claimed indemnity came from schools, given that the Mission’s hospitals employed a similarly large number of local workers. Further, that seventy percent of indemnity cases were filed by women in educational institutions speaks to the impact of the formal curriculum discussed in

[551] Labour Code Act, Section 8.
[552] I believe two of these unidentified cases came from Tripoli Girls’ School, based on a letter sent around that same time.

Chapter One and the informal curriculum discussed in the preceding sections of the current chapter. It shows how educational institutions instilled in their students—and staff—the importance of claiming their rights as citizens. Further, since women were denied access to official and public political life in the post-independence political landscape, rights-claiming based in law allowed them to act out and take part in their citizenship.

BACKGROUND

In the spring of 1947, the bureaucratic arm of the American Mission began to take notice of the 1946 labor law.[553] In response, the Mission created a reserve indemnity fund from which to draw. For their part, employees and former employees of the Mission took advantage the new law. Most of the indemnity and contract cases were resolved quickly and simply, with more than 95% of the 64 indemnity cases mentioned in Mission correspondence and minutes included as a matter of course. Between 1942 and 1952, some L.L.100,000 was distributed to former employees of the Mission with little apparent contention. Employees claimed indemnity for retirement, marriage, and pregnancy, and on behalf of deceased family members, all of which were made under specific sections of the Labor Law. There were, however, a few indemnity cases that were more contentious. While all indemnity cases provide insight into how local staff and teachers claimed their legal rights, and thus their

[553] J. L. Dodds to Dr. W. G. Greenslade, 29 May 1947, Box 114, Board Letters, 1947-9, NEST. The law required indemnity payments for employees with a given number of years of service (unfortunately not indicated, but appears to be 35-40 years of service based on the case of Miss Selma Hadeed), or for those who had reached the age of sixty-five. Excerpts from Five Year Program of Advance as tentatively approved by the Board and presented to the Missions for their consideration, May 1948, Box 114, NEST.

rights as Lebanese citizens, contested cases offer a particularly helpful window into this process as they provide a wealth of correspondence that speak to the motivations, rationale, and specific cases of the people involved. The two cases discussed below are from women teachers claiming indemnity from the Mission in unique circumstances, but they provide insight into how and why Lebanese women claimed their rights as citizens.

The Case of Najmeh Assad Atiyeh

At the end of the 1940-1941 school year, the Syria Mission assigned Najmeh Assad Atiyeh, a twenty-year veteran of TGS, to teach at a new school in Hermel, near the border with Syria.[554] Atiyeh pushed back against this decision, asking the Mission's Educational Committee to reconsider in light of personal and familial obligations, as well as the poor pay proposed for the position.[555] For whatever reason, the project at Hermel was not opened that year, and Atiyeh was not

[554] Rene Ghantous to the Secretary of the American Mission, Mr. Greenslade, 26 Oct 1948, RG492/15/23, PHS. Further intrigue is added to this story by looking at the Education Committee minutes from this period. At the March 1941 meeting of the Educational Committee, the minutes note that Teagarden "informed the Committee that Miss Assad would not be returning to the staff of T.G.S. next year." It was voted to recommend that TGS pay her the equivalent of her salary for six months "in recognition of her services in the school over a period of twenty-one years." No mention of Hermel was made. Minutes of the Educational Committee, 14-15 Mar 1941, RG115/7/7, PHS.

[555] Nejmeh A. Atiyeh to Mr. Greenslade, 20 Mar 1948, RG492/15/23, PHS. The minutes of the Educational Committee from 16 May 1941 confirm this request: "A letter was read from Miss Assad of T.G.S. asking the Committee to reconsider its action concerning a change of work for her"; the secretary of the Committee was instructed "to write to Miss Assad informing her that the Committee regarded its former action as final." This wording is interesting and appears to be in contrast to the minutes where this decision was made, as in those minutes it sounds like this was called for by Teagarden rather than as a result of some issue within the school, lack of funds, or the like. At the same time, however, we learn that, in 1940, the Syria-Lebanon Mission was expanding its evangelical work into the "Shiite village of Hermil" in 1940. Given all this, I am left wondering why Atiyeh and not, for example, a woman evangelist/educationalist from the mission was to be sent. Was it pure exigency on the part of the Mission, was there some kind of concern at the school, or interpersonal drama between Teagarden and Atiyeh? Whatever it was, we know that Atiyeh, ultimately, never went to Hermel. Minutes of the Educational Committee, 16 May 1941, RG115/7/7; Report of the American Presbyterian Mission, 1940, RG492/15/24, PHS.

reappointed to her position in Tripoli, leaving her unemployed for the 1941-1942 school year, leading her to make a request to the Mission "either for work or for indemnity."[556]

The Executive Committee of the Mission voted to approve this request, paying her the full year's salary she would have been paid for her work in Hermel, LL.400.[557] In late spring 1942, Atiyeh continued her correspondence with the Mission through her lawyer, writing to James H. Nicol, then-Secretary of Mission, "regarding the smallness of the amount which was paid, which was not adequate for the minimum requirements of living in Hermil [sic]" and that, in Tripoli, she made LL.546, plus food, lodging, and other expenses. She further claimed that the Mission had assured her, when they were discussing the position in Hermel, that "she would receive conditions of work and of living completely satisfactory and a larger salary than her salary in Tripoli."[558] Her lawyer closed the letter by informing Nicol that Atiyeh "wished to receive what remained to her of the legal indemnity if the administration should attempt to break the current contract between them."[559] In his reply, Nicol acknowledged the continuation of the contract between Atiyeh and the Mission and that "every agreement regarding the matter of Hermil [sic] would be carried out on the basis of the salary and conditions which were formerly in force in Tripoli."[560] At the

[556] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.
[557] Minutes of the Stated Meeting of the Executive Committee, 14 May 1942, RG492/5/9, PHS; Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 Oct 1948.
[558] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.
[559] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.
[560] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.

end of June 1942, Atiyeh acknowledged receipt of the letter and agreement with the conditions therein.

When, on July 13, 1942, Atiyeh received a letter from the new Mission Secretary, Douglas Decherd, instructing her to go to Hermel for the 1942-1943 school year, with a salary of LL.400, Atiyeh balked, replying that any acceptance would be conditioned on "an increase of the salary to LL.960," based on her correspondence with Nicol earlier in the spring.[561] If the Mission could not meet her demands, she asked that she be returned to teaching at TGS. Decherd responded heatedly, giving her the option of either "compliance" or "severance"; a second letter from Decherd offered her a salary of LL.520.[562] Since this amount did not meet the conditions agreed to with Nicol, Atiyeh wrote to Mr. Byerly, laying out the reasons for her refusal of the offer, including the lowness of the salary and a description of the living conditions in Hermel. At this point, correspondence between Atiyeh and the Mission seems to have stopped until 1947-1948, when Atiyeh contacted the Mission, again seeking indemnity.[563]

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[561] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.
[562] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.
[563] Atiyeh to Greenslade, 20 March 1948. Though the written record does not indicate why, after five years, she decided to pursue the indemnity she thought owed her, one can speculate: First, from her attorney's letter to the Mission, we learn that, following the death of her brother abroad, she was the primary earner for her family, which included an ill and aging mother and a blind sister. It is possible that other forms of support she had been receiving dried up, or that her mother or sister were requiring more (and thus more expensive) care. Second, the law changed, as the Labor Code was put into force in late 1946, and she felt like she may actually be able to seek redress under a national, rather than a quasi-colonial law. Indeed, the letter from her attorney to the Mission is filled with language about rights – about Atiyeh claiming rights and about the Mission denying them. It's also not clear if she had been working for the Mission in TGS during this time. When she was first referenced in the Educational Committee minutes from 1941, Teagarden noted that she had worked at TGS for 21 years; six years later, when Atiyeh again took up the issue, she noted that she had worked for the Mission for 27 years, which implies that she had been working there the entire time. The confirmation receipt for the payout of her indemnity from the Mission came from the principal's office of the TGS, though there might be a purely bureaucratic reason behind that, as it was through the TGS that the

When Atiyeh claimed indemnity from the Mission, both in the early 1940s and again in the late 1940s, following independence, she did so by appealing to law, and thus claiming rights as a Lebanese citizen; indeed, in her follow-up letter to the Mission in 1948, she wrote, “My transfer to Hermil with this salary implied a change of the previous contract or agreement with T.G.S. to start a new one in Hermil with different conditions. This cannot take place without settling my accounts with T.G.S. and paying me indemnity. Nothing of that has taken place.”[564] The reference to contract and contract law here is echoed in the language of law and rights in a letter from her attorney, Rene Ghantous to W. G. Greenslade, then-Secretary of Mission. In reference to her decision not to accept the position in Hermel at the salary proposed by the Mission, Ghantous wrote, “My client refused compliance, and she was within her rights in doing so.”[565] Further, in reference to the letter Atiyeh received from Decherd in June 1942, Ghantous wrote, “Mr. Decherd’s language was filled with extreme contempt for the rights of my client.”[566] He argued that Decherd’s language “bears the imprint of arbitrary absolute power which the principle of investigation into rights will not accept. I do not see any excuse for Mr. Decherd’s words, which clearly violate the law and justice.”[567] Ghantous closed his argument by stating, “the law considers that my client was compelled to leave her work, and that this compulsion was in the nature of a dismissal bears the same obligation.”[568]

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funds for her indemnity were transferred. If she *had* been working for the Mission the entire time, this adds another possibility: perhaps that she was wanting to retire.

[564] Atiyeh to Greenslade, 20 March 1948.

[565] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.

[566] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.

[567] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.

[568] Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948.

By claiming legal rights, Atiyeh also claimed and defined Lebanese citizenship. When her case first began, in the early 1940s, the law referred to was quasi-colonial in nature, as Lebanon was still occupied, and under French administrative oversight. By the late 1940s, the country was independent and the labor law referenced had been put in place by an independent Lebanese government, as a result of years of labor agitation and calls for reform by a cross section (many of whom were women) of the Lebanese population. Indeed, while it seems from the earlier correspondence that Atiyeh had given up on the case, in the late 1940s, Atiyeh pursued the issue with renewed vigor, basing her claims in Lebanese law, and her entitlement to its protection because of her Lebanese citizenship. While in the earlier period the case seems to have fizzled out, in the late 1940s, post-independence period, her case was not resolved until April 1951, when the Executive Committee voted to approve an indemnity of LL.735, LL.300 more than what had been offered her in December 1948, but significantly less than the LL.2625 she claimed earlier that same year.[569]

CLAIMING INDEMNITY AT THE SIDON GIRLS' SCHOOL

As the Atiyeh case was still underway, the Mission found itself faced with a particularly dramatic case of Lebanese women claiming their rights as citizens at SGS. In addition to elucidating how women teachers claimed rights, this case also shows the limits and boundaries of Lebanese citizenship, as well as the community's perception of the importance of girls' schools to the health of the nation.

[569] Minutes of the Stated Meeting of the Executive Committee, 7-8 December 1948; Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee, 11 April 1951, RG492/5/10, PHS; Ghantous to Greenslade, 26 October 1948. The comparison I make here, though, does not account for inflation.

On 19 March 1949, Irene Teagarden, principal of SGS, fired five teachers after a four-month investigation by Teagarden and a group of "loyal" staff members.[570] The investigation found that the leader of the "subversive" group of teachers was a high-standing Communist party member and an active contributor to its literature. Under this teacher's leadership, the other four teachers

> neglected their work, doctrinated [sic] their students, openly urged students and servants to join the party, tried to convert other teachers to the party, divided the staff sharply and bitterly, talked their line whenever the staff was assembled, cursed the Lebanese government, and set teacher against teacher, friend against friend, student against student, and students against certain teachers.[571]

According to Teagarden, the discord that resulted from the teachers' behavior was also felt by SGS students and parents. A group of four students wrote to Teagarden: "We cannot bear it any longer to hear Communism preached to us morning, noon, and night in our cottages by our housemothers. We are required to read and report on such-and-such books in our classes. We are being taught that there is no place for God, and that Communism is the best method. Our teachers are cursing our government and calling our officials dogs. We have been in Sidon Girls' School for years, but we have never known such a condition of division as we see now."[572] As a

[570] As noted above, Teagarden was principal at TGS when the issue with Atiyeh began. It had also been Teagarden that had advocated for Atiyeh's removal to Hermel. Minutes of the Educational Committee, 14-5 March 1941; Irene Teagarden, "Sidon's Fellowship of the Faithful," *The Cedar Bough* 18, no. 1 (Winter 1949): 13. RG492/12/3, PHS.
[571] Teagarden, "Sidon's Fellowship," 13.
[572] Quoted in Teagarden, "Sidon's Fellowship," 12. The students are named as Juheina, Maimeneh, Fahime, and Alya.

result of parent complaints, local government security forces visited the school to question the teachers on at least one occasion.[573]

About ten days after the terminations, articles appeared in Beirut-based newspapers about the dismissal of these teachers.[574] Around the same time, concerned members of the community also corresponded with the Mission. In these articles, as well as in the statement issued by the dismissed teachers and letters from community members, the language of rights and law are at the center.

On 28 March 1949, an article appeared in *al-Diar*, a Beirut-based newspaper, under the title: "What is the opinion of the Ministry of National Education regarding the action of the Principal of the American School for Girls in Sidon?" In it, the author wrote,

> It is reported from Sidon that the director of the American School for Girls dismissed five Lebanese teachers, this because they opposed it in its policy (for patriotic reasons). The principal of the American school resorted to the dismissal of the Lebanese teachers without warning, in spite of the fact that the contract between them provides that warning should be given a month in advance if the school wishes to dispense with their services. She put in place of the Lebanese teachers foreign teachers who are not possessors of permits from the Ministry of Social Affairs, contrary to the regulations which are in force.[575]

The article continues by stating that the five teachers have come to Beirut with a petition in hand, signed by "hundreds of prominent people in Sidon," to be presented to the Ministry of National Education. The petition reads as follows:

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[573] Teagarden, "Sidon's Fellowship," 12-13. Irene to Gaius, 8 March 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS. Parent complaints are mentioned both in Teagarden's article in *The Cedar Bough* and in the letter she sent to W. G. Greenslade (Gaius), secretary of the Syria Mission.
[574] W. G. Greenslade to Irene Teagarden, 18 March 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS.
[575] "What is the opinion of the Ministry of National Education regarding the action of the principal of the American School for Girls in Sidon?" *al-Diar* 28 March 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS.

> The undersigned citizens and residents of Saida, women and men, educated, merchants, property holder, laborers and servants, protest the dismissal of the following five teachers from the American Girls' School in Ain Helweh without previous warning or legal excuse, in a manner that is exceptional and strange, since the administration did not warn them, except on Saturday, March 19, 1949, and gave them a period of only two hours to leave the school. Some of them have spent four years of continual work, and most of them were the graduates of the same school. This violates the simplest rules of propriety and respect for humanity and for the teaching profession, and it violates Lebanese laws. We know of their loyalty and their ability in the performance of their teaching duties, which made many people prefer this school to others. We request the interference of your Excellency, in this matter, and your attention to the sacred rights of learning, and the stopping of such procedures which clash with the existence of Lebanon as a land of learning and of culture and of light.[576]

Another newspaper article, written the same day in another Beirut newspaper, *al-Yawm*, expressed similar concerns. The author wrote:

> Our reporter has learned that the Principal of the American Girls' School at Ain Helweh at Sidon has dismissed from her school five Lebanese teachers. This was done because they opposed the policy of the school. The aforesaid American teacher attempted to turn the pupils in the school to a policy mingled with the American Zionist policy. This principal also attempted to incite sectarian feelings and to prevent the application of the Lebanese educational program.[577]

To add insult to injury, the author wrote, in addition to terminating them without notice, the principal "replaced the Lebanese teachers with foreign teachers who had no employment permits…, in violation of the rules in force."[578]

A final local point of view on this matter can be seen in a letter from Adil Usayran to Mission Secretary Greenslade. In his letter, Usayran, a graduate of AUB

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[576] "What is the opinion."
[577] "The Director of the American School in Sidon dismissed Lebanese teachers without warning because of their opposition to the Jewish policy followed by the Director," *al-Yawm*, 28 March 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS.
[578] "The Director."

and relation to, by his count, 22 SGS graduates, expressed both surprise and concern about Teagarden's decision to terminate: Surprise about the previously good reputation of the dismissed teachers, and concern about future opinions of the school, of the principal, and of Lebanese girls—graduates of the school or otherwise. Of Teagarden's reputation, Usayran wrote that she had been "quite respected, greatly appreciated, and highly honoured for the educational service that she is rendering to the Sidonian girls and vicinity."[579] Of the teachers, Usayran expressed concern about their future as teachers, particularly given the traditions and customs of the country. Of the threat to the country, Usayran wrote that the teachers' termination posed a threat to the country's "social welfare," putting girls' education as a whole at risk. He asked for a reconsideration of the termination.

Taken both individually and together, the above documents provide significant insight into how the nation and its citizens were constructed, for the writers of these pieces, for the citizens of Saida who sent the petition to the Minister of Education, and for the teachers themselves. First, in the petition included in the article from *al-Diar* and in Usayran's letter to the Mission, the authors make the school's importance to the local community of Saida clear. The petition itself was presented by Saida's "residents and citizens," showing their very local concern for the community itself. The petition attaches this concern to the dismissal of these particular teachers, known for their loyalty to the institution and their teaching ability, which led many to send their children to SGS instead of to other schools in the city.[580] Usayran's letter

[579] Adil A. Usayran to Mr. Greenslade, 24 March 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS.
[580] From the petition, we learn that the dismissed teachers are most likely relatively young, having only been teaching in the school four years, and are graduates of the school, meaning that their actions are

reflects many of these concerns, focusing in particular on the reputation of the schools' principle, Teagarden, the fired teachers, and the school itself. For Usayran, this action threatens these reputations, and thus the community, which has come to value the "educational service" provided by Teagarden, the school and its teachers.[581]

The importance of the school to the national community can be seen in all of the documents and falls into a few categories. The first category deals with patriotism. In the article from *al-Diar*, the author writes, "It is reported from Sidon that the director of the American School for Girls dismissed five Lebanese teachers, this because they opposed it in its policy (for patriotic reasons)."[582] The article in *al-Yawm* uses similar language. The author reports that the teachers were dismissed because of their opposition to the school's policy, which "mingled with American Zionist policy," "incite[ed] sectarian feelings," and ignored the government's education program.[583] Both newspapers report the incident in such a way as to garner support for the teachers as opposing the school's policy on patriotic grounds. While the specific accusations laid out in the article from *al-Yawm* are most likely false,[584] they

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shaped by their experience as students of the American school. While the "Fellowship of the Faithful" undertook their actions in service to the school and the promise it offered for their country, perhaps the dismissed teachers were led by the same conviction. "What is the opinion."

[581] Usayran to Greenslade, 24 March 1949.

[582] "What is the opinion."

[583] "The Director."

[584] While the writers of these articles might have believed this was the case, evidence from Mission documents speak to the contrary. In fact, as a whole, the Mission was opposed to Zionism and the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine at the expense of Palestinians and mission institutions and their affiliates (though, we have to problematize this to some extent, as this dissertation shows, since many of these institutions were in fact significantly supported and run by local people) were at the front lines of providing housing and aid for the Palestinians displaced by the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Further, the minutes of Mission meetings, including those of the Education Committee, deal extensively with ensuring that the Mission is meeting the educational program of the Lebanese state.

serve an important function in garnering and defining patriotism and in defining citizenship. This patriotism is anticolonial and rooted in the claiming of rights (discussed further below).

These documents highlight the importance of the school to the national community by showing the important role it plays in defining citizenship. They first define citizenship as rights-claiming. In the *al-Diar* article, the author refers to the legal contract that exists between the teachers and the Mission, showing how the Mission breached the teachers' rights as laid out in their contracts and bolstered by labor law. It also frames rights-claiming as anticolonial. The *al-Yawm* article discusses labor law by referring to the breach in contract and the hiring of foreign workers.

These documents also define who is—and is not—a citizen. Indeed, based on the language used by the writer of the *al-Yawm* article, the school's greater offense—more than firing the teachers and subverting Lebanese law—is the hiring of foreign workers. Later documents clarify that that the foreigners referred to in both articles are Palestinians.[585] This clearly defines Palestinians as *not* citizens, and implies that the rights of the teachers, who are Lebanese citizens, were double-trammeled, first by a colonial occupier and then by encroaching foreigners.[586]

[585] W. G. Greenslade to Irene Teagarden, 10 May 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS.
[586] This question of the "foreign" and the "Lebanese" worker is still seen today. Beginning in early 2018, the Lebanese government began enforcing laws prohibiting Palestinian (and, because of the ongoing conflict in Syria) Syrian workers – from working for Lebanese companies and owning their own businesses. The goal of such a policy is not only to exclude Palestinians and Syrians from the labor market, but also shows that they are, still, not considered a part of the Lebanese state (this is particularly egregious in the case of Palestinians, a population that has lived as refugees in Lebanon since 1948.

While the articles provide insight into who *is not* a citizen, the petition and the letter from Usayran tell us about who *is*, as well as what it means to be a citizen. In the petition, for example, we see the "residents and citizens" of Saida continuing a long-standing practice of addressing grievances by petitioning the state, an act of claiming the rights of citizenship.[587] Included among these "prominent people" are not only the notables, elite, or prominent men of Saida but also men and women, educated, elite, servants, laborers, and merchants. The inclusion of diverse members of Saida's population shows a broad definition of citizenship, one that is not limited to men, property owners, or the educated; it also shows these people, many of whom were, at this point, still excluded from the full rights of citizenship, as full citizens exercising their right to petition the state to address community grievances. In Usayran's reference to the threat posed to the country's "social welfare," he's referring to the right to education and, in this case, girls' education, for the country's citizens.

This last point hints at the third way these documents show the importance of the school to the national community, community formation, and definitions of citizenship: the central place of education, and educational institutions to it. The petition closes by appealing to an image of Lebanon as a unique place of learning and culture, and thus of light in an otherwise dark place and time. In doing so, it

[587] For a discussion of the history of petitions in the late Ottoman period and beyond, see, for example, Yuval Ben-Bassat, *Petitioning the Sultan: Protests and Justice in Late Ottoman Palestine, 1865-1908* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013); Ben-Bassat, "The Ottoman Institution of Petitioning when the Sultan No Longer Reigned: A View from Post-1908 Ottoman Palestine," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 56 (2017): 87-103; Pedersen, *The Guardians*; and Zachs and Ben-Bassat, "Women's Visibility in Petitions from Greater Syria during the Late Ottoman Period," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47, no. 4 (November 2015): 765-81.

frames the firing of these teachers as a threat to this image. Usayran's letter echoes the fear engendered by this threat when he expresses concern about popular opinions of the school, principal, and, most importantly, Lebanese girls.[588]

SGS students and teachers echoed Usayran's view of the local and national significance of the school, as a matter of national pride and as a means for educating citizens. One day after Teagarden fired the teachers, the group of four students mentioned above sent her a note, writing "We are happy now because the School returned to its origin in teaching and educating us to be good citizens of the world."[589] Further, when Teagarden expressed her gratitude to the teachers who were part of the "Fellowship of the Faithful," one of the teachers responded, "We didn't do it for you. We did it to save the school for our own people. The school is ours."[590] Finally, Teagarden noted in an article for *The Cedar Bough*, a quarterly publication produced by the Mission and its supporters in the United States and elsewhere, a comment made to her by one of the dismissed teachers: "Ha! I see four of us are your former students—see what your training does!"[591]

In all of these comments, we see students, former students, and teachers embracing citizenship as an ideal imparted by the school. Furthermore, they view the school, and education more generally, as a key component for the success of an independent state. Though the visions of that state differ –democratic versus communist – all groups claim the lessons and ideals learned in the school. These

[588] Usayran to Greenslade, 24 March 1949.
[589] Teagarden, "Sidon's Fellowship," 12.
[590] Teagarden, "Sidon's Fellowship," 13.
[591] Teagarden, "Sidon's Fellowship," 13.

statements also make it clear that, though the institution was nominally American, its students and teachers viewed it as a local institution, serving local needs and playing a significant role in the future of the nation.

Upon their dismissal, four of the five teachers, Ramla Abdul Masih, Asma Bustany, Aida Kiraony, and Roujina Khayata, claimed indemnity, asking for compensation equal to one year's salary, on the basis that "the breach of contract was affected by the school."[592] After arbitration with the teachers through the Lebanese government's Social Services Department, the Mission paid two of the teachers for 6.5 months of work, one for 4.5 months, and one for 1 month, based on the years of service given to the school by each of the teachers, equaling a sum of LL.2727.50.[593] The fifth dismissed teacher, Mary Daghir, did not file a claim, though the Mission gave her an indemnity under the same terms.[594] None of the dismissed teachers taught for the Mission again.

In claiming indemnity, Najmeh Assad Atiyeh and the five dismissed teachers of SGS, defined and acted out their citizenship rights. In both cases, women teachers of American schools used the language of rights to claim their citizenship. In protesting the dismissal of the five teachers, the community (both local and national) defined both the nation and its citizens. Within the school, the drama that unfolded between the dismissed teachers and the remaining faculty, staff, and students in the

[592] George Ashkar to W. G. Greenslade, 1 April 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS.
[593] Ashkar to Greenslade, 1 April 1949.
[594] W. G. Greenslade to Irene Teagarden, 4 Apr 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS. While it is not clear why Daghir did not file a claim like the rest of the dismissed teachers, it might be because her family had close connections with the Mission. In a letter from late April 1949, Greenslade writes Teagarden to let her know that Rev. Ibrahim Daghir, along with Rev. Ibrahim Milhem Daghir, visited him at the office in Beirut, inquiring after Mary Daghir's indemnity payment. Note, W. G. Greenslade to Irene Teagarden, 25 April 1949, RG115/17/17, PHS.

months leading up to their dismissal, reveals the diverse futures envisioned for both the school and the nation. For Teagarden, the threat posed by the teachers was to the school and thus, the future of the Mission in Saida. The “loyal faithful” protected the school, not because it was an institution of the Mission but because they viewed it as a school that served the community and its children. In challenging their dismissal and claiming indemnity, the dismissed teachers enacted their rights as Lebanese citizens. By challenging the school’s teaching (or whatever it is that happened; Teagarden is not an entirely reliable narrator), these teachers claimed the school for themselves, their community, and the nation.

For both groups of teachers, though, many of whom were graduates of SGS or other American Mission schools, the school was a site for making and defining what it meant to be a citizen – the ideology that would shape the state, the role of the mission and missionaries, and women’s participation in public life. Ultimately, the actions of both groups of teachers made manifest the lessons learned in the schools, at the formal and informal level, as shown by the overview of curricular content described in Chapter One, and in the preceding two sections about the YWCA and Girl Reserves.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the “informal” curriculum of girls’ schools – student organizations, lessons learned, and legacies of the American mission and Ahliah girls’ schools during and immediately following the French Mandate in Lebanon. It looked at how ostensibly foreign institutions and organizations played a role in the articulation of girls’ and women’s Lebanese citizenship. The citizenship they enacted

was a social citizenship rooted in community betterment, building similarity across difference, and participation in the life of the state.

In particular, through their activities in schools and the community, the girls and women of the YWCA showed the importance of shared responsibility in the local, national, and international community – thus articulating a citizenship rooted in the same. Similarly, the ideals and activities of girls' scouting organizations encouraged the development of a citizenship rooted in solidarity across difference. In both, girls' and women's participated in public life. Finally, women teachers' and the community's demands for justice indicates an engagement with larger political concerns related to defining citizen and nation in early independence. The claiming of indemnity shows women claiming their rights, even as their rights have been circumscribed elsewhere. In all, it is clear that the informal curriculum of girls' schools – clubs, organizations, and the lessons taken away – played an important role in shaping girls' and women's view of their citizenship and their role in public life.

Conclusion

Wadad Makdisi (Cortas) traveled to Baghdad, Iraq with her sister in the early 1930s to teach in its government schools. While there, a group of Ahliah alumnae held a reception to honor the "first team of Arab aviators" arriving in the city. Having been chosen "to greet the pilots in the name of Arab women," Wadad gave a fiery, nationalistic speech "expressing pride at seeing the first Arab aviators fly across Arab skies."[595] Unsurprisingly, this speech "disturbed" the British authorities who still held Iraq under Mandate, and much of its oil reserves under private British companies. After two years in Iraq, she headed to the University of Michigan where she received her master's degree. In 1934, Cortas returned to Ahliah, where she had first been a student, in order to serve as the school's principal beginning in 1935. She remained in that post until 1974. In her time as principal of Ahliah, Cortas strove to instill in her students pride of country, language, history, and culture. She was also highly involved in the larger educational milieu of the city and country, working with Maurice Shihab, Alexis Boutros, Constantine Zurayk, Anis Freiha, Edmond Rabbath, Negib Sadaqa, and others, to establish the *Académie libanaise des beaux-arts*;[596] taking

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[595] *A World I Loved*, 57.

[596] In her memoir, Cortas provides a short description of each of these people, and what they brought to the conversation about the makeup of the school: Maurice Shihab, "the descendant of a family that ruled Lebanon during one of its great periods" and thus "aware of the treasures hidden in its earth," was an archaeologist who argued that Lebanon needed a "national university" for expanding that field. He helped found the National Museum in Beirut and eventually became the Director of Antiquities for the Lebanese government. Alexis Boutros was "central" in creating Ahliah's music department and "insisted that in a postcolonial society a concentration in architecture would be critical." He was also instrumental in the founding of the Lebanese University. Constantine Zurayk, a professor at AUB, held a similar opinion about "a broad base in the study of humanities," while Anis Freiha, "an Arab linguist," sought to expand people's knowledge of folklore. Edmond Rabbath, a lawyer, emphasized the importance of "legal studies in Arabic," and Negib Sadaqa, "a diplomat of high standing" saw the "need to train young people for government posts." When the Académie libanaise des beaux-arts opened in March 1943, it comprised three schools: architecture, painting and sculpture, and music. *A World I Loved*, 105-6.

choir students on tour throughout the Middle East; serving on the exam committee for the Lebanese baccalauréat, and participating in the American Mission's survey of its educational institutions in the early 1950s—a survey that resulted in significant changes in the Mission, including the full divestment of its institutions to the Lebanese Evangelical Church in the late 1950s.[597]

Cortas's interwar and early independence biography, in many ways, tells the story of this dissertation, and of the larger significance and implications of the themes, stories, and individual lives examined here. Hers is a story of colonial and foreign occupation, of alternative visions and futures for the nation and its girls and women, of the importance of lessons learned and instilled in secondary schools, of the movement of people and ideas across cities, countries, regions, and the world.

This dissertation has argued that girls' education and educational institutions served discursive and material functions in defining girls' and women's citizenship in Mandate and early independence Lebanon. It has shown that this relationship was contested, multifaceted, and took place in both the semi-public sphere of the women's press and girls' schools and in public life. The result was a social citizenship defined by the claiming of rights, a sense of shared responsibility for the community, and participation in public life. This allowed Lebanese women to reconcile their multiple loyalties, as well as the realities of social and political relationships and hierarchies, and incorporate the lessons of republicanism and liberal democracy that defined many of the political and intellectual currents of the period.

[597] This biography is summarized from Cortas' memoir, *A World I Loved*.

In examining the discursive function of girls' education in articulations of girls' and women's citizenship, school curricula and histories displayed an inherent tension within the project of girls' education during this period. All of the schools examined here explicitly aimed to educate girls to be modern wives and mothers. They also connected this educated womanhood to national and/or communal success. The schools of the Maqasid, for instance, aimed to create mothers of the ʾumma and the nation, while Ahliah instilled a non-sectarian patriotism and self-reliance in its students. The American schools sought the inculcation of "Christian" values of liberal democracy to be taken into the Middle Eastern home and family. Zahrat al-ihsan, meanwhile, aimed to bring up educated girls for their middle class homes in order to benefit the sectarian community. At the same time, these schools gave their graduates, as well as their teachers, staff, and administrators, opportunities for professional advancement, for participation in public life, and to act out their own visions of citizenship, visions that would take them outside the school and the home.

An examination of the women's press showed the discursive options available to girls and women through their education. Writers in the early interwar women's press, in making explicit connections between women's uplift, through her education, and national success/anticolonial resistance, conceived of educated women's roles beyond the sphere of the home. Indeed, given the context in which these works were written, as well as the content of the articles themselves, we saw the ways in which "home" can be read as "nation," so that articles that speak to women's preparation for a life in the modern home can simultaneously (or perhaps even instead) be read as her preparation for life in the public arena of the nation.

A close reading of the women's press also complicates our understanding of sectarian difference in Lebanon as a key component to conceptions of the nation. Articles on the "national school" (al-madrasa al-wataniyya) indicated myriad schools, sectarian, secular, etc., were included under this banner. Thus, the "nation" envisaged by writers in the women's press recognized sectarian difference but, at the same time, conceived of a nation that incorporated or transcended such difference. Indeed, of greater importance for writers in the early Mandate was *who* ran the school; local men, women, and organizations that founded and ran schools were seen as actors working for the nation, rather than for a particular religious group within it. Discussions of the national school also showed the ways in which the discursive and the material overlapped.

This dissertation examined the material reality of girls' schools in two ways: first, it looked at the ways in which various groups claimed the school, the space of the school, and the meaning of the education students received, and, second, the "informal" curricula of girls' schools—clubs, organizations, lessons taken and used to inform later choices—and the ways in which this shows girls' and women's articulation of their citizenship.

In its examination of the ways in which various groups claimed girls' school, this dissertation showed that girls' schools were central, not secondary, to the various national and colonial projects that dominated the interwar period. In particular, various groups, colonial, communal, nationalist, and scholastic, claimed the space of the school. For colonizers, girls' schools served as entrée into the families and loyalties of Beirut's influential and prominent families. By building French feeling in

schoolgirls, the French saw themselves as influencing their families. After shaping their childhood homes, these same girls would then go on to mold their own husbands and children, creating the next generation of Francophile colonial subject-citizens. But colonizers were not the only groups to claim the space of girls' schools. For sectarian schools such as Zahrat al-ihsan, communal leadership also claimed them, to create the next generation of sectarian mothers who would bring about the renaissance of the community. Still, and perhaps more importantly, were the claims that the school community—students, teachers, and administrators—made to the school. While their claims have been more difficult to get it, students at some schools, such as Ahliah, worked to create a school that served the nation, against the French, and against sectarian interests. For them, and many in that school's community, the school was a site for the development of the multisectarian and/or non-sectarian *nation*.

A closer look at home economics education created a clearer picture of the claims students made on their schools and education. Maqasid's home economics curriculum prepared schoolgirls for a life in the home as rabbat al-bayt (homemakers). While most graduates of these schools did in fact get married and live a life in the home, many sought out, and perhaps even pressed the Society for greater educational, and thus professional, opportunities for its young women graduates. Like the Maqasid's curriculum, SGS's home economics curriculum aimed to create the mothers of the future. Perhaps somewhat different from the Maqasid's explicit aim to create homemakers, students at SGS were encouraged to be leaders in their homes *and* communities. And, indeed, SGS students and teachers influenced

local and regional education policy, public health regulations, and brought women and men together across difference.

Finally, this dissertation examined schoolgirls', and alumnae's, articulation of their citizenship. Focusing on the work of the YWCA and the development of the scouting movement in these schools revealed a citizenship rooted in shared sense of responsibility for the community, working together across difference, and participation in public life. It also showed how women claimed citizenship by seeking out their labor rights, and how local people used women's claims to citizenship to further define it.

These chapters also shows the ways in which the "foreign"/"local" dichotomy so often ascribed to colonial contexts, including Lebanon, does not paint the full picture, and ignores the ways in which local people shaped the institutions of which they were a part, even if it was only in small ways. My dissertation, though, shows that the cumulation of these small events was bigger than might otherwise be thought, and that schoolgirls, and their schools, were central in conceptions of state and citizen-making during and immediately following the French Mandate in Lebanon.

And, finally, to the path forward. This dissertation has left room for much continued research. Though it has worked to show the many avenues through which girls and women claimed and articulated their citizenship in the interwar period, women acted out their citizenship in many ways during this period. Further exploration of the work of the YWCA and the scouting movement would also be quite fruitful, as would looking at women's work in other organizations and in professional

life during and shortly after the interwar period. Some initial work on women's labor and/or other public displays of agitation has been examined elsewhere, but would be useful to explore more. It would also be useful to do further research into the biographies of the girls and women described here, tracing their educational, professional, and charitable lives to see the ways in which their education influenced their life trajectories.[598] This dissertation also had a limited scope, geographically, institutionally, and in terms of the class of the subjects. It largely privileged Beirut, with four of the six schools examined established there, as well as Christian institutions over others. It has not engaged in a significant way with the myriad French and other local religious private schools that dominated primary education during this period. Finally, while not all of the girls and young women who attended the schools examined here were from the elite, upper-, or upper-middle classes, most were, and many came from influential families who were or became significant in the political, social, economic, and intellectual life of Lebanon, in the Mandate period and beyond. These limitations offer many possible trajectories for compelling work on the significant role of education and educational institutions in the political life of Lebanon specifically, but of nations generally.

[598] See Catherine Wadad Batruni, "Producing Pioneers: The American Junior College for Women and the Beirut College for Women, 1924-1973 (PhD diss., American University of Beirut, 2019).

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