AMERICAN CULTURAL INTERESTS IN SYRIA AND LEBANON 1914-1947

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D E D I C A T I O N

TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER WHO
HAVE SHOWN ME THE CHRISTIAN WAY

PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is to survey the development of American cultural interests in the Levant States of Syria and Lebanon. The task was undertaken that more may be understood about the policies of and the changes in missionary and secular philanthropy in the area. It has been planned to assist others to gain a perspective on the interests within their historical setting - with an eye to future development.

The subject was chosen also because the author is interested in the whole field of missionary and philanthropic activity. A broad, inclusive survey had not been made and the author soon realized that it would enable him to compare enterprises with the same aims but with divergent philosophies, approaches and methods.

The subject is too broad for most theses. In this case, however, narrowing the field would have destroyed the purpose. So, the author has gone ahead in order to "survey" even though adequate analyses of specific interests are lacking. This is a sketch of all the relevant enterprises on one picture in such a manner that others may enlarge sections if desired.

The word "cultural" has been taken to mean those interests which are serving an area rather than seeking to make profit from it. It is contrasted fundamentally, therefore, with "commercial" or business interests. Since these latter line with the cultural interests the two groups affect each other in countless ways, and a brief history of the commercial interests is given in Appendix A. At the beginning there was some discussion concerning a choice between the two words "interest" and "influence". "Interest" was chosen because influences upon a people and a nation stem from innumerable sources and radiate outward in a manner incapable of measurement. Whereas influences are hard to pin down the interests in Syria are concrete enterprises, and their motives, policies and programs can be listed.and analyzed. Therefore the words "cultural interests" were chosen.

Syria and Lebanon have been used to designate the states with their present boundaries. Since the Sanjak of Alexandretta was a part of Syria its area has been included in interests before 1939. The boundaries set at the San Remo conference have been projected back to 1914. The term Levant is used in its narrow and geographical sense as equal to these two states. "Syrian" appears frequently designating the entire area or the people of both countries. Little need has been found within this paper to use"Syrian" as distinct from "Lebanese", and thus it has been used inclusively.

Some of the sources of information, particularly in regard to figures of financial status cannot be revealed. The experience of tracking down information about the interests has been invaluable as well as interesting. Dozens of interviews in informal conversations brought bits of history and policies - piece by piece.

Without the time, hospitality, and encouragement of many people this could not be presented. My Professors, Said Himadeh and Nabih Faris, have been especially helpful and my advisor, Dr. W. G. Greenslade, has continually shown himself a skillful advisor and a good friend. To the host of Rotary club members who gave me a fellowship to A. U. B. I am grateful for new life. Finally - appreciation goes to Miss Samiah Himadeh for faithful service as typist.

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STATEMENT OF THESIS

"American Cultural Interests in the Levant, 1914 - 1947"

This thesis analyzes American philanthropy in Syria and Lebanon from the beginning of World War I to the end of 1947. 1914 was the first year of full-scale warfare in World War I. As a result of that war the door was opened wide to Western influences of all types.

In 1914 the American interests were confined to a few organizations. The Syrian Protestant College, the American Presbyterian Mission, a few small mission groups and four American companies were active in the area. Along with the First War the Near East Relief workers came to the Levant in answer to pressing human need. From that time on the influence of the West has increased rapidly and the American interests have expanded steadily.

By 1947 life had been completely revolutionized in the urban areas. Western mechanization, administration and amusements had been mixed in heterogeneous fashion with Oriental practices. The effort to syncretize diverse ideas was evident.

By 1947 the list of American cultural enterprises had grown manyfold. New missions were carrying on evangelistic and educational programs. The American University of Beirut had become world-known. The Near East Foundation had been seeking to raise the standards of the villagers for eighteen years. Orphanages, Bible Societies, colleges and cooperative groups were active in the countries. Some organizations had come and stayed for only a short time, while others had begun work on a small scale and then had grown to penetrate the life of the people to an increasing extent.

By 1947 commercial interests of all kinds had become as much accepted as the missions, and foreign enterprises did not seem strange any longer. The post-World War II search by the United States and the U.S.S.R. for security and for oil is discussed. The recent United States government interests, the Zionist question in Palestine and the inflation in the Levant are studied for their bearing on the subject interests.

By 1947 another transition had been made as Syria became politically independent. They had advanced from colony to mandate and from mandate to independence. These changes affected the interests of the Americans as policies ranged from encouragement, in many respects, under the Mandate to strict educational programs, labor codes, and restrictions on foreigners under the independent governments.

The relation of the interests to specific cultural problems, such as nationalism, urbanization, status of women, village life, et cetera, is given attention. The growth of the interests during the thirty-three year period is shown. The outreach of the missions into the total Levant area, and the special service in the fields of education, medicine, literature and rural life in relation to American ideals and to Christianity is included. Emphasis by the interests on citizenship, on women's education, and on ministry to Moslems is recognized.

Only a small part of the Western interests in the Levant stem from the United States. In so far as Americans are at the source of an interest here it has been considered in this thesis.

A survey of American interests is infinitely easier than an analysis of Western influences. The Levant is attempting to synthesize the ideas and cultures of West and East that are meeting within her borders. Americans have been attempting to help the Syrian peoples, and this paper attempts to begin the analysis of their contribution to the cause.

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Chapter I

SETTING, 1914

1.

1286 years ago in 661, Muawiya, first of the Umayyad Caliphs, made Damascus his capital, and Syria became the center of the Islamic world. Her administrators - both Christian and Moslem - ruled the Empire. Her soldiers led in battle against the forces of Byzantium. Arabic replaced Aramaic and Greek.

And then, ninety years later the tide again turned and Syria lost its position of leadership. A series of conflicts in the Empire led to the rise of the Abbasid Caliphate and the transfer of the Islamic capital to Baghdad. Syrians were now out of favor; they were oppressed and even persecuted. The Levant was again a province in which prosperity declined and the population began to decrease. Signs of the fruitfulness of her countryside became scarce.[1]

With the exception of a century of Crusader rule between 1096-1180, Oriental lords ruled in Syria until 1914 - the Abbasids, the Fatimids, the Seljuq Turks, the Crusaders, the Mongols, the Mamlukes, and the Ottoman Turks. During much of this time the area was in a state of economic decay

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1. See A. H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, Oxford University Press, 1946, Chapter 1.

and political instability. Then changes in world trade routes during the fifteenth century heightened the decline. Life was always uncertain, taxes levied by the rulers were oppressive, and population consequently continued to shrink.

Syria's incorporation into the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century improved some conditions in the country but there was a good deal of variation according to date and to location. At times local princes rose to power, and regional dynasties more or less beneficial to the people would be set up under a feudal system of government; at other times the Sultan or some local despot would oppress the people greatly. However, Mount Lebanon obtained and held; because of interference by European powers who were interested in the Christians there, a position of relative autonomy in the nineteenth century.

But in general Syria was a decayed and half deserted land. Regardless of the opportunities for training under local dynasties the people of the area remained totally inexperienced in government and in self-rule. The basis of society was religious law. Tolerance of minority groups was made possible only by the organization of all persons into religious communities which protected their civil rights. At the same time that they provided a basis for civil status these religio-civil groupings intensified jealousies and rivalries among the sects.

During the nineteenth century new factors affected Syrian life to an increasing extent. The slow collapse of the Ottomans caused interested European powers to seek

friends among the different peoples of the Empire. Russia protected the Orthodox church peoples, England the Druzes, and France the Roman Catholics. In 1831, Ibrahim Pasha came up from Egypt to rule for nine years; he improved public order and allowed western interests to be reestablished in Syria. It was under his rule that missionaries received some encouragement to open schools, and that merchants entered business in Syria in increasing numbers. After Great Britain forced Ibrahim Pasha to withdraw the Sultan was forced to carry on these measures and to attempt other reforms in the corrupt feudal system.

But separatist forces were strong in the area and trouble cropped up again and again. Conditions, though they were the best in the Empire, were deplorable. Into this environment had come the first American missionaries.

2.

The first missionaries from the West had come back into the ancient land of Syria in 1625. Working with the local Christian Roman communities Franciscans, Lazirists, Capuchins and Jesuits built up the Uniate churches which were loyal to the Papacy, but which kept their distinctive Eastern rites. They started a few modern schools and a Maronite college for priests began in Rome. Then in 1773 they were forced by political and religious opposition to leave the country.

In 1831 they returned because word had reached Rome

that Protestants had entered the area. Eight years previous, in October 1823, two American families landed in Beirut as the first Protestant missionaries to come permanently to Syria. These two, sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions[1] came from America to evangelize the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean coast. This was the beginning of American cultural interests in the Levant.

The missionaries began to distribute evangelical tracts and books and to spread publications widely. In 1834 the American Press in Malta was moved permanently to Beirut. In contrast to the Catholic missionaries who were anxious to strengthen local loyalty to Rome the Protestants wanted primarily to stimulate ideas and to promote the Arabic language as a means toward evangelism. Literature and education would be their means of contact for the presentation of Jesus Christ.

An immediate task, therefore, was the development of Arabic type for the printing press and the opening of several schools. By 1840 an Arabic type of 1,000 characters was in use and educational work had been started. Small primary schools for boys were opened in Beirut, and later elsewhere. In 1835 a higher school was begun and a girls' school, the first of its kind in Syria, started classes. Medical work soon became an intrinsic part of the mission. By 1865 the translation of the complete Bible into Arabic had been completed, school books had been prepared and many other

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1. Hereafter designated as A.B.C.F.M.

works printed.

The need of the Arab lands for higher education and the desire of the Protestants to combat the intense antagonism of the Maronite clergy resulted in the establishment in Beirut of a Syrian Protestant College in 1866. It was fathered by the mission but was created separate from it under the leadership of Daniel Bliss.

The massacres during the Druze rebellion in 1860 stirred other mission groups to enter Syria. The British Syrian mission, the Irish Presbyterians, the Edinburgh Medical Mission Association, German Protestant mission groups, Italian missions and other societies came to work permanently in the Levant. The larger villages in every part of Syria were even then occupied to some extent by Protestant missions. As a result the mission of the Americans tended to be intensive and thorough instead of extensive and scattered.

In 1870 this A.B.C.F.M. mission was transferred to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. At the time it happened, "there were eight churches.... thirty-one schools with 1,184 pupils, one theological seminary.... one seminary for girls in Beirut, and a large printing establishment"[1].

There were few converts in 1870 to show for the activity of thirty-seven years though later decades proved the value of this groundwork. The work had been indirect

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1. Fleming Richter, A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East, F. H. Revell, New York, 1910 p. 213.

and meager in results, and at times there were questions as to the worth of the mission. But slowly and steadily the work bore results. Stations were maintained at Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli and Zahleh, and the missionaries worked out from them. Three Presbyteries were organized to join the small churches into larger bodies for Christian fellowship. In 1913 after forty-three more years of work there were thirty-nine churches with 3,100 communicant members.[1] The number of schools had grown to almost 100 with an attendance of more than 4,500 pupils.

Through education, evangelism, publications and medicine the missionaries had sought to awaken the Moslem Arabs and revitalize the Oriental Christians. The results of their efforts were not often visible. They were unable to approach Moslems directly both because of corruption of the Oriental churches resulting in a lack of respect for Christianity and because of the attitude of the government. But the missions could and did use press, schools and dispensaries to reach the people indirectly and to act as a leavening force in their lives.

The Protestant children were only one fourth of those in mission schools and the educational work was thereby an entrance for Christian teachings and guidance. Several secondary schools had developed - girls' seminaries at Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon, and boys' schools at Sidon, Suk ul Gharb and Tripoli. These schools were crowded and the

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1. J. T. Addison, The Christian Approach to the Moslem, Columbia University Press, 1942, p. 422

students were paying a slowly increasing percentage of their cost. The Press was as busy as the schools. It printed 47,000,000 pages of various Bible editions in 1905.[1]

In pre-war years the missionaries would travel by horseback to visit the little Protestant churches and schools scattered in villages in the hills. At the time of the periodic visit of the Americans the teacher-preacher would report on local finances and the missionary would contribute to the work where possible. The roads were poor and the way was long. The visit of the Americans might be overnight - or as long as a week. Here was direct opportunity to contact the people. The missionaries lived at numerous stations in the larger towns - everyone being within 150 kilometers of the Mediterranean coast. The annual Mission meeting brought the American Mission personnel together, as did a similar meeting the missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M. in Cilicia and Anatolia to the north. After the meetings the families would scatter once more to their outstations.

Outside opposition continued from many quarters. France, following a foreign policy of protection of Roman groups, gave subsidies to all schools that taught French. The Uniate Churches hindered the Protestants at every opportunity. Russia provided Greek Orthodox schools with funds and with literature purchased at the American Mission Press in double the quantities the Protestant mission schools

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1. Ibid., p. 123

could afford.[1]

Several other American groups were in Syria by 1914, and the most important was the mission of the American Board. By the agreement of 1870, while Arabic work was alloted to the Presbyterians, Armenian and Turkish work had been allocated to the A.B.C.F.M. Thus they had a few stations in Syria which stretched along the northern borders. Following a program similar to the Presbyterian mission they have approached the people using literature, schools and medicine.

Other Protestant sects had also spread mission stations in the Levant. The American Reformed Presbyterian church had begun work with the Nusairyehs[2] in 1854. Driven out for a few years they returned toward the end of the century to set up permanent mission work. The Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists began ministering in Syria about 1910. They confined themselves mainly to evangelistic work. Daniel and Mary Oliver began an orphanage, and Southern Baptist missionaries from the Palestine area did some evangelistic work in what later became the state of Syria. The work of these groups should be noted, though their scope was small.

3.

Syrians who wanted higher education had several choices before them. Public higher education within the

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1. Richter, op. cit., p. 226.

2. A sectarian group, also called Alawites, in the Syrian hill country with elements of Christianity, Islam, Isma'ilism, etcetera, present. There are an estimated 325,000 of them.

bounds of Syria was almost entirely restricted to Arabic mosque schools. Koranic traditions, jurisprudence, theology, metaphysics, rhetoric, and Arabic grammar were taught. Some reforms had been attempted in Constantinople at different times. A college had been opened to train peoples in the Empire for engineering in 1795, for military service in 1834, for medicine in 1826, for high school teaching in 1848, for law in 1888, for literature, art and theology in 1900.[1]

The French Jesuits had opened some higher schools, the most important one beginning in Ghazir in 1843. In 1875 this college moved to Beirut and has since served notably as the Université de St. Joseph since that time. The American missionaries had topped their educational structure with the creation of the Syrian Protestant College in 1866. These were the possibilities for education in the Empire.

The development of Syrian Protestant College from 1866-1914 deserves careful study and the location has proven to be important. There is only one natural harbor, St. George's Bay, between Haifa and Alexandretta 250 miles north along the east coast of the Mediterranean. Around this bay which lies about half way up from Haifa the ancient and modern cities of Beirut have been built. The bay pushes eastward into a narrow strip of plain land below the Lebanon mountains which rise impressively from the sea. Thirty minutes walk back westward along the bay from the dock area

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1. J. A. Bibikian, Civilization and Education in the Levant, Beirut, 1936, p. 81.

the hillside directly above the sea was dotted with fifteen buildings in 1914. These buildings on the slope were the Syrian Protestant College which had held a position of importance in the Turkish Empire for over forty years.

Forty-eight years ago American Protestant missionaries had begun the college, the first modern institution of higher education in the Near East, and Daniel Bliss, formerly of the American Mission, had been its first president. Planned by the missionaries in order to satisfy the increasing demands for education it was organized as an independent institution to train pupils "with reference to the business they might propose to follow, as ministers of the Gospel, lawyers, physicians, engineers, secretaries, interpretors, merchants, clerks, etc...."[1]

Howard S. Bliss, second president, spoke of the American teachers as "Modern Missionaries", anxious to find the kernel of truth of which error is so often only a distorted expression. They come to supplement, not solely to create. They pray for all men with a new sympathy - for all mosques and temples and synagogues as well as for all churches.[2]

In the charter and again later the religious policy of the College was stated. The charter stated that it "was founded and conducted upon strictly Christian and Evangelical

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1. Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, F. H. Revell Company ,1920, p. 168.

2. H. S. Bliss, The Modern Missionary, Pamphler, p. 5.

principles but not sectarian.[1] Then in 1909 a large group of Moslem students refused to attend the chapel services and classes in religion. In response the faculty issued a statement of the religious policy of the college:

> "We have found by experience that the gathering of the students together as a class or as a college for religious instruction or worship furnishes an opportunity of the highest value for the development of the spirit of tolerance, of fair treatment and of religious solidarity among students of widely different faiths. We believe that religion should unite and not separate men, and in our required classes and hours of worship conducted as these are with a scrupulous regard for fairness, with no compulsion as to uniting in prayer or in song and with no thought of proselytizing, we believe that we have found a unique means of getting a hearing from young men.... Few are the students who are not made broader minded, more tolerant and more sympathetic men by their experiences in these exercises."[2]

In line with the aim of training leaders for the Arab world the trustees had expanded the college through the years. As a result the graduates - totalling 950 by 1910- made Syrian Protestant College and American interest to be considered at the Turkish council tables. In physical equipment also the college was relatively rich by 1914. It owned forty acres of land, and students used fifteen buildings for campus activities. The library of the college held 17,135 bound volumes in 1912. A hospital adjoined the campus which in 1914 served 1341 bed patients and 7,817 clinic patients.[3]

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1. J. R. Penrose, That They May Have Life, Princeton University Press, 1941 Appendix A.
2. Forty-third Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Trustees, 1908-1909 p. 7.
3. Forty-eighth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Trustees, 1913-1914, p. 33.

230 students were enrolled in 1890 and 435 in 1900. By 1914 there were 976 students, four times as many as in 1890, in the following schools:[1]

Medical	183
Pharmacy	33
Dental	17
Nursing	20
Commercial	56
Arts and Science	236
Preparatory	425

The College had acquired prestige because it led the way in improving higher education. This prestige, and a general eagerness for education among the people had always seemed to demand expansion. Daniel Bliss, when he retired in 1902, recommended the development of further professional courses, namely law, engineering, technology, and pedagogy.

Howard Bliss, son of Daniel Bliss and President of the College from 1902 to 1920, guided the College as it grew from childhood to adolescence. Even before 1914 he had presided at the opening of the Nursing school (1905) and the opening of the school of Dentistry (1910) - both begun in answer to appeals and to evident needs.

But these and the other departments listed above were not sufficient, and following through the recommendations of their founder the faculty in 1909 had prepared a statement of the College needs. There was evidence then that a new era in the Near East was underway. Some of the hopes and promises for constitutional government had not materialized, but educational doors had been opened a little in 1908.

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1. Ibid. p. 4.

The report underlined the necessity for the courses which Daniel Bliss has recommended - engineering, law and pedagogy - and added a recommendation for agriculture. In addition the existing departments lacked equipment and personnel. Prestige and a beautiful campus, were not enough. (1) Expansion of the library, (2) additional endowment funds, (3) courses in music, (4) opportunity for research work and the (5) development of extension work were enumerated as the needs that had to be satisfied if the College were to continue to lead. Slowly the most urgent of these faculty requests were answered.

In spite of this progress the educational needs of the Arab world seemed overwhelming, and the lack of trained dentists and pharmacists is an example. Just before the dental school opened the dental conditions were described thus:

> "There were no true dentists in Syria and Palestine. Even in Turkey and Egypt there were few practitioners who were not quacks or mechanics. In the villages the barbers and priests made clumsy attempts to extract teeth with huge tweezers. The patient was often placed on the floor, held firm by the knee, and the extraction accomplished more by physical force than by skill. The governor of an important district near Galilee had placed a mechanical dentist in prison because he made him a set of false teeth that would not shut...."[1]

A traveller described the work of the Pharmacy school in 1903:

> "....You can scarcely understand how human beings can continue to live under the sanitary conditions we found here.... There was, however, one very bright

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1. Report of the school of Dentistry, 1939-1940, p. 3.

> oasis in that desert and that was the American College at Beyrout.... The son of Professor Patch of Boston, ...showed me all through the pharmaceutical laboratory and I must say it is not behind and perhaps ahead of the Maryland, New York, or Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.... In all the Orient there is no other institution of this kind...."[1]

In commerce also, the college strove to respond to the needs of the Near East. Business has always been the instinct of the people on the trade routes of this area. The Arab homelands were the trading center of the world. And if opportunities were not granted them at home they would emigrate to America. The opening of the school of Commerce in 1902 was an attempt to stop the emigration of enterprising young men.

4.

In 1915 a report by Ambassador Henry Morganthau summarized American interests in the Turkish Empire.

> "We had no important business relations at that time. The Turks regarded us as a country of idealists and altruists, and the fact that we spent millions building wonderful educational institutions in their country purely from philanthropic motives aroused their astonishment and possibly their admiration.... But our interests in Turkey were small; the Standard Oil Company did a growing business, the Singer Company sold machines to Armenians and Greeks; we bought a good deal of their tobacco, figs and rugs, and gathered their licorice root. In addition, missionaries and educational experts formed about our only contacts with the Turkish Empire."

There were colonies of Italian and French merchants in the cities of Beirut, Alexandretta, Damascus and Aleppo. But the colonies of Americans were missionaries and teachers

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1. Penrose, op. cit. pp 114-5. Quoted from proceedings, Maryland Pharmaceutical Association, 1903, p. 28.

who had finished four to ten years of higher education and then had left the United States. Few could compare with them in ability, in idealism and in altruism. The contrast between the Americans and the native peoples resulted in the former being exalted highly. The Syrians put the Americans on a pedestal because of the contrast between them. When something went wrong the British Consul in Beirut spoke to Turkish officials and the matter was often straightened out. Through the American help and British intervention appeals from the Syrian people might find a response in Constantinople.

Turkey had been at war in some area of the Empire, or had been disturbed by rumors of war, for over a decade. In 1912 had come the First Balkan War and the Italian attacks on Beirut and Libya. A small naval battle outside St. George's Bay had sent Beirut citizens scurrying to American property as a possible refuge. Four years previously the Young Turks had revolted in Anatolia and overthrown Abdul Hamid's tyrannical rule. The Syrians were overjoyed at first but soon they proved to be as intolerable to the Syrian people as had the old regime.

At that time a new educational law had been passed. It required that instruction in the Turkish language be given to every student and with the same degree of thoroughness as instruction in English. Because of that and other provisions the continued existence of the College and the Mission schools was sometimes in doubt. Limitations on food, restrictions on travel, requirements of military service

and enforcement of registration all hindered the foreign schools.

It was a foretaste of what was to come, and in the midst of peaceful months during the 1913-14 school year Dr. Bliss wrote to the Trustees that darkening clouds were soon to break in the Empire. The situation grew worse and worse. Howard Bliss was right and World War I was at hand. New factors were to influence the American philanthropy, forcing it to change and to spread.

Chapter II.

WAR YEARS

1.

In October of 1914 when France and Russia declared war on Turkey the Ottomans joined the Central Powers and Syria immediately became important as a potential battle area. Plans for attack and for defense were made rapidly and ten days after war was declared Jemal Pasha, Naval Minister, was sent to Syria in command of the fourth Army on the Syrian-Suez front. Under orders to attack Egypt and to maintain peace and order in Syria he governed the East coastal area from Aleppo to Gaza from 1914-1917.[1]

1914 and 1915 were decisive years and American interests felt the effect of the changes. French and English schools were closed and their property confiscated. The entire burden of western education was placed in the hands of native Christians and Americans. Upon arrival in Damascus Jemal Pasha had found definite evidence implicating many important Moslems in "treasonable" Arab activities. He decided not to persecute the leaders, but later, after the Suez campaign failed, he became increasingly severe with leaders in the Arab underground societies. Some were executed on August 11, 1915, twenty-one more on May 5, 1916. Arab nationalist

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1. See Jemal Pasha, Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman 1913-1919, Hutckinson and Company, London.

feeling ran high, and Turkish reprisals brought shudders. Some of these leaders had been men trained in the American schools. The American press had stimulated their revolutionary ideas, and American missionaries had enabled their leadership to develop.

Jemal Pasha was friendly to the American activities in spite of any connections he might have found between American schools and Arab treason. The College so impressed him when he visited it on April 1915 that he allowed the three British doctors in the staff to remain at the school. The College hospitals treated soldiers free of charge; Jemal Pasha found the American trained doctors were among his most dependable at the front lines. A University medical mission, in cooperation with the Beirut Chapter of the National Red Cross Society, served the Turkish Army in the Suez campaign. An equally important job medically proved to be the relief of suffering among non-combatants in Syria. Moslems all over the country could see with new clarity that the aims of the Americans were altruistic and unselfish. Prejudices and misconceptions were broken down in many minds.

2.

The crops in 1915 were not sufficient for the needs. At first Jemal Pasha had refused to requisition supplies from the local peasants, but after he learned more and more about the activities of Arab nationalists his policy changed to one of harsh military rule. Divisions camped on the southern front and supplies and labor was demanded in increasing

quantities of the Syrian Arabs. All trade with the outside world had been stopped by blockade and none of the essentials normally imported could be obtained. The Suez defeats forced drastic action, and the entire wheat crop of the Houran area was taken for army use.

An army of locusts had invaded southern Syria in 1915. Coming from the southwest this vast scourge marched over great sections of southern Syria and Palestine. Wherever they went every green plant was destroyed. Soon only the farm animals, and undernourished fellahin remained.

The deportation of Armenians from Turkey did not begin until after Jemal Pasha came to Syria. Partly because of Russian intrigue, partly because of Armenian-Turkish peasant disputes, partly because of the Armenian spirit of nationalism - the Ottoman government at any rate deemed it necessary to rid its eastern provinces of Armenians who might be tempted to be disloyal to the Sublime Porte. By the end of 1916 over 800,000 Armenians had been driven from Turkey.

In the new and strong Ottoman Empire for which the Young Turks were striving only those Armenians could be tolerated who proved that their first loyalty was to the Empire. Hundreds of thousands from Cilicia were herded south and eastward into the interiors of Syria and Mesopotamia, supposedly deported for the war period after which they would be allowed to return.[1] But frequently Kurdish tribesmen and local riff-

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1. Jemal Pasha, op. cit., Chapter IX, pp 241f.

raff were encouraged to massacre the men in the long columns and to attack or capture the women. These hundreds of thousands were driven from their homes with no warning and usually no supplies, and as a result those thousands who finally were left on the desert outskirts or who reached Syrian towns, were utterly destitute.

The combination of poor crops, army requisitions, locust attacks and refugee demands was too much for Syria. Famine and disease raged from 1915 to 1918 all over the country. In Lebanon Christians suspected of sympathy for the Allies were discriminated against in food distribution so that famine was the worst in that area. Antonius quotes a figure of 120,000 as the number who died of starvation in Lebanon.[1]

Over a score of American mission institutions were established by this time along the corridor from Mersin, Turkey to Gaza, Palestine. In Syria the missionaries did whatever they could but often could only watch the natives became more and more desperate for food as starving and homeless Armenians came in droves. It was only a small percentage of the refugees who managed to stay in the coastal corridor west of the desert. These first attracted the attention of the Americans. In response to their drastic need the American missionaries sent urgent pleas for help to the United States.

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1. G. Antonius, The Arab Awakening, Hamilton Press, London, 1938, p. 241. Quoted from "An American resident of standings".

3.

By September 1915 a few people in America realized that conditions in the Ottoman Empire were deplorable. Ambassador Morganthau had cabled Washington from Constantinople that "the destruction of the Armenian race in Turkey is rapidly progressing."[1] Several well known Americans connected with Near East philanthropy met with Cleveland H. Dodge on September 16, 1915 to consider possible relief measures. All were familiar with life and conditions in the Near East, but none of them realized the scope of the job before them. To meet the needs they formed the Armenian Relief Committee and organized a campaign for relief funds totalling $100,000.

Soon the name was changed to Near East Relief and the saving of life began on a steadily expanding scale. The Committee went into action on what was thought to be a temporary situation. But each month proved it was more serious and of longer duration than had been previously expected. Even before the end of 1915 separate Committees for Turkey, Persia and Syria had joined into one and relief funds covering the original estimate had been cabled to Constantinople. Every month the tremendous needs of hundreds of thousands of wartime exiles became more evident. In 1916 Morganthau estimated $5,000,000 would be required to save the lives of Armenians, Nestorians, Syrians and Greeks in the Near East.

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1. J. L. Barton, Story of Near East Relief, MacMillan and Company, 1930, p. 4. This is the official biography of Near East Relief.

Of the four relief areas of Turkey, Persia, Caucasus, and Syria we are concerned here only with the last. Conditions differed in the four regions, though there were drastic refugee and child problems in each area. The immediate task was to save life; and the more extensive mission soon proved to be the long-range rehabilitation and training of orphans and other destitute children.

This was strictly private American and Christian philanthropy - without barriers of sect or race. The appeal was to Americans as Americans, that they should respond to the needs of fellow humans, starving and homeless more than 5,000 miles away from the United States. A tremendous response came from individuals and from church groups. Their creed of the Golden Rule and their ritual of "devotion of life and treasure to the healing of wounds caused by war"[1] strengthened the appeal to active church people.

In Syria the missions and the College answered the cries for help as best they could. Local American Committees were set up in the country. The personnel of the A.B.C.F.M. in Cilicia and Northern Syria faced the catastrophe and could do relatively little to ameliorate conditions. The official government attitude was antagonistic toward their assistance for the Armenians. These oppressed ones were those to whom the American Board had come to minister. Some arrangements were made for emergency rations for refugees in spite of opposition from the Turkish au-

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1. Ibid. p. ix.

thorities. In regard to the native Syrians the government attitude was a little better. Local American Committees were set up and money from Syrians abroad could be destributed through the American Mission. Syrian-Americans responded generously to the call with funds for their fellow Syrians. In most cases there was tragic little could be done; though money totalling $2,000,000 had been received indirectly for use or distribution by the missionaries. The New York Near East Relief Committee could not help directly because Syria was a Turkish battle area. So the missionaries on hand endured the cries of starving people and worked heart and soul in one large relief program during the entire war. Only after English forces captured the country could contact be made directly with Near East Relief headquarters.

The drastic needs could not be met. From Aleppo to Sidon, from Beirut to Deir ez Zor there was not enough assistance and there were too many starving. The task was overwhelming. In 1916 a report came that there were half a million refugees in desperate condition, dying of disease, starvation and exposure in the districts of Aleppo, Baghdad, Mosul and Deir ez Zor[1]. In 1918 Rev. Mr. J. H. Nicol wrote concerning Syria,

> "They tell me they had to adopt the principle of the survival of the fittest in many villages and actually required mothers to select from their children those who are to be granted the opportunity to live, while the rest of the family were inevitably condemned

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1. Ibid., p. 372

> to death.... Crisis is not an imaginary one by any means.... 5,000 destitute children, many of whom will die this winter if not cared for by us.... We are planning orphanages in Sidon, Beirut, Brumana, Tripoli and perhaps in other sections of the mountains."[1]

Within the College itself the morale was good in 1915, and in spite of the war H. Bliss could state,

> "I believe that the spirit of the College, its real motive, its supreme purpose were never better known or more sympathetically assessed."[2]

Strict neutrality was necessary. Many jobs were taken over by the American teachers, but additional calls for assistance continually reached the overworked College personnel. Students were able to come only in reduced numbers after 1914, but younger boys replaced some of older students taken into the army. The community suffered more and more from the terrific demands made upon its members. The equipment wore out but staff and students made the best of it. Repairs at the College and at the mission stations suffered neglect for five years, and by 1918 resources had reached a low ebb in all the American institutions.

In 1917 the western armies brought into Syria a flood of European ideas. Cinemas became important, magazines and books increased tremendously. Automobiles and trucks became generally accepted in contrast to the dozen cars in the country in 1913. A conglomeration of relatively new ideas was forced on the country. Its doors were opened wide to

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1. Ibid., p. 75. Information also gathered from interviews with Mr. J. H. Nicol.

2. Forty-ninth Annual Report of Syrian Protestant College, 1914-15, p. 14

the rush of Western Civilization in all its aspects. This was a high renaissance stirring the Arab world after a slumber of 400 years while the Ottomans ruled.

Even before 1919 the medical activities and the organizational efficiency of relief workers helped bring in western ideas and spread them over the country. By now Ford cars had rattled up to every village, and medicines, in wholesale quantities, were given to fellahin who often had known nothing but quack doctors before. Then, at last, the war was over.

Chapter III.

BETWEEN TWO WARS

1.

Although there were still obstacles the end of hostilities enabled Near East Relief to ship supplies more easily than before. The needs in the four areas, including Syria, could be coordinated, and shipments of personnel, food and equipment could be transferred from one relief station to another. Relief activities were not now discouraged by any governments. However, there was still red-tape because no administration was on hand to take over from the Ottomans. Feisal was in Damascus but governmental organization was hindered by Arab inexperience in self-government, by the conditions of the countryside, by the bewilderment following the sudden release from Ottoman oppression and by the diverse interests of England, France, and the United States. Therefore, any positive government assistance for the relief workers was generally lacking.

Near East Relief was just beginning its job. In 1919 the United States Congress granted it a national charter. The Volunteer Committee in New York now had official government status as well as the rights of a corporation. Shipping space became more accessible thanks to the new American government backing, and an accurate estimate of needs was compiled. 150,000 Armenian refugees had

entered Syria since 1914.[1] In Syria the Red Cross and the local relief committees turned their entire task over to Near East Relief and placed their personnel at the service of this over-all agency.

A planning commission, investigating meagre supplies of the refugees, described the task ahead as long and costly; nevertheless they recommended a broad program including:[2]

1. Care of orphans and part-orphans.
2. Establishment of rescue homes for women and girls.
3. Organization of industrial enterprises.
4. Provision for medical and sanitary relief.
5. Care and protection of exiled refugees, and restoration to their homes when practicable or their settlement in new homes.

The American people set to work to supply the exiles with food, clothing and shelter. In Syria, as elsewhere, the relief approach had to be many-sided. The refugees could not return home. They were permanent exiles of the war, and it was evident that the end of the fighting had not lessened the tragedy. In Syria few Armenian men were present; along the coastal areas the slaughter of males had been thorough.[3] But any able-bodied men who had survived were put to work by Near East Relief building new villages in the Bekaa plain and near Aleppo to be used as homes for their kin. The women with dependent children were given clothes and food to answer their immediate needs. Disease prevention and treatment was carried on among all groups on

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1. Information from the files of the Near East Foundation office, Chtaura, Lebanon.

2. Barton, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

3. Ibid., p. 178

a large scale. Children were slowly brought together into orphanages, their parents found, or new and satisfactory homes located.

The needy Armenian women who gravitated to the cities could almost never find jobs. Their skill in handicraft proved to be their greatest asset. The opportunity was taken to start up new industries, and a workshop was set up in Beirut. Before many months had passed Near East Industries came into existence, and refugee goods were being sold all over the Near East and in America.

In Syria, as in Macedonia, the Near East Relief followed the policy of requiring some work in payment for food and clothing. This proved difficult and required constant planning and supervision both in regard to the needs and the work done. But as a result the relief funds were not so liable to demoralize or humiliate the persons who were receiving charity.[1]

In 1922 the exodus of Armenians was renewed. More thousands came from different parts of Turkey at the same time that Greeks were sent into Macedonia. Relief needs were sent even higher.

Thousands of homeless and helpless children who had descended into the newly mandated states of Syria and Lebanon by 1923 became the most important responsibility of the Syrian branch of Near East Relief. Orphanages for 12,000 Armenians were created. Monthly shipments of food

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1. Opinion of the author, Barton, op. cit., Chapter XIII.

for children came to the city of Beirut to be distributed, enough for the simplest diet approved by the medical department. Other workers arranged for the return of children to their relatives - wherever there were relatives who could take them. With their own kin food and shelter might be less plentiful, but at least it would be a home.

Emergency measures slowly gave way to long-range rehabilitation of the refugees. Education, language, health, recreation and vocational skills were stressed. Children had to learn to smile again and were helped to make new friends to replace their lost relatives. In the refugees the struggle for existence had sometimes driven out any social consciousness. The relief workers continually tried to force selfishness to give way once more to the desire to assist those even less fortunate than themselves. Thus, not only in America but also in Syria, Golden Rule Sunday was set up and orphans joined other children in giving what they could to help the destitute.

The boys had opportunities to learn skills from among forty trades and girls the opportunity to learn homemaking. Antilyas was one of the central trade schools in Syria. Local and foreign orders were filled and a booth was prepared for the annual Syrian Exhibition in Damascus of the best handiwork of the year. Girls were taught simple cooking, homemaking and gardenwork so that they might learn order and cleanliness and might gain experience for the rough life outside the orphanage. All the orphans were given exercises and extensive recreation. Constant efforts

were made to place them in homes.

The long list of Near East Relief activities includes all that was involved in the immense task of rebuilding the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. The blind were taught a trade and the handicapped to support themselves. The aim was not to save life, it was to create new life. That meant rebuilding bodies, and directing minds, and strengthening character. It entailed following up the youth into their post-orphanage homes and jobs. Ex-orphanage youth were encouraged to join night schools. The Near East League came into being to promote ex-orphan fellowship, education, employment and citizenship. Recreation and sports proved to be useful antidotes to the restlessness and tensions of post-orphanage life-as-an-alien.

By 1925 the Near East Relief association felt that the time had come for a re-analysis of policies and programs, and to that end they set a committee to work. In a few years the job of caring for tens of thousands of orphans would be finished. Should the work stop? What of the property and the assets?

The commission chosen to study the questions made the first widespread study of economic, social, educational and agricultural conditions in the Near East.[1] It was a co-operative undertaking with representatives of all American Near Eastern agencies participating, including leaders from

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1. Results published in a book entitled: The Near East and American Philanthropy, by F. A. Ross, C. L. Fry, and E. Sibley, Columbia University Press, 1929.

the American Mission and the American University of Beirut.

In September 1927 at a conference of Near Eastern workers in Constantinople the results were presented and discussed in detail. Among the conclusions drawn up were these:[1]

> 1. "We believe the time has come for a degree of cooperation.... such as never before tried in a foreign field.... an effort for international brotherliness, scientific in method, international in scope, interdenominational in its backing, interconfessional in its service...."
>
> 2. "Our aim must be to share with people.... that they may themselves improve their own institutions and communities."

The final report of the survey commission recomended, especially in regard to agricultural and industrial education, that use be made of demonstration centers and of other means previously untried in the Near East:[2]

> "The Survey Committee respectfully urges that the personnel, methods, and aims of any continuing work would necessarily differ widely from those that have served effectively in the relief undertaking."

The refugee and children's work continued until 1930. Refugee camps, though improved remained in an unhealthful, overcrowded, deplorable condition on the outskirts of Beirut and Aleppo. Several thousand children still depended wholly or in part upon orphanage assistance.[3] The emphasis had to be put upon them; they were recognized as the primary remaining responsibility. Where budgets were cut the schools

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1. Ibid., pp. 285,289.

2. Barton,op. cit., p. 419.

3. The author could not obtain figures as to the exact numbers.

and orphanages were held open as long as possible. And some cutting was necessary. Near East Relief found it more difficult to obtain funds in its later years.

A change was definitely needed, and in the light of the 1927 conference the trustees voted unanimously in February 1930:[1]

> "....to take steps for the incorporation of an independent body, incorporated for the purpose of meeting the unmet needs as outlined in part by the survey....it being understood that the new incorporation is to do what we regard as imperatively needed work urgently requested by people in the Near East and a substantial percentage of our constituency in the United States...."

Thus the Near East Foundation came into being: (1) to safeguard the lives and future of the children of Near East Relief, and (2) to develop rural and village life. Eleven years had passed since Near East Relief had assumed responsibility from the local Syrian missionaries and the Red Cross for the relief work in the Levant. $91,146,212 had gone to the assistance of war refugees in the area from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf. $12,527,000 of that had been used in Syria and Palestine.[2] Committees had functioned in all the forty-eight states in America and over nine-hundred relief workers had come to the Near East as Relief workers.[3]

What percentage of the personnel or of the income came to Syria and Lebanon proper is unknown. But the Syrian

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1. Barton, op. cit., p. 424.

2. Ibid., p. 411.

3. Ibid., see supplementary material and appendices, pp. 429-479.

people had witnessed a decade of American self-giving on a large scale and they would not soon forget it. Here had been action pointing directly toward world brotherhood and bringing to life Syrians and Armenians as a new leaven in the Near East.

From Near East Relief and its activities several organizations emerged, and one of the first of these was Golden Rule Foundation. The Near East Relief's Golden Rule Sunday had stimulated sacrificial giving for children in the Near East for five years. And in 1928 the Golden Rule Sunday leaders requested a release from Near East Relief. Granted this, they set up an independent organization, the Golden Rule Foundation, to serve underprivileged children, not only in the old Ottoman Empire, but over the entire world.

2.

The most famous of the offspring of Near East Relief has proven to be the Near East Foundation. In 1930 this newly formed corporation took over all the responsibilities of its parent. Syria was but one of eight areas of activity.[1] In each area the program has had as its aim "helping the people to help themselves". In the Near East the need has first of all been the development of rural and village life. And the Foundation from the beginning has emphasized rural

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1. The eight are: Macedonia, Athens, Bulgaria, Albania, Anatolia, Palestine, Egypt, Syria.

reconstruction. The belief has been that a small investment of philanthropic capital - used judiciously - could open up new markets and lead to the improvement of underdeveloped lands.[1]

They have felt that the technique must be adapted to the conditions in each area. This has meant in Syria that village school boys could be taught farm techniques and that the school would be a center from which new ideas and agricultural knowledge could radiate to parents and others.[2]

The Foundation inherited from Near East Relief a school for the blind at Ghazir, a school for Armenian priests and teachers at Antilyas and a farm school at Talabaya. After 1930 the need for orphanages was no longer considered primary. Rather, the effort was to stimulate and assist Armenian education at Antilyas; at Talabaya to demonstrate sound agricultural methods and teach others to carry the techniques into the entire country. For the next five years they carried on these projects and a Bekaa valley health project.

By the end of 1935 most of the Syrian program had been discontinued. The village health project, the Ghazir School and the Talabaya Farm School had been stopped. The Farm School had continually run at a loss, and financial retrenchments proved to be necessary as a result of the

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1. The Near East Foundation, Report of 1934, Mary Coburn, Director of the Research Bureau, 2 West, 46th Street, New York City.

2. In Macedonia this technique could not be followed. Ibid., pp. 6-43.

world-wide depression. The Antilyas Armenian School was turned over to the Armenian Gregorian church.[1] From 1935 to 1944 the Foundation ideals of non-sectarian American assistance in health, sanitation, agriculture and recreation lay nearly dormant.

Meanwhile, however, cooperative work on a small scale with the University was continued. The Institute of Rural Life - as the Talabaya school had been called - was moved to the American University of Beirut campus and was integrated with University life. The two organizations, with the University in main control, worked in complete cooperation in the Institute and a University Farm Management Course which was set up in 1937. The Foundation furnished some of the leadership for the University work in summer and in winter, gave financial support which enabled publication of farm pamphlets in Arabic and extension work and helped with the salary of the person doing extension work.

The University was busy expanding its activities in the social service fields.[2] In keeping with its stated intentions at numerous times in the past[3] they created the above mentioned Farm Management Course to meet the needs

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1. Antilyas is a natural center for Armenian work in Syria. The national cathedral was there. Relinguishing control to them was the most satisfactory solution since reduced expenditures were necessary.

2. For Village Welfare Service activities see p.

3. See Faculty Report on Expansion of Syrian Protestant College, 1909, and Reports of the President, 1919, p. 56; 1920, p. 9.

for agricultural training to some degree. And in keeping with the desire of the students to improve their nations they encouraged village summer service projects. Groups of students under University and Foundation leadership went to villages in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine from 1933 on to take health surveys, to set up clinics, to do physical work in village construction, to conduct literacy classes, to promote recreation, and to teach elementary agriculture.

The retrenchment of the Foundation, therefore, was not wholly a loss. On a small budget the ideals and policies of the Foundation could not be carried out as desired but whatever promoted rural reconstruction was encouraged.

When the second World War interrupted the Near East Foundation program in the Balkans the opportunity arose to expand the Syrian program. In 1944 without any shift in ideals or interests an expanded program similar to that previously carried out in Macedonia was developed.[1]

Around a few villages in the Bekaa plain a center was built, with its headquarters at Chtaura. Nearby at an experimental station experiments were conducted in genetics, plant pathology and agronomy. The program is dedicated to the improvement of the entire life of the fellahin. Work is carried on in hygiene, sanitation, recreation, homemaking, and cooperatives. Literacy is promoted, animal genetics, human and animal inoculation, and farm methods are taught. Agricultural bulletins are distributed, and the large land-

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1. This post-World War II program is briefly given here to insure continuity.

owner is helped to make improvements. Agriculture is taught in numerous village schools[1], and the boys were given 815 small home projects in 1947 to carry out on their family land.

A similar center has been started in Damascus in 1946 aimed at the improvement of conditions in the Damascus oasis. In both centers the importance of cooperation with the government and with large landowners is recognized. For example, reforestation in Lebanon with 3,000,000 cedar seeds in 1947 was carried on by government, by business men and by Near East Foundation jointly. The Syrian government has promised full cooperation with the Damascus project.

The Foundation has had several principles upon which it relies. It maintains complete neutrality in matters of religion and assumes that Christian, Moslem and Jewish villages respond in like manner to the Foundation offer of unattached free assistance - "We will help you to help yourself". It believes the best work is done (1) where religion is not mentioned, (2) where Arab instead of American personnel is used in social service and community activities, and (3) where efforts are not diffused over a wide area.

The new Foundation program has attempted to be even more indigenous than the old. They have developed their own native leaders;[2] they have moved from the city to a location near the villages; they have attempted to show the

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1. Information here, and below, is from the files of Near East Foundation.

2. Only one American is at Chtaura. He is a specialist in agricultural education and supervises the Chtaura project.

fellahin differences in results - on his own land and through his own son if possible. They have not been willing to do things for the villagers but have insisted that the villagers want to make the changes and actually do carry through the improvements themselves, with guidance from the Foundation. The program from 1943 has recognized the danger of scattering little assistance over too much territory. There has also been a continuous effort to interest the government; in so far as the governments of Syria and Lebanon could be persuaded to accept responsibility for reforestation, for insect control, and for experimentation, there would be that much more chance for permanent attention being given to the agricultural needs of the country.

Chapter IV

BETWEEN TWO WARS

(Continued)

1.

The shift from Turkish to French rule seemed to promise better days for the missions. At least the highest authorities would be Christians. Evangelism and public discussion would not be illegal as they had been at times before the war. Though the political events of the 1920s were enough to impress the Syrian people with the evils of French mandate the missionaries appreciated many changes that had been wrought. Roads were being constructed and improved, cities were slowly being modernized, fewer restrictions were imposed upon the missions, the morale of the Christian populations was rising and the sense of public security was increasing. A new era was underway.

In the midst of great social and political changes the American Mission set to work to replenish its resources and its spiritual power for the peacetime ministry ahead. Their long-range policies were well thought out and definite, so that in the early twenties several trends in evangelism could be noticed that were continued during the two decades of peace. First of all, the Evangelical Church grew in spiritual life and activity. Secondly, work with Moslems was strengthened. Thirdly, missions to rural areas received

considerable stress. And fourthly, an effort was made to cover the area allocated to the Syrian Presbyterian Mission more thoroughly. Some sections of the Levant had not been given the attention the missionaries wanted to give them.

The most obvious result of the evangelism of the Mission is the Syrian Evangelical Church. In the first decades of the Mission the intention had not been to form a new sect, but this proved to be impossible because those who/were filled with an evangelical Christian spirit were denied a place in their old communions. They needed to join in a Christian fellowship and evangelical churches were formed to supply the need. The members of the churches in the Levant stemmed almost entirely from the Oriental churches, with only a few scattered converts from Islam because a Moslem who knew his Qoran and who was acquainted with the ancient Eastern churches was not attracted to Christianity.

The process of devolution in the Church, whereby the Mission hoped to lead it to self-support, self-propagation, self-government and self-expression, has required steady evangelistic activity by the missionaries. Evangelism has been basic to new life in the churches. It has meant transferring a zealousness for practical Christian living to the members. And increasingly they have become more willing and more able to accept responsibilities and to actively participate in the work with Moslems.[1]

Alongside the work with the Evangelical Church has

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1. See section 6 of this chapter for details on devolution.

gradually developed the direct ministry to Moslems which had been forced to lie almost dormant for decades. Medical work had been attempted on a small scale and literature had been steadily offered to Moslems in many locations but with discouraging results. In 1910 the conviction was registered at a conference in Beirut that "the time had come for a wisely planned and carefully conducted and intensely earnest forward move in work among Moslems in Syria and Palestine....".[1] Following up that decision the Mission, after peace had returned, began to set up new centers for activity and to expand others. Aleppo was occupied once more, a missionary family was appointed to Hama which had only been contacted on Mission tours before, another went to live in the large village of Nabatiyeh, and still another opened the Jessie Taylor Center in a conservative Moslem area of Beirut. These families were to get acquainted and to gain the friendship of Moslem people around them as the first step in a long-range plan for a ministry to Moslems.

Some of this Moslem work was in rural areas and a thorough study of rural Syria was undertaken. As a result the Mission became convinced of the desirability of a series of four Rural Fellowship Centers to minister to the rural people of the two countries. The missionary at Hama began to develop a school and several rural projects in the Moslem village of Hermel. An entirely new station was projected and begun in Deir ez Zor on the Euphrates which was the

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1. World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh), Reports, IX, p. 255. Quoted in Addison, op. cit., p. 125.

trade center for hundreds of square miles of rural area.

Transportation facilities all over Syria improved. The trans-desert automobile route to Eastern Syria and Iraq was opened, and in 1923 conditions were such that a missionary family moved into Deir ez Zor where the Mission had not been active before. Massacres had marked this desert outpost in 1916. In 1924, a year later, a medical despensary was opened with plans for evangelistic work and agricultural projects to follow after the medical mission had paved the way. The Moslem people of the area were superstitious, slow to change, and suspicious of Christians, but the new station made steady progress and set new standards for medicine and for cleanliness in the area.

The four emphases - on the church, on Moslem work, on the rural field, and on geographic expansion - overlap in almost every station of the Mission. Meanwhile in 1935 the Mission had been reorganized to facilitate efficiency and effectiveness. Instead of being divided geographically the Syria-Lebanon Mission became one station and permanent committees were formed on evangelism, education, medical work and literature.

The Evangelistic Committee faced serious problems. The rural experimental work in Hermel and in Deir ez Zor proved to be difficult because its people were Moslems and often antagonistic. A third of the four projected rural centers was begun in the less antagonistic and non-Moslem district of Jibrail in north Lebanon.

The developments in Moslem and rural work brought up

discussions of the meaning of the term evangelism. The ministry in the rural areas seemed to demand a shift in approach from that suggested by such phrases as individual salvation, church-centered ministry, converts, gospel preaching and religious testimonials. The program in the centers was to be one of social reconstruction, of improved agricultural methods, of animal husbandry, of cooperative facilities, of recreational centers and of the Bible when people ask for it.

Whether some new definition of evangelism has actually been put into practice or not is difficult to ascertain. At any rate the "rice Christian" approach has never been used by the American Mission. Jobs have not been offered to every convert, and affirmation of a simple creed along with baptism has been recognized as causing serious problems in the future life of any Syrian citizen. It has been the spirit of Christ which has been spread, to act as a leaven in the society, through hospitals, schools, city social work, relief activity, rural improvement, social responsibility and the like. But the basic question whether a Christian first of all is required to make a verbal testimony of his faith in Jesus Christ or whether his testimony can be in a changed life within his society remains. Can the rural evangelism, for example, develop a Christian society within a Moslem area and have members of this society end up being "secret disciples" who do not publicly state their faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and who have not joined in a visible fellowship of Christians? The Mission

has found that neither extreme on this question can be followed here. The reconstruction of rural society, however, has been planned in an extensive way not seen before 1918 except in the specific fields of medicine, education and literature.

2.

While the use of education as a part of the American Mission in Syria has always been emphasized in the mission program there were certain changes that developed after 1918. First, direct management of the elementary schools previously under mission control decreased. Second, the secondary schools have adjusted to needs under the mandate and have continued to pay an important role in the presentation of Christianity. Third, the beginnings of higher education for women have been provided in the Junior College; and fourth, women's education above the junior college level has brought coeducation into being in the Arab world.

The primary schools under Mission control decreased after the war for two main reasons. Private groups came into some districts in sufficient numbers to meet the educational needs at the time and mission schools in those areas closed rather than struggling to complete. There were other locations that needed the Mission assistance greatly. The remaining primary schools were turned over to the Evangelical Church for supervision. In exceptional cases schools were kept under direct mission management either because of connections with the American secondary schools or

because of special rural or Moslem work in new areas as Jibrail, Nabatiyeh, and Hermel.

The secondary schools have held their position of leadership. Government and private schools increased considerably but the demand for American schools in Sidon, Tripoli and Beirut remained.[1] In the 1930s the need for a Christian secondary school in Aleppo was such that the small Presbyterian school was joined with the A.B.C.F.M. mission school in 1937 to form present-day Aleppo College and the American High School for Girls.

The percentage of non-Christians who have attended the secondary schools remained at 40-50% after 1923 and the number of Protestants totalled only 21% in the six secondary schools and the American Junior College in 1938.[2] Moslem youth were being placed in contact with Syrian Christian youth and with the American teachers that came to the Mission schools on short-term appointments.

Particularly in regard to education the attitude of the French government was noticeably different from what the Turkish had been and the American schools were grateful for this freedom. Official restrictions on mission activity were gone, and school permits were valid indefinitely. The extra-curricular activities in which students engage at the American schools could increase and consequently became more

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1. The Suk ul-Gharb school was closed for the reason given in the preceding paragraph.

2. Deputation Report for the Board of Foreign Missions, prepared by the Executive Committee of the Syrian Mission, 1938.

important in the lives of the students. The intimate friendships that spread the Christian spirit from teacher to students were continually being made. At the American School in Beirut the girls were occasionally taken to the mountains on trips, often for the first time. In 1929, for example, Girl Reserves, an Arabic Literary Society, and a Truthfulness and Honesty club were active. School was more than books.

The Mission has insisted that over half the income for each of the schools should come from the students. In 1924 the policy was extended even to the village primary schools under church control. It has prohibited some poorer children from attending the schools but has decreased their financial dependence upon America. Support must come from the native community. Some of the village schools were forced to close but others were able to carry on. The effort to adapt to the needs of the environment can be seen in the Sidon schools for example, where the attempt has been made to give practical training. Gerard Institute has usually had vocational training as a part of its program while the School for Girls has used the cottage system for boarding students since 1927. Such adaptation has been needed, but the students often have not wanted it.

The schools have always been a major means of illustrating Christian love to Syrian youth. Often a loyalty would be developed by the students which was to the school rather than to the life of Jesus of Nazareth. Discouraging as it sometimes has been the appeal of Western possessions

has often proven to be stronger than the goal of service to their fellows.

When we turn to higher education we see that it has come through cooperative action between the Mission and University. The need had been evident and finally an agreement was reached whereby the Mission operated a Junior College for Girls and the University permitted its capable graduates to enter its junior class. The College has expanded year after year and its teaching soon reached a high level.

The sequel to the Junior College is the fourth aspect of Mission education and is discussed in detail under section four of Chapter V. The Mission prepared the girls and the University undertook their training in professional fields.

3.

Since the end of World War I the medical work of the Mission has expanded tremendously both in size and outreach. This expansion was carried out in accordance with the long-range aims and principles of the Mission. For example, Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Tripoli, has sought to reach, in its urban setting on the coast, the highest medical standards compatible with self-support. The Deir ez Zor medical center began and has pionnered in a rural area untouched by modern medicine. And Hamlin Memorial Sanatorium has been a Mission center for the treatment of the dreaded disease, tuberculosis.

It was only a few years before the War that institu-

tionalized medicine had been practically unknown except for the Syrian Protestant College Hospital and the Jesuit University hospital, both of which were carried on in conjunction with medical schools. The American Mission and the College had worked in full cooperation. In Tripoli medical work was carried on since 1871 with hospital facilities being built for twenty beds in 1914. The Turks and then the Near East Relief had used the hospital during the war. Hamlin Sanatorium was built in 1908 after fifteen years work on tuberculosis in the Levant. Outside of these locations there had been dispensaries in Hama and Homs, and the regular Mission tours had included stops and supplies at these and other towns.

When a survey could be made after 1918 the medical facilities of the Mission were found to be in drastic need of equipment and personnel. Hamlin Memorial had been carrying on with considerable difficulty. The Kennedy Dispensary had not been operated by the Mission since 1916. Expanded and improved hospital facilities were to respond to the Macedonian calls from the people of the Levant at the time.

Kennedy hospital was reopened again in 1921 and plans were made to develop the highest grade hospital the Syrian people could support. This was a mission venture embodying Christian love, though it was to be developed as an indigenous hospital which the people of the country could afford to support. Basic repairs were made on the buildings and files were installed for hospital records. Sanitary precautions, proper patient diets and laboratory facilities were

introduced piece by piece in the 1920s. Then in 1933 a nursing school was begun and innumerable other improvements were made as the income of the hospital justified the expenditures. It became one of the hospitals used by A. U. B. internes and at the same time has sought to cooperate with other medical work in the Tripoli area.

A steady increase in the use and income of the hospital can be seen below:[1]

Year	Clinic Patients	Hospital Patients	Hospital days	Field receipts.
1926-27	1617	727	2629	$ 6990
1933-34	2117	1024	12378	16991 LS
1937-38	2667	1284	14609	23164 LS

The stories of the development of Hamlin Sanatorium and of the Deir ez Zor center are similar. Hamlin early became the acknowledged leader in tuberculosis treatment in this entire area and has drawn patients from the entire Arab-speaking world and Turkey. As early as 1924 it was almost completely self-supporting.[2] In Deir ez Zor clinic work was begun at first in 1924 in rented rooms and under primitive conditions; then the hospital was constructed by sections during the 1930s.

Some of the contributions of these medical institutions are easy to discern. Each offered training in a Christian atmosphere for nurses and for the internes from

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1. Deputation Report for the Board of Foreign Missions, prepared by the Executive Committee of the Syrian Mission, 1938.
2. The American Presbyterian Mission in Syria, summary of reports, 1924, p. 17. Later Hamlin became completely self-supporting.

the A. U. B. Medical school. All three tried deliberately to keep from competing with native hospitals. Their mission has been to serve in untouched spheres of medicine and to illustrate the highest possible medical standards. And to this has been the contribution of a Christian spirit of love and care for the patient, characteristic of a mission hospital. Kennedy had contributed its nursing school.[1] The Deir ez Zor center began operations in an area where the nearest modern facilities were two hundred miles away in Aleppo, Syria, or in Mosul, Iraq.

No dividing line separates the medical and the evangelistic programs of the mission. Many patients at Tripoli come from the Homs-Hama areas of Western Syria where conservative Moslem Sunnis predominate and an evangelist has been regularly employed for work at the hospital. Deir ez Zor is one of the four stations where medical, educational, evangelistic and agricultural activity is to be built up in a predominately Moslem area. The aim has not been to convert them to Protestantism, but rather to minister in a Christian spirit of love to their medical needs. This is evangelism in practice in the Syrian mission.

4.

The publication and educational activities are the oldest of the Mission. The contributions of both the schools

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1. Somewhat higher nursing standards were maintained at the University but lower standards have been accepted in seven Christian mission hospitals in order to provide enough nurses for the two countries.

and the Press to the Arab Awakening during the Nineteenth Century has been noted by mission writers such as Richter[1] and by historians such as Antonius.[2] The Press had maintained a broad view of its task throughout its history in the Levant, and the output has thus had an influence in many fields of endeavor. The story of its growth, its trials, its hardships and its triumphs would make a thesis in itself. It was set up to serve the people of these areas and thus, though religious literature was its specialty, it produced books in every field and in many languages.[3]

The output of the Press varied a good deal between 1914 and 1947. In the past men of the stature of those in the Bustani and Yazegi families made the Press a leading force in Syria and the Arab world. But with increased competition from the secular presses and without outstanding Arabic editors on the staff its contribution has decreased. Someone who knows the Arab literary world, who can take its pulse and know the trends, could help guide and lead into Christian channels. American missionaries and Arab Christians did some writing and both Arabic and American University staff, with the help of American Foundation grants were able to contribute an increased amount. On the whole, the decades between the two wars were not a time when literature was encouraged as a basic means for promoting

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1. o.p. cit., pp. 181-228.

2. The Arab Awakening, pp. 41-54, 79f.

3. Arabic, English, Armenian, Turkish, French, Persian, and Hebrew.

the gospel in the world.

This is not to be-little what work was done. After the transition to French rule it took stock of its resources and in 1922 planned and carried through a centennial celebration of its service in the Mediterranean world. It could boast of a steadily high quality of work and a notable quantity of output. On the anniversary of its arrival in Beirut it reported 2,200,000 volumes of Scriptures printed, in sixteen editions and with each volume being several books or larger sections of the Bible. Its catalogue listed six hundred and sixty titles, and its customers were found in every land where Arabic people live. The books printed were in the various fields of science, mathematics, grammar, philology, history, Bible, religions, poetry, sociology, philosophy, etcetera. It printed texts for courses from the first year of elementary school through University levels and put out dictionaries and other reference works for the Arab world. The American University publications in their archeological, Oriental, social science, natural science, and medical series were published at the Press.

Before 1935 the Press was somewhat separate from the stations of the Mission, and it reflected at times the basic interests and shortcomings of its American and Arabic editors. From 1935 on, however, it has been a part of the Mission Literature Committee. In the Committee an overall plan could be made for the use of literature in the work of the Mission. They planned not only the Press activity but the creation of new literature in some cases and the translation

of foreign works in many others.

The distribution of literature has been a regular activity of the Mission also. Through reading rooms and colporteurs tracts have been taken to the people. Where ancient churches has caused a prejudice against Christianity to be intensified the colporteurs' job has been of great value. The American Bible Society and the Literature Committee (the Press before 1935) have worked in close cooperation on matters of expense, choice of Biblical works and distribution. Where Christian literature could be gotten into the hands of the people in their native language there has been hope that the Word of God would erase prejudice and lead to faith.

For many years before the First World War the Weekly Neshra, published by the American Mission, was an important uniting force for Protestants, in spite of the supression and obstacles it faced. Since that time the Neshra has continued to play its important role, both in spreading news relevant for its readers and in giving a regular opportunity for education in evangelical Christianity.

5.

The Protestant missions in the Eastern Mediterranean have joined in a number of cooperative enterprises. In 1919 the missionaries in Syria and Palestine were spurred by a sense of the need for joint action to form the United Missionary Council of Syria and Palestine. Through it the mission forces could join together to limit the number of

competing denominations and to increase the cooperation within the area.

This proved to be the first step in a series of important cooperative ventures. Through these bodies much of the best work of the interwar period has been facilitated. In 1927 members of the United Missionary Council joined with others in the Near East to form the Near East Christian Council. In keeping with hopes and plans made at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Council in 1928 it aimed at further regional coordination and at encouragement and joint assistance for its members. Discussions of policies and methods at the N.E.C.C. have sometines helped the members to obtain ideas and to share their ideas with others. During the interwar years the Bible Lands Union for Christian Education, begun in 1925, has also been growing towards the aim of encouraging Christian education and reaching youth all over the Bible Lands in Arab Asia with Christian literature. The B.L.U.C.E. is an indigenous body, mainly Protestant, though with leaders and members from Orthodox and Anglican groups as well.

In regard to Syria itself cooperative efforts in higher education and in Church courts are worthy of notice. The Presbyterian Mission and the American University set up the American Junior College for Women in 1925 coordinated with the University freshman and sophomore courses but administered by the Mission. Similarly a cooperative arrangement was reached whereby the Mission agreed to cooperate with the A.B.C.F.M., the Armenian Evangelical Union and the Syrian

Evangelical Church in joint management of Aleppo College which had been Central Turkey College in Aintab until the Armenian deportations. Small American Mission and American Board schools had been set up in Aleppo before 1937, but with the merger the projects were strengthened. The improved Aleppo College aimed at service to the entire community of Aleppo, both Arab and Armenian. At the same time the Aleppo Girls' High School was formed as a joint project also.

The Congregationalists and the Presbyterians joined to form the Near East School of Theology in Beirut in 1932. Schools had been maintained before, one in Athens and another in Beirut, but this move improved the facilities for the education of church leaders in the Near East. Through direct schooling, extension work, and literary activity the N.E.S.T. has encouraged Evangelical Christianity. For the education of the American children in the country the Mission and the University have long backed an American Community School. It has not been open to native children but has served foreigners faithfully.

In Syria every citizen must be a member of some religious group because personal rights in the Ottoman Empire was based upon ecclesiastical courts. In general the non-Moslem groups were not given the same rights as the Moslem, but the American Mission gained from the Ottoman government for the evangelical groups long official recognition before World War I. After the war adjustments were made which recognized the historic communities as equal and gave their statutes the force of law. Their spiritual heads were to

represent them in all business with the government. Members of the communities must conform to the statutes of their respective groups in such matters as marriage, divorce, separation, annulment and alimony.[1] In regard to changing religious affiliation there is a difference between Syrian and Lebanese Laws. The Moslem 'Ulema in Syria, following their Shariah or Moslem religious law, objected to the right of apostasy - of conversion from Islam to another sect, and the Moslems are at present excluded from these laws of conversion. In Lebanon the right to change from any group to another is on the statute books, though on the whole the present religious court system is unsatisfactory.

After they have received recognition from the government the Protestant sects have been forced to join the Higher Council, with representatives of each sect, the only body recognized to have jurisdiction over Protestants. Since the Syrian Evangelical Church is the largest group representatives from its Synod assume much of the responsibility within the Council. The influence of the American missionaries upon the laws governing the Protestants in the Levant has not been measured, but it undoubtedly is great.

6.

The established policy of the Mission, even before World War I, was devolution, or the gradual transfer of ini-

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1. A. H. Hourani, Minorities in the Arab World, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 64-5

tiative and responsibility from the American missionaries to the Syrian Evangelical Church and to individual Syrian Christians. With that in mind the Evangelical churches in the last years of the nineteenth century had been organized into three Presbyteries for regional action. The procedure has been to train and assist native leadership in mission institutions wherever possible. Thus the United Missionary Council included both mission groups and the evangelical churches, with more responsibilities gradually given to Syrians.

The rapidly developing transportation facilities after 1920 enabled the missionaries to cover the Levant more fully. Office and administrative tasks were turned over to native personnel wherever plausible, and pastoral supervision was given to the Presbyteries. Schools began to keep their own accounts and the missionaries took the opportunity to start new work as devolution and modern methods freed them from previous commitments. The Presbyteries were already self-governing bodies by 1923 at whose meetings the Americans could sit only as honorary members. The Mission allocated funds to each Presbytery according to church and school needs and according to the supply of funds, and Presbyteries in turn distributed these to the primary schools and churches. The churches have not had a voice in general mission policy, however, and the management of the hospitals and secondary schools has been kept by the mission.

Devolution has been hindered by several factors. First of all, the ancient, deep sectarian divisions,reflected

in the system of religious courts, discourage initiative, changes, and experimentation. These might injure the strength of the sect and, after all, any weakness in the religious group might endanger the civil status of the citizens. In addition, the constant stream of emigrants has included many Protestants and the churches have been drained of a large proportion of their leadership. According to 1929 figures 1320 new members had come into the churches between 1918 and 1928 while approximately the same number of church members left the country.[1]

Progress has been slow and in 1929 only the Beirut church was self-supporting while the average church provided only 25% of its budget. Several decades before, the three Presbyteries had been joined into one Synod which had no real power but which was self-administrative. Slowly the Synod was delegated more responsibilities; it offered a place where leadership could develop and it acted independently of the missionaries. In recent years it surpassed the Presbyteries as the vital seat of government of the church. Property has been piece by piece transferred to this body and mission support slowly but steadily withdrawn.

Outside of Synod and the individual churches the same trend can be seen, for devolution works, slowly but surely. In the 1930s Syrians in the mission institutions were given increased responsibilities both because of avowed policy and

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1. Survey, Syrian Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., N.Y., 1929, p. 25. See also Elizabeth MacCallum, Nationalist Crusade in Syria, Foreign Policy Association, N.Y., 1928, pp. 208-210 for an analysis of emigration from the Levant in the 1920s.

because of necessity due to cuts in personnel during the depression. Hamlin Sanatorium has been completely staffed by natives since the 1920s. Syrians have been left in charge of one of the secondary schools even for periods longer than a year.

At the University the same policy has been followed. Though it is not connected to any mission board we can note here that in 1924 a Syrian was for the first time made a member of the Senate - the small governing body of the University. By 1940 Syrians had held the rank of professor in many fields including economics, history, education, medicine, Arabic, philosophy, pharmacy and mathematics.

7.

The list of other American groups who have been engaged in mission activities in Syria and Lebanon is long; it includes ten organizations backed by mission boards in the United States as well as five groups that are non-sectarian in backing. Those are in addition to the enterprises already mentioned or conducted by the N.E.C.A.,[1] and they have limited their activities to evangelistic and educational work.

As Armenian refugees entered Syria the American Board

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1. American University of Beirut, American Mission, American Board Mission, Aleppo College, Damascus College, American Bible Society, Near East Foundation, and the archeological expeditions.

missionaries expanded their program and came after their people. During the dark months and years that followed the exodus from Cilicia and Anatolia the missionaries ministered in shabby quarters around Beirut and Aleppo. Their congregations in Turkey were gone. A part of the Mission shifted their ministry, as a result, to the Moslems in Turkey while the rest continued Armenian work wherever the Armenians were. Thus the Armenian Evangelical Union (of churches) and the American Board cooperated in the N.E.S.T. in Beirut and in Aleppo College. Between 1932 and 1947 the number of students in American Board schools in North Syria rose from 1500 to 2800 and the scope of their evangelistic work increased from four to fifteen communities.

The Reformed Presbyterian Mission in Northwest Syria has also maintained a sizable mission, theirs to the Nusairiyehs.[1] In the city of Latakia they have operated a boys' school and a girls' school while in the villages outside they have helped support from eight to twelve village schools.

The Church of God Mission has continued its work in Beirut and in villages in the Lebanon mountains. They have ministered to small groups of Armenians, Syrian Christians and Alawites.

In 1923 the United Missionary Society entered the Levant under the Reformed Mennonite Board to do evangelistic, relief and educational work in Beirut. Theirs has been a

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1. Both of these operate sizable missions. A comparison of their $60,000 property with the $1,000,000 capital investment of the American Mission should be made, however.

steady ministry since centered around a church and a primary school.

A year later the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a conservative non-sectarian group, began educational and evangelistic activity in the Jebel Druze area of South Syria. Their main mission work is in Palestine and along the northern borders of Arabia. In Syria, however, two schools were begun in 1924 and churches were organized in Soueida and other towns in Jebel Druze.

The size and activity of the some Protestant sects in the Levant is illustrated in Table I which shows statistics of nine of the smaller missions. The Daniel and Mary Oliver Orphanage has been supported and backed by the American Society of Friends. The non-sectarian Bible Lands Gospel Mission has ministered in Beirut and Schweifat, Lebanon since 1930. The American School has been conducted as an individual enterprise in Damascus since 1925 and is backed by women's clubs in California. The Assemblies of God Mission began their mission in Aleppo and Schweifat in 1940. The Assyrian National School Association has conducted a small non-sectarian mission with a school and an orphanage in Beirut for several decades. The Seventh Day Adventists finally received government recognition in 1938. These missions - Mennonite, Assemblies of God, Episcopal, Jesuit, Assyrian, Baptist, Presbyterian, et cetera - illustrate the range of American religious and sectarian ideas which are present.

A comparison of the investments of these philan-

TABLE I

STATISTICS ON NINE AMERICAN MISSION GROUPS, 1930-1940

	Date	Churches	Schools	Pupils	American
Reformed Presbyterian Mission	1930	2	14	499	8
	1935	6	10	429	4
	1940	6	10	568	5
Church of God	1930	2	1	100	6
	1935	2	1	105	4
	1940	2	2	150	4
United Missionary Society	1930	1	1	--	1
	1935	1	1	150	1
	1940	1	1	175	0
Seventh Day Adventists	1930	-	-	--	-
	1935	-	-	--	-
	1940	2	2	140	2
American School, Damascus	1930	0	1	78	2
	1935	0	1	120	4
	1940	0	1	299	1
Bible Lands Gospel Mission	1930	-	-	--	-
	1935	-	1	445	6
	1940	-	1	325	2
Daniel Oliver Orphanage	1930	-	1	111*	2
	1935	-	1	120*	0
	1940	-	1	103*	0
L. Barakat Home for Orphan Girls	1930	-	1	16*	0
	1935	-	1	16*	1
	1940	-	1	17*	0
Christian Missionary Alliance	1930	3	2	46	5
	1935	3	3	87	4
	1940	3	3	106	4

* Inmates of the orphanage

thropic enterprises shows somethings about the extent of their work. Such figures are not readily available, but Appendix B shows annual budget figures or investment statistics for most of the American philanthropic interests.

Chapter V

BETWEEN TWO WARS

(Continued)

1.

Two important transitions were made in Syrian Protestant College immediately after the war. The first, a change in name had been carefully planned, but the second, a change in administration came suddenly. The idea of changing the name had been discussed ever since the time Howard Bliss had first taken office as president in 1902. After that the development of the schools of Dentistry, Pharmacy and Nursing had made the College de facto a university. And finally, after eighteen years an appeal from the Faculty and the Trustees caused the Regents of the University of New York State in November 1920 to grant Syrian Protestant College a new charter. It became, de jure, the American University of Beirut.

The new name did not indicate a change in the concepts of the school's purpose. The ideal of a responsible and trained citizenry imbued with Christian principles remained basic. The interest of the University has continued to be the education of men as professional leaders and as responsible citizens. But it did indicate another stage in the growth of the school.

Just before the formal change to University had been

made Howard Bliss had passed away peacefully while on a trip to the United States to raise money for the College. He had led the College through its greatest crises and actually had worked himself to death that others might "have life and have it more abundantly".[1] After the Paris peace conference the visit to the United States had been planned because every department of the College needed reinforcements and personnel. The hospital and the Medical school had been run until 1917 in cooperation with German Protestant mission work. The Johanniter Order had provided a good part of the hospital; the Kaiserwerth Deaconness Order, the nurses; and the American missionaries, the doctors. But the Germans had been forced to leave, and the College now needed large sums to build up and expand the physical plant and staff.

The University had no president for three years while it struggled back to its feet, and then Bayard Dodge, son-in-law of the ex-president, was chosen by the Trustees. Meanwhile, an organization, representing A. U. B. and Robert College and called the Near East College Association, was formed in New York for the purpose of handling the business of the Trustees.[2] Under the guiding hand of the N.E.C.A. the financial campaign was a success and by 1930 the endowment had increased 300% over 1920 and the annual budget was $730,000 or over 600% of that in 1914. President Dodge

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1. Motto of the school: Ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant'.

2. Others rapidly joined until in 1926 five Near Eastern Schools were represented by the Association. In 1928 a sixth, Athens College, joined the Association.

could turn his attention to other pressing needs.

2.

An analysis of the history of the University indicates that the student body grew over 100% between the wars. They began to come in increasing numbers as soon as the war was over. At first the majority came into the Preparatory school, but soon the ratio of University students to Preparatory students again became fifty to fifty. The growth of the student body from 1914 to 1947 is shown in Table II. The increase between 1918 and 1938 was 892 or 118% of the 1918 number.

The number of countries from which students came likewise increased and then remained at a high level. There were representatives from five continents almost every year: in 1930, for example, 39 countries were represented; in 1937, 46 countries; in 1940, 37 countries. In 1940, 58 students were from Africa, 66 from North America, 9 from South America, 105 from Europe and 1751 from Asia. Though many of these came from emigrant Arab families they nevertheless had lived in every corner of the globe. Of the 1992 students in 1940 727 were Moslem, 198 were Jewish, 996 were Christian and 71 were followers of some other faiths. The community had an international, interracial, and interreligious atmosphere, par excellence.

To offer them the broadest and best possible education new facilities and equipment had to be constantly

TABLE II

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

STUDENT BODY

Academic Year	College Students	Total Student Body*
1913-14	- -	976
1914-15	- -	817
1915-16	160	780
1916-17	- -	690
1917-18	214	751
1918-19	- -	914
1919-20	- -	987
1920-21	381	1001
1921-22	442	966
1922-23	440	907
1923-24	458	953
1924-25	587	1122
1925-26	573	1142
1926-27	691	1198
1927-28	689	1140
1928-29	711	1114
1929-30	805	1458
1930-31	845	1540
1931-32	837	1480
1932-33	848	1473
1933-34	853	1421
1934-35	791	1365
1935-36	789	1401
1936-37	762	1502
1937-38	828	1643
1938-39	844	1938
1939-40	883	1834
1940-41	931	1976
1941-42	1010	2272
1942-43	1023	2242
1943-44	1035	2390
1944-45	1241	2466
1945-46	1211	2377
1946-47	1232	2306

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* Includes every existing department except the Institute of Music.

added. Efforts were made to enable all the students eat on campus. West Hall, built in 1914, provided facilities for drama, games, bowling, music, reading and meetings. In 1928 the athletic field and stadium was built below the campus on the sea front to promote sports and physical development among the students. A total of forty acres were added to the campus area. Donations from Rockefeller Foundation, from alumni, and from friends were used to build Dale Home for nurses, a Pathology building, a Chemistry building, a Medical Science building, an Outpatient clinic and fifteen other large and small buildings. The library was increased from 18,000 to 67,700 volumes from 1918 to 1939. Table III shows the growth in hospital patients from 1914-1947; the hospital was able to furnish 200 beds by 1926. The roads on the campus were paved, one by one, and the hillsides gradually became more multicolored with various flowers and trees.

3.

The University was not only able to increase the student body thanks to its improved facilities, it was also able to expand existing departments and to open new departments. High quality work was constantly the goal. The opening up of Syria to the full force of French culture presented the University with several problems, one of which was the matter of language. French was now official in Syria and Lebanon, and A. U. B. began to stress it more in the curriculum. A French section of the Preparatory school

TABLE III

GROWTH IN HOSPITAL PATIENTS, 1914-1947

Year	In Patients	Out Patients
1913-14	1,341	7,817
1920-21	1,668	13,535
1924-25	2,790	17,586
1925-26	2,434	22,671
1926-27	2,661	19,388
1927-28	2,699	19,962
1928-29	-----	23,746
1929-30	3,041	25,058
1930-31	3,576	25,218
1931-32	3,169	27,665
1932-33	2,892	24,538
1933-34	2,884	23,596
1934-35	3,075	24,178
1935-36	3,251	26,218
1936-37	3,389	26,819
1937-38	3,535	32,562
1938-39	3,593	32,289
1939-40	3,119	33,995
1940-41	3,169	20,129
1941-42	3,585	21,621
1942-43	3,788	20,260
1943-44	4,231	25,202
1944-45	4,514	25,276
1945-46	4,791	29,151
1946-47	4,589	26,545

was begun in 1926 to serve the needs of youth in the French mandated territories.[1]

The English mandated governments were calling for trained Arabs and other men and women to take responsible positions in the postwar governments. A. U. B. was the only source for such, and as its graduates were found to be satisfactory demands upon it were increased. Doctors, business experts, chemists, leaders of all kinds were asked for, and the University responded in every possible way.

An Elementary school was started in 1925 to complete the University system and to serve as a place for teacher training. French primary parochial schools and mosque schools were increasing, yet the Elementary school immediately became very popular. To handle three schools instead of the original one preparatory school was difficult, but competition from other schools kept enrollment at the very level which the Preparatory school had maintained previously.

Additional advancements in the lower levels of the University were facilitated because of the offer in the early 1930s for International College from Smyrna to move to Beirut as a part of the A. U. B. system. It had been a four year college and a member of N.E.C.A., but Turkish restrictions made it necessary to move. In 1936 the move was made and International College took over the administration of all classes in the University below the junior year of college. It kept its independent, but overlapping, Board

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1. In 1931, it was separated as a French school, called Section Secondaire and planned parallel to the English Preparatory school.

of Trustees and developed a program in its Intermediate Section for freshman and sophomore, which was adapted to the English matriculation and the French Baccalaureate Certificates. Because of special supervision and a guidance program boys from many backgrounds were helped to learn and adjust to life in a Westernized Mediterranean seaport. The University proper could thus devote its energies to intensive upperclass specialization.

The Medical school was able to rise satisfactorily above the obstacles that were left by the war. With the help of Rockefeller Foundations new buildings and laboratory equipment were put to use, and the size of the medical library was increased severalfold.[1] However the number of medical students was not increased; rather emphasis was put upon the quality of the graduates. Here, as elsewhere, the foreign teaching staff was slowly rebuilt until there was adequate leadership in each department.

By 1925 the Dental school had been granted first class recognition in the United States and its future seemed assured. Over the next fifteen years, however, it was discovered that the dentists from the Université de St. Joseph and the Syrian University were training men to lower standards in dentistry than was A. U. B. Government regulations were not discouraging low quality work, and the more highly trained University dentists found themselves at a disadvantage. During the depression most people were

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1. Supra pp. 76-7

satisfied with poorer quality dental work at less cost. In 1940, therefore, the Dental school closed its doors. Its service was over.

The school of Nursing has had a history similar to the others in that the standards have slowly been raised. In the first years of the school it was difficult to attract students. Nursing was considered a menial occupation and few girls were willing to apply. The need for nurses and midwives remained pressing, however, and the University continued trying to give dignity and status to the profession. In 1925 the graduates were invited to join graduates of the other departments at the University commencement. That pointedly illustrated the prestige attached to the profession.

The suggestion was welcomed in the late 1920s that an Institute of Music be included as a University department. In 1929 the new department was formed offering individual instruction as well as a complete music course leading to the Diploma of the Institute. The appreciation of good Western music has steadily increased since that time. The University was not able to develop a full orchestra or a concert band, or to integrate the Institute as fully as desired into the life of the University. More and more of the students became interested in instruction and the number of freshman who entered A. U. B. with music training in their secondary school background slowly increased, music had been emphasized steadily in the American Mission secondary schools.

Besides the opening of new departments all existing

branches of the University sought to increase their scope and raise their standards. International College supervised the younger students in such a way as to overcome some of the difficulties presented by diverse educational backgrounds. The Nursing school required a high school diploma for entrance after 1932.

As late as 1926 the number of majors offered in the social sciences was extremely limited. The pre-professional fields had been the strongest. But the work in several social science departments was slowly strengthened, i.e. sociology, history, philosophy, economics, and political science.[1] New chairs were endowed in Arabic, English and archeology. Research was carried on in the medical and social sciences, in Oriental studies and in industrial chemistry.[2] The work toward a Master of Arts degree, which had been offered since 1903, was strengthened, and a plan was carried out for University work in the junior and senior years to be separated into Honours and Pass courses. Table IV shows the graduates since 1914.

4.

One of the most impressive and important innovations of the interwar period proved to be the introduction of coeducation in the Arab world. Recognizing the need for higher education for women in the Near East, the University

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1. Penrose, op. cit, p. 239
2. Ibid., pp. 247-252.

TABLE IV

GRADUATES OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT FROM 1914-1947

Year	Bachelor of Arts	Pharmacy	Bachelor of Arts in Medicine	Dentistry	Medicine	Bachelor of Business Administration	Master of Arts
1914	26	--	--	--	--	9	--
1915	18	--	--	--	--	0	1
1916	17	--	--	--	--	7	3
1917	10	--	--	--	--	3	3
1918	9	--	--	--	--	3	1
1919	8	--	--	--	--	1	3
1920	12	10	--	3	24	0	1
1921	7	13	--	5	24	0	1
1922	14	4	--	11	20	0	1
1923	8	1	--	14	26	9	7
1924	11	4	--	10	24	10	4
1925	23	5	--	10	0	3	0
1926	20	10	1	10	27	3	0
1927	42	8	2	7	21	6	1
1928	50	11	3	7	17	15	3
1929	46	11	4	16	11	20	0
1930	54	11	7	1	12	15	0
1931	48	4	4	5	17	19	0
1932	54	--	6	--	--	15	2
1933	38	--	5	--	--	11	3
1934	45	--	6	--	--	13	3
1935	28	--	7	--	--	4	6
1936	35	18	6	11	23	12	0
1946	92	17	32	--	32	22	10
1947	92	10	28	--	33	16	7

cooperated fully with the American Mission in projects to improve women's educational facilities. Both have maintained that the advancement of the Arab world depends eventually upon the emancipation of women. In 1921 a step had been taken when the University allowed women to enter the schools of Pharmacy and Dentistry. This was the first coeducational college training in the modern Arab world.[1] Another step had been taken when University recognition was granted that same year to Nursing school graduates. Then in 1924 when President Bayard Dodge had first come as president women were admitted as sophomores in all departments. A year later a permanent arrangement with the Mission was made whereby the Junior College had a complete two year course and only juniors and above were allowed at A. U. B.

Serious objections were raised to these innovations both on social and on religious grounds. Seven girls enrolled, however, one of whom was a Moslem. That same year the first girl graduated from a coeducational professional course -- in this case, dentistry. Outside the University wall veils were still customary even in this seaport town. But the plans went forward and coeducation became permanent, beginning with the junior year of college.

As the years passed the girls were able to live more

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1. Dr. Nabih Faris reports that during World War I a coeducational secondary school was conducted in Nazareth. The previous school, headed by his father, had been closed by Turkish order. A few pupils were taken into the Faris home in 1915 and rapid expansion followed. Three years later it had grown to 200 day students - one half of whom were girls up to eighteen years of age. It is significant that the very first coeducational school was begun by Arab Christians in the hometown of Jesus.

as students participating in all phases of University life. The number of girls has grown steadily as shown in Table IV, and social contacts between the Junior College and the Intermediate Section have been strengthened each year. Under expert guidance coeducation has become a fact in Lebanon.

5.

In spite of the sensitivity to social evil that has characterized the American interests since their beginning it must be noted that there was a sizable increase in social service projects between 1918 and 1940. The University had always sought to develop civic responsibility and to spread the ideal of social service. Usually such service began as part of the activities of some Christian organization. Before World War I the Young Men's Christian Association -- which Penrose describes as "very successful" -- was the main source of student service.[1] During the war the entire College family had joined together to serve the refugees and famine-stricken in Syria.

Immediately after the war the West Hall Brotherhood was set up "to unite students and teachers of all religions in a religious brotherhood based on mutual respect and sympathy....". It took for its motto, "the realm in which we share is far greater than that in which we differ".[2]

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1. op. cit., p. 300

2. Fifty-fourth Annual Report of Syrian Protestant College to the Trustees, 1919-1920, pp. 16-7.

TABLE V

WOMEN STUDENTS AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT, 1921-1947

Year	Total	Christian	Moslem
1921-22	5	2	-
1922-23	4	2	-
1923-24	4	2	-
1924-25	7	3	1
1925-26	16	10	1
1926-27	16	10	2
1927-28	11	8	2
1928-29	14	10	2
1929-30	22	17	2
1930-31	27	20	6
1931-32	25	19	4
1932-33	27	19	2
1933-34	26	17	2
1934-35	28	18	0
1935-36	35	25	2
1936-37	27	16	3
1937-38	29	20	4
1938-39	44	24	8
1939-40	57	30	14
1940-41	52	28	14
1941-42	47	24	13
1942-43	55	31	15
1943-44	54	33	9
1944-45	83*	60	13
1945-46	113*	86	14
1946-47	113*	81	25
	941	615	158

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* Increase above 1944 is due to Polish refugee students under British auspices.

Total number of students: 941

Total number of degrees: B. A. 322, B. B. A. 9, Nursing B. S. 3, M. A. 13, M. S. 3, Pharmacy 12, Dentistry 5, Medicine 73, Music 26, Midwifery 56, Nursing 417.

Soon after 1918 there developed out of this Brotherhood numerous social service projects, among them two night schools for workers. In 1928, for example, students regularly visited three schools to lead in recreational activities. And then with the entrance of the 1930s the expanded Brotherhood activities were merged with the Institute of Rural Life[1], so that social service formally became a part of A. U. B. as the organization which later became the Civic Welfare League.

No means of training village agriculture teachers had been found to be satisfactory, and the Institute began to look for other means of serving the rural needs. Finding that often the poor boys who were trained in agriculture became too proud to do the practical jobs of the farm a Farm Management Course was set up in 1937 catering to the sons of large land-owners. It attempted to interest them in developing agriculture on their own lands instead of wasting substance in the cities and to give them training in the principles of scientific farming. The course was two years in length. At first requirements for previous education were lax, and the first year corresponded, in general, to the last year of high school. Later the course was raised to the same level as the arts program for freshman and sophomores.

Now that the Institute had some financial backing from the Near East Foundation it followed the lead of the American

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1. Ante p. 35

Junior College and set up a summer village welfare project in 1933. Three centers were set up then, and a fourth was added seven years later. Working in several villages around a stationary camp the unpaid volunteers from the University attempted to improve sanitation, recreation, agricultural methods, literacy and home welfare. Improvements which they discussed with villagers included ideas about rubbish removal, latrines, fruit cultivation and landscaping of the village.[1] Usually the Foundation and University worked hand in hand. The accomplishments in village improvement over the years may have been relatively small, but, if for no other reason, the value of the experience in the life of the students made the efforts worthwhile.

Social service activities did not stop with village welfare. The Civic Welfare League developed a City Welfare Service Branch and a Relief Committee. The evident needs facing each committee of the League have always been tremendous but the efforts and the spirit of service spread constantly and surely. All freshman students were required to teach one semester in a night school as laboratory for their sociology course. Graduates have begun civic welfare work in their own communities and the influence thus spread. In Beirut cooperative work with other schools and social agencies in all fields of social work has grown from almost nothing since 1918.

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1. Ante, p. 36. See also, Penrose, op. cit., pp. 272-9

6.

The religious activities of the University remained relatively unchanged between 1918 and 1940 with the exception of new efforts to train the clergy. In regard to weekday chapel all students were required before 1915 to attend daily chapel, but in that year a change had to be made so that an alternative service would be provided of a non-religious nature. That system of alternative chapels was kept until World War II. Each Sunday morning voluntary religious services were held in the chapel, and International College later instituted a Sunday Evening Service where attendance was required of all students from the eleventh grade through sophomore year of college except those in Section Secondaire. Each winter a series of religious meetings has been held with services in the evening and with opportunity afterwards for the students to discuss religious questions with the guest lecturer.

In 1932 a cooperative arrangement was made with the Mission's Near East School of Theology so that students at the N.E.S.T. and at A. U. B. could take courses at both schools.[1] The theology students could now earn their Bachelor of Arts degree as well as their theology diploma, in a five year course. Now Protestant pastors would be University trained. As a result of this arrangement courses in religion were seldom offered on the A. U. B. campus, but students could go to the American Mission compound for

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1. Ante, p. 55

courses at the N.E.S.T.

The aim of the University has been to show its religion in everyphase of University life and to build a spirit of love and toleration within the student body. This is and always has been its goal.

7.

The Rockefeller Foundations stepped in at times to assist the University. Beginning with the visit of two representatives in 1924 the Foundation proper began to help the medical and pre-medical departments with financial grants, and to some extent others also. From 1924 to 1929 125,000 dollars was given for medical and pre-medical work During the same period. $52,000 was alloted to the social science departments by the Rockefeller Memorial Foundation.

In 1929 $750,000 was presented as endowment for the Medical school and $250,000 was set aside for the construction of medical science, out-patient and chemistry buildings. The Report of the President in 1931 included the following:[1]

> "The gifts of the Rockefeller Foundation, added to the splendid gifts which the Hall Bequest, the Rosenwald Foundation, and many thousands of individual contributors gave to the endowment campaign, have enabled the University to rise out of the depression of the war period and attain standards of academic work equal to those of first class institutions in Europe and America."

From 1932 to 1939 the annual grants continued even more generously than before. Each year $25,000 went to the Medi-

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1. Sixty-fifth Annual Report, p. 17

cal school, $18,000 to the Nursing school and $7,000 to the pre-medical sciences. At the same time $90,000 was dedicated for work in the social sciences. The Foundation was interested in the encouragement of worthy projects in needed areas and the University fitted into that classification. Research was done in the source materials for social studies in the Arab world. In 1938 President Dodge reported,

> "The Professor of Bio-Chemistry is carrying on exceedingly interesting experiments to find the chemical components of the brain.
>
> One member of the Department of Pharmacology has published an article on morphine sulphate and another has investigated certain endocrine agents and automatic drugs. This work has been encouraged by a grant of $500 from the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation and grants of $400 each from the Squibb Company and the Smith, Klein and French Company."[1]

Finally the Foundation itself capitalized these grants with $1,000,000 endowment for the medical work of the University. It was given on condition that another $500,000 be found in other sources, and this condition was met by the Near East College Association.

Meanwhile as American Museums and departments of archeology of the various universities recovered from the effects of World War I sufficiently to plan new expeditions they turned once more to the Islamic world where many of the most famous cities of ancient times had been. After conditions in the Levant had improved in 1927-8 four American groups sent expeditions to sites in the area.

The first to come was the Yale Expedition in 1928 and it was followed two years later by a group which ex-

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1. President's Report, Seventy-second year, p. 9.

cavated in a suberb of Antioch. Doura Europas, the site of the former, was a center on the Euphrates River of Hellenistic culture under the Seleucids and of defense under the Romans. For ten years the dig continued, the remains uncovered and portions transferred to the Damascus museum and to Yale University.[1] The Antioch Expedition was planned and executed by a combination of interests: the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Louvre, Princeton University, and the Worcester Art Museum. Between 1930 and 1938 the work continued, and then the Sanjak of Alexandretta, in which Antioch lay, was ceded to Turkey so that the expedition no longer worked in Syria. Since Antioch had been the most important city in North Syria in Roman times it yielded valuable information about provincial Roman and Christian life in the area.

A year later the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago joined the Antioch expedition in the Sanjak of Alexandretta.[2] Near the town of Rehanie they uncovered Hittite ruins from the second millenium before Christ which were combined with finds from expeditions in Anatolia to augment knowledge about Hittite civilization. The European war stopped their work.

An American Jesuit expedition from Boston University began exploring prehistoric Syrian life along the coast just

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1. See Robin Fedden, Syria, Robert Hale Ltd., 1946, for more information about ancient centers of civilization in Syria.

2. See J. H. Breasted, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago Press, 1933, Chapter XIII.

north of Beirut at Ksar Aqil in 1938. Their work was interrupted by the war but in 1947 they returned to complete the excavations. The Lebanese and Syrian departments of antiquities, under the guidance of French experts, have always cooperated fully in such expeditions as these as well as in the development of the museum at the American University. In the Levant the French have proven themselves to be leaders in archeology.

Chapter VI

WORLD WAR TWO

1.

The transition which took place in Syria and Lebanon during the second World War -- i.e., between 1940 and 1945 -- was important for two reasons. The first one is that the political status of the two states changed so that the American interests worked under free and independent governments instead of foreign Mandates. The second is that the interests of the American government and of American citizens in the Near East developed to such an extent that concern for security and for commercial activities rapidly overtook the older philanthropic interests and then surpassed them in importance.

In the fall of 1939 war was declared in Europe and in Syria security regulations were immediately put into effect because of the fear of an attack from Turkey. That attack did not materialize but other events did bring the war closer. In 1940 the war entered the Mediterranean when Italy joined Germany, and it entered Syria when Paris fell and the Vichy regime began in France and her colonies. German influence spread rapidly and was felt throughout the Levant and Iraq, the latter of which responded by revolting against the Allies in May 1941. Here was grave danger that the American interests in the area would not be safe.

However, one month later the British and Free French troops entered the Levant from the South and East and, after five weeks of fighting, on July 15, 1941 the Vichy regime collapsed. Meanwhile Iraq had become quiet once more. In the Levant the British and Free French governments promised the two countries independence and national sovereignty immediately, to be tempered only by the temporary security measures necessary for the prosecution of the war.

During the five years from that time until the last French troops were evacuated in September 1946 relations between the Free French and the Levant peoples were not peaceful. In spite of the fact that constitutional government had not been restored the French in 1942 again promised independence in return for which certain economic, strategic and political concessions were expected. These concessions the Syrians and Lebanese were unwilling to grant. Then in an attempt to force them to sign the proposed treaty, General de Gaulle had several members of a newly-formed Lebanese national cabinet imprisoned in November 1943. The people of the countries were furious, and the British issued an ultimatum to the French which soon brought reaffirmations of Levant independence. Another French blunder was made a year and a half later when additional colonial troops were landed in Beirut, just at the time treaty negotiations were underway and in spite of protests from the local governments. Fighting broke out in Damascus and other cities in Syria in May 1945 which brought more stern rebukes from the British, from members of the newly-formed Arab League, and from

members of the United Nations. The French had to leave without further delay; and by the summer of 1946 both French and British troops had withdrawn from Syria and by September, from Lebanon. At last the countries were free and independent.

The political changes before 1946 seemed primarily to intensify the Arab desire for independence. The agitation for sovereign self-government had been growing since long before the First World War, and after the shift to French Mandate the native leaders constantly disagreed with and sometimes had been literally at swordspoints with the Mandatory officials. Only the traditionally friendly Lebanese Maronites regularly stood by France and that sometimes to a decreasing extent. The need for strategic and cultural bases in the Near East during World War II seemed to the French to be good grounds for postponing independence for the Levant states, but other forces carried the movement onward in spite of the French attitude. Many of the people were not whole-heartedly in back of the Allies; they could not forget the horrible experiences of the First World War as well as the broken promises of the Western countries afterwards. Time after time crises had arisen, until finally the nationalist spirit combined with British, United States, and Russian pressure brought independence.

The second reason for noting the transition during the war years is discussed in more detail in section 3 of this chapter.

2.

None of the existing American cultural interests were disrupted during World War II the way they had been from 1914 to 1918. In contrast this war brought increased business activity rather than widespread suffering to the people with whom they worked. The large foreign armies created a demand for goods that made the area prosperous. The interests were somewhat hindered by lack of personnel, by restrictions on travel and on student activities, and by inflation, but these were negligible in comparison to the troubles of World War I. Most of the University's American personnel were evacuated during the threatening days in the spring of 1941, and they were able to return only after one or more years.

The regular mission work of the interests continued, however, with few changes. Increased responsibilities were given to Arabs in the mission schools and in the various departments of the University, and large numbers of soldiers - British, Australian and American - received hospitality in the form of athletic facilities, music, drama, special classes, medical help, canteen service and some of the comforts of home. Within the schools enrollments were large since European schools were weakened by the war and entrance requirements were raised to keep enrollments down to levels which the reduced American staffs could handle.[1] The defense measures ordered by the government were strictly

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1. See Table II for enrollments at A. U. B.

observed, especially in 1941 when fighting was going on and Beirut was under attack. Academic plans begun before the war were continued in spite of the abnormal conditions and departments of the University assisted the armies in whatever way they could, through medicine, research, advice, and the loan of facilities such as the observatory. Red Cross work, local city welfare activities and rest camps for the soldiers were conducted.

In the same manner in which the forces of General Allenby and the workers of Near East Relief had tended to Westernize the Levant and Turkey the soldiers of General de Gaulle and General Catroux speeded the modernization of life in the Levant, especially that of students in the American schools. President Dodge writes that the principal change during the war was this modernization:[1]

> "Men and women students were allowed to act together and to hold dances in West Hall. Girls played tennis in shorts and wore thoroughly modern costumes in bathing.... As there was no military service, the University at Beirut passed through the war much more easily than sister institutions did in Europe and America...."

The latter years of the war enabled some expansion of the cultural interests. The Near East Foundation began a greatly expanded program in 1943, as was noted in chapter III, section 2. The Seventh Day Adventists' school, begun in 1939 in Beirut as a junior college, was forced to move to larger temporary quarters in 1944 while an expanded school campus and program was planned. In 1945 they chose

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1. American University, International College and Damascus College, 1910-1947, Bayard Dodge Report, 1947.

a new site two miles northeast of Beirut on a beautiful knoll overlooking the Mediterranean. The Tel Tamur Agricultural school was set up on the Khabur River in Northeast Syria in 1941 to serve the needs of the Assyrian refugees resettled there by the League of Nations in 1933. Supported by the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States it expanded until 127 Assyrian students were enrolled in 1946.

Meanwhile other American interests - mainly commercial - had been largely stopped because of the security restrictions on shipping in the Mediterranean and because of the demands for shipping space by the sizable armies in action around the Near East. The story of the development of American commercial interests has been included in Appendix A with a brief sketch of the World War II period in section D.

3.

By far the most important characteristic of the war period is the development of official American government interests in the Near East. This development was evident in the Levant and other Near Eastern countries and in the United States where actions concerning the Near East were taken.

On the scene the personnel of the American legation grew several hundred percent thus indicating the importance attached to the area. In 1914 and in 1920 there had been only two American government employees in the Levant who were native Americans. By 1930 the American staff in Beirut had increased to six but ten years later in 1940 still only

six had been sent by the State Department. Seven years later, however, in 1947 the American staff had grown over 300% to nineteen persons in Beirut, and another legation had been opened for Syria.

The expansion of the State Department during the war also included an Office of War Information in Beirut which offered films and other news material about America for the use of the Lebanese people. Seeking to increase knowledge of the United States and to develop an understanding of its people it served to promote American national interests. And under the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State a few students were sent to the United States at the same time that unconditional grants were made to the University and the Near East Foundation to assist them financially through the war period.

This indicated an awakening interest in America concerning the strategic importance of the entire Near East.[1] A few examples will illustrate the most important relations of the United States with Syria and Lebanon. On November 29, 1941 Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, released a statement that America was unable to recognize the independence of Syria and Lebanon at that time but that the United States-French agreement of April 6, 1924 definitely embodied the principle of Syrian and Lebanese independence. According to E. A. Speiser this endorsement of independence by the U. S. A. in 1941, combined with Britains determined

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1. In chapter VIII, sections 2-4, the strategic importance of the Near East is discussed in more detail.

position in the matter, resulted in the Lebanese gains in the November 1943 crisis.[1] In October 1942 a Consul General was appointed to the Syrian and Lebanese governments. In the summer of 1944 the United States recognized the unconditional independence of the two countries, though their international status was not clarified until March 1945 when both received official invitations to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

4.

The Americans in the Levant found that financial problems were among the worst of their World War II troubles. The Lebanese and Syrian currencies had been tied to the French franc since 1924 and the agreement had not proven satisfactory to the native peoples. The instability of a French paper-backed currency was a disadvantage to the countries; in 1936, in 1938 and again in 1939 the franc fell in value and brought down with it the value of the Levant moneys. Then, after the war began, as large foreign armies camped in Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Egypt, tremendous sums of money passed into the hands of the inhabitants. In the Levant all new imported commodities and certain basic foodstuffs were scarce while demand was at a new high, and the result was a steady and drastic increase in prices. By 1946 the general price index had risen to over 600% of the 1939 level.

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1. E. A. Speiser, The United States and the Near East, American Foreign Policy Library, Harvard University Press, 1947, p. 102.

Meanwhile the American dollar had remained pegged by the Exchange Control Office at the official rate set in 1939 of 218.15 piasters to one dollar. As confidence in the local paper currency declined and as demand increased prices rose and the American philanthropic interests were forced to exchange their dollars at a sizable loss. The government rate gave them fewer Lebanese and Syrian pounds than was justified by the actual market value of the pound within the countries. Salaries and operational costs increased greatly and the interests became increasingly hard-pressed financially and salaries had to be raised. Emergency war bonuses were given to University staff, and while increases were granted to missionaries and mission workers. If the institutions had exchanged their American dollars in the open, non-government money market they would have been liable to fine and imprisonment. Though the governments of Syria and Lebanon profited considerably from this overvaluation of the pound the philanthropic interests obeyed the law and bore the burdens both of inflation and unfavorable exchange. The funds from America that used to go a long way in the Levant missions were now worth considerably less. Here was a new obstacle, an economic one, to be faced.

Chapter VII

CULTURAL PROBLEMS IN SYRIA

1.

If a period of time needs to be chosen for the beginning of Westernization in Syria it may well be the rule of Ibrahim Pasha from 1832 to 1840 when the country was opened to Western merchants, to French Catholic missionaries sent by Rome and to Protestant missionaries from the United States. Though missionaries had been in the country before 1832 they received government encouragement for these eight years. The process of Westernization continued at a slowly increasing pace under the impulses from commerce, emigration and missionary enterprise after 1840 until 1918, and after World War I speeded up to a fast trot with the mass invitation to the West made by France. In 1918 the British army had come with mechanized units, and Near East Relief sent with their workers Western medicines, large-scale organization and activistic ideas. These sights stirred the people and made the population more conscious of the West. However, the most influencial forces proved to be the ever-present cinemas, radios and books that were sent in increasing quantities from Europe and America. Improved transportation and communication facilities enabled an increasing number of peasants to see movies in the cities and made cinemas possible in the smaller towns. The

French and English-speaking schools had worked for one hundred years teaching their respective languages, and the American schools had also encouraged a revival of Arabic. Each year now there was more literature from the West to be read, and more coming from the local presses. The radio within a few years tended to become the center of village life around which everyone gathered.

The change from Turkish to French government increased the influence of Christianity in both countries. For the first time in hundreds of years the Christian sects did not face a hostile government.[1] They had a Christian government and could feel secure. At the same time, however, secularism increased in intensity within government circles and over the countryside, because the interlocking of religion and state to which the people were accustomed in a Moslem state was loosened a little. The secular character of Western nations accompanied the French innovations so that the local Christians found that this government of a Christian state did not pay much homage to Christian beliefs.

It was not only the changes that affected the society and the natives. It was "change" itself, as a characteristic of dynamic Western society, that upset the old traditions, and it struck at the very heart of the static Arabo-Islamic society.

America has been the source of only a small part of

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1. With the exception of the Mount Lebanon area which had been allowed Christian Ottoman governors approved by the Western Powers since 1866.

the forces from the West. French interests and influences have been the strongest and the Anglo-Saxon ideas have clashed at times with Latin ideas they have met here. In contrast to America's interests through missions the British and French governments have had colonial-security and business reasons for maintaining their status in the Arab world. Within the American interests there have been differences in direct aims. The mission interests have been the "expansion of the Kingdom of God"; the University, "a more abundant life"; the Foundation, rural reconstruction. But, regardless of their set aims, the effect has been that the Americans have actually helped the Syrians understand the West because they have had the well-being of the Syrians at heart. As interests embodying a Christian spirit they have sought to fight the non-Christian or semi-Christian aspects of Western culture that entered the area. In spite of the more advanced and complex state of the American and European civilization most missionaries have been aware of the dangers of encouraging Syrians to break with their past and to attempt to adopt en masse the Western external customs. They have realized that a valuable part of the West is its spirit of initiative and enterprise, but also that many specific ideas and customs have not proven to be transferable. The effort has been to help the natives place the correct values upon the new ideas that encroach upon them.

Along with explanations of the West there has constantly been an attempt to build up native life and traditions. The sensitive Americans have led the interests to

adopt a policy of tolerance for native customs. It is the Christian evangelical spirit that has been spread, to permeate and revive local culture, to develop it according to their best traditions and ideals. Thus the type of organization used in the Armenian and Syrian churches was not rigidly set by the respective missionaries, and the Near East Foundation resolved to "help" the villagers rather than to "lead" them. It has been shown time and again that they have not sought to stifle native culture, nor have they tried to use American philanthropy as a forerunner to political infiltration. The possible curse of Westernization has been all too evident, that a superficial imitation of Western customs and shoving aside of all native traditions has been no goal for which to seek.

A third contribution follows: that Americans have directly and indirectly assisted in the search for a synthesis of West and East within the life of the Levant. The tremendous difficulties involved in such a synthesis of civilizations cannot be discussed here but a recognition of the existence of difficulties and of the aim of Americans to promote a better life is in order. Few of the Americans have said that America is completely Christian. The goal has been a society with high Christian standards which go beyond any present governments in the West or East. They have taught Arabic and world history rather than American history, acquainted the students with Oriental and Occidental philosophy, trained leaders in government and business and facilitated creative thinking upon the mixture of ideas

in the Levant.[1]

If the Americans had had government responsibilities the story might be different. Until after World War II those in the country were predominately missionaries, ready to assist and to lead the people but not to make "a little America". They could and have presented potential goals and have worked with the natives - as junior partners and later as full partners - while striving for Christian ends. This was unbridled philanthropy, seeking in the midst of changes, political unrest, the spiritual needs that would help the people live independent, ethical lives.

2.

The breakup of the Turkish Empire had a noticeable effect on the commerce of the East Mediterranean coast. Most serious to Syria was the closing of the Turkish boundary, but, in addition, Damascus and Beirut were separated from Amman and Haifa, and the Mosul and Baghdad trade was hindered by trade restrictions.[2] Moreover in 1938 the annexation of Alexandretta by Turkey separated Aleppo from

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1. The best example containing these three contributions is the book published in Arabic and English by S. C. Dodd, entitled Social Relations in the Middle East, American Press, Beirut, third edition, 1946. The book is used by all Freshman in their sociology course at the University. There an attempt is made to understand local problems and goals in relation to forces from the West and the possible contributions of the West.

2. See Elizabeth MacCallum, The Nationalist Crusade in Syria, American Foreign Policy Association, 1928, Chapter V.

its seaport. Throughout the interwar period the desires and the conflicts of Britain, France and Turkey have been reflected in and have even intensified national problems in Syria, Lebanon and other parts of the Near East.

The problems of urbanization which accompany Westernization were heightened by the political and economic results of the war. A steady stream of migrants from rural areas eager for jobs and restless in their villages swelled the city populations. In the 1920s besides these, the Armenians came, homeless, and desperate for a livelihood. The cities - Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, Homs, and Hama - grew rapidly. Beirut grew over one hundred percent between 1914 and 1940. The old businesses and trades found their markets partially destroyed by the new boundaries of 1922 and injured by the competition from Far Eastern and Western exports. Some familiar commodities were not wanted as before. "Changes" again were disturbing Levant life.

Instability and unrest were inevitable once the floodgates were open to the West. The evils of urban civilization entered along with Western comforts. "Canned" entertainment increased and the creative impulses of man were given little opportunity for expression either in urban vocational or recreational life. New industries, which usually produced second-rate goods, did not discourage woman and child labor nor did they attempt to raise the level of the masses. Schemes requiring large amounts of capital were forced to turn to foreign investors with whom hopeful local business men could not compete, and thus the

large development projects have been partially or completely foreign-owned.

The Americans have tried in numerous ways to improve life in the cities, sometimes successfully and at other times with few noticeable results. The schools, dealing with youth from the wealthier families, have sought to indoctrinate the students with ideas of responsibility to their home communities. Sometimes they have succeeded but often urban life has seemed so appealing, as they have heard of it in the movies, on the radio and in schools, that graduates have congregated in the cities searching for paradise and trying to earn money to buy Western luxuries. J. M. Davis, in his book New Buildings on Old Foundations, makes a comment concerning agricultural countries which holds true in the Levant:[1]

> "Modern education in many Asiatic and African lands has been so far modeled after the urban school of the West, with its orientation upon city-centered activities, that the natural future leaders of the rural communities have been drawn away to the urban world and consequently, rural society has remained in a static condition."

Along with the effort to increase civic responsibility and the tendency to encourage urbanization, the[illegible] interests have also been conscious of the need for something to offset the commercialism and lack of individuality in the cities. The creativity that the simple peasant expresses by tilling the soil must be brought out in some other form in the city. Through churches, social service, night schools,

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1. International Missionary Council, New York, 1945, pp. 11-12.

Armenian and other clubs, additional education, literature and sports this can be accomplished. Thus the City Welfare Service[1] and the Jessie Taylor Center[2] were organized, and thus the Americans were leaders in the Bourge mission from 1929 to 1934 ministering in the vice strongholds of Beirut. For this mission a central interracial, interreligious, international committee was set up. The women involved were urged to change their lives and were assisted by temporary homes, while the men visiting the area were befriended whenever possible, after contact had been made in a reading room kept open in the district almost every day for five years. Also in other towns reading rooms have been a part of the urban mission approach, as long as the literature needs of the community have not been filled.

In addition to these activities the Young Women's Christian Association began work in Beirut in 1920 to improve the opportunities for women in the city. Started by the American Y.W.C.A., with American resident secretaries, and with cooperation from the other philanthropic interests, it has aimed at vocational, recreational, social and spiritual improvement. As more young women were freed from their homes to enjoy public amusements or to seek employment the Y.W.C.A. program was expanded. Work with industrial girls began in 1926, and summer camps for city girls were first opened in 1928. Night schools, nutrition camps, producer

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1. Ante, p. 74

2. Ante, p. 41

cooperatives and an employment bureau were organized, and recreational and club facilities were made available. A school of commerce was started - all these activities to help women become citizens and leaders in the country of Lebanon.

The problems of urbanization still remain in the Levant. The basic social evils in the cities have been ameliorated somewhat but they still remain and the trend from village to city continues. As individuals and as a group the Americans seem to have grown more active in the various civic enterprises and the number of civic projects have grown. No one can be satisfied with the present situation though much has been done.

3.

Two-thirds of the Syrian people and a large minority of the Lebanese are classed as rural dwellers and these fellahin have felt the effects of the West the least. By now the ideas of the West have reached every village to some extent and have been both good and bad for the village life. Improvements have come and conditions have improved in many villages but with these benefits have come desires to have many luxuries found only in cities. Thus those who could afford to move to cities have done so leaving the supervision of their lands to resident overseers, abandoning least wealthy citizens in the villages. The government officials in control seldom have seen reason to be concerned about village living conditions. The French made little attempt

to improve their life and the evils of feudalism in the agricultural areas have lessened very slowly.

Conditions in the villages vary a good deal in Syria and Lebanon. Some maintain that usually the Christian villages are slightly more advanced and prosperous than the Moslem one and that the efforts of Protestants have raised Protestant villages above even their neighbors who are Christian but of other affiliation. It is true that long-established primary schools have decreased illiteracy and that mission work has instilled more life into the villagers. For example, in 1930 the mission report of the Beirut Station spoke of a new-born spirit of freedom in the villages traceable directly to Protestant church influence. In some areas by terrestrial and climatic conditions. The mountains of Lebanon and the semi-arid condition of much of the Levant makes rural development difficult.

The situation has usually been aggravated by the graduates who have left their villages after their schooling is completed. For what is there to do in the villages even if the land is owned by the villagers? Life in the cities and prospects for employment draw them as a magnet attracts iron. The village schools have been predominately urban-centered and life-centered village curriculums have been slow to take hold. The attempt was made by the mission as early as the 1920s when vocational skills were promoted at Gerard Institute and the cottage system was started at the Girls' School. Other contributions since 1920 at Hermil, at the Talabaya Farm School, in the Village Welfare Service,

and at the Tel Tamer Agricultural School have been mentioned. Since World War II a complete village curriculum has been worked out at Jibrail with secondary school courses in agriculture, in poultry care, in farm accounting, in horticulture, in animal husbandry, in health instruction, in family relations et cetera. Over the years one encouraging factor has constantly been present, and that is that the emigrants have often sent money back home in sufficient quantities to improve village life considerably. These improvement and mission projects have been only partially successful; they represent, however, the efforts of twenty years, and the total progress can be seen by visits to Merj, Hermil, Mar Elias, Ain Yakoub, Suk ul Gharb, Shemlan which have been centers of American activity.

The results have been spread by individual Syrians and to some extent by the two governments. Regardless of whether the activities have been carried on by the Christian missions or by the secular Near East Foundation they have sought to interest local leaders. The Americans have seen that no permanent advancement could be made by working apart from the people or by antagonizing the government officials. The governments have been interested in such projects as the use of D. D. T., agricultural experiments, and public health, as a direct result of American efforts. There is much more to be done, however, as is seen by the fact that the public health officials in both countries still restrict their activities entirely to "treatment" and do nothing in "pre-

vention".[1]

An interesting sidelight on American rural philanthropy arises from the first American commercial interest in the Levant - the Singer Sewing Machine Company.[2] In her book Moslem Women Enter a New World, Miss R. F. Woodsmall says,[3]

> "Everywhere (in the Moslem world), on and off the beaten path, on the main street in a conspicuous location or in the native bazaar, tucked away in dim little cubbyholes, and in secluded harems, I found the Singer Sewing Machine."

From 1870 on, thanks to its desire for new markets, the Company promoted village life by putting sewing machines into thousands of homes in hundreds of villages in the Fertile Crescent and in Turkey. This was the first step in the improvement of village life.

4.

Every foreign interest in the Levant for the last one hundred years has had to deal with Arab nationalism. And from entrance of Protestant missionaries to the present time American interests have been at the very heart of the growth. Competition between Catholics and Presbyterians in the nineteenth Century was at the source of the revival of the Arabic language and the movement of ideas both in

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1. Information from Dr. D. F. Milam, Rockefeller Foundation representative in Beirut.

2. For Singer Sewing Machine history see Appendix A.

3. G. Allen and Unwin Limited, 1936, p. 24.

literature and politics. Hourani maintains that the A. U. B. "has become in practice, and without the deliberate intention of its authorities, the intellectual center of Arab nationalism".[1] The Arab nationalistic spirit has grown steadily, promoted by numerous factors. It has taken as its basis the united Arab world of the Umayyad Caliphate. In Syria it found strength in the persecutions of Abdul-Hamid and in the martyrs of 1915 and 1916. It increased in intensity because of the frustrations following the San Remo decision to set up mandated governments. The French attempt to indoctrinate the people with French institutions and culture increased the feeling to fever pitch in some cases.

Not all the people have aimed at the same specific nationalistic ideals. One scheme has been a revived Arab-Islamic Empire, another has been a pan-Arab Union (with separation of religion from politics), another has been a Greater Syria joining Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan, another has been a union of Syria and Lebanon, and still another in Lebanon has sought independent, permanent Lebanese statehood.

Nationalism has been tied up with Westernization in several ways. Nationalists have imitated the West and yet have wanted to use nationalism as a defense against Western imperialism.

Where Arab nationalism has been religio-political the Western separation of church and state and the influence of

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1. Syria and Lebanon, p. 84

Christians have tended to work against its development. Regardless of the achievement of independence nationalism still presents many baffling problems because the Western concept of statehood contradicts the concept of citizenship by religious communities as it is practiced here. The citizens are being forced to choose: either the nation is separated from religion or the nation is hindered by the disadvantages which Islam is trying to overcome.

While American interests, by their encouragement of literature and by their stimulus of new ideas, have encouraged nationalism without deliberately intending to do so, they have deliberately attempted to guide existing nationalism into creative channels. The University has trained capable civil servants for government posts in several of the Arab countries. The University authorities recognized that "the most striking social development of the period between 1918 and 1939 was this nationalism, which eclipsed every other influence in intensity".[1] With this in mind then, President Dodge and the adminstration purposely began to set the students to work improving conditions for the sake of their countries. Thus the Civic Welfare League has put nationlism to work in Lebanon and the foreign students as well have been encouraged to teach and serve in their home communities during the summer.

While putting nationalism to work the University has transcended nationalism wherever possible. In 1941 President

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1. Seventy-fourth Annual Report of the President, 1939-40

Dodge wrote,

> "The fact that the University has served for seventy-five years as a laboratory, in which it has been proved by experiment that the men and women of many races, sects, and social classes could live and work and play together, gives one faith that the same results can be attained on a larger scale in the world as a whole."[1]

The very atmosphere has been international and cosmopolitan. In a similar manner the missions naturally have directed Syrians toward world brotherhood of the children of God.

The Zionist question has served to increase and direct Arab nationalism. As mandates and as free nations the Arab countries have been joined in their fear and hatred of political Zionism. The formation of the Arab League resulted from this even though the needs of World War II had not been sufficient previously to transcend the family rivalries of the Arab rulers. The intensity of feeling has sometimes been so great that the University could not attempt to stand against it. For example, in 1939, there were 198 Jews in the student body of 1992, but eight years later in the fall of 1947 only a few remained; even their safety was in doubt, and the government in December ordered the ones from Palestine to return home.

The attitude of the American personnel has been almost 100% pro-Arab in regard to partition and the fact that both political parties endorsed Zionism in their 1944 platforms was embarrassing. The Palestine problem in 1947 is not over, it will continue to foster extreme nationalism

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1. Seventy-fifth Annual Report, 1940-41 p.

Increased suspicion of the motives of the American philanthropic interests is bound to result. As in the West internationalism seems a long way off.

5.

By the time the First World War began the germs of discontent with the status of women in the Levant had been planted in many quarters and the missions have primarily had to guide the changes and to lessen the conflicts. Missionaries and nurses from the American hospitals had already shown the Levant peoples what women could do and the entrance of the Near East workers reinforced the growing awareness of different family relationships in the West.

But beginning in the 1920s far more potent forces - the cinema and the radio - portrayed a feminine way of life different from that prevalent in the Arab world. At the same time books in English, French and Arabic intensified the desire to change. The innovations in Turkey added to the confusion of ideas. These pictures of a different way of life spread, and/the changes confused families and disrupted the relations between one generation and another. What privileges should daughter have? Over these twenty-five years while some families have become completely Western others have been Westernized to a large extent, mostly in the cities at least to a smaller extent, and many in the remote rural areas hardly at all.

The changes have come through direct mission and University activity as well as through movies, books, radio

and commerce. The extent of the educational development is indicated by a comparison of women in higher education in 1920 and 1947. While only nursing training had been offered in the Levant in 1920, in 1946-47 there were over one hundred girls scattered throughout the University and two hundred more at the Junior College. Because of the activities of their graduates over the years the various secondary schools for girls have helped to destroy the idea that only boys should be educated. Since 1925 the University has sent a steady stream of graduates who have further spread the process. In keeping with their attitude toward Westernization the schools have sought to mediate between the conservative families who are weary of sudden changes and the progressive families who are more willing for their daughters to embrace the freedoms of the West. But the effect of the Junior College, for example, upon the more conservative families of its students have sometimes been revolutionary.

Some of the same American projects mentioned in previous sections have helped also to gain new freedom and a more abundant life for women. The lowest dregs of society were helped at the Bourj Mission and the Jessie Taylor Center, and refugee widows in the 1920s were assisted by Near East Relief to find employment and vocational training. The Y.W.C.A. has had advancement of the status of women as its sole aim. In the villages the missions, the Village Welfare Service, and the Near East Foundation have taught cooking, simple decorating, sanitation and baby care to countless women.

Emancipation has progressed at different speeds in various sections of the country. The status of women and the practices of family life differ in the cities and villages, and among Christians, Moslems and others. In the Alawite area east of Latakia, in the strongly Moslem towns of Hama and Homs, and in the backward areas of the Jezireh the emancipation is definitely in its infancy. Women do the heavy work and are the slaves of men rather than being their partners. In fact, within 150 kilometers of the city of Beirut all stages of family relationship may be seen.

In regard to women's status and family life the interests or influence of any one nation - America or otherwise - cannot be discerned clearly. It is the West which has wrought the changes. In 1934 the Americans began the education of women and in 1921 they started University co-education but the French and British have long had schools for girls in Lebanon and Syria. In regard to most phases of family life the West brought changes without the specific national source being evident.

The inroads of the West - particularly through the movies - force the entire relationship in the family to change. The problem is complicated by the fact that the status of women in Islamic areas is closely tied to religious beliefs. The Moslem practices of seclusion, of veiling, and sometimes of polygamy, contradict the free and equal relationship portrayed in the cinemas. And the ideal practiced by the University and by missionaries that women are equal and partners in the family is a higher ideal even than that in

the cinema.

As would be expected, family activities have been emphasized in the Evangelical churches to offset the tendency for only adult male participation, and devolution in women's clubs has progressively advanced. The growth of women's organizations in the churches can be traced directly to an American mission concern for emancipation of women. In the Beirut church and anywhere else that a sizable group of Protestant women are found women's clubs have been organized. At both local and district levels the leadership has increasingly gone to local women. The same devolution has taken place outside the church, in the Lebanese national Red Cross, in civic and social clubs, and in the Y.W.C.A. After many of the Americans were evacuated in 1940 the local women proved their leadership ability, and the worthiness of their ideas. As individuals the wives of the Americans have been a part of the secular women's clubs and projects but as institutions the American interests have not formally sought to lead.

In a few families in the Lebanon the problem of reuniting the family has become acute. The cinema and urban life have freed the entire family, destroying the basic sense of unity necessary. As in the West this problem too must be met and a new family fellowship developed.

6.

The advancement of religious life and of citizenship has been briefly discussed previously, but as one of the

cultural problems of the Levant it will bear summary and analysis. It is difficult to analyze the sources of advancement in this regard; many theories are presented. When the small number of years since 1918 is considered the advancement may seem more noteworthy.

Serious obstacles have hindered Syria and Lebanon in their efforts to develop citizens and a stable government. The lack of an idea of stewartship in the Islamic-Ottoman Empire, the execution of a number of the most capable Levant leaders by Jemal Pasha, the drain of enterprising leadership through a continuous stream of emigrants, the antagonism between French mandatory officials and native leaders - these have increased the difficulties.

All the American interests have worked directly to improve citizenship, the schools and missions have gone farther and have sought to deepen religious life and the missions have presented Jesus of Nazareth as the source of civic and religious life. There has been disagreement about methods among the interests but the need for responsibility and cooperation has been evident to them all. The Near East Foundation Director at Chtaura maintains that religion should be excluded from the work. He calls the goal "the development of community responsibility and cooperation". The University has stressed the importance of religious duties and of God as the basis for our actions as citizens. As Hourani aptly says:

> "While (A. U. B.) has an impressive record of scholarly and scientific work, (it) has tended in the Anglo-Saxon manner to exalt character above intellect and

> to concentrate upon the training of citizens and public servants."

The missions have sought to make men disciples of Jesus Christ, in most cases not to change their religious affiliation but to know God personally and to look to Jesus as the source of Life and citizenship.

In the development of local and of national civic leaders the interests have all contributed a great deal. The Americans themselves have set an example, as well as preached active citizenship. President Dodge wrote in 1946:

> "Members of the faculty have served on the municipal council, the Board of Health, the Federation of teachers, the Committee of the national Museum, associations of doctors and pharmacists and various educational and philanthropic committees."[1]

This has spread to the students as the lives of numbers of graduates prove.

In regard to going beyond citizenship none of the interests have tried to proselytize. But the American mission has encouraged a personal loyalty to the master Jesus which the University has not adopted as an institutional policy. What the Foundation has called "community cooperation" the University has labeled the "duty of a University and a religious man" and the missions have announced to be "Christian service" or "the spirit of Christian love".

The reasons for the University and the Foundation policies are good ones. As was noted before even the mission has found that its evangelistic program must be carefully

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1. Eightieth Annual Report p. 9

planned in the light of the past experiences of the people with whom it works. But a vital faith is essential and such can be found not in philosophies but in the life of Christ and of men of all time who have known God. Youth cannot be forced to God but they can be led only by teachers who are close to God themselves.

There have been strongly religious men at the University in every decade. Though it seemed to the author that some of the leaders of the University since the end of World War I have lacked that vital personal relationship to God that marks the difference between an ethical man and a Christian disciple. Others, however, have done a great deal to spread the Christian idea of evangelistic religion as a vital, dynamic and growing relationship between God and men which gives Eternal Life and which works for world brotherhood. Vital religion and good citizenship have grown in the Levant through Christian-spirited philanthropy. Challenging task and opportunity still remains.

7.

Section 2 in chapter IV discussed the educational ministry of the American Mission. The policies of the other missions and colleges have been similar to those of the American Mission in regard to both educational unity in the Levant and theories of education. Nevertheless a brief section has been included here to present an overall picture.

The range of educational ideas in the Levant could hardly be greater than it is. It can be described literally

as a heterogeneous conglomeration. In 1936, for example, there were 2536 schools of these 703 were public, 1214 were local private schools and 619 were foreign. The private schools included Moslem, Druze, Maronite, Greek Catholic, Syrian Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and Protestant schools. The foreign schools were French, English, American, Italian, Danish, German, Swiss and Greek. How could people who are trained in so many different systems join effectively to create a nation ?

The American interests have sought to reach common grounds with the others wherever possible, as for example in regard to the levels of their diplomas; they have cooperated with both the French and Arab governments consistently and wholeheartedly such as in the setting up of the French school and Damascus College. At the same time adaptations have been made in accordance with local and with vocational needs. Often, as Gerard Institute and at Aleppo College, this vocational training has been added to the regular work in order that as little as possible be sacrificed in preparation or uniformity.

Frequently the issue has arisen whether to maintain higher standards or to seek uniformity, and the answer has usually been in favor of the higher standards. And, since the schools have been in areas of predominately French culture the question of American versus French theories of education have been ever present. With the exception of the French school at A. U. B. the Americans have held to

their own type of education, believing that it would result in the highest quality graduates. Thus where the French schools and government schools have stressed classes and memorization, the Americans have emphasized independent work, extra curricular activities, and a friendly relationship between teachers and students. In place of the spiral system of advancement they have kept their system of grade advancement.

Independence has meant changes for the foreign schools. Public schools are increasing and permits for a foreign school are difficult to procure. The new official government secondary curriculum, though inferior, rigid and not sufficiently adapted to Levant needs must be followed. Efforts to improve it will constantly be made.

The extent of the American influence in the Arab world has been hard to measure exactly but in many lands University graduates have gone into educational work. President Dodge writes:

> "The former Minister of Education for Lebanon was a student for 9 years at Beirut. The present Minister in Syria is a graduate. The former Director of Education in Transjordan was also an alumnus and his successor is the brother of a recent graduate. The Director in Iraq is an alumnus and the Minister in Iran is a graduate of the Presbyterian Board College in Teheran. The leading inspectors and most of the high school teachers in Iraq, Transjordan, Palestine and Bahrayn are alumni. Many of the teachers at Gordon College at Khartum were trained at Beirut."[1]

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1. Seventy-third Annual Report, p. 19

Chapter VIII

SETTING, 1947

1.

Since the war a number of developments have taken place in the cultural interests. The Seventh Day Adventists' Middle East College has continued its building program and by the end of 1947 the investment in buildings, machinery and land had reached $300,000. The College in 1947-48 is offering all four years of college with majors in religion and history. Their program is planned to emphasize religion and vocational work but to develop liberal arts courses as well. Extensive supplies of United States Army surplus wood-working and carpentry tools are a part of their equipment. Every student must work two hours a day doing farm or other manual labor as a part of his or her educational training.

At the request of the Syrian government the A. U. B. started Damascus College in the fall of 1945 to prepare boys for university work. Though the land promised by the government for a permanent site has not been presented the school has expanded in its temporary quarters to five classes,and in 1949 a secondary school certificate will be given.

The Junior College for Women has made plans to expand into a four year college with special training to be offered in home economics, English and religion. They are continu-

ing to expand in personnel and equipment. After a shortage of personnel during the 1930s and the war period the American Mission has been receiving some encouraging reinforcements for several other Mission activities. The Deir ez Zor center is making progress and Kennedy Hospital has strengthened its evangelistic program by the innovation of an American missionary, especially for follow-up home contacts with the patients. The newer missions also have expanded a little and the Church of Nazarene has begun work in Damascus and Bludan, Syria.

In 1947 President Dodge retired and the Trustees began to consider possibilities for his successor. An era is over at the University and this is a transition to a new period of service. In the past it has done a highly commendable piece of work. Its leaders have wielded a strong influence upon the people, have provided good professional training, and have stressed responsible citizenship. They have made countless faithful friends for Christianity and for America. Now, in the post-war period new opportunities and new difficulties present themselves. If A. U. B. is to keep its students so that they can be trained in the manner desired, when transportation provides such easy access to America and England, the quality of work must be comparable to that in the West. That is difficult when large endowment gifts are scarce in America and when inflation in the Levant is so extreme. The fifteen million dollar campaign conducted by N.E.C.A. for the Near East schools has not been a success and the appeal now is for large numbers of small

donors. The planned four hundred-bed pavilion in the hospital will have to wait, but the badly-needed new library is expected to be started soon.

2.

Since the time just after World War I when commercial interests were negligible in the Levant American business firms have grown steadily in size and in number until in 1947 they are more powerful in many respects than the cultural interests are.[1] Powerful American corporations such as the United States Rubber Company and the Socony Vacuum Oil Company have come into the area. And since 1930 interest in Middle East oil has been indicated by the Iraq Petroleum Company in which United States companies have 23 3/4% of the shares.

In addition to these interests smaller enterprises conducted by Syrian Americans have promoted United States-Syrian trade. At times emigrants to America have invested money in some Levant business or have returned to conduct various enterprises - frequently export-import trade with the United States. Through emigrants contacts among the middle and peasant classes with America have been frequent.

The most important commercial development has been the exploitation and marketing of Middle Eastern oil. No wells have been dug in the Levant but since it is the major gateway to the Fertile Crescent the developments east and

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1. See appendix A for the history of American commercial interests.

south have had their effects. Socony Vacuum marked the beginning of the marketing of petroleum products. Then at the San Remo Conference bargaining for Iraqi oil had begun and an agreement was concluded in 1930 which gave an American company 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ % of the shares.[1] Before many years had passed the value of American commercial interests was greater than that of all the philanthropic interests. World War II interrupted the development.

The tremendous jump in American oil interests after World War II - with its bearing on American security and on the cultural activities - is discussed in the following section.

3.

Until the demands of war brought about a reanalysis of America's petroleum supplies the vital need of the United States for Middle East oil did not seem to be generally realized, even in government circles. But the situation quickly changed during World War II. Great Britain had looked for several decades to the Middle East as the source of the oil she requires. Because an insured supply of oil has been essential to her she early took the lead in exploiting Iraqi and Iranian oil under long-term agreements with those two governments.

The Teheran conference included discussions of oil supplies in the Middle East and those discussions marked the beginning of the rapid development of American-Near East

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1. Iraq Petroleum Company mentioned on preceding page.

relations . Russia and the United States, after the conference if not before, were thoroughly awake to the shortage of their own oil reserves and to the importance of the large untopped reserves in the Middle East. In February 1943 a Senate sub-committee, presided over by Senator Harry S. Truman, had published its report on the oil situation. It recommended "large scale expansion of holdings in foreign oil reserves by the United States Nationals". To these holdings full diplomatic backing should be given.[1]

After the Teheran Conference President Roosevelt stopped to visit King Ibn Saud and the American exploitation of Saudi Arabian oil began in earnest. Two private companies, The Arabian American Oil Company and The Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, have managed the project. The expansion of these two companies has been planned to exceed $1,000,000,000 within a very few years. Thus American interests in the Middle East are increasing over 2000 percent during the decade of the forties. There is little doubt about America's need for Saudi-Arabian oil. Mr. Charles Rayner, Petroleum Advisor to the State Department has given figures showing United States industries in peacetime will require by 1965 2,500,000 barrels of foreign oil per day - i.e. 150 million tons per year.

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1. See article by Jon Krinche entitled Oil and Arab Nationalism, pp. 72-79 in the Journal of the Middle East Society, Vol. I, No. 2. Here Mr. Rayner is quoted and concise information about world oil supplies is given.

The increasingly strained relations between the United States and Russia since the end of the war have further complicated the situation. Access to Middle East oil is essential to both, and the estimates of United States needs do not include military requirements. Iran, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and the Suez canal have suddenly been forced to play a role of tremendous importance in world politics, Speiser calls the post-war Near East "the center of global gravity".[1] Oil is not only for commerce and industry. It is vital for national security and is of strategic importance to all nations in the current war of nerves between U.S.S.R. and the Western Powers. The pipeline from the Arabian oilfields has been planned to come through Syria to a Mediterranean outlet in Lebanon. The beginning of construction has been delayed because of the Palestine problem. The United States government so far has refused to allow priority on materials for a pipeline in the Arab world and the Syrian Parliament in December 1947 "tabled" indefinitely the proposed agreement for transit rights through Syria.

As 1947 closed the arrangements were incomplete, the Palestine partition had been accepted at Lake Success but had not been accepted in the Arab world, and the cold war in the United Nations seems to have no end. Oil reserves, security measures and political unrest seem to have become the world setting in which the cultural interests are at work.

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1. op. cit. His discussions on official United States policies in regard to Near East oil are stimulating.

4.

Ambassador Morganthau wrote that in the Turkish Empire America was regarded as a nation of "idealists and altruists", and to them at that time it was. Americans were known by their philanthropy and in Syria were the most popular choice for the Mandatory power. In those days and even up until the Second World War the most common assumption was that if one were an American he must be a missionary. The commercial interests had not offset the impression that the missionaries, teachers and relief workers had made.

Then as the Middle East became increasingly more important for its geographic position its markets and its natural resources the Levant peoples began to see more of a different type of Americans - ones who had little interest in the welfare of native people. Some Syrians were shocked, others damned America and still others laid the blame on the mission.

Missionaries and Christian workers have always been forced to discriminate between their religious and their national ideas - the essential Christian gospel being universal and many American ideas being provincial and limited. This distinction is difficult because one's faith is set into the context of his country, but the attempt has been made to Christianize Syria in spirit rather than to build little American-Christians. Free from government connections they have been able, for example, to take issue personally with the American government attitude on Zionism. And America, unlike France, has refused to send out government

propaganda agents. When Americanism has been spread it has not been for pay.

In the future the setting will be different. Americans motivated by profit are in the majority, the government has its own cultural relations bureau. While shopping in Beirut and Damascus the author has several times said he was an American and immediately received the query, "Tapline?" America is no longer distinguished from Great Britain and France. Increasingly since 1944 America has been alongside the other imperialistic powers in the minds of the people. And few will be able to distinguish among commercial, governmental and philanthropic interests. The Executive Committee of the Syrian-Lebano Mission expressed it,[1]

> "Unquestionably these oil developments will bring money and employment to the country. But they pose some very serious questions for missionary agencies to ponder. What will be the effect upon the moral and spiritual life of the people? America will no longer be represented chiefly by missionary and educational agencies. A large group of Americans with ideals and a mode of life very different from those exemplified by the missionary community, will tend to dominate the picture."

The missionaries will first of all be labeled Americans and be both envied and resented. At the same time they will be attempting to show men the Christian way - which is not identical to the American practices but which lays judgment on injustice and selfishness in all peoples. Their road will be difficult.

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1. 1947 Report, p. 4.

5.

The future of American cultural interests depends on many factors - nationalism, oil, Russia, Zionism et cetera. These factors are both strong and dynamic. But it would be difficult to destroy those interests, and impossible to negate their influence. In considering the future, therefore, the cultural must be separated from the commercial and governmental interests. Because the author believes that there will come a time when the Arabs will demand the control of and the profits from the American oil and other commercial interests within their countries. Such may not come for several generations but eventually nationalist leaders will ask that no exploitation of their resources be carried on by foreigners. Americans may as well prepare for the day and work for a peaceful change.

Not only commercial but all foreign institutions will be resented somewhat. Because they are American institutions the schools and the University will be viewed with a certain suspicion and special favors will be kept for national schools. The Press, and in some respects even the hospitals, is finding its leadership challenged. These are concomitants of Arab nationalism and result in part from the development of extensive profit-seeking American corporations. Meanwhile the challenge to train Christian leaders is even greater now that the countries are independent. President Dodge wrote in 1943,[1]

"It is the great responsibility of institutions like

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1. Seventy-seventh Annual Report, 1942-43, p. 9.

> the University to train the youth for the post-war world. The whole future of the Near East will depends upon having the right kind of men and women to take the lead."

To make the most worthy contribution the University will have to further adapt and to improve in some respects. The Institute of Music is due for a broadened scope of activity, while the French school has already served its primary purposes. University standards will continue to be raised and every effort made to bring the best Arab leadership to the staff.

The Arab world has had intense growing pains during the last decades. And, as would be expected, the cultural interests in the Levant have had their own growing pains as they ministered to the natives. In many respects the parent American Mission has not been affected by these as much as has the University. Perhaps that is because the highest levels in all the fields of cultural activity - education, publication, religion, medical, et cetera - are joined into one at the latter.

Just as the last war marked a transition, from College to University, so this war has marked a transition to an even wider matrix, from childhood to adolescence, and now to adulthood. The obstacles facing the University - unbridled nationalism, inflation, social instability - demand not only professionally trained but also a consecrated American staff, men who are told before they leave the United States that they are coming to serve at some possible sacrifice to themselves. With that kind of men the University

can serve its highest ideals.

In the past disturbances have meant the Syrians have turned to America as a friend. That pattern seems to have changed permanently. But the same cultural interests that brought on the personal Syrian-American friendship still remain. With God's Grace, in spite of new factors, they may expand and continue to serve.

APPENDIX A.

American Commercial Interests in the Levant States, 1870-1947

A. Commercial Interests Before 1920

Ambassador Morganthau's Statements on American interests in the Turkish Empire[1] listed only the Singer Sewing Machine Company and the Standard Oil Company and added a short note about trade. It is worthy of note that while American cultural interests had entered the country in comparatively large numbers thus building up considerable American interests between 1823 and 1913, less than half a dozen known commercial enterprises had entered the area before the war.

The first to come had been Singer Sewing Machine Company which had ventured into the Turkish Empire in the 1870s to do business in Anatolia, Syria and Iraq. In the late seventies Beirut became a branch office of Constantinople which in turn handled the Ottoman Empire business from an office in Hamburg, Germany. From the beginning Singer Sewing Machine Company capital investment had been entirely American, though a Glascow, England factory began production in 1875 under American Singer Sewing Machine Company auspices. In the thirty-five years before the war the Syrian branch expanded until an average of three to four

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1. Ante, p. 14.

thousand machines were sold each year, i.e., about four per thousand population. This is estimated to exceed $200,000 annual sales.[1]

Two American Oil companies were doing business in Syria before World War I. The Standard Oil Company of New York, called Socony, had its regional headquarters at Constantinople for the Balkans, Asia Minor and the East Mediterranean coast as far as Juni, Syria. A branch office was in Alexandretta. Vacuum Oil Company headquarters were in Cairo from which agents went out to sell kerosene that was shipped from the United States in tins. There was no market for benzine or gasoline at that time. When the war began both Socony and Vacuum were forced to halt their activities in this area.[2]

In Aleppo MacAndrew and Forbes Company was organized to export licorice root to the Western countries. Its small capitalization was entirely American, and it has been in continuous operation since before 1910.

These were the American commercial interests active by 1914, and all of them were suspended during the war.

B. Development of Corporations After World War I.

As soon as the war was over the American companies

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1. Interview with Mr. Roubine, present director of Beirut office, Bab Idriss, March 16, 1948. Mr. Richard Laursen, Instructor at A. U. B., reported he saw a Singer advertisement dated 1872 in Baghdad in 1947.

2. Information secured from Mr. A. M. Karaoglan, chief legal counsel, Socony Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., Beirut.

began business anew and rapidly expanded. MacAndrews and Forbes exported on a larger scale than before the war, and within a few years they had acquired the General Motors agency in Aleppo to import Chevrolet cars (plus numerous liquors) while exporting licorice root. By 1930 their capital stock and warehouses totalled $300,000. Even during the depression their property did not decrease below $160,000.[1] When the second World War intervened their exports were completely eliminated but with the end of hostilities they again soared, this time to a new height of $600,000 (1947).

In 1919 Socony reopened its office in Alexandretta, and moved southward in 1921 to Tripoli, keeping Alexandretta and Mersin as substations. In 1922 the office moved to Beirut where it has maintained the regional office ever since. The Vacuum Oil Company had sent its agents back into Syria in 1919, and the transfer of the Socony office to Beirut was specifically directed at the Vacuum expansion north to Cilicia. At that time there were twenty-five persons on the Socony payroll.

Socony had expanded until it was importing 100,000 cases of oil a year, mainly from Roumania. Previous to 1924 the oil had been brought into Syria in cases of two tins each, but in that year installations for storage of gasoline, kerosene and benzine were built. Vacuum immediately followed suit and erected storage tanks, as did the Shell Oil Company, and from then on oil was shipped by tanker

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1. 1931 - $284,000; 1934 - $164,000; 1938 - $194,000. Sources for these and many of the following figures cannot be revealed.

from Persia.[1]

The three companies continued to expand. In 1928 Socony built a can facotry and in 1930 additional installations were built in Alexandretta. At the time there were 45 persons on their staff, and 110 were working as laborers. Value of the company was listed at that time at $626,375, including property, kerosene, benzine, gasoline and diesel oils. In the same year the value of Vacuum was listed at $300,000.

In 1932 the two companies merged, forming a new corporation, the Socony Vacuum Oil Company, with Near East headquarters in Cairo and with a branch in Beirut serving the Asiatic Arab world. During the 1930s their capital value in Syria rose from over $1,000,000 to an estimated $2,000,000, and their storage facilities rose from 17,000 metric tons to 22,700 m.t. in Beirut. The Company was allocated 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the total local consumption by international agreement as early as 1935. Employees rose approximately to 400 in 1937 and stood at 510 in 1947.[2]

A fourth company, Singer Sewing Machine, came back to Syria immediately after World War I and has remained until the present, selling whenever local conditions permitted and importing materials when monetary and shipping facilities allowed. Their peak years were between 1925 and 1932 when

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1. The Shell Company is British controlled and owned. It has always been the largest competition of Socony Vacuum in the Levant States.

2. Mr. A. M. Karaoglan provided this information.

they employed 150 men and opened 22 shops. Approximately $1,000,000 in stock supplies was invested under the Beirut office during those years.

Their policy has been to hire local staff entirely, with travelling agents and small shops for contacts in villages and towns. Before 1940 75% of their sales were made by agents. A good deal of teaching was done in sewing, cutting and embroidery work. Demonstration centers were set up in villages before any sales were attempted, and their teachers came before the salesmen. After 1920 these teachers were Moslem, and often no man was allowed inside the school. The purpose was both to sell machines and to enable the village women to earn money. In 1947 cars are still canvassing the countryside, demonstrating and repairing machines.[1] Since 1940 the international monetary exchange difficulties have forced the Company to adopt a policy of selling only in shops and on a cash basis. The branch buys machines only when they can obtain official exchange and thus they have ordered very few machines since 1940.

In 1920 the Syria Auto and Electric Company was formed by Lebanese Americans and incorporated in New York State. By 1923 rights to the agencies for Chevrolet, Oakland and Chandler automobiles were acquired. Stock was issued which was valued at $50,000 in 1932. In 1939 the American director of the firm died, and its status as an American

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1. Information from Mr. Roubine.

commercial interest was lost.[1]

Also in 1920 Ibrahim Esbir ul Khouri began to sell and to export rugs. After eleven years he formed a partnership with his sons and began selling radios and other items under $50,000 capital investment.[2]

C. New Commercial Interests During the 1930s

The number of commercial interests increased during the 1930s. Table VI gives statistics of the increase. In the midst of the small firms that sprang up another large American corporation entered the scene - The United States Rubber Company. In 1929 a representative of U. S. Rubber Export Company came to Beirut. He found that local merchants in the Fertile Crescent were selling enough to justify research into the area market here - to make surveys and to measure the market potentials. When markets were found to be tapable the regional office was to appoint, train, and supervise distributors for various U. S. Rubber products.

Thus when United States Rubber Export Company began to operate it covered Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the other smaller Arab Asiatic countries. It has appointed dealers and supervised the prices charged by the wholesalers while local merchants have done all the selling. The finances are handled direct between the wholesalers and the factories.

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1. Information from Mr. Ibrahim Khairallah.
2. Information from Edward Khouri.

TABLE VI

AMERICAN CITIZENS AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

IN SYRIA, 1931-1947

Year	Naturalized American Citizens	Native born Citizens	Number of businesses	Investments
1931	672	835	-	$ - -
1932	753	1,080	7	2,751,000
1933	506	1,077	9	2,379,850
1934	607	967	10	6,579,868
1935	460	1,176	13	9,945,053
1936	411	1,167	11	6,205,448
1937	634	1,058	13	7,020,800
1938	550	855	14	6,895,000
1939	400	900	14	6,715,000
1941	400	950	10	6,231,000
1942	450	950	9	6,189,000
1944	560	995	13	4,391,000
1947	948*	558*	16	4,830,500

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* 550 additional persons are estimated to be unregistered according to the American Legation, Beirut.

In 1933 a policy of training and using Levant personnel for agency jobs was adopted. With the exception of the manager and assistant manager local staff have since been used. No exact figures on the volume of business in Syria and Lebanon are available. However, the business originally was enough to justify research and the increase since that time has been more than 2,000% of what the business was in 1930.[1] The agency supervises the entire line of U. S. Rubber products which in 1939 numbered 64,000 products, exclusive of differing sizes of one product.

In 1930 United States, Great Britain, France and other nations began serious exploitation of Near Eastern oil. Ten years had passed since the first bickering for pipelines to Iraq fields had been done at the San Remo Conference in 1920. In 1930 the Iraq Petroleum Company was formed with 23.75% of the shares owned by the Near East Development Company (representing Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum). From the oil fields of Kirkuk, Iraq, a pipeline was run westward to Haditha in western Iraq and then was split into two lines leading to Tripoli and Haifa. Four hundred kilometers of the northern line are in Syria.[2]

The I. P. C. represented one of the largest foreign interests in Syria and by its development the American commercial interests were increased. The capital value has

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1. Information from Mr. N. E. Balliet, Manager, U.S.R.C. Beirut branch office.

2. Information from the Levant Trade Review, April 1931, p. 143.

grown steadily from $4,000,000 in 1934, to $13,750,000 in 1942, to $24,500,000 in 1947. Value of property in Syria is $2,300,000, thereby making the American share in Syria approximately $6,700,000.[1]

Several other firms soon joined the Syria Auto and Electric Company in importing American automotive goods. By 1930 Deeb A. Ansara, Beirut, was importing auto parts and accessories, and he continued under $25,000 capital investment until 1937.

In 1933 Homsi and Sayeb, Aleppo began importing auto parts. In 1935 the firm became Sayegh Frères and continued, with capital up to $10,000 until war restrictions forced them to close.

In 1935 the American Auto Company, Beirut, opened a Nash automobile agency under $50,000 capital. The firm continued until 1938 when it lost its American connections.

Gabriel A. Murr started an agency for the importation of American films in 1934. As agent for R. K. O. pictures and others he has built up large cinema interests in Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo. In 1936, however, he lost his American citizenship and the business cannot be called an American interest since that time.

David Zimmermann left the Syria Auto and Electric Company in 1935 and formed a separate company representing nine American firms. The principal agencies were for

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1. 23.75% x ($24,500,000 + $2,300,000).

Delco and Frigidaire. Three years later he left Syria and sold his investment.

In 1936 John Andrew Bitzer began operating 1,100 acres of farm land in the Bekaa and the Eastern Engineering Company, Beirut, under $30,000 capital. He corresponded with American firms to arrange representation in Syria but within two years had dropped out of business.

In 1938 J. P. Sheridan Limited, Beirut, handling American pharmaceutical products, opened its doors. Within two years it was forced to close by the shipping restrictions of the war.

In 1939 Zenobia and Company, Inc., Aleppo, began to export pistachio nuts. They were a branch of Zenobia Company, New York City. Business was limited by the war and in 1944 it was liquidated.

Likewise, John N. Germack opened in 1939 to export pistachio nuts from Aleppo. They operated on a small scale before the war, but their exports totalled $700,000 in 1946.

The American Pistachio Corporation, Aleppo, opened in 1942. The war interferred but in 1946 they again began to purchase pistachio nuts on American order.

Before 1922 no record of Syrian emigrants to America was kept. But many thousands, especially from Lebanon, went to America and numbers of them later returned as American citizens. The number of Syrian-Americans who have returned to live in the Levant since 1933 has been seen in Table VI. Syrian Americans have served to broaden American knowledge of the Levant states and to increase demands for imports

from America.

The subjects of the exports and imports of Syria with the United States is a thesis in itself. The variations from year to year in dollar values of those imports cannot be examined here. But in terms of Ton volume the total trade is given in Table VII. The value of trade in dollars is not indicative of the amount because exchange rates varied considerably. In 1936 the dollar was worth 107.05 P.L; in 1937, 147.15; in 1938, 189.65; in 1939, 218.15.

Several Syrian products were consistently demanded by the United States between World War I and World War II. These are wool, licorice root, sausage casings, pistachio nuts and tobacco. Each of these have varied in supply and in demand with economic conditions in Syria and elsewhere. United States manufactured goods have been in demand in Syria. Automotive vehicles and parts, electrical goods, machinery, leather and leather goods, petroleum products and rubber products are the chief items.

The American Export Lines have called regularly at Beirut for twenty years. They have provided passenger traffic and direct freight traffic at regular intervals. While the import-export trade shows the effects of the world-wide depression of the 1930s, the total American investments seemed to ignore the depression and nearly tripled between 1932 and 1939.

D. The Effects of World War II on Commercial Interests

By 1941 the trade between the United States and Syria

TABLE VII

TRADE BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND SYRIA

Year	Imports from United States	Exports to United States	Transit Entrance Trade	Transit Exit Trade
1929	49,247*	6,569*	--	--
1930	11,236	8,999	--	--
1931	7,623	6,874	559*	1,426*
1932	8,904	3,502	1,130	1,779
1933	7,606	6,178	836	2,621
1934	8,259	1,413	2,945	1,138
1935	12,642	2,633	7,640	1,106
1936	8,908	4,449	5,377	1,148
1937	8,309	8,548	7,775	2,153
1938	9,274	4,940	10,423	1,041
1939	11,704	5,950	1,749	3,185
1940	19,141	4,617	2,121	5,207
1941	11,111	2,945	16,241	3,262
1942	29,485	4,858	8,003	17,362
1943	4,047	372	2,499	14,528
1944	6,249	3,507	543	13,835
1945	18,842	2,174	36	10,818
1946	39,510	8,934	--	--

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* Metric tons. Dollar figures were not given because of changes in value of units of exchange.

was at a complete standstill. Import licensing, exchange controls, lack of shipping space and the British economic blockade had closed the Mediterranean ports.

After the expulsion of the Vichy government and in July 1941 licenses were granted to eight firms to import a few of the needed automobiles and spare parts. The I. P. C. pipeline stopped operations from June 1940 to September 1941, and then remained active irregularly from then until April 1943. U. S. Rubber Export Company closed their office from 1941 to 1945, and MacAndrew and Forbes exports were negligible between June 1940 and June 1944.

In the midst of the blockage and the scarcity of many essential imported items the Allied armies occupied Syria in large numbers. The demand for goods of all kinds was great and business prospered though American imports became scarce and the Syrian-American companies were forced to find other stock than that from America.

As the campaigns against the Nazis got underway in 1942 the United States joined Great Britain in the Middle East Center, Cairo. Imports into the Middle East countries had been cut 75%, from six million tons to one and one-half million tons annually, to provide transport space for war materials going to North Africa and to Russia. The aim of the Center was to ensure those supplies which were essential to the welfare of the civil populations in the Middle East countries. In addition to the amelioration of current war shortages there was a long-range objective. It was the future development and the permanent well-being of the

Middle East as an essential part of the world economic system. The Center surveyed some of the technical problems of the region, and the results were published for use after the war.

E. Summary and Analysis

The recovery of the economic interests was swift in most cases, because a large storehouse of demand had developed during the war for all sorts of American machinery and manufactured goods. The shipping facilities recovered more slowly than the demand, but imports to Syria and Lebanon rose to new heights in 1947.

Meanwhile new companies have been formed. The Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company Incorporated and Tapline began the building of a pipeline from Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean coast. It has not been able to make progress as it had hoped, because long-term arrangements for the rights to lay pipe in Syria had not been completed. And scarce materials could not be obtained in the quantities necessary. International insecurity forced the government of U. S. A. to discourage the swift construction of the pipeline and they refused to allow priorities for the supplies necessary.

Tapline is a private American firm whose development would greatly increase American economic interests in Syria and Lebanon. Unrest in Palestine delayed the ratification of land rights. The matter was due for discussion in the Syrian Parliament on December 1, 1947, but Palestine partition

delayed ratification of the agreement. Though Tapline personnel has increased to several hundred the plans for the future cannot be made as long as the political situation remains as it is.

The American Levant Shipping and Distributing Company began in November 1945 as agents for travel companies. The $40,000 capital was increased to over $60,000 in 1946, and departments were established for agricultural, automotive, engineering, and pharmaceutical supplies. American Levant Company now represents over a score of companies.

The American Near East Distributing Company was capitalized at $100,000 in August 1947. It plans to appoint distributors and to supervise sales for chemicals, pharmaceutical supplies, paints and plumbing supplies.

Pan American World Airways System opened a regional office in Damascus, first on a chartered-flight basis, and then on a permanent basis. It is a passenger and freight terminal for the Fertile Crescent.

A statement about the post-war position of many firms has already been made. The increased business of MacAndrew and Forbes, Aleppo, was noticeable;[1] likewise, the large capitalization of the past World War II firms, when compared to the smaller capitalization of importers in the 1920s and 1930s.

In regard to the characteristics of the past decades of American interests several points have been noted.

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1. Ante, p. 126

1. The economic interests of Syrian-Americans thus far have been family affairs - partnerships in many cases. Large American corporations in the area have stood in marked contrast to these small establishments.

2. Business investments tripled while mission investments remained constant during 1930s, and while imports decreased as world trade slackened during the depression years.

3. A disproportionate number of American interests have located near the coast, in Lebanon, and they diminish as one goes eastward to the Syrian desert.

There are several factors which make the future of American commercial interests somewhat uncertain. The first of these is the relation of the local currencies to the French franc. If agreements are reached requiring a large amount of Lebanese imports from France the total volume of trade with America will suffer. Secondly, political unrest in Palestine has separated the United States and Syrian sympathies, with unknown results as yet. Third, a disparity exists between the official value of the Lebanese pound and its actual buying power in relation to the dollar. At the present time the official rate of the Syrian-Lebanese pound is approximately 2.185 to one dollar, while the actual market rate is over three to one.

A list of factors favorable to American trade and commerce, and a similar list of unfavorable factors, could be presented. But with the exception of one factor the lists would be such that the future of American commercial interests in Syria and Lebanon would be uncertain. That one factor is the undeniable peacetime need of the United States for Middle Eastern oil - 150 million tons yearly by 1965. In the long run this factor should prove to be the most powerful.

The search for national security will intensify United States demand for oil so that the reputation which America had in 1915 as "a country of idealists and altruists" will probably be completely wiped out. This increasing leads to the necessity for distinguishing between Christian or philanthropic interests, and American commercial interests.

List of American Commercial Interests in Syria[1]

1. Singer Sewing Machine Company 1875-
2. Socony Vacuum Oil Company 1910-
3. MacAndrews and Forbes Company 1910-
4. Ibrahim Esbir ul Khouri and Sons 1920-
5. Syria Auto and Electric Company 1920-1939
6. Deeb A. Ansara 1927-1937
7. United States Rubber Export Company 1930-
8. Iraq Petroleum Company 1930-
9. Hôpital National 1930-1945
10. Sayegh Frères 1933-1939
11. Gabriel Murr 1934-1936
12. David Zimmermann 1935-1938
13. American Auto Company 1935-1938
14. Dumit Bros. and Company 1936-1942
15. John Andre Bitzer 1936-1938
16. Eastern Engineering Company, Ltd. 1936-1938
17. J. P. Sheridan 1938-1940
18. Zenobia Company 1939-1944
19. John N. Germack, Exporter 1939-
20. American Pistachio Corporation 1942-
21. American Levant Shipping and Distributing Company 1945-
22. Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company 1946-
23. Pan-American World Airways System 1946-
24. American Near East Distributing Company 1947-

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1. In order of date of origin

APPENDIX B.

Budgets and Investments of American Cultural Interests

Name	Budget*
1. Aleppo College	$50,000
2. American Bible Society	---
3. American Board Mission	---
4. American Community School	---
5. American Jesuit Expedition, Ksar Aqil, Lebanon	---
6. American Presbyterian Mission	1,500,000
7. American School, Damascus	3,000*
8. American University of Beirut	1,500,000
9. Antioch Expedition	40,000
10. Assembly of God Mission	---
11. Assyrian National School Association	15,000*
12. L. A. Barakat Home for Orphan Girls	3,000
13. Bible Lands Gospel Mission	125,000*
14. Christian Missionary Alliance	10,000
15. Church of God Mission	12,000
16. Church of the Nazarene Mission	20,000*
17. Damascus College	---
18. Daniel and Mary Oliver Orphanage	70,000*
19. Mission of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church	60,000*
20. Near East Foundation	32,000
21. Near East Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention	3,500*
22. Oriental Institute, University of Chicago	35,000
23. Seventh Day Adventist Mission	300,000
24. Tel Tamer Agricultural School	---
25. United Missionary Society	25,000*
26. Yale University Expedition, Doura Europas	25,000*
27. Young Women's Christian Association	11,000

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* An asterick indicates that the property and equipment value has been given because the annual budget estimates are not available. In all cases the latest figures are used.

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