



**HAL**  
open science

## **Missionaries as Humanitarian Mediators after the 1860 troubles in Lebanon**

Chantal Verdeil

► **To cite this version:**

Chantal Verdeil. Missionaries as Humanitarian Mediators after the 1860 troubles in Lebanon. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 2023, 52 (1), pp.61-74. <10.1080/13530194.2023.2233215>. <hal-05021605>

**HAL Id: hal-05021605**

**<https://hal.science/hal-05021605v1>**

Submitted on 4 Apr 2025

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



HAL Authorization

## **Missionaries as Humanitarian Mediators after the troubles in Lebanon after the 1860 events?**

Chantal Verdeil (Inalco/IUF). 2018.

[Chantal.verdeil@inalco.fr](mailto:Chantal.verdeil@inalco.fr)

Abstract: The aim of this article is to examine how the 1860 Crisis in Mount Lebanon and Damascus crisis shaped discourses and practices of humanitarianism among the missions and affected their relations with both local and foreign state actors. Catholic missionaries were witnesses and victims but also in the long run beneficiaries of the events of 1860. They were themselves involved in the distribution of the aid through their participation to the relief committees. As victims they also received relief from the French government, the Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient and the Ottoman Empire. Their action during this period strengthened their links with diplomatic agents and with the French government, as well as it reinforced the position of the clergy of the Oriental Catholic churches.

Keywords : Humanitarianism, missionaries, Jesuits, Mount-Lebanon, Relief, Experts, NGO.

### **Introduction**

‘Mission’ and ‘humanitarianism’ are intimately linked: they both share a vision of engagement within the world and a project of ethical, spiritual betterment. In the history of humanitarianism, the 1860 crisis in Mount-Lebanon and Damascus is generally described as a step in the process that led to the emergence of humanitarian action (after the Greek campaign of the 1820s and 1830s, and before the foundation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1864).<sup>1</sup> Contemporary humanitarian action was still in its beginning. Western agencies ‘began spreading to the far corners of the world’,<sup>2</sup> and religious organisations dominated the

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press: 2011) ; Yann Bouyrat, *Devoir d'intervenir, L'expédition « humanitaire » de la France au Liban, 1860*, (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2013). In the French historiography, the 1860 crisis is seen as the first case of ‘humanitarian intervention’. Cf. Y. Bouyrat’s aspiration in his book to ‘show how the French intervention of 1860, following the massacres committed in May-June in Mount Lebanon, constitutes the first proven case of humanitarian intervention’ (p. 50).

<sup>2</sup> Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein, ‘Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism’, in *Sacred Aid. Faith and humanitarianism*, ed. Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

field. Christian missions in the Middle East experienced a new beginning in the 1820's-1830's and continued to expand in the following years<sup>3</sup>. When humanitarian action began in Syria, Christian missionaries were working in the region for at least 3 decades.

In June 1860, violent clashes took place between Druzes and Maronites in Mount Lebanon, particularly affecting certain localities such as Zahla and Dayr al-Qamar. Within a few weeks, the violence reached Damascus, where an angry crowd plundered the rich Christian quarter for 3 days (from 9 to 11 July). Shops were pillaged, houses destroyed, residents massacred. In all, these different confrontations resulted in at least 7000 deaths, and more likely 15,000<sup>4</sup>.

The 1860 events brought also death and destruction to the Catholic missions established in these towns. Catholics missionaries were among the victims, and thus became recipients of relief. They were also deeply involved in the humanitarian actions set up after the 1860 crisis. This crisis offers a relevant point of view in order to examine the relationship between Christians missions and humanitarianism at its beginning.

This crisis is usually considered in terms of international relations, although it should be noted that Yann Bouyrat devotes a chapter titled 'Une œuvre religieuse et patriotique' ['A religious and patriotic task']<sup>5</sup> to the organisation of relief. Yann Bouyrat looks at the intervention of the French army to elucidate its different aspects. He highlights the humanitarian dimension of this military intervention, showing how missionaries and French soldiers or officers have collaborated in distributing relief. His perspective is different from the one developed in this article: he takes for granted the 'similitude' between the role the Catholic

---

<sup>3</sup> Chantal Verdeil (ed.), *Missions chrétiennes en terre d'Islam, Moyen-Orient, Afrique du Nord (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles), anthologie de textes missionnaires*, (Turnhout : Brepols, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Leila Fawaz, *An occasion for War, Civil conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, New York, Center of Lebanese studies & IB. Tauris: 1994 ; Dima de Clerck, Carla Eddé, Naila Kaidbey, Souad Abou-el Rousse Slim, 1860, *histoire et mémoires d'un conflitn Beyrouth*, Damas, Presses de l'IFPO, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Yann Bouyrat, *Devoir d'intervenir, L'expédition « humanitaire » de la France au Liban, 1860*, 152-179.

missions played in 1860 and the one ‘modern’ NGO played in more recent humanitarian crisis;<sup>6</sup> so he doesn't discuss further the comparison between missions and NGO.

Davide Rodogno has a paragraph on the humanitarian action of the missionaries in his book. He mentioned different committees whose members involved in the distribution of the aid. He notices the involvement of the “Chambre de commerce et d’industrie” of Marseille, which brought economic support. He suggests that the Protestant committees were not organized along sectarian lines but for the Catholic ones, it seems to have been the case. However, Davide Rodogno doesn't describe in details how the various committees involved in the distribution of the aid worked.<sup>7</sup> Some of these committees, like the Catholic ones, which I present here, continued to operate after the French expedition’s departure, until the middle of the 1860’s at least. In this article, I propose to describe the very practical humanitarian action undertaken by these catholic committee. This article draws on sources from the Jesuit and Lazarist missions to Syria,<sup>8</sup> correspondence published by other Catholic congregations,<sup>9</sup> and the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where one can find the records of several relief committees’ meetings.<sup>10</sup>

I will first deal with the question of humanitarims and missionaries’ action. Do the relief actions of missionaries fall under the category of humanitarian action? To answer to this

---

<sup>6</sup> « Le parallèle peut même aller plus loin : difficile de ne pas faire le rapprochement entre le rôle joué, pendant et après la crise, par les missions catholiques et celui endossé par nos modernes ONG humanitaires à l’occasion des crises les plus récentes. Même rôle d’alerte et de témoignage au moment de la crise. La similitude est à cet égard frappante [...] », *ibid.*, 153.

<sup>7</sup> Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre, humanitarian interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914, The emergence of a European Concept and International Practice*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 110-11.

<sup>8</sup> The archives of the Jesuit mission to Syria are kept in Beirut (ALSI, Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus au Liban), in Vanves in the suburb of Paris (AFSI, archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus) and in Rome (ARSI, Archivium Romanum Sociétatis Iesu). The archives of the Lazaristes are kept in Beirut and Paris.

<sup>9</sup> Our main source is the *Bulletin de l’œuvre des Écoles d’Orient*, a publication founded in 1856 after the Crimean War, but which really came into its own after 1860. It should be noted that these published letters need to be handled cautiously: missionaries’ letters were invariably edited (cut, rewritten...) for purposes of publication.

<sup>10</sup> Archives from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, La Courneuve (Paris), noted AMAE, ADP (Affaires diverses politiques), vol 20 Syrie (1856-1887), and Archives of the same ministry in Nantes (AMAEN): Beyrouth/Consulat général, Série A, vol 61.

question, I will examine several points. First, the religious dimension of humanitarian action and its secularisation. Today, as Barnett and Stein's have shown, the idea that 'Religion might have been instrumental in the establishment of humanitarianism, but it passed the torch to secularism'<sup>11</sup> (via the NGO) is disputed: nowadays, many missionary or religious organisations are very active in humanitarian work alongside NGOs with no religious affiliation: the former (missions) have not "passed the torch" to the latter (NGOs). If, following Barnett and Gross Stein<sup>12</sup>, I recognise that the relations between the religious and the secular are dynamic, what does the humanitarian intervention of 1860 tell us about this dynamic between religion and secularisation in humanitarian action? In order to address this question, I will draw here on the positions of Roberto di Stefano, who defines secularisation as 'a process of cultural change characterised more by the reorganisation than the expulsion of religion, which takes place in certain societies (not all) and not always in the same way.'<sup>13</sup> According to him, this process encompasses three phenomena: 'the formation of differentiated spheres', the 'loss of the religious connotation of certain conceptions/institutions' and 'the weakening of the normative and coercive power of the ecclesiastical authorities'. According to Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein, modernity, the Enlightenment and belief in the human progress shaped humanitarianism. Rational governance characterises humanitarianism and distinguishes it from philanthropy. What can be said about the modernity of Catholic missions in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and their governance?

A second issue, also arising from the research of Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein leads to examine how this crisis and this humanitarian operation shaped the missionaries'

---

<sup>11</sup> Michael Barnett, Jeannette Stein, "Introduction, the secularization and sanctification of humanitarianism", in *Faith and humanitarianism*, edited by Michael Barnett, Jeannette Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein, 'Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism', in *Sacred Aid. Faith and humanitarianism*, ed. Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

<sup>13</sup> My translation from Roberto di Stefano, « Le processus historique de sécularisation et de laïcité en Amérique latine », in *La laïcité en Amérique latine*, Arnaud Martin (ed), (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014), 11-47.

discourses and practices; more broadly what was the effect of humanitarianism on religious organisation?<sup>14</sup>

However, this focus on religious questions might lead to ignore the political dimension of the missionaries' humanitarian, and this is the third issue I will deal with. At the end of the Ottoman Empire, missionaries' action is deeply linked to European imperialism, especially in the case of French Catholic missionaries, which were often the intermediaries between the French State 'protection' and influence and the Eastern Christians, especially through their schools<sup>15</sup>. Did the 1860 crisis modify the relations between European missionaries and diplomatic and state representatives?

To answer these questions, I will proceed in three steps: I will begin with presenting the missionaries as victims of the 1860's events; then I will highlight the role they played in the relief committees set up after the events (so in humanitarian action). I will show that their action strengthened their links with diplomatic agents and with the French government. It also transformed the distribution of power inside the local society, here particularly through reinforcing the position of the Oriental clergy vis-à-vis their flock. Finally, I will discuss the comparison between Catholic missions and humanitarian action especially addressing the questions of expertise, bureaucratisation and secularisation.

## **Missionaries, agents of humanitarian action in the summer of 1860**

### ***The Catholic missionaries, witnesses and victims of the events of 1860***

The 1860 events and their violence were not attributable to religious antagonism alone, far from it. The economic and social changes underway in Mount Lebanon, and the reforms

---

<sup>14</sup> Here, I reverse the question asked by Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein: "What effect, if any, does religion have on humanitarianism?" Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein, 'Introduction: The Secularisation and Sanctification of Humanitarianism', in *Sacred Aid. Faith and humanitarianism*, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Jacques Thobie, *Les intérêts culturels français dans l'Empire ottoman finissant*, (Louvain, France, Belgique, États-Unis d'Amérique: Peeters, 2008).

undertaken by the Ottoman State since the end of the Egyptian occupation (1832-1840) accentuated the conflicts between Catholics (Maronites and Greek Catholics) and Druze in Mount Lebanon, and between Christians and Muslims in Damascus. Everywhere in the Empire, tensions had been stoked by the promotion of equality between all imperial subjects, regardless of confession, through the reforms (Tanzimât, Hatt-ı Hûmâyûn of 1856). In Mount Lebanon, they were further exacerbated by the demographic and economic rise of the Maronites, who had settled in increasing numbers in Chouf, where they were subject to the authority of Druze leaders. In addition, the Christians took advantage of their relations with the Europeans merchants or diplomats to invest in profitable economic sectors. These reforms and the integration of Mount Lebanon into the mechanisms of a capitalist economy dominated by Europe, disrupted social hierarchies at a time when the Ottoman Empire was experiencing difficulty in maintaining order in this province. In fact, since the mid-1850s, the Empire had been unable to appoint a successor to Amir Haydar Abillama, who had been governor (*qâ'imaqâm*) of the Christian region until his death in 1854. This was the background to the revolt by the Maronite peasants against their feudal lords, the Khazen (1858), a movement that Druze leaders feared might spread further south. In the summer of 1860, tension in the Mount-Lebanon rose, Druze and Maronite fighters were on the move, and conflict soon broke out. Several towns (Zahla, Dayr al-Qamar, Rashayya, Ḥasbayya) resisted the assaults before being captured and pillaged, under the eye of Ottoman soldiers often indifferent to the conflicts (even supposing that these Ottoman soldiers would have had the power to stop them).<sup>16</sup> Damascus, where the influx of refugees fleeing the Mountain,<sup>17</sup> prompted rumours of possible European

---

<sup>16</sup> This short synthesis is based on Leila Fawaz, *An occasion for War, Civil conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, New York, Center of Lebanese studies & IB. Tauris: 1994 and Dominique Chevallier, *La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la Révolution industrielle en Europe*, (Paris:Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1971).

<sup>17</sup> The missionaries used the word 'refugee' (*réfugié*), which refers to a person seeking refuge, whatever the reasons of this quest. It didn't matter if this person crossed a border or not. Sylvie Aprile, Delphine Diaz, « L'Europe et ses réfugiés politiques au XIXe siècle », *La Vie des idées*, 15 mars 2016. ISSN : 2105-3030. URL : <http://www.laviedesidees.fr/L-Europe-et-ses-refugies-politiques-au-XIXe-siecle.html>, (accessed april 20, 2017).

intervention, quickly fell prey to violence in turn. As is often the case, religious antagonisms did not erase other bonds, and cases of Christians being saved by Muslims or Druze were widespread. The most famous example is Amir Abdelkader's ('Abd al-Qādir) action in opening the doors of his residence to Christians and sending out his men to find and rescue them. For Mount Lebanon, reports of such cases are fewer, but at least one Jesuit missionary escaped certain death at Dayr al-Qamar thanks to a Druze chief<sup>18</sup>.

The Catholic missionaries paid a heavy price for this 'crisis': among the Jesuits, one priest (French, former superior of the mission) and four oriental members of the Society died (in Dayr al-Qamar and Zahla). The Franciscans' community in Damascus lost eight of their members.<sup>19</sup>

Prompted by a section of French public opinion, Napoleon III proposed an European intervention to re-establish order, and consultations began with England, Austria, Prussia and Russia, as well as with the Ottoman Empire. In France, this proposition was justified by the protectorate France claimed to exert over the Catholics. In addition, it gave the imperial government an opportunity to restore its image within the French Catholics.<sup>20</sup> Consisting of 6,000 men commanded by General Beaufort d'Hautpoul, the French expeditionary force was sent to Syria 'to contribute to the restoration of calm'.<sup>21</sup> Supported by European naval forces, it was to act in concert with the Ottoman Special Commissioner 'in order to combine all the measures demanded by the circumstance'.<sup>22</sup> When this expeditionary force reached Beirut, the

---

<sup>18</sup> Chantal Verdeil, *La mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830-1864)*, Paris, Les Indes Savantes: 2011.

<sup>19</sup> *Annales du commissariat de la Terre Sainte* (Paris: Adrien le Clere, 1861), 22-30.

<sup>20</sup> Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 114-115.

<sup>21</sup> Protocol to the agreement of 3 August 1860, reintegrated archives of Constantinople, register 223, June-August, cited in Josphe Hajjar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient II Napoléon III et ses visée orientales (1848-1870)*, (Damas: Tlass, 1988), vol 2, 1059.

<sup>22</sup> Protocol to the agreement of 3 August 1860, reintegrated archives of Constantinople, register 223, June-August, cited in Josphe Hajjar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient II Napoléon III et ses visée orientales (1848-1870)*, (Damas: Tlass, 1988), vol 2, 1059.

weapons had already fallen silent, and exemplary punishments were exacted by the Ottoman government emissary Fu'ad Pacha. Thus, the French expeditionary force has mainly taken un charge humanitarian activities (repairs, distribution of aid, caring for orphans).<sup>23</sup>

***The work of the missionaries: assessing the damage and aiding the victims***

The humanitarian work of the Catholic missionaries took a number of forms. The missionaries devoted themselves to the distributing of immediate aid to living and dead: e.g. in Sidon,

‘We carried the injured to the sisters and the hospital was started; we visited it assiduously and administered the sacraments. We distributed bread to all the refugees at the French khan, and our people often assisted and aided in this distribution.’<sup>24</sup>

The Jesuits also distributed (still in Sidon and its surroundings) rice, garments, money, bread.<sup>25</sup> The Jesuit Fathers also assisted in providing decent burials for the corpses lying in the gardens around the city. With the help of the Franciscans, they began a subscription among the local population on 17 June, which collected between three and four thousand piasters. This money was used to finance purchases of flour, which was distributed to the ‘men who were no longer receiving bread through the general distribution’,<sup>26</sup> sometimes by the Jesuits, sometimes by the Franciscan brothers.

Finally, the missionaries assessed the damage and needs, established lists from the information given to them by local clergy or people in the affected villages.<sup>27</sup> They took part in one of the relief committees that were set up during and just after the events. They communicated requests and helped to assess their legitimacy and relevance, and they distributed relief (see below).

---

<sup>23</sup> Yann Bouyrat, *Devoir d'intervenir*, 158-168.

<sup>24</sup> ALSI, Sidon diary, 17/06/1860.

<sup>25</sup> ALSI, 7A2, letter from Fr. Rousseau to the Union franc-comtoise, 24 October 1860.

<sup>26</sup> ALSI, Sidon diary, 17/06/1860.

<sup>27</sup> ALSI 8A10, List of compensation presented through our intervention, anonymous, date and place unknown.

The Jesuits and the Daughters of Charity also took on the task of caring for the children who had lost parents in the conflict.<sup>28</sup> In May 1861, the Jesuits were caring for the spiritual needs of orphans assembled in the Beirut Lazaret, “who are fed by the Ottoman government”.<sup>29</sup> They also sheltered 500 orphans in their residences,<sup>30</sup> whose future was the subject of an agreement between the Œuvre des Écoles d’Orient (Society of Eastern Schools) and the Society of Jesus’s Rome authorities.<sup>31</sup> This document gave the Jesuit fathers responsibility for ‘the administration, [...] the management and [the] dismissal of the orphans’, whose number should not exceed 500 boys (Art. 3).<sup>32</sup> The Œuvre des Écoles d’Orient needed funds for the construction of the institution (60,000 francs) and subsequently for the maintenance of the orphans, an amount estimated at 200 francs per year per child (Art. 1 and 4). It assumed the right to inspect the orphanage through visits (Art. 6) and through a ‘short report’ that was to be sent to its Council every year (Art. 5).<sup>33</sup> It could also decide to ‘reduce the number of orphans and even to terminate the institution by giving the Father Superior three months’ notice.’<sup>34</sup> The director of the Council of the Œuvre further undertook to apply to the Ottoman government for a ‘plot of land situated on the plain of Zahla and to build a large orphanage there, whose frontispiece would be decorated with the French coat of arms as a reminder of France’s generosity.’<sup>35</sup>

### **The missionaries’ humanitarian action in the relief committees**

---

<sup>28</sup> AFSI, Coll Prat vol 9, letter from Fr. de Prunières to Fr. Gautrelet, Sidon, 26 September 1860, p. 926.

<sup>29</sup> AFSI, Coll Prat vol 9, letter from Fr. Estève to Fr. Gautrelet, Beirut, 19 1861, p. 990.

<sup>30</sup> AFSI, Coll Prat vol 9, letter from Fr. Estève to Fr. Gautrelet, Beirut, 15 February 1861, p. 956.

<sup>31</sup> ARSI, Syr 1004, IV, 7, Foundation of the boys’ orphanage in Moallaqa.

<sup>32</sup> ARSI, Syr 1004, IV, 7, Foundation of the boys’ orphanage in Moallaqa.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> ARSI, Syr 1004, I, 2, letter from Fr. Estève to Fr. Beckx, Beirut, 18 November 1860. AE, Consulat Général de Beyrouth, Série A, vol 61, Orphelinat, Lavigerie, 14 October 1860.

### *The organisation and the work of the relief committees*

Under pressure from the European powers, the Ottoman government undertook to pay reparations to Christian subjects of the Empire, to foreign residents and to the religious missions that had fallen victim to the troubles. Fu'ad Pacha, the commissioner sent by the Sublime Porte to restore calm, set up a committee charged with assessing the losses suffered through enquiries conducted in the mountain and in Damascus.<sup>36</sup> In Beirut, the French government backed the creation of a committee made up of representatives of all the communities 'to consider the measures to be taken in order to restore the goods pillaged and repay the cost of the houses demolished'. The purpose of this committee was to compensate the victims of the violence perpetrated in the summer of 1860. The committee asked each village to establish – under the supervision of its leaders and the village priest – a list of the sums claimed by its inhabitants.<sup>37</sup> Several reports reached the French consulate in Beirut on the losses suffered by the Christians of Mount Lebanon and of the districts and surroundings of Sidon.<sup>38</sup> The Jesuit mission drew up its own report on the events that had taken place in Zahla and Dayr al-Qamar, including an assessment of the objects pillaged or burned. In Dayr al-Qamar, the Jesuit missionaries had seats on the 15-member committee headed by Izzet Pacha charged with assessing the losses suffered.<sup>39</sup>

Further committees were set up in the autumn of 1860. On the French and Catholic side, the arrival of the French expedition (mid-August 1860) and of Abbot Lavigerie, director of the

---

<sup>36</sup> Caesar Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830-1861*, 632-636.

<sup>37</sup> AMAE, Dissertation and Documents, Turkey, vol 134, f. 84-87, draft report.

<sup>38</sup> AMAEN, Consulat Général de Beyrouth, Série A, vol 61, Committee of compensation following the events of 1860, Losses suffered by the Christians of Lebanon; AMAEN, Consulat Général de Beyrouth, Série A, vol 61, Committee of compensation following the events of 1860, List of Greek Catholic churches burned and pillaged during the events of 1860; Short report on the events that took place in the houses of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in Zahla and in Mo'allaqa in June 1860

<sup>39</sup> ALSI, Louis Abougit, *La Nouvelle Mission de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie*, appendice aux Lettres édifiantes et curieuses du Levant, manuscrit, 454 pages, written in 1888-1889, 136.

Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, strengthened the position of the "French" committee. In France, the Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient had raised huge sums of money in order to bring relief to the Eastern Catholic. In October 1860, the committee – presided over by the French consul – consisted of missionaries (Lazarists, Jesuits), members of the French community (Comte de Perthuis, and Dr. Sucquet, the French government's medical officer), Abbot Lavigerie and a translator.<sup>40</sup> To enhance its effectiveness, it decided at its first session (27 October 1860) to create four subcommittees in Hammana, Dayr al-Qamar, Sidon, and Zahla. After their arrival, the officers of the French expedition sat on the committee alongside members drawn from the reverend fathers of the different religious orders established in the country, then from French people leaving in Beirut and its surroundings, and from leading local figures.<sup>41</sup> These subcommittees received their own funding, but could request further funds from the (central) committee, in other words from Beirut. The Jesuit members of these various committees included Fr. François Badour (French, 1817-1889) in Beirut, Fr. Henri de Prunières (French, 1821-1872) in Sidon, and Fr. Louis Fenech (Maltese, 1823-1868). All these men were experienced missionaries. They were living in the field for a long time: 13 years for Fr. Badour (in Syria since 1847), 12 years for Fr. de Prunières, 8 for Fr. Fenech. Two of them spoke well or very well Arabic (Fr. de Prunières and Fr. Fenech, whose mother tongue was a colloquial Arabic: he was born in Malta). All these three men knew very well the local population, especially from Sidon and its surroundings, Beirut, and Dayr al-Qamar<sup>42</sup>. They had also relationship with the local priests and Catholic bishops.

---

<sup>40</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Note for the monitor

<sup>41</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Note for the monitor

<sup>42</sup> Henri Jalabert, sj, *Jésuites au Proche-Orient*, (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1987), 14, 18, 36-37. Chantal Verdeil, *La mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830-1864)*, (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2011), 64, 141.

The various relief committees met frequently (two or three times a month in November and December 1860, and at the beginning of 1861).<sup>43</sup> They continued to operate after the French expedition's departure, until October 1864 (at least),<sup>44</sup> and reported periodically to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the use of the funds received.<sup>45</sup> The Beirut committee also monitored how the subcommittees used the sums allocated to them:<sup>46</sup> in March 1861, it demanded and received explanations from Fr. Fenech after 'complaints addressed to the committee on the subject of the distributions conducted in Zahla.'<sup>47</sup> The committees decided their own operating rules, such as that of only covering expenditure incurred subsequent to the formation of the committee.<sup>48</sup>

The money was distributed to individuals (in general recommended by missionaries or church dignitaries), to leading figures of the French or European community or people linked to them (in particular vice-consuls), to missionaries (whose task was to distribute it), or else to clergy of the Eastern Churches.<sup>49</sup> The committees usually received requests via petition (passed on by clergy or local figures), a traditional way of addressing the Sultan or the political authorities under the Ottoman Empire.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 19<sup>th</sup> session

<sup>44</sup> AMAE, Consulat Général de Beyrouth, Série A, vol 62, Committee of compensation following the events of 1860, Religious, Relief Committee, 43rd session, 21 September 1863

<sup>45</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 25th session

<sup>46</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 22nd session, 15 May 1861, which approved the reports on the subject of the use of the 4000 francs by Fr. Badour.

<sup>47</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 18<sup>th</sup> session

<sup>48</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 11<sup>th</sup> session. So no retrospective reimbursement.

<sup>49</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 12<sup>th</sup> session likewise 11<sup>th</sup> session. We find: "1000 francs to Bishop Boutros to be distributed in his diocese"; "2500 francs allocated to the Bishop of St Jean d'Acre to relieve the population of his diocese that has suffered from the events"; "2500 francs made available to the Greek Catholic patriarch".

<sup>50</sup> H. Sievert, "Intermediaries and local knowledge in a changing political environment: Complaints from Libya

The role of these committees was to direct aid: at the time of its formation, the Beirut committee decided in principle

‘that only a small portion of these funds would be distributed in alms and that the largest part would be allocated to the rebuilding of burned houses, the purchase of grain for seed and for cultivation, and finally to loans in order to facilitate the resumption of the different activities’.<sup>51</sup>

The aim was therefore not only to assist the population, but also to support the recovery of the rural economy (agriculture, silk growing) and to provide the refugees with work: in May 1861, the committee granted 20,000 francs to pay ‘Christians without work, currently present in Beirut, for different tasks of public utility’.<sup>52</sup>

The committee refused requests that it considered too remote from its goals. For example, the proposal by the Mother Superior of the Community of Canonesses of Saint Augustin (Paris) to raise twelve young Syrian orphan girls free of charge in the Couvent des Oiseaux in Paris, was not approved because it might ‘disorientate these girls without giving them any chance of a future standing, and provide them with an education too little in keeping with their position’.<sup>53</sup> Priority was given to actions embedded in the territory and in local society.

As the work of these commissions and committees shows, the humanitarian operations undertaken here went beyond the simple distribution of aid, and manifested two other fundamental dimensions: compensating the victims and reviving the (rural) economy of the region. The goal was to encourage refugees to return home.<sup>54</sup>

---

at the turn of the twentieth century.” *Die Welt des Islams* 54, 3-4 (2014), 322-362.

<sup>51</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Note for the monitor

<sup>52</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> session

<sup>53</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 9<sup>th</sup> session. The committee then decided to send 10,000 francs for the Sisters of Charity in Beirut, 5000 francs for the Sisters of St Joseph in Sidon.

<sup>54</sup> ALSI, 7A2, Letter from Fr. Estève to Fr. de Prunières, Beirut, 3 June 1861

### ***Political, religious and economic strategies of the various actors***

Several actors were involved in these committees: the Ottoman authorities, French diplomats, missionaries, local clerics, and silk merchants. Let us have a look at the strategies pursued by these different players in this humanitarian operation

The Ottoman authorities wanted to re-establish Ottoman order, as laid down in the reforms (Tanzimat). In Damascus, the punishments meted out to the guilty had led to a reign of “state terror”<sup>55</sup>. Their aim was also to show the European powers that the Sultan cared about his Christian subjects and was concerned about their safety (and prosperity).

The French authorities (through their local representatives), however, had their own political aims. They sought to reinforce France’s prestige and influence in the Middle East, notably with the support of the Christians, to defend Syria’s silk trade, and to divert the attention of French public opinion (and especially Catholic opinion) from the Italian question<sup>56</sup>.

The missionaries, men and women (though women did not sit on the French Catholic committee, they received money)<sup>57</sup> wanted to increase their prominence over the local populations, as intermediaries between political power and the people and their clergy (by offering protection). They were cogs in the machinery of French policy, which was seeking to develop a clientele among the Christians, and particularly the Maronites and other Eastern Catholic communities. The Catholic missionaries tried also to direct funds towards their own institutions. The school missions were able to obtain scholarships to fund the studies of some of their pupils: in December 1860, the Beirut committee decided to fund scholarships for the high schools of Ghazir (Jesuit’s College, “ancestor” of Saint-Joseph University) and Antoura

---

<sup>55</sup> Usama Makdisi quoted by Davide Rodogno, *Againts Massacre*, 112.

<sup>56</sup> Davide Rodogno, *Againts Massacre*, 114-115.

<sup>57</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> session.

(‘Ayn Tûrâ, Lazarist), in order to finance the education of children chosen from leading families who had been ‘ruined’ by the events. These scholarships were granted for two years.<sup>58</sup> Consulted by Abbot Lavigerie on the use of the funds collected, Fr. Gautrelet (Superior of the Jesuits of Lyon and therefore of the Jesuits in Syria) recommended support for orphans, for the auxiliary congregations (created by the Jesuits) and for scholarships to pupils of the local clergy.<sup>59</sup>

The local clergy were important mediators between the local population, the Ottoman authorities and the relief committees. They also maintained their authority and influence over the faithful in their communities.

The silk merchants, through their local agents, also encouraged the resumption of silk cultivation. In December 1860, the Beirut committee was concerned about the emigration of weaver, which threatened ‘an industry whose preservation is essential to the prosperity [of the country]’. After discussion, the committee decided to grant a few families, spread between Zuq and Beirut, the means to pay for the installation of looms and the purchase of silk, sums that were to be repaid within 5 to 6 months,<sup>60</sup> in other words a form of interest-free loan. In addition, the committee encouraged the resumption of silk farming, by deciding that instead ‘of giving the farmers seeds whose quality they might not trust, it is preferable to give them the money, leaving them to do the buying themselves’,<sup>61</sup> a decision taken after listening to a seed merchant (Mr. Figou) and a Mr. Thruilier, described as an ‘MP for French trade’.<sup>62</sup> The 1860 events took

---

<sup>58</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 6<sup>th</sup> session, 8/12/1860.

<sup>59</sup> Yann Bouyrat, *Devoir d'intervenir ?*, 170.

<sup>60</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 8<sup>th</sup> session, 29/12/1860, 10<sup>th</sup> session, 12/01/1861.

<sup>61</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief Committee, 16<sup>th</sup> session.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

place in June, the month of the silk harvesting. Silk merchants didn't want to lose the 1861 harvest, so they had to provide seed to the Mount Lebanon peasants.

***Outcome for the missionaries: the consolidation of their work.***

In the absence of a full study, it is difficult to reach a conclusion on the economic, social, political (and religious) impacts of this humanitarian intervention, in all its dimensions (relief for the victims, compensation, economic recovery). There is no doubt that the missionaries were included in the beneficiaries of the aid.<sup>63</sup> Let us take the example of the Jesuits. They benefitted directly from the money received: from the Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, which in July 1860 took the initiative of launching a subscription that, by March 1861, had collected more than 2 million francs;<sup>64</sup> They also received money from the Ottoman government: in July 1862, it was announced that compensation of one million francs would be paid to the European religious orders, of which the French Consulate had already received more than 2/3 (700,000 francs). A few months later, the French consul handed over 123,000 francs to the mission, from the Ottoman government.<sup>65</sup> They also benefitted indirectly from the sums paid by the French government for the orphanage and educational scholarships.

In addition to this money, the Jesuits were given a large plot of land in the Beqaa Valley (handed over to Fr. Canuti, Superior of the mission, in December 1862).<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Chantal Verdeil, *La mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830-1864)*, (Paris : Les Indes Savantes, 2011), 315-317.

<sup>64</sup> « Rapport de M. l'abbé Lavigerie », *Souscription recueillie en faveur des chrétiens de Syrie*, avril 1861, p. 466-467.

<sup>65</sup> AFSI, Coll Prat, vol 9, letter from Fr. Canuti to Fr. Reynaud, Beirut 23 October 1862, p. 1193-1195. In 1857, the mission have spent between 44,000 and 45,000 francs. The compensation received was therefore equivalent to almost 3 years of operation. This total does not include the sums received for the Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient.

<sup>66</sup> ARSI, Syr 1004, II, 20, Letter from Fr. Canuti to Fr. Beckx, Beirut, 28 December 1862.

After 1860, the mission of the Society of Jesus also received 202,000 francs for the ‘blood spilt’ and ‘damage’ suffered in Zahla,<sup>67</sup> in two stages – 123,000 francs in October 1862,<sup>68</sup> and the rest at the beginning of 1863.<sup>69</sup> If we can believe the report established by Fr. Monnot in 1876, the sums paid by the Ottoman government to the Society of Jesus were twice as high as those allocated to it by the relief committees funded by the Œuvre des Écoles d’Orient. In all 302,000 francs were allocated to the Jesuits. Almost half this sum was used to fund the boys’ orphanage, under an agreement reached between the mission and Abbot Lavigerie,<sup>70</sup> which provided that the building would subsequently revert to the Jesuits (as we see below). Almost 90,000 francs went on buying the land and buildings, and on the construction of the residence there. 37,500 francs were used to acquire a mill in Ghazir and to enlarge the premises of the seminary- high school. 40,000 francs were used for the house and Church of Sidon and 12,000 francs for the Deir al-Qamar station.<sup>71</sup> In addition to the purchase or enlargement of buildings for residential use, there were donations to the Xaverians and to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, which were used to consolidate these infant congregations (a local male ‘congregation’ and a female one the Jesuits founded in order to gather their local auxiliaries).

The other Latin congregations also benefited from the compensation paid by the Ottoman Empire, which they used to build new residences. The Lazarists, for example, received 400,800 francs ‘for the losses they suffered in Damascus’.<sup>72</sup> As with the Jesuits who concentrated on Zahla, they designated half of this sum to the rebuilding of their establishments

---

<sup>67</sup> ALSI 8A6, Letter from Fr. Monnot to Fr. Serre, 1876.

<sup>68</sup> ARSI Syr 1004, II, 18, Letter from Fr. Canuti to Fr. Beckx, Beirut, 23 October 1862.

<sup>69</sup> ARSI, Syr, 1004, 25, Letter from Fr. Canuti to Fr. Beckx, Beirut, 16 October 1863

<sup>70</sup> ARSI Syr 1004, IV, 2, Letter from Fr. A de Damas to Fr. Beckx, Beirut, le 15 novembre 1860.

<sup>71</sup> ALSI 8A6, Letter from Fr. Monnot to Fr. Serre, 1876.

<sup>72</sup> ALB (Archives Lazaristes, Beirut), Minutes of the Provincial Council of Beirut, Meeting of 6 July 1862, p. 14.

in Damascus, but ensured that the compensation benefited all their activities: 80,000 francs went to the establishment of the Daughters of Charity in Tripoli and 60,000 francs to Beirut. 30,000 francs were to be used to purchase a new house in the Christian quarter of Aleppo, and finally 30,000 for the construction of a church in Beirut.<sup>73</sup> These projects were not accomplished immediately and, in accordance with the wishes of the Father General, the money received was sent to Paris to be invested.<sup>74</sup> In 1864, work began in Damascus under the guidance of Mr. Najean, and a year later the church of Beirut was inaugurated,<sup>75</sup> while the Tripoli house was purchased in 1862.<sup>76</sup>

1860 was not the first time that the Sublime Porte had paid compensation to the Jesuit mission. In 1846, it had already paid 6000 francs after the previous year's occupation and sacking of the Jesuit residence in Ghazir by its troops.<sup>77</sup> In 1860, however, for both the Jesuits and the Lazaristes, the compensation paid by the Ottoman government and the alms collected in Europe came at just the right moment to support activities that were still in their infancy. They provided an opportunity for exceptional investments that these missions' ordinary funds would not have been sufficient to finance and thus give them new momentum

### **Mission, humanitarianism, sectarianism**

#### ***Mission and humanitarianism; expertise and new collaborations***

---

<sup>73</sup> ALB (Archives Lazaristes, Beirut), Minutes of the Provincial Council of Beirut, Meeting of 6 July 1862, p. 14.

<sup>74</sup> ALB, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Beirut, meeting of 12 October 1862, p. 18.

<sup>75</sup> Pierre Corcket, *Les Lazaristes et les Filles de la Charité au Proche-Orient* (Beirut: Maison des Lazaristes, 1983), 417.

<sup>76</sup> ALB, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Beirut, Conseil du 26 October 1862, p. 18.

<sup>77</sup> ARSI, Syr 1002, VII, 15, Letter from Fr. Canuti to Fr. Roothan, Beirut, 13 November 1845.

Drawing on this example of the 1860 crisis, we can discuss the relations between humanitarianism and mission. A first conclusion is that missionaries were involved in humanitarian action because of their knowledge of the local society and the moral authority they exercised over the populations (which lent them legitimacy for the receipt and distribution of money). In the case of the aftermath of the 1860's events, it is clear that missionaries were welcomed in the several relief committees for this reason. The Jesuit missionaries belonged to an ancient and prestigious Catholic male order and to the missionaries' movement, in other words, they were part of two of the 'three pillar of Catholic Internationalism' identified by Vincent Viaene: 'Congregations, Lay Charity and the Mission Movement'.<sup>78</sup> There was also a bureaucratic dimension to their action. It is often assumed that the bureaucratisation of relief operations came from the influence of secular institutions on the missionary congregations,<sup>79</sup> but the 19th-century Catholic Church was an extremely bureaucratic organisation and the Society of Jesus also operated, in a sense, as a bureaucracy: so for this period the argument could be reversed. The bureaucratisation could also be the result of the missionaries (i.e. religious institutions) influence.

Davide Rodogno, Bernard Struck and Jakob Vogel consider expertise and networks organizations as two main characteristics of the international sphere emerging during the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, to which the NGOS and Missions belonged. 'networks are often idealized as egalitarian or flat form of organization'.<sup>80</sup> However, it is necessary to keep in mind the specific features of the Catholic mission in this period. However, if Catholic orders and Catholic missions can be considered as transnational, they remained centralised and

---

<sup>78</sup> Vincent Viaene, 'Professionalism or proselytism? Catholic 'Internationalist' in the Nineteenth Century', in *Shaping the Transnational Sphere, Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*, ed. Davide Rodogno, Bernard Struck and Jakob Vogel (New-York, Oxford : Berghahn Books, 2015), 23-41, 30

<sup>79</sup> Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein, 'Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism', in *Sacred Aid.*, 8.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

hierarchized organizations. Catholic Missionaries were members of a Church, which ‘confront the modernity rather than embrace it’.<sup>81</sup> Catholic Missionaries belonged to a Church that rejected what the Pope Pius IX called the “errors” of the modern world (rationalism, liberalism, socialism, freedom of expression...)? Their bureaucratic organisation made them modern, but they didn’t accept the modernity inherited from the Enlightenment.

The missionaries were skilled in the distribution of relief and in certain forms of charitable action, but humanitarian actions changed the conditions under which this ‘charity’ was exercised and led them down different paths. There was a need to act quickly and to deal with a large number of victims: the missionaries were accustomed to distributing relief or taking in orphans, but on a much smaller scale than in this situation of crisis. This relates to several things associated with economic recovery: providing work, buying seed, encouraging the resumption of silk cultivation. Missionaries were not used to work in these economic spheres. From this point of view, it can be said that the nature of the local demand for ‘relief’ and the context of crisis transformed the work of the missionaries on the ground. It should also be noted that humanitarian action forced the missionaries into new collaborations. In 1860, the cooperation between the Jesuit missions and the French government became stronger. French government was deeply opposed to the Jesuits during the July Monarch (1830-1848). During the 1850’s, this hostility decreased, but the French government still favoured the Lazarists considered as more “French” (the Society of Jesus was more international and his Father General lived in Rome). The 1860’s crisis and its aftermath inaugurated a new collaboration between the French Government and the Jesuit’s, that will grow stronger during the following years.

Other collaborations are more surprising and punctual. On the loom project, the Catholic committee collaborated with the protestant “Anglo-American” committee.<sup>82</sup> the crisis and the

---

<sup>81</sup> Bertrand Taithe, *Pyrrhic Victories? French Catholic Missionaries, Modern Expertise and Secularizing Technologies*, 168.

<sup>82</sup> AMAE, ADP, Vol. 20, Syria (1856-1887), Minutes of the sessions of the Beirut Relief

urgency of the situation overcame confessional barriers.

### ***Secularisation of charity but sectarianism in society***

When considering the secular dimension of this humanitarian operation, it is relevant to adopt the categories established by Roberto di Stefano mentioned at the beginning of this article. Roberto di Stefano identifies the following categories in the secularisation process: ‘the formation of differentiated spheres’, the ‘loss of the religious connotation of certain conceptions/institutions’ and ‘the weakening of the normative and coercive power of the ecclesiastical authorities.

In this humanitarian operation, the missionaries were in partnership with secular institutions (the French state, non-ecclesiastical leaders), which gave their activities a partially secular dimension. The clergy (in this case missionaries) no longer held a monopoly on charity, but nevertheless remained essential players, and has remained until now.

If we consider the position and role of the ecclesiastical authorities, one can show that this humanitarian operation also reinforced their position in local societies. The Eastern Christian churches are highly clerical. In the Ottoman Empire, the clergy acted as an political and economic intermediary between the state and the faithful (they collected *jizya* until it was abolished in the mid-19th century). The distribution of relief reinforced this role, since the clergy were the main intermediaries between local populations and the relief organisations authority domination over local populations. The distribution of relief was largely organised along confessional lines: the Catholics looked after Catholics, or at least Christians. In this respect, the logic of their work differed from that of their Protestant colleagues, who refused to

distinguish between aid recipients on the basis of religious belief.<sup>83</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

A close examination of the work of the Catholic missionaries during the crisis of 1860 casts light on the different aspects of the humanitarian operation that followed the violence in the summer of that year. The purpose of this operation was not only to assist Christians by distributing provisions, blankets or medicines. Its aim was to encourage them to return home, and to reboot the local economy. In this sense, it constituted a “recovery” operation for Christians.<sup>84</sup>

Catholic missionaries’ work during and after this crisis shows that they were doubly involved, as victims of the massacres and beneficiaries of the aid, and as intermediaries/mediators in the relief operation. The missionaries knew how to direct the aid towards their own activities and particularly their educational institutions. Despite the material destructions and the loss of lives, the crisis strengthened their presence and work in Ottoman Syria. It led to a massive influx of money into Mount Lebanon, which brought as much (and perhaps more) benefit to the missionaries as to the Christian populations. The aftermath of 1860 was marked by investments that bear witness to the new wealth acquired by the Syrian missions after the tragic events of that year.

What were the other consequences of the crisis for the Catholic missions? The crisis and the humanitarian action changed the missionary apostolate: the numbers of sick, injured, destitute and orphaned people were higher than in ordinary times, and the care they required was greater. The missionaries intervened in the local economy. It is not certain whether the

---

<sup>83</sup> Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 110-111.

<sup>84</sup> Yann Bouyrat, *Devoir d'intervenir ?*, 50.

missionaries had wanted or planned for this economic dimension: it may equally have been requested from them by the affected local populations. Whatever the case, it was supported by the mill owners and Europeans involved in the silk trade. Catholic missionaries collaborated more closely with the political authorities (not only France, but also the Ottoman authorities), helping them by their knowledge of the field (their expertise) and by the moral authority that they exercised over the local population. As a result, this moral authority was further reinforced.

Relief distribution appears as an important field of cooperation for Catholic missions and French imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, as did the education field. Catholic missionaries considered themselves as mediators for the French protection on Eastern Catholics. They were involved in the relief committees implemented after the crisis and worked closely with French representative and officers.

Missionaries catholic organization's efficiency was based on bureaucratic and hierarchized organizations. However, they were very reluctant to the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideology of progress based on human rights and reason.

While several states were directly involved in this humanitarian operation (France, the Ottoman Empire, European states), the operation nevertheless bore the stamp of the local clergy, which played an essential role in collecting money and distributing it. This massive relief operation undoubtedly reinforced the role of the clergy of the Eastern Churches as intermediaries between the population and the state, and as economic agents. Despite Catholic and Protestant collaboration, it was organized alongside sectarian lines.

#### Bibliography:

*1860, histoires et mémoires d'un conflit*, ed. Dima de Clerck, Carla Eddé, Naila Kaidbey, et Souad Abou el-Rousse Slim, (Beyrouth : Institut Français du Proche-Orient, 2015).

Gerald Arboit, *Aux sources de la politique arabe de la France : le second Empire au Machrek*,

(Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000).

Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein, 'Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism', in *Sacred Aid. Faith and humanitarianism*, ed. Michael Barnett, Janice Gross Stein, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Yann Bouyrat, *Devoir d'intervenir, L'expédition « humanitaire » de la France au Liban, 1860*, (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2013).

Dominique Chevallier, *La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la Révolution industrielle en Europe*, (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1971).

David Cohen, "Une souscription des juifs de France en faveur des chrétiens d'Orient en 1860", in *Revue d'Histoire du Monde Contemporain*, tome XXIV, 1977, 439-454.

Pierre Corcket, *Les lazaristes et les filles de la charité au Proche-Orient, 1873-1983*, (Beyrouth: Annales vincentiennes du Proche-Orient, 1983).

Leila Fawaz, *Amīr 'abd al-Qādir and the Damascus «incident» in 1860* In : *Études sur les villes du Proche-Orient XVI<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles : Hommage à André Raymond* [en ligne]. Damas : Presses de l'Ifpo, 2001 (généré le 17 janvier 2018). Disponible sur Internet : <<http://books.openedition.org/ifpo/3351>>. ISBN : 9782351594544. DOI : 10.4000/books.ifpo.3351.

Leila Fawaz, *An occasion for War, Civil conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, New York, Center of Lebanese studies & IB. Tauris: 1994.

Henri Jalabert, sj, *Jésuites au Proche-Orient*, (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1987), 14, 18, 36-37.

Jospeh Hajjar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient II Napoléon III et ses visée orientales (1848-1870)*, (Damas: Tlass, 1988), vol 2.

Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre, humanitarian interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914, The emergence of a European Concept and International Practice*, Princeton University Press : 2012.

Davide Rodogno, Bernard Struck and Jakob Vogel, 'Introduction', in *Shaping the Transnational Sphere, Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*, ed. Davide Rodogno, Bernard Struck and Jakob Vogel (New-York, Oxford : Berghahn Books, 2015), 1-20.

Bertrand Taithe, 'Pyrrhic Victories? French Catholic Missionaries, Modern Expertise and Secularizing Technologies', in *Sacred Aid. Faith and humanitarianism*, ed. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 166-182.

Jacques Thobie, *Les intérêts culturels français dans l'Empire ottoman finissant*, (Louvain, France, Belgique, États-Unis d'Amérique: Peeters, 2008).

Chantal Verdeil, *La mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830-1864)*, Paris, Les Indes Savantes: 2011.

Chantal Verdeil (ed.), *Missions chrétiennes en terre d'Islam, Moyen-Orient, Afrique du Nord (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles), anthologie de textes missionnaires*, (Turnhout : Brepols, 2013).

Vincent Viaene, 'Professionalism or proselytism ? Catholic 'Internationalist' in the Nineteenth Century', in *Shaping the Transnational Sphere, Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*, ed. Davide Rodogno, Bernard Struck and Jakob Vogel (New-York, Oxford : Berghahn Books, 2015), 23-41.

|