Catering to a Diverse Clientele

Under the same roof as the orphanage, but strictly separated from it, was an establishment of an altogether different kind: a day and boarding school primarily addressed to the daughters of the wealthy. In the amazing diversity of its clientele with respect to class, ethnicity, gender, and religion, it was unique among the schools of Beirut. As one of the most expensive schools of this kind, it offered its clientele a certain level of comfort, a fact well borne out in a photograph of one of its dorms (see fig. 6).\footnote{This photograph is taken from the same album as the one showing one of Zoar’s dorms (fig. 2). While it is not dated, it seems likely that these pictures were taken on the occasion of both establishments’ silver jubilee in the mid-1880s. AFKSK Pictorial Library.} What a contrast to the bare and sparsely furnished dorms of Zoar! Two rows of four-poster beds with curtains, plain but fine bed linen, and a stool in front of each. At the end of the room, several washstands with mirrors on the wall behind may be discerned. A long rug covers the floor in between the rows of beds. The dorm is adjoined by a comfortably furnished...
living room with pictures on the wall. All in all, the picture conveys an impression of distinguished plainness adequate to the social status of its inmates.

The boarding school, then, offered at a marked contrast to the orphanage of Zoar next door. Its amenities, however, could only be provided on the basis of considerable tuition fees. Depending as it did on families' payments and goodwill, the Höhere Töchterschule was forced to negotiate with its clientele to a much greater extent than Zoar. Hence this chapter will look at the impact this had on the school, and the active initiative employed by the deaconesses to place their establishment in the best possible position within a competitive field. As will be seen, these circumstances had a substantial impact on the composition of the school's clientele and profile, the place it accorded to the German language, and its notion of education.

**Negotiating Race, Class, and Gender**

In contrast to Zoar, the deaconesses' boarding school had been founded on demand of the local expatriate community. Consuls of non-Catholic European countries such as the British consul Eldridge, the Danish consul Loytved or the Russian consul Petkovic, Protestant merchants and entrepreneurs like the photographer Félix Bonfils, even Protestant missionaries like George E. Post, the Jessup brothers, Cornelis van Dyck or Daniel Bliss would henceforth form the deaconesses' core clientele. The new establishment, or so these circles hoped, would be an exclusively Western space where expatriate children could be raised in a protective environment free from the supposedly harmful influences of Oriental society. Whether for reasons of economy or morality, however, Kaiserswerth complied with their wishes only in part. Only one edifice was built for both orphanage and boarding school. To satisfy their primary clientele and keep at bay anxieties about the transgression of racial boundaries, however, the deaconesses had fences and grilles mounted – to little effect, as

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3 AFKSK AKD 245. List of pupils up to 1886, no. 249–252, 289, 452 (Eldridge), 317–318 (Loytved), 237, 298, 371, 454 (Petkovic).

4 Ibid. no. 172. On Bonfils, see Michel Fani: *Une histoire de la photographie au Liban* (Beirut: Éditions de l'escalier, 2005), 80–82.

5 Ibid. AKD 245. List of pupils up to 1886, no. 410, 411, 508 (Post), 198, 213, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423 (Jessup), 465 (Van Dyck), 119, 120, 174 (Bliss).

6 Ibid. AKD 242. Luise von Trotha to Theodor Fliedner, Beirut, 01.11.1861. As Ann-Laura Stoler argues with respect to the Dutch colonies in the West Indies, racial segregation in education was increasingly enforced in colonial societies during the nineteenth century. Stoler (2002), 112–139.