A CENTURY OF AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM
IN THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST: 1820-1920

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Paul D. Rowden
January 5, 1959
APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled
A CENTURY OF AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM
IN THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST: 1820-1920

by
Paul D. Rowden

Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

[Signatures]

Date: 3/6/59
An attempt is made in this thesis to investigate certain aspects of early American Protestantism in the Arab Middle East. The research encompasses a period of one century: 1820-1920. These dates mark the initiation of American Protestantism in the Arab Middle East until the close of the First World War, which brought about a number of changes in the Arab world which vitally affected American Protestant work. The fact that the Arab world now came under the domination and influence of western Christian nations, after being under Moslem rule for centuries, was of extreme importance. Thus the period 1820-1920 generally marks an epoch of American Protestantism in the Arab world.

In the nature of things, the thesis does not attempt to deal with or interpret Arab politics or nationalism except in cases where without comment the course of Protestant work could not otherwise be understood. Neither does it refer to attitudes and opinions of Arabs toward Protestantism or toward American missionaries since an accurate account would necessitate reference to Arabic sources, and would enlarge too greatly the scope of research. It has also been impossible to investigate every American Protestant missionary or Protestant body which began work in the Arab Middle East.
Numerous American Protestant groups opened work at one time or another in this period and continued it for a few years, only to turn the work over to a stronger body or completely to close it in a matter of time. Therefore, the investigation is concerned only with those major American denominations which began and continued an effective work for Protestantism in their respective areas. Emphasis too, should be placed on the fact that as the various individual missionaries come on the scene in the thesis, little space has been taken to describe most of them, or to relate events leading up to their relationship with the particular missionary endeavor, in which context they are mentioned. An effort to give a biographical sketch for every missionary named would have thwarted the general aim of the thesis by making the dissertation subject-matter too broad to handle. Several hundred missionaries are involved in the American Protestant endeavor of 1820-1920.

Various books have been written about Protestant missionary work in general, and each American denomination has published a history of its missionary endeavors. However, the writer has not found any books or theses in his research, which deals collectively with the attempts of various American Protestant bodies to establish Protestantism in the Arab Middle East. Over a period of years, Doctoral Dissertations
Accepted by American Universities (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1933-55) does not list a single thesis which even remotely resembles the nature of this study. It is felt therefore that this dissertation is a modest contribution to one aspect of Middle East studies. Topics which are given special consideration are:

1. The factors which aroused the interests of American Protestants in the Middle East.

2. The motives for sending Protestant missionaries to the Arab world.

3. Missionary life and work in the Arab world.


5. The type of missionary personnel who worked in the Middle East.

6. The kind of Protestant institutions established.

7. The attitudes of the missionaries toward their work and environment.

8. The contributions, if any, of American Protestantism to the Arab world.

Special acknowledgment must be given to the staff of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, for their untiring aid through many months of study there, and also to the staff of the Gardner Sage Library of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Jersey, for granting access to primary source material of the Arabian Mission. An expression of appreciation is due to the Missionary Research Library at
Union Theological Seminary, New York, and to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, which made possible an examination of letters and unpublished documents in the American Board Archives, Houghton Library, at Harvard University. Recognition is also gratefully given to Dr. Walter E. Davis, Professor of Missions, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, for reading the manuscript, making suggestions, and verifying certain material. Last of all, acknowledgment of helpfulness, advice, and encouragement is due my professors and advisors, Dr. Pessah Shinar and Dr. Bernard D. Weinryb, and to my wife, Marjorie, without whose help this thesis could not have been written.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM ENTERS THE MIDDLE EAST</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first American foreign mission society</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political situation in Syria: 1800-1840</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The motivation for American foreign missions</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty pioneer years: 1820-1840</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes and references</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRTY YEARS OF PROGRESS IN SYRIA</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mid-century period of Protestantism</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible translation</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary life from missionary letters</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Syrian Protestant College</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifty years of American Protestantism achieved</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes and references</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM REACHES A CENTURY IN SYRIA</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The major problems of the Protestant missionaries as seen in their personal letters .................. 74
Protestant progress in Lebanon .................. 97
World War I and its aftermath .................. 104
Notes and references .................. 108

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM IN EGYPT .................. 113
Establishing the work, 1854-1865 .................. 114
Successful Protestant endeavors, 1865-1910 .................. 123
The Protestant Church in changing times .................. 138
Notes and references .................. 144

THE ARABIAN MISSION .................. 150
Establishing American Protestantism in Arabia .................. 151
The medical work .................. 158
Mission life and activities in the Arabian Mission .................. 163
The War years .................. 170
Notes and references .................. 175

CONCLUSIONS .................. 179

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................. 182
CHAPTER I

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM ENTERS THE MIDDLE EAST

Less than a century and a half old, Protestantism in the Middle East is today a thriving tradition. This tradition is alive in scores of congregations presided over by native pastors throughout most of the region. Hospitals, colleges, universities, orphanages, schools, and institutions have arisen in response to the evangelical challenge.

The first American foreign mission society. A few Protestant missionaries, largely from England, were engaged in Middle Eastern foreign mission work at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The most important British Protestant group was the Church Missionary Society. That body dreamed of stimulating the Eastern Churches in such fashion that they would become active in spreading the Christian faith among Moslems and pagans. In 1815 William Jowett, a Cambridge graduate, was sent to the Middle East on a mission of inquiry. A little later, a printing establishment was set up on the island of Malta, and from it tracts and copies of the Scriptures were issued in a number of the languages of the Middle East. In Egypt and Syria, the Church Missionary Society gradually developed hospitals and schools and sought primarily to reach Moslems. In general, however, it was the
American Protestants who, coming upon the scene just after the British societies' beginnings, were to leave the greatest mark of Protestant achievement in the Arab world. The work of the American Board of Commissioners in Syria and the United Presbyterians in Egypt largely overshadowed the efforts of all other missions.¹ The first Protestant foreign mission society in America was not organized until 1810. A group of four seminary students had determined to undertake a Christian mission in a foreign land. They presented the matter in 1810 to the newly organized General Association of Massachusetts Proper, a body of conservative Congregational ministers representing the more evangelical wing of the denomination. The following paper was submitted by the four volunteers from Andover Theological Seminary:

The undersigned, members of the Divinity College, respectfully request the attention of their reverend fathers, convened in the General Association at Bradford, to the following statement and inquiries. They beg leave to state that their minds have long been impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a mission to the heathen; that the impressions on their minds have induced a serious, and they trust, a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success, and the difficulties attending such an attempt, and that, after examining all the information which they can obtain, they consider themselves as devoted to the work for life, whenever God, in his providence, shall open the way.²

These young men further requested the advice of the
Association, whether they could expect patronage and support from a missionary society in America or whether they should commit themselves to the direction of a European society. Subsequently, in the same Associational meeting the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized. The stated object of the Board was to devise, adopt, and prosecute ways and means for propagating the gospel among those who were destitute of the knowledge of Christianity.²

The first appointed missionaries of the American Board were sent to India. There, the Directors of the British East India Company hardly thought it proper to hazard commercial interests by attempting, or permitting others to attempt work which might shock the prejudices of the natives. Ten days after their arrival at Calcutta, June 17, 1812, the Governor-General ordered the missionaries to return to America.³ Eventually their problem was solved after months of living in Bombay, Ceylon, and Burma, but it gave rise to the question of possible mission work in the Middle East, if they were not to be allowed to work in India.

In a letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, one of the missionaries sent to India, Mr. Samuel Newell wrote of considering work in Mesopotamia. He felt it to be an object of primary importance to procure correct translations of the whole Bible into Persian and
Arabic. "Numerous bodies of Christians," he said, "had sunk into the grossest darkness in this area, for want of instruction, and would gladly receive the Bible. These Christians might be made instrumental in diffusing the light around them, but would never take the lead in such a work." Mr. Newell stated that a mission to western Asia would be largely a responsibility of the American Board as there was relatively little Protestant work in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. "There are Christian churches in all these countries," he continued. "Might we not, by giving them the Bible, of which they long have been destitute, rekindle their zeal, and lift up in the midst of them a great light, that will dart its cheering beams far into the regions of thick darkness, by which they are surrounded."

It was natural that as missionary interest in America grew as a result of the American Board's creation, that interest should turn toward Syria and Palestine. Besides their association with many of the events in Biblical history, and the location of the places where Jesus lived and walked, the fact that it had passed under Moslem rule was a challenge to an energetic Protestantism perhaps similar in some respects to the Crusader period. Consequently, by the time of the annual meeting of the American Board in 1819 two men, Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, had been appointed for Middle East
work. Politically speaking, the time was soon to be propitious for the entry of foreign missionaries into Syria. However, the American Board little realized that the same political conditions which gave them entry into Syria were to interrupt and partially destroy their labors again and again.

The political situation in Syria: 1800-1840. The beginning of the nineteenth century found Syria a decayed and half-deserted land. Ottoman administration only functioned effectively in the large towns where the garrisons of Janissaries were stationed, in a section of the coastal strip, and in certain parts of the countryside. A large section of the country was governed by local chieftains, ruling by virtue of descent or ability, and practically autonomous. Mount Lebanon was an oasis of order amid the chaos. It was ruled by Amir Bashir of the Shihabi family, who reigned from 1789 to 1840 almost as an independent monarch. Lebanon was quiet during the first thirty years of the century, but beneath the surface important changes were taking place. One of the changes was in the relationship between Druze and Maronite. The Maronite Church, with whom the American Board Syrian missionaries had most to do, traced its origin back to the sixth century. Originally it adopted the monothelete doctrine, during the early Church arguments over the nature of Christ,
which stated that Christ had two natures, human and divine, but only one divine will. In the twelfth century, having been previously influenced by the Crusaders, this group decided to unite with Rome. This action was confirmed by the Council of Florence in 1439. Maronite contact with France by 1820, was strong, especially through the activities of French Jesuits. Since 1581, there had been in Rome, a Maronite College for the training of priests. The second largest Christian group with whom the Syrian missionaries had contact was the Greek Orthodox Church, followed by the Armenian Orthodox Church, but the Maronite Church almost doubled in membership these two churches. The northern part of Lebanon was inhabited mainly by Maronites and other Christian communities, the southern by Druses. The Christians were numerically preponderant and had for some generations been spreading southwards into districts formerly wholly Druse but now mixed in population. Although the Druses were in a minority, and their numbers diminished by emigration to Jebel Druse in the eighteenth century, their feudal lords had for centuries been the dominant force in Lebanon. To fortify his own power, Amir Bashir curbed the power of the Druse notables and encouraged the latent tension between the Maronites and the Druses.

In 1831-2 Syria was occupied by the armies of Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mohammed Ali, the ruler of Egypt under the
nominal suzerainty of the Sultan. In 1833 the Sultan agreed to Mohammed Ali's control of Syria, and for the next few years it was ruled by Ibrahim. For the first time in centuries it was given a centralized Government strong enough to hold separatist tendencies in check, and a system of taxation regular and comparatively rational, although burdensome. The Government founded schools and permitted foreign missionaries to do so. Ibrahim compelled recognition of the rights of non-Moslems to hold office in the local government. His proclamation in 1839 of equality before the law of members of all religious communities was immediately implemented and put into effect. The rule of tolerance had one unpremeditated result: it opened the door to Western missionary enterprise. Protestant missionaries established a firm foothold on Lebanese soil during this period (1831-39).

The European powers finally intervened and Ibrahim was driven from Syria, but much of his influence remained. He had opened Syria to Western merchants and travellers as it had not been opened for generations, and he had helped to shake the Empire out of its long torpor. The rest of the century saw a determined effort by the Ottoman Government to reform and modernize its structure. In 1839 Abdul-Majid issued the Gulhane decree, which guaranteed security and public trial to all citizens, and provided for the equality
of civil rights for the members of the different religious communities. Thus, the changing political scene in Syria, which seemed to indicate a trend towards greater freedom of religion was an opportunity for American Protestantism to secure an established position in the Middle East.

The motivation for American foreign missions. The American Protestants hoped by their coming that the Eastern Churches would be rejuvenated and become an active force for winning adherents from the Moslem world. The question was: "How should the missionary address himself to those who already esteemed themselves Christians and prided themselves on their orthodoxy?" Most of the missionaries were glad to recognize everything good, whether in doctrine or life, which they found in the Eastern Churches. They sincerely desired to build up the Oriental churches and to strengthen them in their Christian faith. The available data does not indicate that upon their first encounter with the region's Christian elements the missionaries had determined forthwith to launch a Protestant Church. Rather did the consensus of opinion among them seem to suggest that the already existing Christian traditions of Western Asia and North Africa possessed essential merit and validity and were therefore to suffice if changed somewhat. Later they realized that such an approach would not work. In the course of centuries the language of many of the Middle
East peoples became more or less changed, the original Scriptures and the translations of the same were no longer understood, ecclesiastical authority grew apace, the laity became passive participants in the church, the "cure for souls" became a clerical function, pictures and images were substituted for spiritual instruction, and recourse to God was through the mediation and intercession of the Virgin Mary and saints. Therefore, according to Protestant reasoning, the Biblical method of salvation by faith in God was superseded by human inventions and faith in good works. The power of the Christian clergy was further augmented due to the fact that Christians were outside the pale of Moslem law, and the clergy were allowed to administer the law in their own particular community. These religious courts had jurisdiction in matters of personal status, such as marriage, divorce, alimony, guardianship, and testaments. The result of the power of religious leaders was the slavish subjection of the people to ecclesiastical authority, the deadening of conscience, laxity of morals, and the loss of spiritual life. They who were not called upon to work out their own salvation felt no responsibility for the salvation of other men, especially of those who were esteemed their enemies. There is no evidence at hand to show that during the period of a thousand years the Christians of Asia Minor ever converted a Turk.
The fact that educational work inevitably led to a desire among the pupils to join the church of their teachers led to complicated relations later with the Eastern Churches, and in spite of their desire not to offend the Eastern Christians, Arab Christian congregations attached to the Western Churches came into existence by 1830.  

The Protestant missionaries hoped to re-establish in the Eastern Churches the doctrinal platform of evangelical Christianity: justification by faith, direct access to God, personal responsibility for one's salvation, and full freedom of conscience. In 1824 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions stated in its Brief Reasons Why the American Churches Should Send the Gospel to the Heathen, that Christianity was designed for the religion of the whole human race. The Board reasoned:

Wherever Christianity has been introduced, it has proved an unspeakable benefit. The state of society has been immediately altered for the better. An elevated standard of morality has been formed. Multitudes have been actuated by a principle of enlarged benevolence. The female sex has been raised from its previous degradation. The people generally have been taught to think, and reason, and act like immortal beings. Schools have been established; equitable laws have been enacted and administered; the hand of violence has been restrained; industry has prevailed; and science has greatly improved the condition of all classes of the community.

The early missionaries were concerned also with their responsibility to the Islamic world. In their way of reasoning
they felt that Islam, like the Eastern Churches, had much which was valuable, but lacked the essentials. The modicum of truth had been lost in the maximum of error. Islam was to be judged, not because it did not contain any truth, but because the truth was so mixed with error that in the combination it failed to vindicate itself.18

The underlying basic factor however, in initiating Protestantism in the Middle East, the abiding motive of missions, was one and unchangeable: love to God and love to man.19 This is clearly demonstrated by the instructions given in October, 1819 by the Prudential Committee of the American Board to Mr. Levi Parsons and Mr. Pliny Fisk, the first American missionaries appointed to the Middle East:

Your mission is to be regarded as a part of an extended and continually extending system of benevolent action, for the recovery of the world to God, to virtue and to happiness.

The two Grand Inquiries ever present to your minds will be—WHAT GOOD CAN BE DONE? and, BY WHAT MEANS? What can be done for the Jews? What for the Pagans? What for the Mahommedans? What for the Christians? What for the people in Palestine? What for those in Egypt— in Syria— in Persia— in Armenia,— in other countries to which your inquiries may be extended?20

Jurji21 notes this great contrast in motivation between the American Protestant enterprise and the Medieval Crusades. Pope Urban II, 1095, had urged the faithful to enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre and wrest it
from the wicked race, subjecting it to Christian arms. Seven centuries later a "crusader" with a much different goal arrived in the Middle East.

**Twenty pioneer years: 1820-1840.** On November 3, 1819, Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk embarked on the ship Sally Ann for the Middle East. By the latter part of December they had arrived at Malta where they met several English missionaries and the former American consul to Tripoli, who had worked there for seven years. From these men valuable advice concerning the Arab world was received. On January 15, 1820 Parsons and Fisk arrived at the port of Smyrna and immediately began the study of modern Greek. Reverend Charles Williamson, the chaplain to the British consulate suggested to them that Smyrna was the ideal place in the Levant for a permanent missionary establishment. He further suggested the need of educational and printing work. Both suggestions were to bear considerable fruit.

Later in the year Parsons and Fisk visited the island of Scio (Chios) to study Greek in a seminary there. They engaged the Seminary Press to print some 5000 copies of a tract entitled *Reading the Scriptures*, selected from the works of Chrysostom, and translated into modern Greek. With these tracts they gained ready access to the schools, monasteries, and convents. In many places the Bishops of the Greek Church,
as well as schoolmasters and priests had most explicitly approved of this method of doing good, and had offered to take upon themselves the charge and trouble of distributing the tracts among the people. Through a letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, Parsons and Fisk revealed the abiding concern which characterized the history of Middle East Protestantism, namely a deep respect for the Bible, and a desire to encourage the people to read it:

A little boy of only five years of age took a tract from us and read with ease and distinction a few sentences upon the importance of studying the Holy Scripture. Thus we have this day been permitted to sow precious seed. Two hundred youths and children have received those means of instruction, which are able to make them wise unto salvation. Probably their parents and friends will become acquainted with the same precious truths."

Making Smyrna their temporary base, they decided that Parsons should go at once to Jerusalem. The English consul at Smyrna obtained for them a firman from Constantinople which gave them liberty to visit the islands off the coast of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and their frontiers. It ordered that they should be treated in the most friendly manner and provided with assistance, protection, and security. The early missionaries were indebted to British consular influence again and again. These special privileges granted to certain
governments by the Ottoman authorities were the results of "Capitulation" agreements. On board the vessel bound for Jaffa, Parsons continued his work by reading portions of the Bible to the pilgrims and distributing tracts. In his journal he mentions speaking to several people about the final judgement, rewards, and punishment. At Jaffa, aid was again extended by the English consul who sent his dragoman to bring Parson's baggage through the customs without the usual tax. In Jaffa due to the consul he found a favorable place for the introduction of books into Syria, Palestine, and all the neighboring countries. On reaching Jerusalem, Parsons went to the Greek monastery, having a letter of introduction to the Patriarch. Here he settled, becoming the first Protestant missionary to enter Jerusalem with a view to making it the center of evangelical work. By February of 1822 Parsons was able to write in his journal that people were visiting him in his room to read and discuss the Scriptures, and added that the Greek priests were encouraging him. He felt that should a missionary do nothing but reside in Jerusalem and read the Bible with pilgrims, a great work could be accomplished. However, one of a long line of political upheavals which hinder the Protestant work, occurred. The Ottoman government ordered the Greeks residing in Palestine to surrender their arms, and many began to flee. Parsons had planned to leave for Mount
Lebanon for the summer, but now he decided to rejoin Fisk at Smyrna where they could prepare tracts to be given out at the next pilgrimage to Jerusalem. 28

Parsons and Fisk early realized the value of a printing press as an adjunct to their work. Prior to the introduction of the American Press in 1834 and the Imprimerie Catholique, the Levant possessed printing facilities, but not of a high order. In 1702 the first press in the Middle East, with Arabic characters, made its appearance at Aleppo. Long before this the Papal See had developed the first Arabic press in history, at Fano, Italy. From its early output, a book of prayer dated 1514 is extant. 29 Modern presses were set up in Constantinople by 1816. 30 The American Press was founded in 1822 on the island of Malta by the American Board in response to the requests and advice of Parsons and Fisk, and their English friends. The Malta location was temporary, pending access to the Levant. With considerable difficulty, a font of Arabic type was secured from London, but on account of the inadequacy of the type and preoccupation with other work most of the actual printing in Arabic did not begin by the Mission until the press was moved to Beirut. The Arabic type was readable but not pleasing to the Easterners, accustomed to the beautiful characters of their manuscripts. 31 The early missionaries wrote much about the unsatisfactory
character of the Malta type as a real hindrance to their work. One of the chief preoccupations of Dr. Eli Smith, an American Board missionary who had charge of the press from its arrival in Beirut in 1834 until his death in 1857, was the preparation of a better type. With great care he collected the best specimens of Arabic handwriting that he could find from famous scribes in Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Constantinople. From these Mr. Roman Hallock, an American Board printer and mechanic in Beirut was able to cut the necessary punches from which he stamped the brass matrices for casting the new type. Dr. Smith took these to Leipzig where the type was cast.

The American Board missionaries, as their grasp of Arabic improved, recognized the need of a new translation of the Bible into Arabic. The Bible distributed at the time was one printed in London from a translation made by Sarkis er Rizzi, Maronite Bishop of Damascus in 1620, and printed in Rome in 1671. It contained so many errors that a new translation was mandatory. At first Parsons and Fisk encountered little opposition to the distribution of Bibles, Bible portions and tracts. In fact they were aided by the religious leaders for a period. The Patriarch of Antioch dispatched letters to all the archbishops and bishops, urging them to promote Bible distribution. Various consular officials in towns and cities were engaged to aid the work also. In a letter to the American
Board the missionaries wrote: "In this country strangers are expected to make presents continually. When it becomes necessary or seems likely to be useful for us to do it, we intend, as far as possible, to make Bibles a substitute for money, etc."

Parsons contracted a fever on the return voyage from Jaffa to Smyrna, which failed to respond to available remedies. Fisk sailed with him to Alexandria, hoping that a change of climate might help. Here Parsons died in July, 1822, two and a half years after his arrival on the mission field. Some sixty Maltese and English people followed his coffin to the Greek convent, where the few Europeans buried their dead.

From their letters and journals Parsons and Fisk had indicated a realization that the task of Protestantism in the Arab world would be extremely difficult. Before his death Parsons wrote that when he was obliged to be silent as God was dishonored and souls deceived and destroyed by the craft of men, and when he urged a spiritual religion upon those who had no ears to hear, eyes to perceive, and yet who knew that heaven was secure, it was an affliction which made his heart bleed. In facing the task of reaching people for Protestantism there were the problems of giving the Bible to people who could not read, opening schools with neither school books nor teachers, preaching without a mastery of the Arabic
language, presenting Christianity to Muslims who regarded it as the worship of pictures and images, and idolatry full of Mariolatry and immorality. One of the missionaries wrote: "The Syrian people are singularly unimpressionable on religious subjects, because they are so eminently religious already. Religious forms and language abound." He noted that the salutations, ejaculations and imprecations of the people were full of the name of God, Allah. The most sacred words and expressions were on the lips of all, the learned and the ignorant, men, women, and children, including the most vicious and abandoned. Whatever was the subject, religion in some form or other had its share in it. He continued: "That which is most sacred becomes as familiar as household words and is as little regarded. As far as words are concerned they have religion enough." In addition to these cares, suffering from the lack of funds prompted Fisk to write: "But is it a duty, is it right, while so many are living at home in ease and affluence, that missionaries should bring themselves to an early grave, by cares and labors, which might be relieved by a little pecuniary assistance?"37

Soon, Fisk was joined by Mr. Jonas King, a new missionary, and together they undertook several exploratory trips through Syria and Palestine. The American Board had encouraged such exploration. In the instructions given to the new
missionaries for the Palestine Mission, (which was the name of the undertaking for a time; their anticipated location was to be Jerusalem, but their instructions gave them wide latitudes), Mr. William Goodell and Mr. Isaac Bird, the Prudential Committee of the American Board on December 5, 1822 observed:

In considering Western Asia and the neighboring parts of Africa as fields of missionary labor, it is obvious that a large portion of present exertion must be applied to exploring the state of these countries... It is probable that one of you, in company with one or more of your brethren now in the field, may find it conducive to your great design to spend every winter for many years to come, in exploring tours.

Consequently much of the year 1823 was spent by the missionaries in visiting cities, towns, villages, and monasteries. Mr. Fisk with two companions visited Malta and then sailed to Alexandria planning to reach Jerusalem overland. They were particularly anxious to associate with Coptic Christians in Egypt in order to know more about their beliefs. Everywhere they sold Bibles and distributed tracts. For the trip from Cairo to Jaffa they engaged a guide and camels. A caravan could not be found, but being foreigners they felt safe in traveling alone. Fisk remarked in his report that their guide warned Bedouins who tried to harass them that they were Englishmen, for the Bedouins had never seen Americans or heard of America. "The name of Englishman is so much respected even among the Bedouins that we were not molested."
In the monasteries they found the few books available, printed in very large print. The monks complained that the type in the books which the missionaries brought was too small and hurt their eyes. The majority had an eye affliction of one kind or another. Such experiences gave the missionaries better insight into ways and means of reaching the people.

Upon arrival in Jerusalem the missionaries began distributing scripture portions and tracts. They estimated that half of the people of Jerusalem, approximately 20,000, were Muslims and not too friendly to them. On one occasion missionaries Fisk and Bird were arrested by Musa Beg, sheriff of the governor, on the charges of wearing the white turban and trading in unlawful books. The Judge observed: "These books are neither Christian books, nor Mohammedan, nor Jewish, and contained fabulous stories that are profitable for nobody and which nobody of sense will read." He added: "The Latins say these are not Christian books." Consequently Fisk and Bird were thrown into prison, their rooms searched and sealed. Receiving no bribe, and learning that they were under English protection, the governor later released them. Fisk wrote why a bribe was expected from them: "Every new governor receives a visit from the chiefs of the principal convents with a present of money, I believe five hundred piasters, for each convent, and then he returns the visit and receives a similar sum."
Just after Fisk and his companion had started on their exploratory trip in 1823, two couples, the Goodells and Birds arrived in Beirut where they found a town of about 5,000 people, a busy seaport with healthful mountains close by and a friendly English consul at hand. Few other places in the Middle East offered such an opportunity. In a joint letter the missionaries wrote to the American Board, "We are sure all our patrons would say that Jerusalem must not be relinquished. There are so many things also, in favor of Beyroot, as a station, that we cannot feel willing to relinquish it." Goodell and Bird recorded their arrival, the first permanent American Protestants in Beirut, as follows:

There is no wharf at Beyroot, and when our boat struck the sands, the fierce Arabs leaped out, and carried us on their shoulders through the billows to the dry land amidst the multitude who ran to witness so novel a scene. . . . One of us remained with the boat and baggage, while the other walked with the ladies to the house of the consul, a Turk carrying the infant child, and leading the way.

In contrast to the good reception which had been offered to the Protestants throughout the land by ecclesiastical authorities, in Beirut there arose violent opposition from the Maronite Patriarch. He secured a firman from the Sultan forbidding the giving of the Bible to Turkish subjects, and requiring those who had received one to return or burn it. One factor he could not stop however, was the desire of parents
in Beirut to provide good education for their children. On July 28, 1824 a school commenced in the home of Mrs. Bird in Beirut with seven pupils, under the instruction of a local Arab teacher. By September the number of students had reached sixty. In 1827 there were six hundred students in thirteen schools which were largely in and around Beirut. 45

The encouraging aspects of the work in Beirut was marred by the death of Pliny Fisk in Beirut, October 23, 1825, after a few days of illness. Just prior to his death, he had attended several meetings with the other missionaries to discuss questions relative to the work. Two days had also been spent in fasting and prayer. Goodell wrote that Fisk's one aim was to glorify God. He had lived to see the press in successful operation at Malta, and the Palestine-Syrian Mission established. He had explored nearly the whole country, left valuable records, and had widely scattered Bibles, and tracts. 46

By 1826 the Mission was able to report that there were three stations: Malta, Beirut, and Jerusalem. Some advice for newly appointed Middle East missionaries was now available from the few years of experience of the first workers. Mr. Goodell wrote:

The four following are the principal things to which a missionary must attend, in order to preserve his health while he is engaged in study in
this country. He must wear flannel all the year; wrap himself in fur during the winter; avoid sudden exposure to the cold if he is in a state of perspiration; and rigorously adhere to a simple diet during the hot months. 47

The report for 1827 indicate that schools had been opened in Beirut and six other towns and villages. However opposition followed their opening. A proclamation read in Greek churches against these schools forbade any intercourse with the missionaries. A Maronite convert, Asaad Shidiak was imprisoned in a monastery at Cannobeen, about fifty miles from Beirut where he was beaten and put in chains by the order of the patriarch of Der Alma. He finally died of starvation and maltreatment. 48 The embryonic mission church largely comprising the missionaries in Beirut, received into membership Reverend Dionysius Carabet, a member of the Armenian Church and former archbishop in Jerusalem, and Mr. Gregory Wotabet of the Armenian Church and former secretary to the Patriarch. This "fruit" elicited great rejoicing on the part of the few Protestant missionaries as they began to see some visible results of their labors. The trials and disappointments were outweighed by their high personal devotion and felt duty to God. Such consecration is seen in the application of a Princeton student to be sent to Syria by the American Board. He avowed that it was in his heart to live or die, spend or be spent in the Syrian work. He prayed that his whole soul and
spirit and body would be consecrated to the work of building the kingdom of God in the heathen world. Subsequently this young man, W. M. Thomson, was appointed by the American Board and became one of its valued and useful missionaries in Syria.

Experience taught the Protestant missionaries ways and means of reaching the people by which later workers were able to profit. Informality was the order of the day as the missionaries sought to reach people by every means possible in the market, home, street, and school. A dialogue is preserved between Reverend Goodell and a group of Arabs he had met in the street:

My friends, you have known us for three years. Have you ever known of our lying, stealing, oppressing, cheating, defrauding, or killing in a single instance?

No!

Have you ever known of our endeavoring to poison a person, or of our doing or trying to do any injury whatever to any individual, let him be old or young, let him be rich or poor?

No!

Have you ever known of our doing any kindness to the people, succoring them in their oppression, relieving them in their distress, providing gratuitous instruction for their children, and assisting the widow and orphans?

Oh yes!

Very well, now have you ever known of our saying a single thing on religion which is not found in the New Testament?
No!

Now look at your conduct. You accuse us of no crime. You acknowledge us to be virtuous, and to be benefactors. Yet you oppose us with all the power you possess.

To another group Mr. Goodell likened the Bible to a firman from heaven, from the King, from the Sultan. Yet the people cast it with great anger into the fire. "Would not," he reasoned, "the Sultan in Constantinople call it rebellion?" The missionaries through such reasoning, never failed to try to drive home to the people their need of personally understanding the Bible. Church literature available to the people was often filled with error, as missionary Jonas King, found when reading for an Arabic lesson in a Maronite book furnished by his teacher. The second commandment had been left out and the last one divided into two parts, making ten commandments. When Mr. King pointed this out to his teacher and showed him the real commandment in an Arabic Bible the teacher was greatly astonished, never having studied the matter for himself in the Bible.

In 1628 the British consul embarked from Beirut in great haste due to the political situation and the missionaries were left without protection. They, therefore, felt it necessary to suspend the work in the Levant for a while and in May departed for Malta where language study was
continued and the mission printing work increased. After two years' sojourn in Malta the missionaries were able to return to Syria. Scarcely had they arrived in Beirut, when the Maronite opposition appeared in a formal curse uttered against the missionaries by the Patriarch. The curse forbade any Maronite from visiting the Protestants, employing them, helping them, greeting them, or conversing in any manner with them. They were to be avoided as a "putrid member and as hellish dragons." The curse seemed to hinder the work but little and the report of 1835 shows a regular preaching service in Arabic at Beirut with twenty-five to forty in attendance. Approximately a third of the worshippers were women who occupied a separate but adjoining room.

Since the American Board missionaries had enjoyed the aid and protection of the British consuls and were identified as being British by most Arab people, the visit of an American warship, the "Delaware" was an important event. Missionary Eli Smith wrote that such a visit might give the people an idea of their distinct national existence, and thus afford important protection in times of danger. It was possible for people to visit the warship, and mountaineers of Lebanon, peasants, priests, sheikhs, and emeers were admitted on board. A party of seventy-three sailors from the ship visited Jerusalem and Smith noted: "Upon the city such a company, coming from
the end of the earth, from a country the name of which most
of the people probably had never heard made a deep impres-
sion. . . ."54

In the years 1835-36 it appeared that the Druse com-
munity would become Christian. The members of the feudal
families of sheikhs in Lebanon declared themselves Protestants
and asked for preachers and teachers. For a time they were
steadfast, but the missionaries felt that they were really in-
sincere. At length it was evident that the real desire of the
Druse community was to escape military service on the grounds
of being Christian and when such hope was cut off they politely
bowed the missionaries and teachers out of their villages.55

A school for girls was established by Mrs. Eli Smith
in 1834. It was the first in Syria that had ever had a build-
ing constructed to serve as a school for girls, and in a coun-
try where female education was almost universally neglected,
the departure was startling and impressive and was widely
copied. By 1835 ten schools for boys and girls were counted
with 300 pupils. A high school was opened in 1836. The Ameri-
can Board report of that year reveals that the curriculum in
the secondary school was:

1. Arabic language, to be thoroughly and gram-
matically studied through the whole course,
thus furnishing writers, speakers, instructors,
and translators.
2. The English language. The grand object will be to put the scholar in possession of the knowledge and piety contained in that language.

3. Geography and astronomy.

4. Civil and ecclesiastical history with chronology.

5. Mathematics, rhetoric, natural and moral philosophy, the Bible, composition and translation, and sacred music.

Protestants emphasized from the beginning of their labors the primacy of the Arabic language as a medium of all of their work. The skill of Eli Smith in the preparation of an elegant font of type caught the eyes of the Arabic scholars. Within a few years the Mission had printed enough books to supply the schools they founded, and other schools besides their own. The Mission secured the services of two scholars, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani to compose manuals on a variety of subjects for the use of the schools. As soon as the books were written and approved, the Mission Press printed them and disseminated them all over the country. The avidity with which these books were seized upon showed not only that they filled a need, but that minds were awakening to knowledge. Such activity set in train a revival of the Arabic language, and with it a movement of ideas which was to leap from literature to politics.

Although only two stations now were manned by missionaries, Jerusalem and Beirut, the shortage of missionary
personnel was acute. Eli Smith wrote to a friend in Connecticut in 1836, observing that he was the only one in Beirut at the time who could preach in Arabic, and yet in spite of over-work he loved the preaching services. Progress was such that there were as many women in attendance as men.\(^5\) In the partition between the two rooms separating the men and women, he had placed the pulpit so that he could see both audiences.

The principal objectives of the Mission by 1838 had become:

1. First in importance—preaching the Gospel.
2. Raising up a native ministry.
3. Translating and printing the Bible, religious tracts and publications.\(^5\)

Although the missionaries had high ideals and devotion to their work, harmony did not always prevail. As the work progressed differences of opinion and ways to prosecute the work developed. George B. Whiting, a missionary, in a letter "Private and Confidential" wrote the American Board Secretary in 1840 that there was a wife of one of the workers with whom none of the other wives of the missionaries cared to be associated. He felt that the husband also was of too ardent and sanguine temperament and would endanger himself by rash and injudicious steps, in a new station, unless he were associated with an older missionary.\(^6\) Shortage of funds continually hindered the opening of new work and schools. Whiting, from
Jerusalem, wrote to a friend that there were two schools in operation, one in Jerusalem, and one in Bethlehem, but that there were applications for many more schools from the villages. He lacked funds to follow up these opportunities, and to provide more room for the growing Jerusalem congregation.

At no time had the mission personnel or funds been sufficient for the opportunities, but 1840 marked an enlargement of personnel by the appointment of four couples and a single missionary. One of those sent to Syria, Dr. C.V.A. Van Dyck, was to make great contributions in several fields, but notably that of finishing a translation of the Bible into Arabic which has been held by scholars to be excellent and accurate. The year 1840 looked back upon twenty years of pioneer work which took the lives of several of the Protestant missionaries, and saw the closing of all work for a time due to political disturbances. Valuable experience had been gained and the next three decades would profit from it.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2 William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), pp.3-5. It is difficult to discover all the factors which prompted the emergence of foreign mission emphasis in America. Youthful idealism, maturing Protestantism in America, the European political scene, and other factors may have had some influence. Certainly the reports of missionary activities of the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (British) and the London Missionary Society, formed only some twenty years prior to the organization of the American Board, stimulated the young ministerial students in colleges and Seminaries of America. These two organizations were already receiving financial aid from America. Note: G.G. Atkins, and Frederick L. Fagley, History of American Congregationalism (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1942), pp. 157-59.

3 First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834), First Report, September 5, 1810. This meant of course, destitute of the knowledge of Christianity in the sense in which Protestantism understood and taught it.


5 Letter of Mr. Samuel Newell, December 20, 1813, as quoted in the Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1814.

6 Loc. cit.

7 The Tenth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners, 1819.


15 Greene, op. cit., p. 99. This actually means little however, since the Christians were, at their best, second class citizens and at the mercy of the caprice of Muslim authorities. Death would have come to the Muslim apostate and persecution to the Christian community which already had more than it could bear of problems. Consequently, attempts to proselyte were almost nonexistent. It should be said that the American Protestant missionaries had in mind the conversion of Muslims as a part of their work. In some instances they were successful, but the work by and large was so difficult that the failures led the missionaries to direct their attentions toward the Eastern Churches. While evangelism was the chief aim of the first American missionaries, the work gradually took on also educational, philanthropic, social, medical, and cultural aspects. Note: Naim Sousa, The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), p. 141; and J.C. Hurewitz, Middle East Dilemmas (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 150. An American Missionary in Lebanon after years of work wrote about Muslim work: "Another cause of past neglect has been despair. The conversion of Islam has been thought a hopeless task. Christians at home and travellers abroad inquire how many Moslems have been converted, and say the effort is useless." H.H. Jessup, "Introductory Paper", The Mohammedan World of Today, Zweemer, Wherry, and Barton, editors (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906), p. 18.
17View of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners (no place of publication or publisher listed, January, 1824). A pamphlet.

18James S. Dennis, The Modern Call of Missions (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1937), p. 217. Even though the thoughts of this paragraph were written in the twentieth century they describe the American Protestant philosophy of the nineteenth century towards Islam.

19Greene, op. cit., p. 269.

20Instructions from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to the Rev. Levi Parsons and the Rev. Pliny Fisk, Missionaries Designated for Palestine. Delivered at the Old South Church, Boston, Sabbath Evening, October 31, 1819. (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819). It should be noted by these instructions that it was not quite certain at the time just where the Mission would finally be established—Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Persia, etc. Nor was it certain how the work would be executed. Consequently, it is not strange that Parsons and Fisk should begin their work anywhere the possibilities were most auspicious.

21Jurji, op. cit., p. 95.

22Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1820.

23Ibid., twelfth annual meeting, 1821.


25Ibid., (September, 1821). The French treaty of 1535 is the basis for all the succeeding capitulations. Consisting of sixteen articles, the French capitulation deals mostly with problems of freedom of trade, passage of vessels, protection of property, security of life, freedom of worship, freedom of residence and trade, and inviolability of domicile. Sousa, op. cit., pp. 69-70. Certain religious communities were granted some exemptions from customs duties. These privileges in turn were claimed by all other religious communities including the American Protestants. F. H. Brown, Foreigners in Turkey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1914), pp. 94-5.

26Ibid., XVIII (January, 1822). Journal of Mr. Parsons.


The Missionary Herald, XVII (March, 1821)

Ibid., 1:27.

The Missionary Herald, XVIII (September, 1822). Letter of Mr. Fisk.

The Missionary Herald, XIX (May, 1823).

Ibid., 1:27. See footnote 2 of Chapter II for the part played by consuls in the activities of the missionaries.

The Missionary Herald, XX (February, 1824). Report of Mr. Fisk.


The Missionary Herald, XXI (February, 1825).

Ibid., XXI (January, 1825).
Loc. cit. Letter of Mr. Goodell.


46 The Missionary Herald, XXII (April, 1826). Letter of Mr. Goodell.


50 The Missionary Herald, XXIII (December, 1827).

51 Loc. cit.

52 See footnote No. 28.


57 Antonius, op. cit., pp. 41-2. Dr. H. H. Jessup, a missionary in Beirut at this period corroborates the statements of Antonius referred to in Chapters I and II, concerning Yazigy and Bustani in his Fifty-Three Years in Syria. The following are quotations from his book: "Dr. Van Dyck studied Arabic with Sheikh Nasif el Yazigy, the poet. . . ." (I:106), "Sheikh Nasif el Yazigy was the greatest living Arabic poet, author of fourteen different works in Arabic, and formerly for years the companion and assistant of Dr. Eli Smith. . . ." (I:409), "Smith . . . labored for eight years incessantly, aided by the famous Arabic scholar and poet, Sheikh Nasif el Yazigy, and Mr. Butrus el Bistany (Bustani), a learned convert from the Maronite faith." (I:55). "First, Mr. Bistany made a translation into Arabic from the Hebrew or Greek with the aid of the Syriac. Then Sheikh Nasif, who knew no language but Arabic, rewrote what had been translated, carefully sifting out all foreign idioms. Then Dr.
Smith revised Sheikh Nasif's manuscript by himself, and made his own corrections and emendations. Then he and Sheikh Nasif went over the work in company..." (I:70). "Mr. Butrus Bistany, an eminent, industrious and learned Syrian Protestant scholar..." (I:304). "Mr. Bistany... published an Arabic grammar, two large dictionaries, and nine volumes of an Arabic encyclopedia, besides editing a weekly paper, the Jenneh and a monthly magazine, the Jenan. He was the most influential Protestant in Syria." (I:270). "The Sultan Abdul Hamid II, on receiving copies of his dictionary, sent him a present of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling and a decoration... He also published works on bookkeeping, and translated into Arabic various English classics." (II:484).


60Letter of George B. Whiting, June 20, 1840. Archives Houghton Library, Harvard. It is not quite clear in Reverend Whiting's letter what he means by "too ardent and sanguine." Actually, it seems that it may have simply been an unresolved personality conflict between Whiting and the other worker, or their wives.

61Ibid., August 6, 1840.
CHAPTER II
THIRTY YEARS OF PROTESTANT PROGRESS IN SYRIA

One of the several political disturbances, which disrupted the activities of the American Board work in Syria, occurred in the year 1841. In August of that year the English fleet under Sir Charles Napier arrived in Beirut harbor to aid in the drive to rid Syria of Ibrahim Pasha. As a safeguard, the captain of the United States corvette, "Cyane," Captain Latimer, took the American missionaries on board and conveyed them to Larnaca in Cyprus.

The American Protestants scrupulously attempted to remain aloof from local politics, being guests of the Ottoman Empire. Indirectly, however, the fact that they were Americans brought to bear upon them influences and pressures totally outside the original purposes of their mission. From a human standpoint it was reassuring to have a consul to whom to turn for protection and aid. When the President of the United States was contemplating the abolition of all consulates in the area except those of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria, the missionaries requested intercession from the American Board of Commissioners to the American Government, feeling that at Beirut they would be left without national representation, or protection for all Syria and Palestine. The
British and American consuls had greatly aided the missionaries of the American Board from the very beginning of their work in the Levant. One of the reasons that Beirut became an important mission center was the protection afforded by Mr. Abbott, the English consul there in 1823. The Turkish Government permitted European residents or travellers, when unrepresented by consuls of their own nation, to place themselves for the time of their residence under the protection of any European consul they might choose.\(^2\) Although the earliest American relations with the Ottoman Empire were connected with commercial interests, nevertheless the chief diplomatic correspondence was centered in missionary problems. No other subject had as voluminous American consular correspondence from the Levant in the nineteenth century.\(^3\)

In October, 1841, the missionaries returned to Beirut, expecting to find the mission houses in ruins. Except, however, for some damage from cannon balls, the houses, mission press, library, scientific equipment for the boys' school, and valuable manuscripts were intact. The girls' school, closed by the disturbances, was not reopened, but within a few months, the Boys' Seminary contained forty-four scholars.

After the withdrawal of Ibrahim Pasha and the restoration of Ottoman rule, the Sultan's Government seems to have set itself deliberately to foment religious conflict in order to
make the traditional autonomy of Lebanon appear unworkable and thus create an excuse for the establishment of direct Ottoman rule. In 1841 war broke out between the Maronites and the Druses. The Powers intervened and persuaded the Ottoman Government to promulgate a new constitution for Lebanon, dividing the Mountain into two districts, the northern under a Maronite, and the southern under a Druze governor.4

The mid-century period of Protestantism. In 1844 the Protestant missionaries observed the first sincere movement of a group of village people separating themselves in a body from their church and proclaiming themselves Protestants. This appearance at last of a general religious awakening brought cheer to the Americans. The village of Hasbeiya, at the foot of Mount Hermon, was a place of about 5000 inhabitants, a mixture of Druses, Greeks, Moslems, and Jews. The people had long been acquainted with the doctrine and character of the American Mission through Mission literature and books from Beirut and Jerusalem. The Mission's book-agent had also visited Hasbeiya several times. A delegation of some fifty men came to Beirut for instructions. The missionaries at great length explained that merely changing from one Church to another would do little good apart from sincere conviction of mind and heart, and that such change would not exempt them from taxes or place them under political protection. They were urged to go home and demonstrate
their distinct change of heart by a new sense of responsibility for their fellow man. Later, a native helper was to be sent to them. At length, when the missionaries visited Hasbeiya they were amazed and delighted to find how genuine and deep the reformation was, and after careful examination and training, sixty-eight of these people entered into solemn covenant to live and worship in accord with the evangelical faith. Persecution from the Greek Christians now redoubled. Some were obliged to flee for their lives, others yielded to the demands of the patriarch. The Greek Orthodox people of another village, Zahleh, sent thirty horsemen who intended to quarter themselves on the Protestant families until they yielded or were impoverished. The Protestant teacher, sent to Hasbeiya, was stoned, while the leading men of the Greek community stood around the doors of the Greek church and in the Bishop's yard, looking on and laughing as the blood streamed down the teacher's face.

One family after another made peace with the Greek Church, but a few remained faithful and a Protestant Church was established. In 1844 the Jerusalem mission station was closed by the American Board missionaries.

A problem facing the Protestants was the definite legal disadvantage in which any convert placed himself. The Turkish Government dealt with the Christian Churches as organized bodies and not as individuals. Each non-Muslim sect was expected to
have a corporate existence and a head or other representative, through whom all intercourse with the Government would be directed. A man not affiliated with some such body was outside the pale. He could not remain socially in the Community as a convert. He could not marry or hold property. He had no standing in the courts and therefore, no redress against robbery or violence. Consequently, the missionaries were early forced to effect a Protestant organization. In 1850, Sultan Abd-al-Majid in his "Imperial Charter of Rights" recognized the "Protestant Sect" as one of the legal religious bodies of the Empire. This Protestant Sect was composed of communicants connected with all the Protestant boards and societies in Turkey. There was no official "head" as such, but the Sect maintained an agent in Constantinople who represented the Protestants of the Empire in dealing with the Government. However, in 1854, the Ottoman Government disclosed its firm policy concerning Islam, even though concessions had been granted to the Christian sects. The Government stated:

1. The Turkish Government will not allow any attempts, public or private, to assail Islam.

2. They will not allow the missionaries or their agents to speak publicly against Islam.

3. All attempts to convince Muslims that their religion is not of God must be regarded by the Turkish authorities as insults to the national faith.
4. They will not allow the sale or distribution, in public or private, of any controversial works.9

Prior to this, in April, 1845, another civil war broke out in Lebanon, between the Druces and Maronites. The missionaries used the opportunity to render services to the combatants impartially and won the respect and good will of both factions.10 Dr. Thomson, a missionary, bore a white flag into the camp of the Druces near the Maronite village of Abieh, and through his prompt action in securing the interference of the British consul-general in Beirut, a truce was agreed upon and a general massacre of the Maronites avoided.

The personal financial problems of the missionaries had been somewhat eased by the visit of the American Board Secretary, Dr. Rufus Anderson, in 1843-4. After some investigation it was felt that a yearly salary of eight hundred and fifty dollars for a couple, and six hundred for a single missionary was adequate.11 Continually insufficient, however, was the size of the Mission staff. Missionary Bird asked that after they had spent so much of money, health, and life in besieging the citadel, were they to abandon it as perhaps it was on the point of surrender?12 Yet, the Mission was discriminating in the type of mission volunteer needed on the field. They did not want just any "volunteer." "No trait is more necessary to a missionary's success here than a social disposition," Bird
explained. "We need, in a particular degree popular talents... rather than the erudite; not men to write sermons in the study, but to meet the people... with affability and love..." 13

The report of 1850 showed five mission stations manned by American Protestants: Beirut, Abbeih, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Mosul. Each station had a number of outstations and schools. An outstation was a village or town where no resident missionary lived. The Mosul work was later transferred to and combined with the Northern Armenian Mission. The converts at the outstation of Hasbeiya, in spite of the oppressive persecution, were increasing in number and were attempting to erect a building for worship, having subscribed funds and labor for it. While not initiating schools, the Maronites were not to be outdone and when the Protestants opened a school in Tripoli around 1850, the Maronites followed suit. Then, an embarrassing situation followed, as the Maronites were unable to find teachers for their school apart from the Protestants, for they could not find an educated woman teacher in Syria who was not a Protestant. 14 However, a problem which disturbed the mission was that their schools were not self-supporting. Abbeih Seminary, the leading school, gave board and tuition without charge. The same was true of all the schools. One missionary commented that education was such a discredited exotic, that parents
rather expected to be paid for allowing their children to be experimented on. Nevertheless, the year 1860 opened with a report of thirty-two schools in session with 1,065 pupils, 266 of them being girls. It also reported nine stations and nine outstations, eleven men including a physician, and thirteen women, three native preachers, and thirty-six national teachers and helpers.

Bible translation. March 9, 1844, was a notable date in the history of the American Mission. On that day the Mission appointed the Reverend Eli Smith to begin work on a new translation of the Bible into Arabic. Considerable aid was given by other scholars, particularly Butrus Bustani. From American missionaries at Beirut he had learned Hebrew and Greek. His experience included being editor of a newspaper and magazine, textbook author, lexicographer, and encyclopaedist. Hitti labels him as one of the most learned and productive Lebanese of the century. In 1847 a committee of which Dr. Eli Smith was chairman sent to the United States an appeal in behalf of a new translation of the Bible in the Arabic language. How important this work appeared to the missionaries was clearly demonstrated in the appeal:

The Arab translator in interpreting the lively oracles for the forty millions of an undying race whose successive and ever augmenting generations shall fail only with the final termination of all earthly things. Is it easy to overestimate the
importance of that mighty power that shall send the healing leaves of Salvation down the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Niger; that shall open living fountains in the plains of Syria, the deserts of Arabia and the sands of Africa; that shall gild with the light of life the craggy summits of goodly Lebanon and sacred Sinai and giant Atlas? We think not.

To give the word of God to forty millions of perishing sinners, to write their commentaries, their concordances, their theology, their sermons, their tracts, their school books, and their religious journals: in short, to give them a Christian literature, or that germinating commencement of one... are great gigantic verities taking fast hold on the salvation of myriads which no man can number, of the present and all future generations.

After eight years of incessant toil Smith had ready the translation of the New Testament, the Pentateuch, the Minor Prophets from Hosea to Nahum, and the greater part of Isaiah. He died at Beirut on January 11, 1857. After the death of Eli Smith, the work was continued by Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, who, with equal devotion, gave his time to the task. At the beginning of 1859, Dr. Van Dyck had the whole of the new translation of the four gospels in print. Finally, in April, 1860, the New Testament was printed, and in August, 1864, the Old Testament. As it was long in preparation, and its superiority to all the old versions was well known, the British and Foreign Bible Society applied for permission to adopt and print it, in place of that formerly issued.

Missionary life from missionary letters. Perhaps no
better idea of the life and thoughts of the missionaries of this period can be found than through their personal letters to friends and relatives. One such missionary was Mrs. Rosanna Foot, who with her husband sailed for Syria in 1848. Her letters, in the Houghton Library, Harvard, have left an intimate insight into missionary life.

While in Boston, preparing to sail with her husband, she wrote of her gratitude to the American Board for its liberality with the missionaries, since it desired them to purchase such things as would add to their comfort. The Foots bought, for shipment to Syria, a bedstead, two rocking chairs, two bureaus, two washstands, two tables, and a small work table, crockery, lamps, boxes, a clock, baskets, brushes, mattresses, and saddles. Typical life of the missionary on the sea is seen in their activity. On their voyage to Beirut they often arose as early as four in the morning and read together from the Bible and prayed. They then studied Latin, and Greek until breakfast time. Subsequently, there was an hour’s walk or so on deck while reviewing Latin and Greek or reading some English book until the sun became too warm, at which time they went to their cabin and studied until the noon hour. Following the noon meal they wrote, or took a nap. In the late afternoon, an Armenian fellow passenger often joined them. They each read a chapter in English, Greek, and
Armenian respectively, comparing the three readings. At eight each evening the day closed with prayers.

When they arrived at Beirut the Mission assigned them to work in Tripoli. To her sister, Mrs. Foot describes Tripoli as not unlike other Eastern villages. Houses were one or two stories, constructed of stone, surrounding a courtyard in the center. The streets, narrow and dirty, were filled with donkeys, camels, and idle men smoking their pipes, which were usually from four to six feet long.23 Someone had written asking what they ate for food. They replied that they lived very much upon rice, cooked in a great variety of ways, and were quite fond of it. Wheat was available but very expensive, and it was necessary to sift it, because the mill never bolted it. They seldom had any meat except mutton which was tastier than that found in America. Occasionally potatoes were available, but of an inferior quality. "The egg plant and a vegetable called coosa resembling the squash are much used."24 Being a novelty in Tripoli, they received many visits from inquisitive people. Women frequently came in companies of eight or ten. Mrs. Foot was happy for the contacts but she felt that they came more because they had to visit somewhere and the American's home contained many interesting items. She thought the Arab men to be more intelligent generally than the women, and easier to understand and converse with, particularly
upon religious subjects. Many of the people were suspicious of the missionaries and doubted their veracity. Another missionary in Tripoli wrote of a visit of a company of men from a neighboring village, none of whom could read or write. They had never heard of America and wished to know how many days' journey to America it would be for one riding a mule. He replied that about four hundred and sixty-six days would be necessary but since it was by sea and not land, it required thirty days on a steamer. They wondered at such a stupendous distance and were amazed that the American should leave his friends behind to come to Syria. Other Arabs heard a rumor that if anyone became a Protestant, the missionary took his picture in a book and that if, on any future day the convert should go back to his former religion, the American would shoot the picture and the man would die. When the Fuefs moved from the port area of Tripoli into the town proper, they again became objects of great interest to their new neighbors. She wrote that lions in the streets of America would not have been a greater curiosity than they were to the Tripolitans. Their house was thronged with men, women, and children for several days, and if there was any special activity as opening boxes, that was the time of all others when they were present. She noted that they seldom waited to be asked, but would boldly enter a room and begin opening drawers. "It is
very unpleasant," she wrote, "to be always on the watch if a person calls lest they take things away, but it is what we are obliged to do." She kept everything under lock and key since she felt that there were very few in Tripoli who would not lie and steal if they were sure of not being found out. The Foots figured that they paid about double the actual worth in the repair of their building and in addition the workmen cheated in the quality of lime and other materials used.

"Patience, Patience needs to be first and the last lesson with this people," wrote Mrs. Foot. "It seems to me sometimes as though this people prized nothing but that which will bring them piastres." Even before they had learned the language, Mrs. Foot wrote that they had become so familiar with the wickedness of the people, their Sabbath breaking, lying, cheating, and stealing, that they had come to expect it as a matter of course and it no longer affected them as at first. "Enter their dwellings and what do you see?" she wrote to a friend. "Order, neatness, and many of the comforts of life? No, quite the opposite. Lazy men, slovenly women and dirty, ragged children, meet your eye."30

These early impressions were modified as time passed and Mrs. Foot became acclimated to the Arab world. She wrote that she had become so attached to the missionary work that she would consider it a great trial to be obliged to return.
to America. "Should God see fit to continue my own health and that of my dear husband," she said, "I hope to live long here and accomplish much good for this poor, dark minded people." The FOOTs planned to use less of their salary for their own needs in order to spend the remainder in some way for the good of those about them.

They lamented at the slowness of the work and observed that the truth makes slow progress in Tripoli, but that it was to be expected from the character of the people who were opposed to change in everything. They noted that the older missionaries however, had taken courage in an improvement seen since the very early days of Protestantism in Syria. "... not a few are beginning to see the discrepancy between religion as it is practiced in the church and as it is taught in the Bible," observed Mrs. FOOT to an uncle. "Whatever they may think of us and of our religion, they cannot but see that the word of God alone is our only standard of truth." To her sister she confided that everything about them reminded them of their indebtedness to the Bible and of the superiority of a Christian land in intelligence, happiness, neatness, order, industry, and everything else desirable to one where false religion prevailed.

The FOOTs experienced the usual stigma of being Protestants. In the summer it was the habit of the missionaries to spend time in the mountains. Having secured an order of
protection from the Pasha of Beirut, the Foots and another family planned to spend a summer at the village of Ehden, on Mount Lebanon. However, a mob of people, including the priest surrounded their rented house and began tearing down the roof and throwing stones. "Not even an order from the Sultan himself," they shouted, "would let them permit Protestants to enter." The mob finally let them leave, but Mrs. Foot confessed, "I shook like a leaf and feared I should faint away."33

In another summer season they received permission to camp near a village. When time came to pack up and return to the city, the villagers came in crowds to see if they might obtain some plunder "honestly or dishonestly," as Mrs. Foot put it. "We could think of nothing but a pack of hungry dogs, each ready to catch a bone. We gave them a few things but we found that only increased their claim upon us for more. Into very few Arab hearts has gratitude ever found its way."34

Mrs. Foot contracted cancer after a few years in Lebanon. Of the two medical missionaries of the American Board in Syria, Dr. Van Dyck was in the United States on leave, and Dr. De Forest was very sick at the time. The available doctors were not certain about the nature of the malady, and by the time competent medical advice was available there was little hope of her recovery.35 Mr. Foot sailed from Beirut with his family in 1854. Mrs. Foot died on the boat only a short distance out
The Syrian Protestant College. Though Lebanon had been in physical and ideological contact with Europe throughout its recorded history, yet it was not until the nineteenth century that it experienced radical changes in its way of life and pursued the path of progress. Here and there were evidences which seemed to indicate a cultural awakening among the people. In the early days of their association with the American Mission, Yazeji and Bustani had come forward with a proposal for the foundation of a learned society. In all probability, they had felt that, side by side with the spread of education in the schools and the birth of a new interest in the sciences, some effort ought to be made to promote knowledge among adults by bringing them in touch with Western culture. The project matured in January, 1847, when a society came into being at Beirut, under the name of the "Society of Arts and Sciences." Yazeji and Bustani were both members, as were Eli Smith, Cornelius Van Dyck, and several other Americans. Within two years of its foundation, the Society had fifty members, plus a modest but useful library. These two men, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani, in a measure dominated the intellectual life of their period as subsequently related, working together with the American missionaries. Yazeji was born in 1800 in a hamlet of the Lebanon. He achieved fame as a master of the
Arabic language. The books he wrote on grammar, logic, rhetoric and prosody were intended for the use of schools and in the first place, for the schools of the American Mission. But they were adopted by a far larger circle of teachers and students and continued, long after his death in 1871, to govern the teaching of the science of Arabic. Bustani, born in 1819, early made the acquaintance of Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck. The acquaintance ripened not only into friendship, but also in spiritual communion, and Bustani adopted the Presbyterian faith. From that moment, his activities became intimately linked to those of the Mission. In 1860 he published the first political journal in the country, called Nafir Suriya. In 1870 he founded al-Jenan, a fortnightly political and literary review, the purpose of which was to fight fanaticism and preach understanding and unity for the sake of national welfare. He gave the paper a motto: "Patriotism is an article of faith," a sentiment hitherto unknown in the Arab world.38

An outcome of such activities was the realization on the part of the missionaries of the need of a college or university in Syria. The objects deemed essential, were to enable the people of Syria, in their own country and language, and at a moderate cost, to acquire a thorough literary, scientific, and professional education. The American Protestants wanted such an institution to be conducted on principles strictly
evangelical, not sectarian. Its doors were to be open to youth of every nationality and religion who could conform to its regulations. The hope was entertained that much of the instruction might at once be intrusted to pious and competent nationals, and that ultimately, the teaching could be left in the hands of those who had been educated by the College itself. 39

It was thought that the American Board could not undertake so large a literary work in any one mission, and that the College should be separated from and independent of the Board and its missions, as such, but it was clearly understood that the American Board and its Syrian missionaries would aid the endeavor in every way possible. Most of the members of its Board of Trustees from the beginning, and most of the money for its plant, equipment and endowment have been Presbyterian. The College at Beirut was definitely a child of the Mission. The first president was Dr. Daniel Bliss, who, at the time of his appointment, was a member of the American Mission. To secure public confidence, it was found imperative to have the institution incorporated in America, with a responsible Board of Trustees.

A charter was obtained in April, 1863, in accordance with the laws of the state of New York, and in May, 1864, additional power to hold real and personal estate was granted by an act of the Legislature. A constitution was framed, binding
the institution to evangelical and unsectarian principles, formally constituting the body appointed by the Mission, which was a local Board of Managers with large liberty in administration. It defined the relation between the Board in America and in Syria, and those of the various officers to be connected with the college. It further provided that the funds for endowment should be retained in the United States, the income only to be transmitted to the East. Since the College was founded on so broad a basis, other evangelical bodies among the Arabic-speaking people were invited to share in its advantages and control. Denominational distinctions set aside, those engaged in similar missionary operations could unite in an enterprise designed to advance their common interests. The local Board of Managers was to be composed of American and British missionaries, residents of Syria and Egypt, with several consular officials and leading merchants. A pledge to a declaration of Protestant Christian religious beliefs was continued by the faculty until 1902, when Dr. Bliss retired. The Board of Trustees in New York decided to set the declaration aside entirely as no longer needed as a requirement for appointment to the College faculty. The abolition very definitely did not commend itself to the missionaries of the area.

The American Board of Commissioners' Report for the year 1867 mentioned that the newly organized College, with its
president, Dr. Bliss and several native teachers, had admitted a Freshman class of fifteen young men. The curriculum embraced a period of four years. The studies were the Arabic Language and Literature, Mathematics, the Natural Sciences, the Modern Languages, Turkish Law and Jurisprudence, and Medicine. The charge for tuition was twenty-five dollars for the collegiate year of nine months, and fifty-five more for those who boarded in the institution. All boarders were required to be present at morning and evening prayers, and to attend Protestant worship and Bible classes on Sunday. "It is designed," the Report continues, "to meet the want which has been felt, of a permanent institution, to give the youth of Syria a thorough scientific and professional education, which shall be founded on the Bible." The American Mission desired that the College would contribute greatly to the quest of the students for values, meanings, and destiny in life.

Antonius wrote that the educational activities of the American missionaries in this period had one outstanding merit: they gave the pride of place to Arabic, and once they had committed themselves to teaching it, put their shoulders with vigor to the task of providing adequate literature. "In that they were pioneers," Antonius thought, "and because of that, the intellectual effervescence which marked the first stirring of the Arab revival owes most to their labours."
Opinions among Middle East experts have varied considerably concerning the supposed contributions to the Arab Middle East, of the Syrian Protestant College, later, called the American University. Antonius feels that the College has played a leading part in the country's development and that when account is taken of its contribution to the diffusion of knowledge, of the impetus it gave to literature and science, and of the achievements of its graduates, it may justly be said that its influence on the Arab revival, at any rate in its earlier state, was greater than that of any other institution. Concerning Arab nationalism, Hitti thinks that the movement began as a purely intellectual one, having for pioneers mostly Syrian intellectuals, more specifically Christian Lebanese educated at the American University of Beirut. The founder-editors of the earliest scientific-literary magazine al-Muqtatatf and of one of the earliest and most influential newspapers in the Arabic world, al-Mugattam, were Yacoub Sarruf and Faris Nimr, two early graduates of the Syrian Protestant College and instructors in it. The Muqtatatf, whose name was suggested by their teacher, Dr. Van Dyck, began its long career in 1876 at Beirut and later was moved to Cairo. It provided a forum for the most scholarly writers in Arabic as well as a treasury for the best scientific thought in translation, mainly from English. It served as an adult extension school for
generations of Arabic readers. At the turn of the century al-Mugattam, founded at Cairo in 1869, commanded probably the largest circulation of any Arabic newspaper at the time. Sarruf contributed perhaps more than any other scholar to adapting Arabic to the expression of modern thought in such sciences as chemistry, physics, biology, astronomy, and mathematics. The American Board foreign mission magazine quoted the United States Ambassador at Constantinople in 1860, as saying:

From my own observation, I must cordially concur in the opinion which was expressed to me by a high dignitary of a Church which does not regard their doctrine with a favorable eye, to the effect that the American missionaries had contributed more to the literary and moral advancement of, and to the diffusion of useful knowledge in, the Turkish Empire, than had been accomplished by all others during half a century.

Fifty years of American Protestantism achieved. To return to the earlier scene, the years between 1860 and 1870 were years of progress, war, disappointment, and change. The year 1870 marked fifty years of Protestant work. By 1860 the Mission had established thirty-three schools in the Lebanon area with 967 pupils. There were four organized churches with seventy-five members. The recently translated and printed New Testament had gone through two editions. The country had been largely explored, and the Patriarchs and Bishops had
ceased to hurl anathemas at the American Protestants. In America, the financial condition of the country made its effect felt on the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, causing its work to be curtailed or to become self-supporting. Missionary W. M. Thomson wrote in 1860 that the effort to make parents pay for the education of their children was succeeding by degrees. It reduced the enrollment of the schools in Beirut from one hundred down to thirty for a period, but afterwards the number began to pick up. Thomson felt that the effort to reduce the financial responsibility of the American Mission should be made touching all of their schools, seminaries, and churches. "It will be extremely difficult to make the Gospel self-supporting in this country," he wrote, "but it must come to that, or fail of success altogether." The Protestant church at Beirut, on their own initiative took an offering of money for the American Board and wrote to the Secretary, Dr. Anderson, that they regarded the offering as a token of their indebtedness and obligation to the Board; that it was an expression of thanks to the Board for all it had done in sending missionaries, and providing other means for the knowledge of the truth and way of salvation. The missionaries were not unaware that many people had been attracted to the Mission in the past, in hopes of financial gain. Missionary J. E. Ford of Sidon wrote that it was true that these movements
were often founded on worldly expectations, and frequently came to nought when these hopes were disappointed. "But, it is equally true," he continued, "that most of those who have been enlightened and converted in this land were first brought into contact with the Gospel by means of some selfish, motive, which God in his mercy overruled, and replaced eventually, by better motives." \(^5^1\) He concluded that they were not deterred, therefore, from preaching the Gospel to men, and expecting their conversion, by the fact that their object at the outset had been a selfish and worldly one.

For those missionaries in Syria, handicapped by the American Board's lack of funds, and inability to send over much additional missionary help, life went on unabated and every opportunity to reach the people for Protestantism was used. For example, one missionary's duties included: preaching in Arabic every Sunday and in English once a month, conducting a weekly Arabic Bible class, a singing school, the translation of hymns for a new hymnal, regular correspondence with the Missions at Aleppo, Aintab, Latakia, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Cairo, attending to the receiving and forwarding of all mail and all boxes for the press and individuals, attention to a large private correspondence, the attending of meetings of the Anglo-American Relief Committee, and the Claims Commission for losses during the Druse-Maronite trouble. \(^5^2\)
The missionaries visited the villages as much as possible. Dr. Daniel Bliss wrote of a visit in 1860 to the village of Suk el Ghurb. While there, the Greek Orthodox priest of the village was thought to be dying. Men and women came to see him, and according to their custom, thronged his room, drank coffee, and smoked their pipes. Bliss was invited to spend the evening at the home of the priest. He found about twenty persons present, only two of whom made any pretensions to Protestantism. Bliss wrote that he was seated on the floor near the head of the priest and the company seated around them. In a few minutes someone remarked, "We must all die." It was evident to Bliss that the remark was intended for a text and that a sermon was expected from him. "After a few words about the life and death of the body, we passed to the momentous subject of the life and death of the soul," remarked Bliss. "I talked nearly two hours upon the nature and necessity of the second birth."  

Rumbling discontent, social and religious tensions, and outbreaks of trouble had been experienced between the Maronites and Druses for a number of years. However, major civil war between the two factions broke out in 1860. Some thousands of Christians were killed in different parts of Lebanon by the Druses. One missionary wrote that the Druses and Maronites had plunged into deadly strife with a savage ferocity. "The
war has been actually raging some four days, and during this brief period, thirty or forty villages have been burned, the country laid waste, an immense amount of property destroyed, and men, women, and children butchered with a degree of coolness and barbarity worthy of a Tamerlane." The missionaries were driven to earnest prayers as the element of fury and the thirst for blood raged unrestrained. Damascus was threatened. Beirut was threatened. Provisions were becoming dearer, and thousands were without food or shelter. Missionary Thomson said, "Brethren, the work of forty years is destroyed, and if we are spared we must begin again." However, no missionary suffered personal injury, and only a few Protestants at Hasbeiya were killed. The Protestants had the respect of both warring groups. In the village of Abieh the Protestants maintained a church. When the Druses neared the village, the Christian population brought bundles of valuables to deposit for safekeeping with the Calhoun missionary family. There was gold and silver, money, jewelry, precious stones, bridal dresses, and even rugs. These things had no labels, were unsealed, and the women did not ask for receipts, so absolute was their confidence in these missionaries. Four months later, when a detachment of the French army approached, the Druses fled. Their women then brought bundles with their jewelry and treasures.
European nations soon became involved as they championed the cause of one or other of the combatants. At this point, by an international agreement, the Emperor Napoleon III sent a military expedition to Lebanon, and an international commission was sent up to investigate the disturbances. That the wholesale slaughter of Christians was not disagreeable to the Turkish government was evident, not only by their promoting the conflict rather than preventing it, but also from a declaration of the pasha of Damascus, namely, that the Turkish government could maintain its ascendancy in Syria only "by cutting down the Christian sects."57. The Commission drew up a statute formalizing and defining the autonomy of Lebanon. This statute was ratified in 1864. Lebanon was to be administered by a Christian Ottoman governor appointed by the Ottoman Government. He was to have full executive powers and was to be assisted by a central administrative council, on which the more important religious communities were to be equitably represented. Lebanon was ruled in accordance with the statute until the First World War.58

After hostilities broke out, an Anglo-American relief committee was formed. Lists were prepared of the thousands of refugees from the villages, until there were 16,000 names of persons receiving aid amounting, finally, to $150,000 dollars. Missionary Thomson wrote from Beirut in August of 1860, that
every department of the relief work had greatly increased. They were spending for food, clothing, bedding, shelter, hospital, and soup kitchen needs at a large rate each week. Yet this effort seemed to the missionaries, to make little impression on the great mass of misery around them. "The actual workings of all these departments of the charity devolves wholly upon our Mission," Thomson wrote. "I have the clothing, bedding, shelter, and soup kitchen under my special care." Senior missionaries were often consulted by foreign authorities about the manner of conducting affairs. The British Commissioner, Colonel Frazier, in charge of setting up the new regime of government in Lebanon, valued the advice of the missionary, James Calhoun, and when Daud Pasha, the first Christian governor of Lebanon, entered upon his duties, he often visited Mr. Calhoun in his house, to consult him on questions pertaining to the Druze nation.

A missionary of many years experience stated that the positive results of the Civil War of 1860 were:

1. The power of many old feudal families and tribes were broken.

2. The political power of the native hierarchy was broken.

3. A free, stable, and virtually independent government was established in Lebanon.

4. Tens of thousands of people were forced out of their secluded villages and brought into
contact with foreign Christian benevolence.

5. A new demand for education.

6. A new demand for the Arabic Scriptures and other religious books.60

The church in Hasbeiya had been partially destroyed in the conflict and in 1864 when missionary Philip Berry wrote, it had literally been sheltering sheep. He said that the charred ruins of the village lay in all directions, and comparatively few of those who fled had returned.61 Persecution of Protestants gradually lessened in Lebanon after 1860, but cases continued to crop up here and there. A man became Protestant in 1865 from the village of Baabda. H. H. Jessup wrote that the Maronite Bishop came to the village with priests. The wife and daughter of the man were carried off to the Papal Sisters of Charity in Beirut. No official would intervene as the institution was French, over which they had no control.

"The house of a foreigner in Turkey is a castle," wrote Jessup. "No Turkish officer can enter it."62 He wrote also of a "cruel and barbarous" persecution against the Protestants in Safita, Northern Syria, where the Protestants were turned out of doors by the Greek Orthodox priests, their houses plundered, their grain burned on the threshing-floors, their women turned over to Turkish soldiers, or beaten with clubs, until the whole little community was driven into the wilderness.63
Moslem converts to Protestantism fared little better. Just before the cholera outbreak in Beirut of 1865, a Moslem teacher, "Abdul Khalily," who read a vocalized Testament brought to him by one of his pupils, became a Christian. His wife raised an alarm and he was hurried off to prison. He was later brought to Beirut and taken through the streets, his hands being in wooden stocks as an object of contempt and a warning to all Muslims. He was not heard of after this, but Jessup observed, "Cholera epidemics prove convenient times for disposing of obnoxious persons."64 However the Hatti Humayun edict greatly aided the Protestants. Missionary Goodell wrote that before the Hatti Humayun there were more cases of persecution reported to them every week than there had been in a year afterwards. He continued:

It is said that the Turks are insincere in their profession of toleration, but as far as Protestantism is concerned, it is only under pressure that they have ever been brought to act against it. The Armenian and Greek and Catholic communities are mighty, and they exert their influence unitedly against Protestantism. To secure the sword of Mohammed in their cause, they spare neither bribes nor falsehoods.

But to the Protestant communities here, and to all who will live godly in Christ Jesus, this Hatti Humayun is a boon of priceless value.65

Prior to the incident of the Moslem convert, in October, 1862, the Beirut Female Seminary, now the American School
for Girls, was opened in a rented house. Two years later, Dr. H. H. Jessup was authorized to make an appeal to the churches in America for funds to erect a suitable building. The Beirut Protestant Church gave reason for rejoicing on the part of the missionaries, for by 1867 the membership had reached two hundred and five, and twenty-nine persons were received into the eight other churches of the Mission. The Beirut Church was raising funds by the year 1870 for various benevolent objects to the sum of $1,500 dollars in gold. The American Board reports of 1869 and 1870 showed that the Bible had been printed in various attractive editions; thousands of people had heard the Gospel message; towns and villages long sealed against Protestantism were open and asking for preachers; baptisms were reported among the Druses; the Muslims were sending a stream of children to the Protestant schools; there were a number of students preparing for the Protestant ministry; the thirty-two common schools reported thirty-eight teachers and helpers and 1,184 pupils; a new church edifice had been built in Beirut for the Anglo-American community; and the first class of the Syrian Protestant College had graduated. As regards personnel in Lebanon in 1870, there were nine men including a physician, and nine women missionaries, one native pastor, and eleven licensed preachers. The bane of the work as usual were the financial problems. Not a single self-
supporting church or school yet existed, and the whole system of paying native teachers and preachers from foreign funds was obnoxious to the Mission.

A missionary, in writing of the Lebanese field stated that it was a disconcerting fact that, while the field had been occupied more than forty years, during which time schools, a seminary, and a college of the highest grade had been established, not one independent Protestant church existed.67

In 1870, the readjustment of mission fields incident to the reunion of the Old and New School Presbyterian churches in the United States resulted in the transfer of the Syrian Mission from the American Board of Commissioners to the new Presbyterian Board. On the reunion of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church a new Board of Missions was formed, and it was agreed that they should assume the charge of a fair proportion of the Missions of the American Board, which now confined its Middle East responsibilities to Asiatic Turkey. Thus the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. now became the chief agency for conducting American missionary work in Syria.68
NOTES AND REFERENCES


3. Nasim Sousa, The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), p. 139, and Thomas F. Moon, Imperialism and World Politics (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), pp. 64-5. The Ottoman Government, even if largely from self-interested motives and European pressure, issued some decrees which among other things, would lessen the excuses for intervention on the part of Christian governments. The Hatti-sherif of Gulhane (1839) and the Hatti Rumayn (1856) sought to rectify some abuses, particularly those experienced by non-Muslim subjects. Among other things contemptuous appellations of Christians were abolished, and Muslim converts to Christianity could no longer be forcibly reconverted. In those areas some distance from effective Turkish authority or European consuls, these proclamations had little effect however. Carl Brockelmann, History of the Islamic Peoples (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), pp. 361-67, and Finn, op. cit., II: 446, and G.L. Lewis, Turkey (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1955), p. 35. Details of the two proclamations are found in J.C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1958), I: 133 and 149.

4. Hourani, op. cit., pp. 31 ff. The governors were to be appointed by the central Government, but the administrative privileges of the Mountain were guaranteed.


6. Ibid., 1845.

7. Strong, op. cit., pp. 81-2. When the English Church established a bishopric in Jerusalem, and established their work, the American missionaries withdrew to strengthen their other work around the Lebanon. Finn, op. cit., I: 137.
8 Brown, op. cit., p. 980. Sousa, op. cit., p. 142, confirms this except he states that they were called collectively "Evangelical Christians" and had the right to elect a "head" who was to reside in Constantinople.


10 Jessup, Fifty-Three Years in Syria, I:61.


12 The Missionary Herald, LI:10. Letter from Mr. Bird, June 25, 1855. Mr. Bird felt that after their sacrifices, the Lebanon area would provide many adherents to Protestantism.

13 Loc. cit.

14 Anderson, op. cit., II:342.

15 Jessup, Fifty-Three Years, I:155.


17 Hitti, Lebanon, pp. 461-2. See Ch. I, footnote 57.

18 Jessup, Fifty-Three Years, p. 68.

19 Assembly Herald, I:5. December, 1894.


21 The letters of Rosanna Foot, Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard.

22 Ibid., letter to her sister, June 14, 1848, from Boston.

23 Ibid., letter to Dr. & Mrs. Walton, from Tripoli, December 2, 1848.

24 Ibid., December 4, 1848.

25 Jessup, Fifty-Three Years, I:153.

26 Tracy, op. cit., p. 145. (Footnote 4, page 31).
27 Letter of Rosanna Foot, to her brother and sister, April 26, 1849.

28 Ibid., April 26, 1849.

29 Ibid., March 16, 1850.

30 Ibid., letter of October 21, 1848, from Abish, Syria to a friend, Mrs. L. A. Seward.

31 Ibid., letter of Mary 9, 1849 to Mrs. E. B. Beach.

32 Ibid., letter of June 22, 1850 to an uncle.

33 Ibid., letter of July 28, 1849, to a brother and sister.

34 Ibid., letter of October 7, 1851 to her sisters and a brother.

35 Ibid., letter to her sister, Mary. August 4, 1854.

36 Hitti, Lebanon in History, p. 452.

37 See footnote 57 of Chapter I.

38 Antonius, op. cit., pp. 45-52.


40 Ibid., II:388-89.


42 Antonius, op. cit., p. 43.

43 Loc. cit.

44 Loc. cit.


46 Hitti, Lebanon in History, p. 466.

47 The Missionary Herald, LVI:6 (June, 1860).

57 Isaac Bird: Bible Work in Bible Lands. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872), p. 424. Brockelmann points out that the Druses found a champion in Britain, which needed them as a counterweight to France's protectorate over the Christians. It is interesting to note that the famous Muslim Algerian exile, Abd al-Qadir, living in Damascus saved many Christians from death by his intervention with his sons and a small force of men. Op. cit., p. 368. Hourani, op. cit., p. 31, also notes the French-Maronite and British-Druse relationships, and that the Sultan's Government set itself deliberately to foment religious conflict in order to create an excuse for the establishment of direct Ottoman rule over the Mountain.

58 Hourani, op. cit., pp. 32-33. The regulation for the administration of Lebanon and the administrative districts can be found in Hurwitz, op. cit., pp. 165-6.

59 The Missionary Herald, LVI:11.

60 Jessup, Fifty-Three Years, pp. 216 ff.

61 The Missionary Herald, LXI:11, letter of Philip Berry, November 16, 1864.

62 Ibid., LXI:3.


65 Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (New York: John A. Gray, 1862), pp. 44-5. See also Footnote no. 3.

66 Jessup, Fifty-Three Years, I:358-9. The baptism of Druses may have meant little due to their religious principle of taqiya, or the dispensation from the requirements of religion under compulsion or threat of injury or some other reason. It should also be stated that the missionaries were aware that the students were coming to the mission schools because of the educational opportunities but they hoped that conversion would be the result for some.


CHAPTER III

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM REACHES A CENTURY IN SYRIA

The transfer of the Syrian Mission from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the newly formed Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. changed very little the personnel or course of the work in Syria. Already, a large number of the Protestant missionaries in the Levant, serving under the American Board were Presbyterians. Until 1870 a section of the Presbyterian churches in America had supported by personnel and funds, foreign mission work through the American Board. New events brought about the formation of their own Foreign Mission Board. Under the American Board there had been fifty years of pioneer labor in Syria. The fifty years from 1870 to 1920 were years of progress as a result of this pioneer work. Problems also continued for the Mission and missionaries even though now there were fifty historical years of missionary labor.

The major problems of the Protestant missionaries as seen in their personal letters. A. Personnel problems. Many of the problems of the Mission were not of a nature which would warrant publication in a missionary journal in America, for they did not demonstrate the more positive aspects of missionary work; nevertheless they were a vital part of Protestant mission
life. In the course of years, as American Protestant personnel came to the Middle East, it was natural that some individuals would be of such temperament or personality that conflicts or discouragement would bring about their recall or resignation. Individuals, who in their natural environment in America, appeared to be superb missionary material, sometimes proved to be a great disappointment after a few years in the Middle East. Missionary George A. Ford of Lebanon summed up the situation:

In the nature of the case perhaps there is no circle in the world except the family circle, in which its members need to guard one another's susceptibilities so carefully, as the Foreign Missionary Circle. The fewness, the intimacy, the parity, the isolation, the conspicuousness, the indispensable harmony, all, conspire to make this so. It follows, as it seems to me, that delicate subjects affecting personal and local interests are nowhere in the world so difficult to handle, as in the Mission Circle. And it is often necessary, in the interest of internal harmony, to neglect or postpone important measures.

The Syrian Mission united to write a letter to one of their members in America on furlough, requesting him not to return to the field. They made it clear that their difficulties were not personal as between him and themselves, but they objected to his frequent outbursts of temper in his dealings with the natives. They abhorred his arbitrary and domineering method of treating them, and his too denunciatory tone and unwise use of epithets in the pulpit. They felt that by such spirit his
usefulness was sadly impaired, the good name of the Mission injured, and many native hearts wounded and embittered by his frequent exhibitions. They objected to his unwillingness to abide by the requirements of the Mission in the use of funds. "You are headstrong and careless," they wrote, "in your expenditure of money which should be used only with the approval of your colleagues and strictly within the limits." They had, however, no charges to bring against his moral character, orthodoxy, or standing as a minister.

Missionary H. H. Jessup wrote to his brother that a missionary had been sent out who stayed at his home in Beirut for two weeks. Jessup thought him to be inexperienced as a child and almost unable to carry on a common conversation. He seemed to have little interest in the Arab people. After leaving the Jessup's home, no word of thanks or news was written to them by the man. Jessup asked himself why the Board would send out such a person.

Some missionaries came, who found for one reason or another that they were incompatible with the situations. A Miss Mary Kipp wrote, from Tripoli, that she had reluctantly come to the conclusion that she could not be as useful in Tripoli as she hoped because of the difficulty in acquiring the Arabic language. "Would that it were otherwise," she exclaimed, "but I feel constrained to ask the Board that I may be released from
the service here, and be authorized to return to America."5

When the Syrian Mission received word that a former missionary family which the Mission disliked, was in America raising funds to return to Syria, they were very upset. "Whereas we have been informed that Mr. and Mrs. Benton, formerly of the Mission are engaged in addressing assemblies and raising monies in the U. S. for the purpose of a return to this field," wrote the Secretary of the Mission after a special meeting, "it becomes our duty to express our opinion that any such return of Mr. and Mrs. Benton would be a serious calamity from a missionary point of view."6 Through experience it was becoming evident that the Foreign Mission Board in America should screen its candidates by a series of questions to be asked by the physician concerning history of disease or insanity in the candidate's family. E. H. Jessup, in a letter from Shemlan, Lebanon, August 31, 1880, marked "Private and Confidential," wrote the Board that he, Dr. Eddy and Mr. Post, missionaries, had just had a long interview with one of the men missionaries. They told him of the Sidon street rumors and of the positive testimony that he had been guilty of very gross immorality. "Mr. J. turned deathly pale as I stated these things and then said," wrote Jessup, "the most of this is true, and other things besides. For sometime I felt a kind of craziness. I have lost sleep, and have felt lonely and wretched."7 He confessed that
he had sinned against the Mission, the cause and God. The man
appeared, according to Jessup, to be in a state of utter col-
lapse, morally, mentally, and physically. They later discov-
ered that his grandfather had been insane. The Mission reasoned
that such information about a candidate for mission work prior to
his appointment would save much trouble, distress, and expense.

The change of environment, and strain of missionary life
especially brought personality problems among the single women
missionaries. The Syrian Mission voted in 1881 that the Tri-
poli station be instructed to take into careful consideration
the relations of a Miss LaGrange to the Tripoli Seminary. They
were authorized to take necessary steps to bring about her pos-
sible return to America. After further deliberation the Mission
changed its mind. Fourteen years later Miss LaGrange was still
active as a missionary in Lebanon.

Particular differences arose among the personnel over
the supposed value of the Mission schools. Dr. Arthur J. Brown
of the Presbyterian Board disagreed with Miss Bernice Hunting
in Tripoli by saying that a mission school is a most favorable
place for personal evangelistic work. Just arriving in Tri-
poli in 1898 as a new missionary, Miss Hunting had evaluated the
girls' school work there as not sufficiently contributing to the
main purpose of the Syrian Mission. She wrote that since 1884
there had been thirty-five graduates, but only ten of these had
become members of the evangelical church. About three hundred girls had been in the boarding section of the school since it opened, while only seventeen of these had become Protestants, and of the forty students at that time attending, only five were Protestants, making, according to Miss Hunting, a total of only thirty-two the actual apparent fruit of many years of labor and investment.11

Neither was the Syrian Protestant College to escape differences of opinion as to its value, among the missionaries. Mr. F. A. Wood thought that the graduates of the College would be a power for good among the "upper ten", and doubtless would have influence among or over the lower classes. He felt, however, that the Mission could not rely upon them to reach the humble people whom they did not consider to stand on their own level. They were not willing to become pastors of village churches paying small salaries.12 William K. Eddy of Sidon had written a letter stating that the Syrian Protestant College was not the best place to train local Protestant men, and was not therefore an asset to the Syrian Mission. This letter greatly upset a fellow missionary, H. H. Jessup, since it had been published in an American magazine and was doing harm to the College. Eddy justified himself by saying:

1. Other Missions in the Arab world had more money to offer the Protestant students for their services, than we do.
2. The rich students would not teach for small salaries.

3. Because of their knowledge of English and French, the graduates were in demand as consuls, clerks, dragomans, and commercial agents.

4. Subjects could not be taught in the College which might offend the Greek and Maronite religions.

5. The students emerged with a contempt for the habits of their own people, proud of their own achievements, and out of sympathy with those degraded people who most needed Christian love.¹³

Dr. H. H. Jessup, on the other hand, maintained that the College was of great importance to the Mission. In 1885 he wrote that the prayers and faithful instructions of the College professors and teachers had resulted in a religious movement such as had never been known in the history of the Syrian Mission. Jessup stated that the conversion of thirty or forty young men which had taken place in the College was an event of unspeakable importance to Syria.¹⁴

B. Problems of discouragement and hardships. Certain Ottoman proclamations, the presence of consuls, the influence of medical and relief work, schools, and the College had helped to lessen religious persecution of Protestants. It had by no means disappeared however, by the second half of the American Protestant century of work. Wherever possible, the Maronites, Greek Orthodox, and the Moslems made Protestant life as
difficult as possible. In the town of Zahleh, a member of the small Protestant community died. The Maronite and Greek Orthodox communities, numbering about 12,000 had sworn that no "Protestant dog" should ever be buried in the sacred soil of Zahleh. They promised to drag any such corpse through the streets and throw it into the river. The house of the deceased was surrounded by hundreds of people screaming, cursing, and calling the missionary and his little group, "dogs and wild beasts."

H. H. Jessup related that somehow the chief of police maintained enough order to get the body properly buried. In writing the Corresponding Secretary of the Board, Jessup observed that every Protestant movement, so called, among the Syrian people, was, prima facie, evidence of some deep rascality somewhere, and the only safe approach was to regard no man as Protestant until he had endured persecution firmly from one to three years. The Maronite persecution in one village brought sore trials to the few Protestants. "One poor fellow, being sorely pressed by his questioners," according to Samuel Jessup, "cried out at last, 'Yes, I am a Protestant, I, and my wife, and my children and my cattle and my donkey and my chickens. Do you want anything more?'" Miss Louise Law wrote that she did not see much of the people in one certain village because the Nuns were sending a servant to the Sabbath School services to find out which children were attending, in order that they might
whip them afterwards. Nevertheless, some of the women were cordial in inviting the missionary to go to their homes where they gathered the women to hear the Bible read. 18

Turkish authorities sometimes hindered the work, particularly at the instigation of religious leaders. In 1886 the Girls' School in Tripoli was ordered closed. A missionary wrote, "Yesterday Wassa Pasha, Governor of Mt. Lebanon, announced that he had peremptory orders to close every school in the Lebanon Pashalic which had no firman. This, if executed, will make a clean sweep of Seminaries, Boarding Schools and Day Schools..." 19 The United States consul was making strenuous efforts to bring the whole subject before the proper Washington authorities. Jessup noted that the Turks were violating their own laws and regulations. He wondered why the Presbyterian Board could not send a deputation to Washington to see President Cleveland. "Our church in Mijdel Shems is being used as a storehouse by the Turkish Mudir," continued Jessup. "It would seem as though the Turks are determined to make Asiatic Turkey a moral and intellectual desert as soon as possible." 20 In the same letter he states that the Mission Press ran into the same difficulties. Two copies of every Arabic book prepared in manuscript for printing had to be sent to Constantinople for examination. There it was detained for as much as six months or a year and came back so mutilated in
many cases as to be unfit for publication. After printing, a copy had to be returned for comparison before it could be offered for sale.

The hardships of travels and living conditions while in the villages was an ever present problem. Highway robbery was not an infrequent affair in Lebanon. Missionary George A. Ford wrote from Sidon that there were several roads which they had to use, where robbers regularly lay in wait. On these roads the local people seldom passed except in companies and armed. One day with his cook he passed this area, when, out of the thicket appeared two armed ruffians steering toward them. The missionary shouted "Stand back" several times. They muttered the word "Watchmen" as a false excuse for their presence and passed silently on in another direction. Another missionary barely missed death from gunfire on a road, and yet he of necessity had to continue to use this road to visit certain villages. Mrs. Hoskins, his wife, added that her husband did not mention in his letter that at night after hours of hard travel to a village, he often slept in the same room with the school teacher and his family, including a crying baby. Sometimes, on his return home after a ride of many hours on horseback through snow and wind, he was obliged to work for hours removing snow which had drifted through the tiles, since they did not have sufficient money to complete the roof.
Jessup wrote that in holding services it often rained so hard that they had to shut up everything, leaving them all in the dark, but still able to hear the Bible taught. Frequently he was interrupted by children coming for parents, saying, "There is a leak on the beds and I can't move them," or "There is a leak on the baby and I can't move the cradle." The daughter of one of the missionaries who had returned to Syria as a medical doctor, Mary Eddy, wrote of being caught in a winter storm. She was driven into a village, most of whose inhabitants had never seen a European. "I slept in a little gallery of a room containing about ten people, cows, goats, etc.," she wrote. The smoke of damp wood, the mud floors reeking with dampness, the insistent curiosity of the inhabitants and the sense of utter desolation from the world made it a unique experience.

She was very glad however, for the intimate contact with the people while they were secluded in their homes during the winter months. One evening she had an exhibition of a few mechanical toys which she carried with her. She wrote that the wildest enthusiasm was evoked by the antics of the climbing monkey. Old men jumped from the floor in their eagerness to see the toys. It is interesting to note that Dr. Mary Eddy's father four years later received five members into his church from this village. This same Reverend Eddy, in view of the hardships of missionary life, had made a list of articles to bring to
Syria by newly appointed workers, which might help to alleviate some of the hardships. This list included: saddle and bridle, rubber outfit of personal clothing, large rubber blanket, saddle bags, officer’s mess kit, small chest of carpenter’s tools, medicines, thin underclothing, overcoat, shoes, toilet articles, umbrella, ladies’ work box material, mattresses, feather pillow, household linen, chair, dining table, crockery, tin ware, lamps, candle sticks, and a clock.25

Epidemics, medical needs, warfare, and separation, were problems adding to the hardships of missionaries. Cholera epidemics struck the area from time to time. Often so many people died that burial had to be without religious services. G. F. Dale wrote in 1875 that so many people had died in Beirut that Druse men were being hired to carry the bodies into the wilderness and unceremoniously bury them there. Dale observed that being fatalists, the Druses believed that when the time came for them to die no medicine would benefit them, and until that time no disease could harm them.26 Besides the danger of epidemics, competent medical care was often many miles away. The young son of Mr. F. E. Hoskins quite seriously broke his arm, while they were living in the town of Zahleh. Mrs. Hoskins had to rush him by carriage and train to Beirut forty miles away for proper treatment and setting of the bone.27 The danger of warfare, too, was a recurring matter in Syria.
Besides the hostilities between Druze and Christian communities, outside powers often stirred up trouble. "The air is now singing with Russia war rumors and the people are in great anxiety," wrote H. H. Jessup from Beirut. "This poor country seems doomed to be kept in chronic hot water over war or pestilence."28

When death did come in a mission family it sometimes meant separation from the young children. When Mrs. H. H. Jessup died, Dr. Jessup had to leave the children in America with relatives for proper care which he could not give them in Syria. On returning to America he wrote of meeting his son: "My son Willie, now sixteen, came yesterday from Western New York. Imagine yourself parting with a child six years old, and meeting him next, grown to be a six feet tall, broad shouldered, brawny youth. . . . The child is gone. The man takes his place. I bless God for his goodness to the dear boy during these ten years."29

Coming to understand the mentality of the Arabs with whom they worked, seeing so much suffering of some Arabs accompanied by the indifference of others toward the sufferer, and knowing when to stop in their charity was a matter which greatly vexed the missionaries. Ira Harris, M.D., wrote of his first impression of the Arabs. "The first difficulty lies in the nature of the Arabs themselves. They are an exceedingly
strangely opinionated people. They have very decided views of their own which makes it hard for them to adopt the views of others."30 Five years later in commenting on his medical work he noted that he seldom permitted a woman or a girl to go without medicine if they were poor and suffering. He observed that a man in Syria would let his wife and daughters die rather than pay for their medicine, but that he or his sons must have drugs even if money was needed to get them. "The other day I asked thirty cents for medicine of a Muslim. 'What, you want thirty cents for medicine for my wife, why, if she should die I can get another woman for that sum.' I see so much suffering, so much real misery, I wonder how I have stood the work..."31 Added to their indifference of physical suffering was the spiritual indifference of the people, including the religious leaders. W. W. Eddy wrote that the power of the priesthood was ever the great obstacle to the progress of Christianity as taught in the New Testament. "It is astonishing how the love of money as well as love of power, blinds the clergy here..." he continued. "Again and again have I heard it said of the Greek Bishop in Hasbeiya, that by his pride and his avarice he made more men Protestants than our best preachers did."32

To the missionary another discouraging feature was the secular tasks, responsibilities, and lack of time to accomplish these multifarious obligations. Upon reaching the age seventy,
one missionary wrote that after having had so much of his time taken up by secular duties for so many years, he wished in the remaining years to devote all his time to evangelical duties. W. K. Eddy of Sidon complained about the increase in red tape and forms to be filled out. "Our station calls for 1367 sets of figures," he wrote. "Your treasurer's fertile mind works on ingenious ways of amusing idle missionaries and we have blanks about buildings and calls for maps of cities and towns and plots and lots, etc." Another missionary compared his job as though a Pastor in America were County Superintendent of Schools, Paymaster in a factory, Post Master, Principal of the Academy, Express Agent, and Editor of a paper. Yet, with all these tasks, missionary G. C. Doolittle wrote that in the year which had passed, he had attended two hundred and twelve religious meetings, one hundred and ninety of them in Arabic. In these meetings he preached one hundred and fourteen times, held twenty communion services, and conducted three funerals. Early idealism and ambitions often disappeared or were modified before the press of duty. Miss Bernice Huting, of Tripoli, may have expressed the feeling of many:

I have been getting down to the actual hard grind of missionary life this year, and my theories are growing smaller and smaller, and I am seeing no better way than just to grind on. I don't think I have entirely lost my
ideals or given up wishing and planning and striving for something better, but I've been so busy and tired this year, so burdened with unaccustomed responsibilities, so disappointed in people and plans.37

In replying to a letter which seemed critical of the lack of visible results for his work in Syria, Ira Harris, M.D., wrote that he too, felt badly over the few additions to the Church. He noted that he had been in Syria fourteen years, having treated some six thousand sick people a year, reminding them that it was Christian love which compelled him to leave America to help others. He had spent days and weeks in villages where all the people were non-Christian. He had experienced fatigue, ill health, poor living, heat, cold, absence from kindred and country, and everything an American loves best, to have to do with a people who thought of the present, and little of the future. He was constantly surrounded with an atmosphere of fatalism, superstition, bigotry, lying, and deceit; yet he did not think such toil was in vain.38

C. Problems of finance. The continual spectre of insufficient funds confronted the missionaries in their yearly financial allotment. One missionary went so far as to suggest that it was fairly debatable whether the Syrian Mission should be continued at all because of the financial strain. He could think of but two solutions which could ease the financial problem. One was to turn their work over to another organization
and bow out of Syria; the second was to reduce the foreign force but not the financial means so that there would be sufficient funds for the remaining missionaries and their work. 39 When H. H. Jessup received a report that $10,000 dollars of Syrian appropriations was to be cut off, he realized that many of the schools would be closed. He wrote, "Does the Board really intend to force the Mission into abandoning its whole educational work? New York State is now executing men by electricity. When your cablegram came, we thought the Board must have begun to execute its Missions in the same way." 40 However, a later letter noted only a $5,000 dollar cut. In pleading with the Mission Board to raise their appropriations or at least maintain the annual level of funds, one missionary observed that it was almost cruel to discharge a teacher and close his school, when he was depending for the very bread of his family on his salary. "Our hands are not only tied from entering upon any new work," wrote Jessup, "but we are obliged to abandon positions already held." 41 The missionaries were fully committed to "self support" in their work, but practice was a long way from theory. Dr. Harris noted that there was a limit to self support. "It is easy to say to a poor sick woman, pay for your medicine or go away, but it is not so easy to satisfy one's conscience that it is right." 42 He further felt that in attempting to make medical missions self-
supporting, he was sacrificing the first principles of the work, for now he had to look for rich patients and give them the time of the poor people. "I have discouraged rich patients to expect me to treat them. I have put my fee for visits high in price so as not to interfere with the native doctors; so I am known as the doctor of the poor all over North Syria." In 1874 Dr. Jessup was highly incensed when he heard of someone in America discouraging a collection for Syria on the grounds that the missionaries there needed nothing and lived in comparative luxury. He denied that any missionary owned a carriage, but pointed out that they were obliged to keep a horse or donkey for itinerating work.

The missionaries realized that the lack of funds was not the fault of their Board in America, which desired to supply them with all funds necessary, but that shortages were due to financial conditions in America or lack of interest on the part of the constituents of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. Financial and other conditions in Syria also made impossible the early goals of self-support. F. E. Hoskins of Baalbec observed that the tax collector was a great hindrance to the people. A certain sum of money was required from each village. The privilege of collecting this amount was disposed by auction in Constantinople, a man often paying for the job a sum much more than the tax he was to collect for the Government.
The Protestant work was not helped either, by educational competition. The Jesuit College in Beirut opened with a crowd of students nominally charged high tuition, but H. R. Jessup wrote in 1875 that the Jesuits were taking in scores of rich men's sons gratuitously, to prevent them from going to other schools. "Unless our College has free scholarship, it will be driven to the wall," wrote Jessup. "Everything about the Jesuit establishment is on a proud and attractive scale and they are determined to give us a hot fight and an expensive one."46

That some Syrians were able to pay tuition for their children was well known. Miss Hunting47 of Tripoli wrote however, that it was the desire of the people to get every advantage that the foreigners had to offer without paying for it and without coming under their religious influence. The girls wanted an education as an essential qualification for a desirable bride, and as a rule, Miss Hunting felt, received little more from their intercourse with the missionaries. Furthermore, graduates from the College were in England and America "to forage on the Christian public," wrote Jessup and Dennis. They were seeking aid for a "starving family in Lebanon" or "begging aid to become Medical Missionaries." The Mission feared that they would probably get some gullible people to take them up, pauperize them, and get them English wives.48
D. Problems due to the customs of people and government. The Syrian Mission from its beginning had been concerned with reaching the Islamic world with Christian literature, and influence. On every occasion where they were not hindered by local authorities or prejudice, they made friends in the Muslim communities and did what they could in the way of Christian witnessing. Medical doctors often found ready access into Muslim homes, but as a whole results were sparse. Jessup wrote that the Muslim spirit of intolerance had engendered a haughty, overbearing feeling and deportment toward others, which was intensified in proportion to their own ignorance. He wrote about a public occasion in Beirut, during his ministry there, when there was an official reading of a firman of the Sultan, Abd-ul-Hamid. It guaranteed absolute equality and liberty to all the sects of the empire, and granted to the Christians the right of military service and office. The Pasha, an enlightened and liberal man, according to Jessup, then asked an old Muslim Sheikh of the orthodox school to close the ceremony with prayer, which he did:

'O Allah, grant the victory to His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid Khan. Destroy all his enemies, destroy the Russians, O Allah, destroy the infidels. Tear them in tatters, grind them in powder, rend them in fragments, because they are the enemies of the Mohammedans.'

Jessup observed that this was an orthodox Muslim prayer
such as the orthodox constantly used, and this venerable sheikh was unable to grasp the idea that Christians and Jews had any other right but that of serving the faithful and being cut off in answer to their prayers. In addition, whatever rights were granted to Protestants in legal statutes actually mean little to most officials. As late as 1896 Dr. Ira Harris could write, "At the present time we have no standing with the Government. What could we do if we were ordered out of the country; nothing but go." He thought that the time would come when any man, Muslim or Christian, could become a Protestant and no one would harm him, but as it was, it would have been death for a Muslim to become a Protestant and remain in the country. He wrote that for any Christian convert there was only trouble, persecution, loss of property, and becoming of an outcast from family and friends. "It takes more than ordinary courage to become a Protestant in Syria," he continued. "Protestants are few, their influence is small, in fact so small that more than three quarters of our church membership are still on the Government books as Greeks, and pay their taxes to the Greek priest to be payed over for them." Prior to this, in 1877, a missionary was glad to write that the activity of the United States Navy along the Turkish coast produced a most happy effect on all parties. "The Turks know that the United States government has no selfish political ends to gain here," he wrote, "and
our ships are looked upon as friendly, while the native Christians are reassured and quietened by seeing the Stars and Stripes."

Chaotic legal and court procedures often involved the Mission. F. E. Hoskins wrote that there was so much dishonesty and cheating on all sides that almost everyone had a lawsuit on hand. The poor appeared in a government center with an overdue note in his hand. Hoskins observed that every official reached forth his hand to examine the document, expecting a small present before he gave it back. He noted that the judge and treasurer in a center received a salary equivalent to about $35.00 per month, hardly enough to pay for tobacco and coffee. The Mission itself became legally involved at times. Once, it concerned a land case. H. H. Jessup became plaintiff on the insistence of Arab friends. Both parties were ordered to bring their witnesses to court. Jessup brought five respectable Muslims, all of them elderly men and well acquainted with the Americans for forty years. The judge asked them what evidence they had in the face of God. Each one stated that the Americans had been in possession of the piece of land in question, for some thirty years. Jessup concluded his letter:

Then the defendant arose in great heat and demanded that his witnesses be heard. He was requested to subside. The Judge then decided that
inasmuch as five respectable and credible witnesses of the plaintiff had testified to certain facts, and their testimony agreed, and was no doubt true, therefore, any testimony to the contrary must be false. The defendant was therefore informed that his witness could not be received, and he was turned out of court. Then I spoke to the advantage of being plaintiff. . . . However, we ascertained another point in the privileges of the plaintiff, which is that he pays the costs. 56

The Ottoman Government, while allowing Protestant missionaries access to the country, often hindered the entry of Protestant medical doctors, in spite of their magnanimous contributions to the poor and suffering. 57 The first woman allowed to practice medicine in the Turkish empire was Dr. Mary P. Eddy. The authorities made the examinations so very hard that they thought she would fail, but she successfully passed all of them. 58 Later when the Druses in Lebanon refused to pay taxes in 1895, their villages were razed and plundered. "I am hastily gathering all the garments I can and hope in three days to start out," wrote Dr. Mary Eddy as an example of her devotion to needy people. "The survivors of the Druses, the wounded, the women and children, are in this fearful winter weather hiding in caves on Mt. Hermon, starving, with no one in all the region to pity them. Those icy slopes, and snow-bound gorges will not long support life." 59 Such compassion to foe and friend alike may have disturbed the Muslim medical authorities, resulting in entry difficulties
for Protestant medical missionaries.

Protestant progress in Lebanon. Although problems were many, the fifty years of 1870-1920 marked great strides for Protestantism. In the once fanatical town of Zahleh, Protestant meetings were being held which drew large crowds. In 1887 when the annual Week of Prayer began, two hundred and fifty people were in attendance the first day. The week closed with over five hundred and twenty present. People never seen before, crowded into the services. In March of the same year the resident missionary was able to write that great meetings were continuing in Zahleh. "As many as four hundred assembling Greeks, Greek Catholics, and Mohammedans were there," he observed. "The Protestant seed long sown is springing up and bearing fruit..." George A. Ford wrote that progress cheered them all along the line. Some of the school teachers were voluntarily launching out into missionary work outside of their appointed routine. Benevolence and self-support, whose growth had been so slow was sharing in the general progress. "One of the older churches that was lately too stingy to want to pay for a new pulpit Bible they needed, looking to the Mission to supply them," Ford wrote, "has just astonished us by subscribing 1,500 piasters for repairs and alterations to Mission buildings." He noted that a general religious awakening was not a familiar occurrence among such phlegmatic and
and worldly-minded people, but that a movement had started. It was characterized by a great increase in monetary offerings, Bible study, meetings for prayer, efforts to teach the young children the elements of religion, the increased interest of women, moral reformation, and the going out to preach in the adjacent districts. The Muslims were asking the explanation for the marked change in the integrity of the Protestant community, and their honesty and good behavior. In Beirut Mrs. J. S. Dennis noticed that the most interesting thing about a sewing club for poor women was that it was managed and cared for almost entirely by some young Protestant Christian women. The meeting was held at the house of a native Protestant woman and the work done mainly by her and her associates.

While delighting to reach the poorer classes among the people, the Mission felt that it was an indication of the permanency of Protestantism in Syria when upper class and wealthy people became interested. A Mr. Nicola Tubajy, becoming Protestant, had opened his large home for Bible study meetings. A missionary wrote that one interesting feature of such meetings was the presence of quite a number of well dressed Syrian ladies, all Protestants. One young Protestant was the nephew of several uncles who had been decorated by Pope Pius IX, and the Emperor Napoleon. They were enraged with him for bringing disgrace upon the family. The young man asked, "What disgraceful
act have I done? I have broken off gambling, and drunkenness, and blaspheming, and begun to read God's word. Is that a disgrace?" One uncle answered that it was better to do all these things and remain a good Catholic, than to join the Protestants and bring shame on the family name. "The idea of honor is one of the very bulwarks of Satan's power in this land," lamented Jessup. "Religious honor, or family honor, are regarded as above all things else. Multitudes are today fettered by this chain. ...

The village people now were also more receptive to the missionaries, colporteurs, and local evangelists. The village of Kisba by 1871 had become so disposed toward Protestantism that a dozen of the leading men of the village brought a petition to Samuel Jessup at Tripoli, declaring themselves Protestants and asking for a teacher to instruct them in religious matters. After a period of testing, the people drew up a formal petition to the Government, asking to be legally registered as Protestants. Those who had signed the petition were privately threatened with all sorts of persecutions, trials, and losses. Nevertheless, they remained steadfast. One day when the Governor of the district visited the village, he found Mr. Johnson, the United States Consul General of Beirut, and Mr. Yanni, the Vice Consul at Tripoli also there on a visit. Since both of them were in sympathy with the
Protestant movement, the Governor then and there declared publicly that he recognized the group as a sect and promised to treat them impartially. 66

In 1877 the first Union Missionary Conference ever held in Syria took place in Abeih. "The ability and earnest piety manifested by our native brethren was most cheering," wrote H. H. Jessup. "There is more benevolence, and self denial, and prayerfulness, and Bible knowledge, and fervor in preaching the Gospel, among our native preachers and teachers in Syria than we have supposed." 67 By 1896, the Beirut native church was able to write to the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board:

Since it is our first letter to you, we feel it our duty, as representatives of the Evangelical Native Church of Beirut, to send you what we used before to send by medium of the missionaries, and that is our deep gratitude and thanks for the noble work which you, by the help of God have carried for these past long years among our fathers, ourselves, and countrymen. 68

The Mission in this period was beginning to receive, as new missionaries, the children of some of the earlier missionaries to Syria. Missionary W. W. Eddy wrote to the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, thanking him for his letter of congratulations upon the return of his son as a missionary. "Our son almost immediately went to his post in Sidon and has this day started from thence on a missionary tour," he wrote.
"He seems to find no difficulty in resuming his use of Arabic at once. . . ."69 George A. Ford70 wrote that enough of the Arabic of his childhood survived his sixteen years absence to enable him to make himself understood. He stated that eleven of the workers in Syria at that time were the children of Syrian missionaries. On his return to Syria, he observed that opposition to the Gospel was the exception, whereas twenty years ago the mass of people associating with the Protestants were influenced only by hopes of worldly profit. In 1890 H. H. Jessup wrote of expressing his gratitude to God for the safe arrival of his son William as a missionary.71 In announcing the death of Mrs. W. W. Eddy, the Foreign Mission Report of 190472 noted that three of her children, Reverend W. K. Eddy of Sidon, Mrs. F. E. Hoskins, and Dr. Mary P. Eddy of Beirut survived her in the Mission service.

Progress in this period was seen also in the activities of the missionaries and the widening influence of their work. The Mission's new Arabic translation of the Bible was so successful that it incited the Jesuits to put forth a costly, beautiful translation of their own, fairly true it is said, in most respects to the original, mentioning in its preface that the sole cause of the edition was "antagonism to the Protestants."73 H. H. Jessup of Beirut noted in 1885, after three years of absence:
1. The College, with 185 students, is more thoroughly manned with American instructors than ever before, and they are a noble set of men.

2. The confidence of the Syrian people in Protestant Female Education is very striking.

3. There is an unparalleled exodus of Syrian youth to Egypt. Many of our choicest and ablest young men are now in Egypt as editors, merchants, clerks, government officers, and interpreters to the British army.74

People now sought the friendship of the missionary rather than shunning him, as in times past. Mrs. F. E. Hoskins reported that when they built the new premises in Zahleh, over a thousand callers came.75 Miss Louise Law, relating about a mission tour in 1899, wrote that as soon as she and her associates arrived at a village and found a place to stay, people began coming and filled their room each night, giving them opportunity for Christian witness.76 The Press was kept busy printing books, and material for Mission use. "Arriving in Syria on February 11, 1895, I shall have been on the field seven years in the spring of 1902," wrote E. G. Freyer. "These seven years, I must confess, have been the seven busiest of my life. The entire work at the Press has been reorganized. I found that I could not perform my many duties without working late into the night, often until one and two o'clock in the morning."77 The influence of these missionaries, as they conducted their work even affected Muslim customs. Jessup wrote
that ever since Protestant missionaries came to Syria, both they and the native Protestants had been taunted with being without feeling since they walked in their funeral processions in profound silence. Not only the Muslims but both the Maronites and Greeks lead their funeral processions with noisy chanting and shouting. "But the Protestant example has had its effect upon the Muslims, and they have decided upon a reform," he continued. "It was decided to prohibit the singing and chanting of the blind Sheikhs in the funeral processions. This decision was written down and signed by one hundred and fifty Ulema and learned men."78

The progress of thirty-two years can be seen in the comparison between the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1906</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American missionaries in Syria</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Syrian laborers</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches in Lebanon and Syria</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church buildings</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added on profession during the year</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church members</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>2,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution of the native community</td>
<td>$1,252</td>
<td>$49,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' boarding schools</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in boarding schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in high schools</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common schools</td>
<td>2,850</td>
<td>4,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible House and Press establishment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam presses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand presses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press employees</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volumes printed during the year</td>
<td>38,450</td>
<td>171,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78
World War I and its aftermath.

Turkey entered the war in October of 1914 on the side of Germany. Throughout the war the Syrian population suffered from serious shortages of food. It was especially serious in Lebanon, where the Turkish authorities effected a reprisal for the sympathies of the population with the Allies. It is estimated that some 300,000 people died of starvation and malnutrition in the whole area of Syria during the war.80 The territory of the Mission was from the beginning in the area affected by the war. The Syrian coast was barricaded and for four years nothing came in or went out. A. J. Brown31 of the Presbyterian Board observed that this made it easy for those who desired to weaken the Christian population to carry out their purpose. The hostility of the Turkish Government was reinforced by Syrian profiteers who seized the opportunity to corner food and raise prices to a point where the people were unable to purchase necessary supplies. Brown wrote that the members of the Presbyterian Mission and the American University immediately undertook to help the impoverished people. All relief was prohibited by the Government, so that they had to work in secret. One of the chief means of helping people was by furnishing a medium through which Syrians in America could send money to their relative and friends. Thousands of Assyrian and Armenian refugees also flocked into Lebanon. The relief
committee continued its work into the post-war period and, by 1929, had distributed some $100,000,000 dollars and educated 136,000 children. Letters from American missionaries were censored, new taxes were imposed on the Mission's schools, but otherwise the work went on. Because the English and French schools were closed, there was an unprecedented enrollment.

By the time the War ended, five changes enabled the Mission to plan its work on a larger scale:

1. Increased facilities for travel. During the war, roads were improved for military purposes. Missionaries could travel far more widely than before.

2. Security. Even within the districts well known to missionaries, there were often dangerous incidents. With the coming of a strong mandatory power, security of life in the country was greatly improved.

3. Increased accessibility to the Muslim population. Prior to the War, the Mission could do little among Muslims and only a small number of their children came to the schools. Liberation from the rule of the Caliph in Constantinople gave them greater freedom of choice.

4. Status of women. Some of the more daring began to study for professional life. The Mission developed the American School for Girls at Beirut into a Junior College for Women.

5. Efforts to secure closer and more effective cooperation among the various missionary agencies in the Middle East. This led to the formation of the Near East Christian Council.

The missionaries had, from the beginning, been concerned about the low social condition of the poorer classes of the
population. They had taught cleanliness, temperance, morality, and thrift. After the War, efforts for the betterment of social conditions were inaugurated on a larger scale. It was started by the Junior College for Women in Beirut, which opened welfare centers during school vacations. Instruction in Sociology was introduced into the curriculum of the Theological Seminary so that the men would be trained to take advantage of their opportunities to use it when they returned to the rural communities.

In this period an authority on Missions wrote that the Syrian Mission was adjusting itself to the new conditions and opportunities among the Moslem peoples. "With wise strategy, it has shifted its personnel in such a way as to open two excellent centers for Moslem work," he wrote. "In Aleppo, excellent use is made of two reading rooms located in different sections of the city. Last year, an average of seventy-five men per day were visitors in the reading rooms, about half of them being Moslems."85

By 1930 Dr. Bible wrote that after more than one hundred years of American Protestant work in Syria, "The Protestant work in Syria is completely controlled by the Syrian Christians and their leaders."86 No missionary served as a pastor of a Syrian church. In fact, none preached in any organized church except as a guest preacher. What financial
help the Mission gave was handled through the presbyteries, of which no missionary was a member. Yet the warmest and closest personal relations existed between the Church and the missionaries. The Church now was Arab through and through.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Unpublished letters of the Syrian missionaries of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., from 1870 to 1900. Microfilm archives, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. The writer has attempted to avoid using the names of the missionaries as much as possible in the body of the thesis, since it is concerned more about them and what they did, rather than who they were. However, some of the missionaries are quite outstanding, and the specific mentioning of their names gives additional information and emphasis to a reader conversant with the Protestant foreign mission movement.


3 Letter from the Syrian Mission to Mr. T. S. Pond, February 19, 1890.

4 Letter of H. H. Jessup, November 18, 1889.

5 Letter of Miss Mary Kipp, Tripoli, August 16, 1875.

6 Letter of Samuel Jessup, Beirut, November 22, 1870.

7 Letter of H. H. Jessup, August 31, 1880.

8 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Stated Clerk of the Mission, Beirut, January 22, 1881. The Mission felt that no young lady could work with her, and that she had turns of a morbid nature during which her associates were greatly embarrassed. Three young women had already failed in trying to work with her. However, fourteen years later Miss LaGrange was still at work in Lebanon and had her own ideas about the usefulness of a fellow missionary, a Miss Holcum. She wrote that Miss Holcum’s aggressive personality, immense ambition, and love of being conspicuous left small room for any associate however far her senior in years and experience. Miss Holcum later resigned. The writer thinks that the mission made a proper evaluation of Miss LaGrange, from a study of other letters, but he agrees that they made the proper decision in refraining from asking her to return to America. Her length of service, language ability, and experience probably far outweighed in value to the Mission her negative features.

9 Letter of Miss Harriet LaGrange, Tripoli, July 3, 1895.
10 Letter of Dr. Arthur J. Brown, August 8, 1898.
11 Letter of Miss Bernice Hunting, Tripoli, June 22, 1898.
14 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, February 5, 1885.
17 Letter of Samuel Jessup, Abeih, June 3, 1871.
18 Letter of Miss Louise Law, August 5, 1898.
19 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, November 17, 1886.
20 *Loc. cit.*
21 Letter of George A. Ford, Sidon, July 18, 1881.
22 Letter of Mrs. F. E. Hoskins, March 27, 1898.
23 Letter of Samuel Jessup, Sidon, February 10, 1899.
24 Letter of Mary Eddy, M.D., Bussa, near Acre, January 9, 1895.
26 Letter of G. F. Dale, Beirut, August 6, 1875.
27 Letter of F. E. Hoskins, Zahleh, August 15, 1899.
28 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, April 16, 1885.
29 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Montrose, Pa., June 8, 1878.
30 Letter of Ira Harris, M.D., June, 1898.
31 *Loc. cit.*
32 Letter of W. W. Eddy, Sidon, December 12, 1872 as found in the Presbyterian Monthly Record, XXIV:3.

33 Letter of William Bird, Abeer, April 10, 1894.

34 Letter of W. K. Eddy, Sidon, June 22, 1895.

35 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, September 13, 1892.

36 Letter of G. C. Doolittle, Deir el Komr, March 29, 1899.

37 Letter of Miss Bernice Hunting, Tripoli, February 24, 1899.

38 Letter of Ira Harris M.D., June 24, 1898.


40 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, August 6, 1888.

41 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, March 11, 1874.

42 Letter of Ira Harris M.D., April 29, 1898.

43 Loc. cit.

44 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, March 21, 1874.

45 Letter of F. E. Hoskins, Baalbec, March 13, 1890. An example of the financial problem of the peasants is seen by Hoskins statement: "You can easily imagine who has to pay the piper. The toil of the year is over and the grain lies on the threshing floors. No man dares carry home a measure of grain before the government has received its tithe.... Days roll by and the collector is busy and delays his coming. The early rains threaten to fall upon the wheat. The village sends a delegation to the tardy collector. 'Come and we will give you more than a tenth.' Still he delays. Another delegation is sent and a larger offer made. The wise collector excuses himself. Until, in their fear and need they offer a fifth and even more, and the collector comes!"

46 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, November 3, 1875.

47 Letter of Miss Bernice Hunting, Tripoli, June 22, 1898.
Letters of James S. Dennis, April 12, 1892, and H. H. Jessup, September 22, 1880.


Letter of Ira Harris M.D., June 24, 1898.


Letter of F. E. Hoskins, Baalbec, March 13, 1890.

Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, March 14, 1877.

Note in Chapter V the problems of Dr. Riggs, M.D. Regulations were passed by the Ottoman Government in 1863 concerning the licensing of graduates in medicine which were to apply to graduates of foreign institutions as well as to graduates of the American Medical College of Beirut (The Syrian Protestant College Medical School). The graduates had to register their diplomas at the Imperial School of Medicine, and then to undergo an examination. Nasim Sousa, The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), pp. 143-4.


Letter of Mary Eddy M.D., Beirut, December 10, 1895.

Letter of W. M. Greenlee, Zahleh, January 24, 1887.


Letter of George A. Ford, Sidon, July 18, 1881.

Letter of Mrs. J. S. Dennis, Beirut, April 21, 1880.

Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, December 6, 1871.

66 Letter of Samuel Jessup, Tripoli, March 9, 1871.
67 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Shemlan, October 1, 1877.
68 Letter of the Beirut Native Church, December 16, 1896.
70 Letter of George A. Ford, Sidon, July 18, 1881.
71 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, December 3, 1890.
74 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, January 12, 1885.
75 Letter of Mrs. F. E. Hoskins, Zahleh, March 27, 1898.
76 Letter of Miss Louise Law, August 23, 1899.
77 Letter of E. G. Freyer, Beirut, December 5, 1900.
78 Letter of H. H. Jessup, Beirut, June 16, 1880. The writer would like to point out that Wahabi influence may have had a far greater influence than that of the missionaries.
79 Jessup, Fifty-Three Years, op. cit. II:814.
80 Hourani, op. cit., p. 49.
84 Brown, op. cit., pp. 1003-6.
85 Dr. Frank W. Bible, as quoted in Brown, op. cit., p. 1005.
86 Ibid., p. 1001.
CHAPTER FOUR

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM IN EGYPT

While Syria became the first area where American Protestantism gained a foothold in the Arab Middle East, Egypt proved to be Protestantism's more responsive field. This may have been due to the relative tranquillity afforded the missionaries in Egypt as compared to the problems in Syria, or the fanaticism of Islam in the Arabian Protestant work. The presence of British influence in Egypt during the later history of Protestantism there, served to keep the work intact during periods of stress, as in World War I, and as a restraining influence against Muslim-Coptic opposition. The Coptic Church in Egypt numbered their community at about 250,000 souls when the American Protestant work began in 1854.¹ This church was formed in the fifth century, out of the controversy over the nature of Christ. It adhered to the monophysite doctrine of one nature in Christ as opposed to the two natures held by the Orthodox Church. Both groups started with the assumption that an unbridgeable gulf separated the divine and human natures, and that Christ was both human and divine. The Orthodox seemed satisfied in leaving unsolved the philosophical riddle, while the Monophysites made a real attempt to solve the problem, but in so doing failed to maintain the full dogma of
the incarnation. Some of the Christian Syrian theologians asserted that Christ was already born into the world with complete humanity before the Deity entered into him, so that his mother was the mother only of man, not God.\(^2\) In one way or another the Monophysites failed to give to Christ the attributes which orthodoxy demanded.\(^3\) In 451 A.D. the Council of Chalcedon condemned the Monophysite view. Unhappily, the Orthodox State Church succumbed entirely to the idea that theological questions could be settled by the short cut of imperial legislation and civil punishment.\(^4\) Consequently, the welcome given by the Copts to the invading Muslim armies in the seventh century stemmed from persecution and discrimination the Copts received at the hands of the Orthodox Church. In 1854, when the American Protestant work began, the missionaries felt that the Coptic Church had replaced its earlier purity of worship and zeal for truth with superstition, abysmal ignorance of the Bible, worship of saints, and mere ritualism with little meaning to the masses of Copts. The clergy seemed to lack competent leadership and spiritual insight through their lack of education or moral decay.

Establishing the work, 1854-1865. In 1844 the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church decided to establish a mission in Syria. Political troubles and other discouragements so weakened the work that the Mission, never strong, gradually declined, and
was finally transferred to the Presbyterian Church of Ireland in 1878. Before the Mission was transferred, one of its missionaries, Dr. J. G. Paulding, visited Egypt, in 1851. He saw Egypt as a field with great missionary opportunitie and perhaps as a better location for his Mission's work. The General Synod of his Church meeting in Allegheny, Pennsylvania in May, 1853, voted that their missionaries be instructed to occupy Cairo at their earliest possible convenience. Reverend and Mrs. Thomas McCague arrived in Cairo on November 15, 1854 from America. Twenty days later Reverend James Barnett, one of the pioneer missionaries from Damascus also reached Cairo. He came with a workable knowledge of Arabic and able to preach to the Egyptians in it. These missionaries found a home for themselves and the work, and the McCagues began Arabic study. Very soon afterwards an English religious service opened. According to Mr. Barnett's diary, each week from five to thirty English-speaking people attended the meeting. In January of 1855 services in Arabic were commenced in one of the rooms of Mr. Barnett's house. The first year very few attended, and for the most part they were connected with the Mission as servants and teachers.

Not discouraged by the lack of interest in their first year's residence in Cairo, McCague and Barnett visited the various Coptic, Greek Orthodox, and Armenian schools seeking new
means for Protestant approach. They sold Bibles and other books which were being printed at the Malta and Beirut presses. Of particular interest to the people who could read, were the books on Church History and those books discussing the differences between the Churches of the East and Protestantism. In 1850, Bishop Gobat, Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem wrote:

The missionaries seem to follow almost too strictly the plan on which the mission was begun, to seek the friendship of the clergy, especially of the higher clergy of the Eastern Churches with a view to influencing them gently, in the hope that by slow degrees they would become convinced of their errors and themselves reform their respective churches. But the system has failed and I am convinced that it will ever fail with the several Eastern Churches as well as with the Church of Rome. Individual conversions must be the aim as the only means of prosecuting reformation.

The Egyptian missionaries realized the truth of this statement and therefore, from the beginning sought to organize separate churches, congregations and schools. A school for boys was opened in 1855. Five pupils who were willing to come the first day soon increased to twenty. The subsequent years saw the enrollment continue to grow. The chief studies as arranged by the Mission were reading and writing in Arabic and English, Arabic grammar, arithmetic, and religious instruction. The Mission made such progress that by 1863 the first local congregation of the Protestant Church was organized in Cairo, elders and deacons having been chosen from among the
people, ordained, and installed.\textsuperscript{10}

As in the case of the early American Board work in Syria, the missionaries were conscientious men and women, dedicated to what they felt to be their religious duty. Parts of a prayer of Reverend Barnett are preserved in his diary recorded during a cholera epidemic which had taken 10,000 lives in Cairo in 1855. He prayed:

I would recognize Thy special goodness for my present security, for the continued health and strength which Thou has granted unto me, and to all associated with me in the missionary work in this city; and that Thou are thus encouraging us by Thy providence to trust in Thee, to serve Thee reverently and faithfully, to dedicate ourselves to Thy service, and to the best interests of our fellowmen.\textsuperscript{11}

By 1861 the regulations for missionary appointment to Egypt by the United Presbyterian Mission Board had been raised to include the following qualifications: The missionary must have intelligent and decided personal piety; a deep and earnest conviction of the duty of undertaking at all hazards and persevering in all trials to make known the Gospel to the heathen; have good common sense and a sound judgment, an amiable, forbearing, obliging disposition, steadiness and firmness of character, with patient perseverance, good temper and cheerfulness, industry, economy, and the habit of attending faithfully, punctually and promptly to whatever business or work he is engaged in; good bodily health and good intellectual abilities so that
a strange language may be readily acquired, and the heathen, many of whom have minds of a naturally high order, might be made to respect his character and talents as a missionary of the Gospel; a willingness to do any work to which duty calls; and in general a character such as would lead all who know him to feel and say that he was qualified for the work. The fact that all the early missionaries did not consistently live up to such lofty rules was no stigma on the Mission. In the early years of American Protestant work in Egypt, the rule concerning the duty to undertake at all hazards and to persevere in all trials found ample opportunity to be tested in the lives of the missionaries. On May 2, 1857, smallpox brought death into the McCague home taking the life of one of their children. Three years later another one of their children died. Mr. Barnett continually suffered with fever. Mr. and Mrs. Lansing suffered with ophthalmia, and saw too, the death of their little daughter. The early history of the Mission recorded statements and reports in letters, as, "Miss Dales was ill nearly all Summer"; "Our little boy fell sick the day his sister died and required constant nursing day and night for more than a month"; "On account of protracted illness Mr. and Mrs. McCague were compelled to return to America"; "The great tragedy which he was called to endure was the death of his young wife less than a year after her arrival in Egypt."
He survived her by only three and a half years, dying from a fever.

However, in spite of the "hazards" and "trials" the missionaries persevered. Reverend G. Lansing landed at Alexandria in October, 1857, and was soon joined by his family. In the following month he wrote from Alexandria, "The week after coming here we gave notice that on the following Sabbath we would hold Arabic services, if any wished to attend. None came however, and so I had a Sabbath of rest. The next Sabbath two natives attended . . . and the following Sabbath seven were present, and last Sabbath ten. This is very encouraging." In 1857 Mr. Barnett, sick with fever, was advised to have a change. In order to unite recuperation with mission work, he hired a boat for a month and made a trip as far as Asyut. His favorable impression with Asyut and its province was corroborated by others and resulted in the establishing of work there in 1865.

By 1858, besides the public religious services in Cairo, Mr. McCague was conducting an evening reading class. Through it, converts to Protestantism were made. A Mr. Saleh Awad, a grain merchant living just across the narrow street from Mr. McCague's residence attended the reading class even though he was very zealous in defending the doctrines and practices of the Coptic Church. When any statement was made which seemed
to clash with the tenets or ritual of his mother Church, he would immediately object and ask for proofs to establish the truth of the declaration. This gave McCague the opportunity to read passages of the Bible bearing on the subject, which would, for the time being, bring him to silence. Next day he would go to his priest and ask him for proof from the Word of God that the Protestant was wrong. Finding him unable to produce such proofs, he finally assented to McCague's position and became one of the elders of the Cairo congregation. In the educational field, a girls' school was opened in Cairo in 1860. This was the beginning of the Mission's female education program. Before the end of 1861 there were over a hundred names on the roll. During the first fifty years of the Mission's history, every single woman appointed by the Board, with the exception of doctors and nurses, was identified most of her years with an Egyptian school. In 1904 the number of day schools for girls was eleven.

After the first five years of the Mission's experience in Egypt, the type of approach accorded the best reception was still the sale and distribution of the Bible. The Muslim festival in honor of Sayyid al-Badawi, the greatest Muslim saint of Egypt, at Tanta and that in honor of Saint Damiana, a Coptic saint, provided occasions for displaying and selling religious literature. Seeing that the Nile afforded the easiest and
quickest means of reaching a large number of villages, the missionaries purchased a Nile boat called the "Ibis" in 1860. Taking four native Protestants, Mr. and Mrs. McCague went up the Nile with twelve boxes of literature and Bibles. They were absent about five weeks, and in that time they distributed and sold books at every stop. A Mr. Ibrahim Yusif was left at Asyut as a teacher, another as a colporteur, and another left at Luxor to open a school. The McCagues wrote, "At Asyut we filled a satchel with Scriptures and put it on a donkey and passed through the streets, calling out, 'The Holy Bible for sale.' It tried our moral courage to begin this kind of work, but we soon became used to it."16 This kind of work on the Nile continually occupied the attention of the Mission. What was being accomplished as seen in the report of a missionary family and native colporteur in 1862. They left Cairo on March 1 and returned in May. On this tour they sailed 1,160 miles in seventy days, visited sixty-three villages, sold books in forty of them, walked or rode a donkey two hundred miles, and held conversation with sixty-two priests, forty-five monks, two bishops and over six hundred common people or scribes, farmers, and teachers. When the "Ibis" reached a town on the Nile, people would come on board to buy books. Conversation was begun and continued over a longer or shorter time. A portion of the Bible might be read and prayer offered.
The government offices were visited, and a call made on the chief government official, even though he might be a Muslim. In the evening the people either came on board, where a free conversation on religious topics took place, or a short service was conducted in some private home. After this, the captain of the boat untied the boat and floated down to another town. The next morning the missionary found the boat tied to the bank at some town and work began again. 17 Strong opposition from the Coptic authorities developed in 1861 when Demetrius II succeeded the rather progressive Patriarch, Cyril X. Demetrius was not at all in sympathy with the program of the missionaries. They were not only rivals but a definite challenge to his authority. The popularity of the mission schools was evident. In order to prevent attendance at them the Coptic hierarchy undertook to open a number of rival schools. Threats that the students in the Protestant schools would not be exempted from military service greatly decimated the schools.

By 1865 the work of the United Presbyterian Mission was well established physically, if not materially. As in the case of the Syrian Mission, financial problems hindered the work. Due to the American Civil War, contributions of the home churches fell off, and the Board ordered the salaries of the missionaries to be reduced one-fourth. This came at a time when prices in
Egypt had increased because of the influx of gold from cotton sale. The treasury of the Mission in Egypt was not only empty but overdrawn at times and rent which was due could not be paid. The Board sent only $17,000 dollars for the work of the growing Mission in 1866. Nevertheless, the Mission by dint of hard work and sacrifice, enlarged its work to make Asyut a permanent Mission station. This city was one of the main Coptic centers of Egypt, and the capital of upper Egypt, both regarding its central position and the character and wealth of its inhabitants. On the first Sunday, after a missionary had come to live permanently in Asyut, he attended service in the local Coptic church, and then conducted services in a friendly home for a number of Copts and others. By the third Sunday over sixty people were attending the services. Later, a school was opened. Such competition aggravated the Coptic hierarchy and warnings were read aloud in the Coptic services against the heretics and their teachings.

Successful Protestant endeavors: 1865-1910. From 1865 on, progress was steady and impressive in the Egyptian Protestant work. Reverend "Abuna Mikhail," a former Coptic monk, was ordained in 1867. Accessions to the Protestant Church established by the United Presbyterians came slowly at first, but by the 1890's the Church gathered strength rapidly. In 1869 there were one hundred and eighty church members. Ten
years later the number had risen to nine hundred and eighty-five, and at the turn of the century the number had grown to such an extent that the fifty churches were divided into Presbyteries comprising the Synod of the Nile. The Synod of the Nile was organized at Asyut in May of 1899, consisting of four Presbyteries, namely, the Presbytery of Thebes, of Asyut, of Middle Egypt, and of the Delta. Most of the accessions, it is true, were from the Copts, but there was also a sprinkling of Muslim converts as well. A cogent reason for such progress was that the converts, when brought into the church, caught some of the evangelistic zeal of the missionaries, so that each convert became an unofficial evangelist among his own people. In several cases, the conversion of leading men in Asyut and other towns encouraged many others to follow their example. A deep respect for the Bible became a part of the Protestant program, which the Copts could not combat. Important among the factors which spelled success also, was the wisdom, tenacity, and complete commitment of the missionaries themselves. Not to be overlooked too, was the influence of the Protestant school upon the students, parents, and villages or towns from which the students came. The Annual Report of 1866 gives the following statistics:

Cairo Station, Boys' School -- 125 students
Girls' School -- 68 students
Assiut Station, Boys' School -- 70 students
Girls' School  -- 30 students

Alexandria Station, Boys' School -- 125 students
Girls' School -- 85 students

The report also noted the thirty-eight Muslim students in the Alexandria schools, and the fact that the first Muslim convert was received by baptism in that year. The Asyut College was an outgrowth of a school opened in 1865 with six boys and two girls. By 1870 the Mission had decided to institute a college for more advanced liberal training. Courses given the students the first session were ancient history, arithmetic, Arabic grammar and literature, physiology, geography, and English. Twenty pupils attended the first session. The following year a graduate of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was secured to aid in the instructions. Reverend W. W. Barr, in 1881, wrote that the college at Asyut could scarcely be overestimated in its importance. Men were graduating from the college as qualified teachers who were in great demand in many of the cities and villages. In The Annual Report of 1880, Reverend John Giffin stated that the students had been remarkably quiet and diligent during the past year:

We have not been troubled with a single one of the naughty, troublesome cases of discipline which so annoyed us in former years. This is the more remarkable when we consider the great number of large boys now in school in order to escape conscription in the Egyptian army. It has more than once happened in the history of the institution that one-third or more of
the students for some imaginary grievance would coolly get up in the night and run home. 24

In many of the towns and villages where no missionary was in residence, the churches assumed responsibility for the conduct of the day schools. As a rule, some prominent layman in the congregation undertook to supply the funds needed in excess of any tuitions gathered for the running expense of the school. At a village, about thirty-five miles north of Asyut a Mr. Mikhail Faltus not only established a school for boys and another for girls, but for a time conducted an orphanage. 25

In 1888 the Annual Report stated that in spite of the distress in the country, evangelical schools under native control had been carried on throughout the whole year to the number of sixty-eight. When the burden of a day-school was assumed by one rich member of the Protestant Church, he paid his teacher the first month's salary in cash, doing an unprecedented thing, since teachers in native schools had not hitherto received a regular salary, still less in cash. Soon there were eighty-five other Protestant schools paying cash salaries, and many Coptic schools imitated this method. 26

Between 1875 and 1880 there was a concerted effort by the Coptic hierarchy, with the aid and connivance of high government authorities to root out, once for all, Protestantism in the Nile valley. Though open opposition and persecution on
the part of the Egyptian government ceased sometime before, yet it was well known, not only to government officials, but to Muslims in general, and to the Copts and Catholics also, that the Khedive was greatly pleased at any lawful means being used to prevent the spread of Protestant principles in his dominion. The local government officials, with their natural Muslim antipathy to an active Christianity, and urged on, too, by the Coptic scribes in the various departments of public service, were very slow in according to native Protestants the same personal status rights they would have enjoyed if they had remained in the Coptic Church. In nothing was the secret opposition of the government carried out more continually and determinedly than in the matter of petitions from the native Protestants to the government for permission to build places of worship. In 1871-72, the congregation of Mutia', in the Asyut district, presented a petition to the Khedive for license to build a church. Up to the end of 1876 they were still worshipping in a private house. Finally, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of the British consul-general at Cairo, the governor of Asyut compelled the sheikhs of Mutia' to allow Protestants to build. Acts of violence were perpetrated in the Faiyum and in Mansurah, and the priests made an effort to break up the schools.

A few years earlier the Coptic Patriarch had left Cairo
in a government steamer ostensibly to visit his people in upper Egypt, but really, to crush Protestant heresy. He intimated to all, that those who became Protestants incurred the ill will of the Viceroy, who might take the men and children for levies to build a railroad, or to the galleys, or army. This was a constant fear of Egyptian parents, so three-fourths of the boys in the Protestant schools at Asyut went to the Coptic school. Messengers were sent to the different villages to which the students belonged, and their parents were summoned to appear in Asyut before His Outraged Holiness. Some of the parents of the boys belonging to the village of Muti'a had the courage to say that their boys were taught not only to read but to understand the Bible, whereas in the Coptic school they merely repeated their lessons in parrot fashion, without getting any benefit. The Patriarch's attack against the Protestant Church at Qus resulted in the almost successful attempt to banish the leading member of the congregation to the Sudan. When Protestant medical work opened in Asyut, the anathema of the Coptic bishop in Asyut was pronounced against any Copt who should visit or receive medicine from the Protestant doctor. At first this had an effect, but it was of short duration, for before the year's end, Dr. Johnson was called to visit the Coptic bishop's sister at his own home. In the long run the work was helped by such persecution. The
colporteurs everywhere found intensified opposition on the part of many, but others were not wanting who eagerly seized the opportunity of securing a copy of the Scriptures in order to quietly read them in their own home. The persecutors were led to search for arguments in the Bible against the Protestants because they believed their leaders were right, and especially since the Patriarch himself should have had good reasons for calling the American missionaries heretics, and waging a war against them.\textsuperscript{30} This study of the Bible delighted the Protestants, for the people were eventually led to see the errors in the teachings of the Coptic Church.

The impact of Protestantism brought about changes in the customs of the people. The Protestant Church definitely took a stand against slavery. In 1871, one of the applicants for membership in the church was the owner of a slave. Slave-owning had not been held as inconsistent with membership in the Coptic community. After a lengthy discussion on the subject, Mr. Hannallah, the applicant, promised to free his slave and to educate him as his son. The diary of Miss Anna Y. Thompson states that twelve freed slave girls were sent to the girls' boarding school in Cairo in 1887 by Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer).\textsuperscript{31} Several times in Asyut, a center of contraband trade in slaves, the missionaries were able to help. One time a number of corrupt officials were implicated, being deprived
of their positions. Thus in addition to ecclesiastical opposition, the Protestants had these people for enemies too.

Other changes took place. In Asyut, for over a thousand years the market day had been on Sunday. Only on this day could traders in cattle, sheep, camels, grain, farm produce, and manufactured articles of all kinds find opportunity to buy and sell. Thousands of people from the villages around, visited Asyut on that day for trade, and the people of Asyut bought their weekly provisions. No man could make a living without exposing for sale the articles of his trade on the Sabbath. With the progress of Protestantism, it became a necessity that the market day be changed, but this seemed an impossibility. The Muslims had no interest in changing it, and the Copts preferred to let it remain as it had been. The Protestants got up a petition however, and many Copts were shamed into signing it, because if they did not, they might be said to deny the Christian religion. The officials were visited and their good will secured. The governor gave his consent, and public criers were sent through all the other markets of the district to notify the change in the Asyut market from Sunday to Saturday. The idea of the common people for a time was not that the market, but that the day had been changed, and some of them were heard exclaiming, "What will these Protestants do next? They have actually changed Saturday into Sunday!"
The enthusiasm of the native Protestants was sometimes difficult to resist once they felt a change was needed in some local situation. In Asyut one evening in March, 1869, Protestants read for the first time the story of Gideon, the throwing down of the altars of Baal, and the cutting down of the grove. This brought up the subject of pictures in the Coptic Church. One night a few Protestants stole into the Coptic church, took the pictures, and destroyed them. The Coptic hierarchy was jubilant, as they now had some actual crime to pin on this group. The bishop surrounded by the whole Coptic community marched to the office of the local governor. Several of the Protestants were thrown into prison. The chief Muslims, who at heart approved of the destruction of the pictures, used some effort to effect a conciliation, as did the resident missionary. The governor, in writing Cairo about the matter, gave a simple account of the events—that the Protestants had gone into the Coptic church and destroyed some of the pictures, and that the reason for their doing so was that the Bible forbade their use. He pointed out that the persons who had done so were not persons of bad character, but respected in the town. Soon a telegram was received from the viceroy ordering the release of the prisoners. The guilty then asked the pardon of the Copts for what they had done and the Copts reluctantly gave the hand of reconciliation.33
A summary of the statistics for 1875 and 1880 indicate how the Protestant work was growing:

- missionaries on the field 21
- native helpers 149
- churches 12
- pastors 5
- church members 1036
- schools 24
- volumes of scripture sold 7337
- Bible women and teachers 13
- women learning to read 340
- book depots 5
- books sold 10,176
- income from book sales $2,541
- church contributions $3,106
- Protestant students in the schools 577
- Coptic students 1,635
- Muslim students 566
- other students 292 34

The American missionaries continued their indefatigable work among the common people, gaining their love and respect. Mrs. Lansing in 1881 and 1882 in her letters wrote of traveling with her husband by rail and donkey to visit villages and towns:

I then had an opportunity of visiting the women, and was everywhere cordially welcomed to their open courts, as they mostly live outside and among their domestic animals, and taking an humble seat in the midst of the little groups of women and children that gathered at my feet, had simple readings and much earnest talk. They were so ignorant of the gospel message, some remarked, 'We are indeed like animals,' and others by way of apology, 'From whom should we learn, we have had no one to teach us.' 35

When the missionary at Asyut died in 1886, he was so well loved that the whole city, Copts, Muslims, and Protestants,
came to pay him final honor. At the time of his funeral a
street fight occurred among some of the Muslims over the cru-
cial question of whether the missionary, as an unbeliever,
would ever go to heaven. 36 The work of the Americans was large-
ly among Copts because they were responsive to the Protestant
message. The Muslims were not neglected however, nor were
other groups. The Cairo station, in 1870, reported that preach-
ing had been regularly kept up in Turkish, Arabic, and English.
By 1880 some seventy-five Muslims had been baptized, most of
them from the lower strata of society. 37 In the autumn of
1875 a young man, Ahmad Fahmi, had been employed to teach Arabic
to the new missionaries in Cairo. Finally becoming convinced
of the truth of Christianity, he requested the opportunity of
making public the confession of his faith. November, 1877,
following his baptism, he found it impossible to remain any
longer in his father's house. The Muslim Community had sought
to persuade him to recant. Even the famous scholar and reformer,
Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani was brought to argue with him. 38 The
tranquillity of the work was somewhat interrupted by the rise
of popularity of Arabi Pasha, and animosity against the for-
eigners in Egypt. The work at Alexandria was the only mission
center where complete interruption of the work took place.
There, the missionaries fled aboard boats in the harbor after
a great massacre of Europeans had taken place. 39
The Annual Report of 1900 noted that one of the native pastors had baptized seven Muslims during the past few years, and another, five. It observed that in one city there were two Bible women who especially worked among Muslims, one alone taught sixty-seven Muslim women. The clinics and hospitals also attracted many Muslims. By the turn of the century the missionaries were also happy to relate that their relationship with the Coptic Church had improved in many instances. The Coptic Church had been stirred up to imitate the Protestants in order to hold its members. The clergy had been compelled to encourage a greater use of the Arabic language rather than the liturgical Church language, and to keep silent on the duty of worshipping pictures. In some places the pictures had actually been removed from the church proper to some private room. The clergy had been compelled to establish schools and use the Bible as a text book, to organize religious and literary societies, and to gather the people together on weekday evenings for prayer and conference, as the Protestants did. The clergy were often more friendly. Mr. W. H. Reed wrote in 1910 that a most striking example of welcome had been received from the Coptic leaders in the Asyut province. The Reeds had arrived at sunset in a village after several strenuous days of travel, and desired to rest. Some of the Protestants, however, were so desirous of a meeting, that they could not be refused.
The Coptic priest came and cordially welcomed them to hold the meeting at the Coptic Church since it was larger than the Protestant one. It was found that all the education the priest had, was obtained in the little Protestant village school. Mr. Reed observed that the priest did not believe in the worship of saints, nor in the intercession of the Virgin. "In one town, after holding a meeting in our own church in the evening, the Copts invited us to hold a meeting in their church the next morning," continued Mr. Reed. "Texts were distributed, the news spread abroad, the bell rung, and 250 or more collected in the church at ten A.M., in the middle of the week to hear the truth."\[1\]

Returning to an earlier period, in 1881 the United Presbyterian Church appointed a group of Commissioners to visit their mission work in Egypt and other places, and to report on their condition. In their report under "Special Trials and Difficulties" they observed as problems for the Egyptian Mission:

1. The missionaries are isolated.
2. They are separated from good society.
3. Families are divided during the hot season.
4. Parents are separated from their children when the latter are sent to America for education.
5. The climate is trying.
6. Acquisition of the language is difficult.
7. There is a definite lack of religious literature as an aid to successful work.
8. There is a great difficulty in the way of converts through persecutions.
9. The mental and moral conditions of the people are poor.
10. Difficulties exist in stimulating professors to a higher state of religious life.

11. Missionaries and helpers are few in comparison with the work to be done.\textsuperscript{43}

The problems of a national ministry which faced the Syrian work was present. W. W. Barr in 1881, wrote from Egypt that it was a fact that no native minister had yet been raised up who was acceptable to the native people as were the foreign missionaries. Accordingly, in the various churches where the people had become accustomed to the ministration of the missionaries, it was difficult to induce the people there to accept a local minister as their pastor.\textsuperscript{44} The American missionaries seldom complained, at least in their letters or reports, about their hardships, but their term of service was lengthy and salary small, particularly in comparison to what they would have made in America. In 1902 the \textit{Forty-Third Report} of the Foreign Board stated the terms of service for a missionary:

Any new missionary could return to American on furlough after a term of seven years, with the consent of the Mission and the Board; subsequent terms were for ten years. Married couples received a yearly salary of $1,400 dollars and single men and women, $500 and $550 dollars respectively.\textsuperscript{45}

In spite of problems however, by 1900 the Protestant Church was well established. In addition to many self-supporting congregations, there was a wide network of primary schools in
the villages and four schools of higher education in Cairo, Luxor, and Asyut. Also a small theological seminary was active in preparing clergy for the native church. The fruit of half a century was beginning to show. While only twelve and one-half percent of the men and one percent of the women in all of Egypt were literate in 1900, within the Protestant Church, fifty-two percent of the men and twenty percent of the women could read and write.  

A native pastor in 1900, in the village of Sinnoris, reported that out of the three hundred and thirty-five Protestants there who could read and write, one hundred and twenty-seven were women and girls. The American College for Girls was opened in Cairo by the Mission in 1909, with twenty-nine pupils. An institution of higher learning for women had long been the dream of the Mission. On the day of dedication, the ex-president of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt spoke. John D. Rockefeller had made possible the initiation of the school by a gift of $18,000 dollars in 1907. He had similarly aided the Asyut College by a gift of $55,000 dollars. In 1910 the number of common schools were one hundred and eighty-one, and were distributed all along the Nile Valley, from the Sea to the Sudan. The schools, except where the missionaries lived, were almost entirely supported and managed by the Egyptian Protestant Church.

The 1910 statistics reveal the United Presbyterian work
in many respects at its zenith, in the 1854-1920 period:

Total foreign workers 120
Total native workers 661
Organized churches 70 (not necessarily independent
of Mission help financially)
Other places of regular meeting 192
Self-supporting churches 22 (completely independent
of the Mission)
Total membership 10,717
Received into membership in 1909 677
Village schools 150
Boarding and High Schools 29
Students in village schools 11,031
Native contributions for church work $50,155.00
Medical missionaries 6
Medical centers: Tanta, Benha, Luxor, Faiyum, Asyut
Medical Operations 1,359 (1906 figures)
People treated 30,688
Harem workers 50 (1900 figures)
Volumes of Scriptures sold 40,000, approximately
Bookshops 12
Colporteurs 31
Total Christian Protestant Community 40,000, approxi-
mately.49

The Protestant Church in changing times. World War I
and its aftermath, was soon to affect the tenor of the Protestant
work. However, two events occurred just prior to the out-
break of the War which were significant to the Protestant work.
In 1912 Dr. Samuel Zwemer, one of the founders of the Arabian
Mission, came to Cairo to live. He had been the motivating
power in bringing the Cairo Conference for Workers Among Muslims
into being in 1906, and in Lucknow in 1911. At Lucknow repeated
emphasis was given to the need for making Cairo a strategic
center for the Christian approach to Muslims. Cairo, with the
great Azhar University and the Arabic presses, was seen as the
intellectual center of Islam. In pursuance of this policy Zwemer proposed to move his base of operation to Cairo. While retaining his affiliations with the Reformed Church in America, to which the Mission in Arabia belonged, he was invited to share in Egypt in the work of the United Presbyterian Mission, giving special attention to the training of the leaders of the Protestant Church in its approach to Islam. The general work assigned to Zwemer was teaching in the Theological Seminary of the American Mission or lecturing on problems relating to Islam. He was to conduct special missionary work for Muslims in Cairo, and co-operate in literary work connected with the Nile Mission Press.50 Zwemer was soon able to report that his tracts and literature was being used widely in the Muslim world. His seminary class had thirty students. He wrote that it was a rare privilege to read Al-Ghazzali with these graduates from Assiut College as they prepared themselves for the ministry, which would also include attempts to convert the Muslims.51

Another event was the founding of a Christian University in Cairo. In 1872 the Mission recommended that an academic institution similar to the one in Asyut be established in Cairo. Twenty-five years passed before further effort was made to start a college. In 1897 the Foreign Mission Board was urged to establish a college similar to that of Robert College in
Constantinople. It was to be founded on broad foundations of evangelical Christianity, and its rules, regulations, and instructions were to be in conformity therewith. Pupils of all religions were to enjoy equally all privileges and facilities for acquiring a liberal education. The initial cost of such a project was estimated to be about a million dollars. The Mission suggested that a board of trustees, four or five in number, should be responsible in America, while a board of managers composed of Americans and Britons in Egypt would serve under the president of the institution (a plan similar to that of the Syrian Protestant College). Again, in 1909, the Mission revived the committee concerning the college in Cairo, and pointed out the need for a Christian University in Cairo, with college, graduate, and professional schools. The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church approved the recommendation in 1913, with the provision that it must be carefully related to the extensive educational work of the Mission. 1914 and 1915 were spent in attempting to secure land for the Cairo Christian University and the Board of Trustees held its first meeting in New York in 1914.52 The World War, however, hindered the endeavor, and it was only after 1920 that the plans evolved into reality.

When the Allies declared war against Turkey in November of 1915, the British terminated the nominal suzerainty of Turkey
over Egypt and announced that Egypt would henceforth be a British protectorate. The Khedive was deposed and his uncle was recognized as Sultan of Egypt. The influx of thousands of soldiers from Australia, New Zealand, and other areas in 1915 found few welfare organizations prepared to provide social services. However, as far back as 1885, British soldiers had visited the missionaries and had been welcomed into their homes. The missionaries gladly stepped into the gap and gave assistance by conducting religious services, Bible study and opening their homes to the soldiers. The Y.M.C.A. work profited from their presence. At Sidi Bishr the missionaries manned a huge rest camp hut, and in Asyut they maintained a canteen. There also, during the summer of 1916, a residence and dormitories at the college afforded shelter for the troops stationed in that city. In Cairo and Faiyum soldiers attended services conducted by the missionaries, and in the spring and summer of 1918 they aided the Armenian refugees at their camp in Port Said. Dr. Zwegner also collected money and helped to give a Christmas treat to the German-Austrian prisoners of war. Mrs. R. S. McClanahan at Asyut wrote that other patriotic activities also were not lacking. "We have followed the popular custom and planted a large part of the college grounds in potatoes and various vegetables this fall."53 This helped to keep shipping available for other purposes by not having to import
foodstuff to Egypt.

The Mission maintained its work during the War as it was able under the circumstances. Dr. S. M. Zwemer often visited the Azhar University. He was able to place in its library a large Arabic reference Bible, together with a complete commentary, a concordance and Bible dictionary. The Librarian of the University and his assistant were reading the Bible, and Zwemer wrote that one of the book-sellers in the Azhar quarter had recently taken copies of the Bible and New Testament for sale to Muslims who did not visit Christian shops. After some seventeen years in Cairo and visiting the various mission fields where Protestants worked with Muslims, Zwemer accepted the chair of The History of Religion and Christian Missions at Princeton University. 54 Witness in Cairo bore fruit, and by 1919 the Cairo Mission reported three self-supporting congregations in spite of Muslim-Christian tensions, which had resident pastors, and twelve other centers with regular preaching services. 55

The Egyptians had been impressed by the victory of General Allenby's army over the Turks. "Never before has the Moslem world been so shaken by events of such vast and wide significance," Zwemer wrote. 56 Yet these changing conditions did not seem to ease the Christian-Muslim tension, but rather augmented it. In Cairo, particularly, there was a notable
decrease in the attendance of Muslims at the services. The deportation to Malta in March, 1919, of a number of Egyptian politicians set off riots which greatly interrupted the work of the Mission. The community at Asyut suffered frightening experiences as they watched mobs burning and pillaging Christian stores. 200,000 Bedouins had been stirred up and only the arrival of British airplanes brought relief. The missionaries were guests of Egypt and as such, did not participate in political affairs. But the work was not conducted in a vacuum, and the ebb and flow of events were to have an increasing effect on the Protestant work. Conditions quite different from the 1854-1914 period were developing. Desire for social change, nationalism, and other issues were henceforth particularly to influence the American Protestants in Egypt.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Earl E. Elder, Vindicating a Vision (Philadelphia: The United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1958), p. 21. Concerning the tranquility of the work and the aid of the British, it is interesting to note that the forty-fourth General Assembly of the United Presbyterians recommended: "That the thanks of the Assembly be given, as suggested by the Board, to Lord Cromer...for the encouragement and assistance rendered to our work in the foreign field." (Minutes of the General Assembly, 1902, p. 606.)


8. Bishop Gobat, as quoted in Elder, op. cit., p. 25.


15 Ibid., p. 100.

16 Ibid., p. 116. The Copts, inhabiting upper Egypt, were more docile and less educated than the Maronites of Lebanon, and consequently the Protestant work was much more successful among them.

17 Ibid., pp. 140-41.

18 Subsequent to the formation of the Mission to Egypt in 1853, the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church united with another Presbyterian body, forming the United Presbyterian Church. Therefore, all future references will be to the United Presbyterian Church.

19 Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, 1865 (Philadelphia: Christian Instructor Office, 1865).


21 Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson, Printer, 1866). Simon Wolf, the American Consul-General in Egypt, in 1862 visited some of the mission schools in upper Egypt. He saw "bright and intelligent Arab scholars at flourishing mission schools, examined students in various branches. ... also found them apt in moral philosophy." David and Esther Panitz, "Simon Wolf as United States Consul to Egypt," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, Vol. XLVII, No. 2, December, 1957, pp. 76 ff. They quote him as saying: "Too high praise cannot be given to the faithful men and women of our country, who exiling themselves from home and kindred, do their duty so fearlessly and faithfully here amid sands and burning sun." He concluded by suggesting that we war in the East, not with guns, but with "school books, bibles, and constitutions." Wolf showed a great interest in the work and needs of the American missionaries. When they asked for protection from Moslem interference, he acceded to their request by appointing a Vice-Consul at Qena to assist the mission schools. Panitz, op. cit., p. 97. It is all the more interesting that Wolf wrote in his Reminiscences that when the American missionaries residing in Egypt were informed that a citizen of Jewish faith had been appointed Consul-General, they were much alarmed and tried to prevent his confirmation. Long after, he learned that in their annual report to their Church Convention in Philadelphia, they made use
of the following words: "Our Consul-General, the Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, has done more for the mission and betterment and uplifting of our cause than all the Christian consuls-general who have ever been here." Simon Wolf, Some of the Personal Reminiscences at Home and Abroad of Simon Wolf (Washington: No publisher listed, 1914), p. 16.

22 Watson, op. cit., pp. 450 ff.


24 Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1880.


27 Watson, op. cit., pp. 328 ff. A detailed account of the tour of the Coptic Patriarch Demetrius and his campaign against the missionaries is found in Elder, op. cit., Chapter 5.

28 Ibid., pp. 199 ff.

29 Annual Report of the Board, 1868. This town lies some 160 miles to the south of Asyut.

30 Watson, op. cit., p. 235.

31 The diary of Miss Anna Y. Thompson, as quoted by Elder, op. cit., pp. 81-2. This seems to indicate the approval and support of the British authorities in Egypt, and if not, certainly more than a passive interest.


33 Ibid., pp. 269-71. The portion of the Bible studied was the sixth chapter of Judges which told of Gideon's throwing down of the altars of Baal. In the discussion that followed a comparison was made between the pictures venerated in the Coptic churches and the altars of Baal. Elder op. cit., p. 59

34 Annual Report of the Board, 1875, 1880.
35 Letters of Mrs. G. Lansing, January 26, 1881, and June 22, 1882, in The Christian Instructor, Vol. XXXV and XXXVI.

36 Jamison, op. cit., p. 85.

37 Annual Report of the Board, 1870, and 1880. It is not clearly stated whether these Muslim converts to Christianity were openly or secretly baptized.

38 Elder, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

39 Carl Brockelmann, History of the Islamic People, pp. 379-80. Arabi had been appointed minister of war in February of 1882. A conspiracy of Turkish officers against him led to a conflict with the Kedive. Since Britain considered the security of the Europeans in Egypt endangered, it arranged for a demonstration of the fleet before Alexandria. This heightened the tension in Egypt, and on June 11, 1882 a savage outbreak of xenophobia took place in Alexandria. Arabi was later defeated at Tell al-Kabir. The Christian Instructor, XXXVI, 7-20-82.

40 Annual Report of the Board, 1900.

41 Letter of Mr. W. H. Reed, The Handbook on Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, 1910 (N. P.). Cromer wrote, concerning the renaissance which was occurring among the Copts that as the British occupation was prolonged, the benefits derived from the British administration of Egypt were gradually more and more recognized by the Copts. They began to understand that they had to rely mainly on their own efforts. "Before leaving this branch of the subject, it should be mentioned that for many years past a large number of Copts have been educated in the excellent schools established throughout Egypt by American missionaries. Many of the younger generation speak English and show a tendency to develop moral and intellectual qualities greatly superior to those of their fathers." Earl of Cromer, Modern Egypt (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1908), II 210-11. This revival, mainly among the laity, has been obstructed to an extent by the attitude of the Patriarchate, the upper clergy and the monasteries. A. H. Hourani, Minorities in the Arab World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 47. Certainly the Islamic modernist movement in Egypt, due largely to Jamal-ad-Din and his disciple, Mohammed Abdurahman, had some influence upon modernizing Coptic thought. Jamal-ad-Din came to Cairo before the Arabi revolt. Abdurahman, in 1899, was promoted

42 Loc. cit. (Mr. Reed's letter).

43 Report of Commissioners Appointed by the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America to Visit the Missions in India and Egypt (Philadelphia: Edward Patteson, Printer, 1881), p. 67.


45 Annual Report of the Board, 1902. It must be noted that salaries for foreign missionaries have always been notably lower than the salary given for equivalent work in America. A couple in America would have made at least a third to one-half more than their counterpart in the Middle East.

46 Jamison, op. cit., p. 85.


48 Elder, op. cit., p. 125. It is interesting to note that by 1910, of the 215 graduates of the Asyut College since 1875, 101 entered the Christian ministry, 62 were teachers, 17 merchants, 23 studied medicine, 27 government officials, 8 agriculturalists, 4 in banking and business corporations, 2 civil engineers and 1 lawyer. The graduates were but a fraction of those educated in the College as so many started without the intention of ever finishing. (1910 Handbook, op. cit.).

49 Annual Report of the Board, 1910. Secluded Muslim women lived in the harem, and they usually could only be reached by other women, in this case, Protestant Christians.

50 Minutes of the Egyptian Mission of the United Presbyterian Church, May 4, 1912.

51 J. Christy Wilson, Apostle to Islam (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1952), p. 85. It is interesting to note some of the publications of Dr. Zwemer:

Arabia: The Cradle of Islam, 1912
The Moslem Doctrine of God, 1924
The Moslem World, 1908
Childhood in the Moslem World, 1915
A Moslem Seeker After God: Life of Al-Ghazali, 1921
The Moslem World, quarterly, Zwemer was editor.

52 Elder, op. cit., pp. 157 ff.

53 Letter from Mrs. R. S. McClanahan, The United Presbyterians, February 14, 1918.

54 Wilson, op. cit., p. 85 ff.

55 The Handbook on Foreign Missions, 1919.

56 The United Presbyterian, December 12, 1918.

57 Elder, op. cit., p. 151.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE ARABIAN MISSION

The last major American Protestant work opened among the Arab people in the period of 1820-1920, was in Arabia by the Reformed Church of America. A well known English missionary, Henry Martyn had visited Muscat in 1811, and there did some work on an Arabic translation of the New Testament. Most of his work had been in India and Persia, but his enthusiasm aroused an interest in England for the evangelization of the Arabian people. It was not however, until the 1860's that much began to be done in the way of Protestant work. Ion Keith-Falconer, the son of the Earl and Countess of Kintore, born in Edinburgh and a graduate of Cambridge, became interested in the Muslims. When he learned of the death of General Gordon at Khartoum, he received a great impulse to give his life for Christianizing the Muslims. Keith-Falconer settled at Aden in 1885 and began missionary work there and at a nearby village, Sheikh Othman. He soon realized that medical missions would be a valuable asset in reaching the fanatical Muslims and appealed for doctors and medical helpers. His health later failed and Keith-Falconer died two years after his arrival, being buried in Aden. His life, background, concern for Muslims, and death
stimulated much interest in Arabia both in England and America. In 1886 the British and Foreign Bible Society opened a Bible depository in Aden and colporteurs of this Society visited the Arabian Red Sea ports, and penetrated to San'a, the capital of Yemen. The work of these early Protestant missionarities demonstrated that their efforts would be far less rewarding than those in Syria and Egypt. Here, there was no Christian community with which to commence work. The climate and health problems were more acute for the European. Nevertheless, Arabia was not to be overlooked by American Protestantism as a field of endeavor.

Establishing American Protestantism in Arabia. In 1888 and 1889 three students at the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, located at New Brunswick, N. J. became concerned about the needs of Arabia. These young men, James Cantine, Samuel M. Zwemer, and Philip T. Phelps met together, talked, and prayed about a "Spiritual Crusade" against Islam in Arabia, its innermost citadel. Their desires were encouraged by John G. Lansing, Professor of Old Testament Language and Exegesis at the Seminary. He was the son of a missionary, born in Damascus and reared in Egypt, and therefore acquainted with some of the problems and needs of Muslim work. This group drew up and submitted a proposal to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church of America that these three young men
might be sent out as missionaries to "some Arabic speaking coun-
try—Arabia, the upper Nile or any other field that shall be
deed most advantageous." The Board of their denomination was
sorely hampered by a debt of $35,000 dollars and could not see
its way clear to undertake a fresh enterprise. Consequently,
Zwemer and Cantine, with Dr. Lansing, drew up a plan for pri-
ivate support and named the venture the Arabian Mission. A few
years later however, in 1894 the Board assumed the support of
the Mission.

The three young men felt that a certain amount of time
should be given to the study of conditions and selection of
proper sites for future operations. Therefore, James Cantine
sailed for Syria on October 1, 1889 and was received in Beirut
by Dr. H. H. Jessup of the American Presbyterians. Cantine con-
tinued with the Syrian Mission that winter, studying the lan-
guage and familiarizing himself with the habits and customs of
the people. In July of 1890 Zwemer joined Cantine at Beirut.
Their first thought was to join forces with the Scotch Free
Church at Aden (organized by Ion Keith-Falconer), and thus
later made their headquarters temporarily at Aden, when they
left Syria. The experience of observing a well established
Protestant Mission, as the Syrian Mission, was of great signi-
ficance to Cantine and Zwemer. Cantine wrote:

Being given the privilege of attending some of
the stated meetings of the Syrian Mission, I learned much of the organization and activities of a successful work. I have seen more than one enterprise... wrecked upon the rocks of initial difficulties, seemingly because of the lack of the wisdom which comes from contact with men of ripe experience. I never have been able fully to estimate what the Arabian Mission owes to the Syrian Mission of the Presbyterian Church.  

In a letter of June 3, 1890 from Beirut, Cantine wrote that they were still perplexed as to the permanent location of the Mission. However, Arabia continued to beckon to them so they moved to Aden for a short time. Sheikh Othman, adjacent to Aden, was a small village. Aden itself was a military station with a preponderant Somali element, and the hinterland was under strict military supervision. Cantine and Zwemer thus felt that Aden did not have sufficient need for their work in addition to that of the Scotch Free Church. They decided to explore towns along the coast line of Arabia, with Zwemer visiting the southern coasts and Yemen, and Cantine visiting Muscat, and the Persian Gulf area. Finally, after much deliberation and prayer it was decided that Basrah, a city of some 60,000 inhabitants situated on the Shatt-al-Arab, and accessible to all northern Arabia, was the best location for the first permanent station. Cantine and Zwemer settled there in August, 1891. An Arabic Bible class was immediately started and continued every Sunday morning. English services were held on the various steamers which called at Basrah. Meanwhile, Zwemer left Basrah on another exploratory trip concerning future mission stations. At
Bushire Zwemer met a Mr. Hodgson, the Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society's work in the Persian Gulf. Zwemer made arrangements to represent the Society while extending the Arabian Mission's sphere of work from the Shatt-el-Arab to and including Bahrein. Zwemer remained on the island of Bahrein for approximately a month, visiting and making contacts. Two months later he established a Bible Depot there which met with gratifying success from the start.

British influence in this period was very great in the Persian Gulf. Until early in the nineteenth century the waters of the Persian Gulf had been infested by pirates. It was due to British sea power, based on India, that travel had become safe. The Arabian Mission was aided repeatedly by British officials and their influence among the Sheikhdoms of Arabia. The missionaries had nothing but varied kindnesses to remember from these officials. He noted that it was true that at the request of Washington the British had been asked to use their good offices for the Americans in places where there were no United States consuls, but they often went far beyond this. He continued:

One time, while calling upon the British Resident at Bushire, I was told that a delegation of Arabs from Bahrain had recently come and asked what he would do if they should expel the American missionaries from the island. His reply as he told it, was: 'I have no authority to bring the forces of the British Empire to the aid of American citizens; but I should call your attention to the fact that the ties between the two countries are very close....' Needless to
say, no further action was taken by the Arabs. 7

The tours in Mesopotamia, up the Tigris and Euphrates rivers had serious interference from time to time from the Turkish authorities. Colporteurs often were forced to leave towns and their books confiscated. Wherever the British Government had a measure of control or respect, however, the persons and property of the missionaries and their helpers were more secure.

In a letter, Zwemer had written from Aden in 1891 that Muscat was a likely place to open work. 8 By 1893 the first steps were taken toward establishing a third station, after Basrah and Bahrein, at Muscat. Physically speaking, Muscat was one of the least attractive places on the East Arabian coast, the land being rocky, sterile, and the climate oppressive, but the British and Foreign Bible Society had a center there for Bible distribution. Freedom was granted to Europeans because of the Sultan’s relations with Britain. The missionaries were also aware that the villages along the coast of Oman were accessible from a Muscat Mission station. Peter J. Zwemer, the younger brother of S. M. Zwemer came from America and worked at Muscat. In 1896 two slave-dhows were captured by the British Navy under an agreement with the Turkish government to break up the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. Slaves thus liberated, while under the age of eighteen, were under the protection and virtually the wards of the English Government,
which was not adverse to giving them over to any suitable party who would support and train them until they reached the age of eighteen. Peter Zwemer went to the Political Agent and requested these boys in order to train and support them. A school was opened in Muscat and more slave boys were added later. 9

The years of 1895 to 1910 were years of gradual growth. Tours were made as frequently as possible along the east coast and as far into the interior as was permitted. In Mesopotamia sub-stations of the Mission were opened in Amara on the Tigris and Nasiriya on the Euphrates. S. M. Zwemer married in 1896 and established his new home in Basrah. Mrs. Zwemer was a trained nurse, and Zwemer reported 10 that their small, three-room, leaky, house, without screens and in the midst of the town, became a center of hospitality for Arab women and children. Mrs. Zwemer cared for their physical ailments, and also opened the first day school for girls in Basrah. She often made tours with Dr. Zwemer in an open sailboat along the coasts and to the islands off Arabia.

In this period also another station was opened. In 1899, after repeated requests for Britain’s protection, Kuwait’s ruler, Sheikh Mubarak had signed an agreement. In return for British protection against external foes, he promised his allegiance to the British in political and commercial
matters. He preferred this relationship to subjection to the Turkish Empire, already in power in Mesopotamia, just over the northern border of his territory, and disposed to consider Kuwait also a part of its domain. The missionaries had tried to visit Kuwait but had either been prevented from landing or sent back to the ship after going ashore. Sheikh Mubarak met one of the Mission's medical doctors while both were guests of the ruler of Muhammara, near the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab. Learning from his host of the doctor's skill, and perhaps influenced by his British alliance, he invited Dr. Bennett to come to Kuwait as his guest and to operate on his sister's cataract. The doctor was successful in this and numerous other operations during his stay, thereby winning the Sheikh's friendship. Before Bennett left Kuwait the Ruler sold him a piece of land at the western end of the town's shoreline, on the condition that a Mission Hospital be built on the spot and a doctor appointed to serve in his sheikdom.11

The early period of the Arabian Mission's history was a time of exploration and investigation. Extensive tours were made along the coast and the interior. It was found that European men and women could work and live in East Arabia provided suitable cautions were taken. Zwemer, in a letter, wrote about explorations, living conditions, and tours. "By native boat we reached Sharkeh on the Pirate-coast in four days calling at
several villages. Sharkeb is the chief of eight large villages on the North West coast of Oman and still a center of Wahabism." He noted that they were surprised at the very kindly way in which everyone received them. He treated some seventy patients with what knowledge of medicine he had, and the colporteur sold books. On donkeys they visited Debar and other villages, and then hired Bedouin guides for a trip across the northern part of Oman direct to Sohar on the East. By means of such itineration, Zwemer and the other missionaries were able to reach areas where the Christian message was completely or largely unknown, and to make contacts for the Mission which might prove helpful when these people visited coastal towns where a mission station was located, or when the missionary returned.

The medical work. The fact that in 1900, of the six male missionaries, three were qualified physicians, indicated the importance of medical work in reaching Muslims. Zwemer felt that all missionaries in Arabia were agreed that qualified practitioners and surgeons had passports which opened closed doors and won hearts no matter how obdurate they were. He noted however, that it should be said that most journeys into the interior of Arabia were made in the early years by the clergy, and that every one of the stations of the Mission was first visited or opened by non-medical workers: Muscat,
Matrah, Bahrein, Kuwait, Basrah, Amarah, and others. The early missionaries sometimes had a little training in the treatment of minor injuries or diseases, and they utilized this means of reaching people until qualified doctors came out from America to work with the Mission. In Bahrein, Zwemer wrote that every day he spent hours sitting in his little book shop and treating patients who came for relief. There was no dentist in Bahrein and the blacksmiths, sitting in their stalls, would drive small wooden wedges to loosen an ulcerated molar and then use pliers to extract it. He sent to Bombay for four dental forceps and a lancet. On one occasion he was called to a wealthy Arab’s home. The patient was his favorite wife, and lest a foreigner see her face, Zwemer had to extract the troublesome tooth through a hole in her veil. When Cantine and Zwemer were still in Aden searching for a permanent location of the work, they had already recognized the necessity of medical work in conjunction with evangelistic efforts. Cantine wrote from Aden in May, 1891 to the Treasurer of the Mission, "If you can spare the time some day let us know the prospects of getting a medical man. Zwemer is red-hot on the subject, but I know the difficulties and am not quite so sanguine as to the possibility of finding a suitable man or supporting him." In 1892 the first doctor, Dr. C. E. Riggs, arrived. He did not continue his work with the Mission very long, but during
that brief episode he demonstrated that by means of medicine the most fanatical natives could be brought into contact with the Gospel message. The first month, five hundred and fifty people received treatment. A new Wali, the civil and military governor, in Basrah enforced certain laws relating to medical practice which the previous Wali had overlooked. Dr. Riggs then was compelled to confine his services to Persian and English subjects. But this experience had confirmed that the future of the Protestant work lay partly in a medical approach. In 1894 Dr. James T. Wyckoff arrived at Basrah, Riggs having previously departed. At this time the medical regulations were uninforced by the Wali, and Wyckoff was able to operate a dispensary at Basrah and visited Bahrain. After six months his health failed resulting in his return to America. The Mission finally established medical work with a degree of continuity when Dr. H. R. L. Worrall came in 1895. Besides his dispensary work he made extensive tours visiting Amarah, Nasiriya, and other towns. Three years later Dr. and Mrs. Sharon J. Thoms arrived, making two medical men on the field for the first time. Dr. Worrall was now free to spend much time at Bahrain. Dr. Thoms ran into difficulty with Turkish laws concerning medical practice. Until shortly before his arrival, the Medical Board at Constantinople had allowed an interpreter during the medical examinations, but later insisted
that the examinations be taken in French or Turkish without an interpreter. Even though Dr. Thoms did not sit for these examinations, he was able to carry on his work at Basrah to some extent, and later he moved to Bahrein where he could practice freely. The Reformed Church report of 1901 mentioned that until the arrival of Dr. Thoms the medical work in Bahrein had been carried on without a qualified physician. The dispensary now became a large center of activity. Among his first major operations were those performed on pearl divers bitten by sharks.

By 1911 Dr. Zwemer had proposed the University of Michigan Scheme for Medical Work whereby the University aided in the work at Basrah, along lines similar to the undertakings of other large universities in the mission fields. Several medical workers were supplied through the program along with financial aid. The Student’s Christian Association of the University became responsible for the support of its representatives.

When medical work of the Mission in Kuwait began, opposition to it crystallized in the formation in 1913 of the Muslim Benevolent Society of Kuwait. Sermons were preached in all the mosques warning the people to keep away from the Christians. Ample funds were collected enabling a school and public dispensary to be opened. For a period the work of the Mission suffered, but in time the opposition was worn down. The
Muslim dispensary lasted three months and ultimately some of the instruments, including a very good microscope, were handed over to the resident Mission doctor, Dr. Mylrea. This same doctor was called out by Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud, the Amir of Nejd, to visit him at a camp some twenty miles from Kuwait. After professional services were attended to, the Amir entertained him in his private tent and assured Dr. Mylrea that he would invite him to come to Riyadh. In July, 1917 the Mission doctor at Bahrein, Dr. Harrison was able to do this. He stayed twenty days on his first visit and found plenty of work of all kinds, though the very religious people cursed him openly to his face, "Oh unbeliever. The curse of God be on the unbeliever! God kill the unbeliever! Dog!"

Medical assistance to women was somewhat slower in developing due to the social position of the women. However, when women doctors joined the Arabian Mission, it was not long before the wives, as well as their husbands began to realize the healing and relief these doctors could give. By 1913 in Muscat, the Women's Dispensary was built, consisting of a drug and treatment room, an operating room, a ward, and verandahs. The following year Dr. Sarah Hosmon arrived to initiate the work. At first, ten patients at the daily clinic was reckoned a good day. Later the work built up to seven and eight hundred patients a month. Confidence had taken the place of suspicion,
fear, and religious prejudice. Her service spread through trips to various villages. In a letter she wrote, "My next place was Hazam, a village twenty-five miles across the desert, located at the foot of the Rostak mountains. The air was delightful and I had fairly good clinics from all the villages around."22 After eight years of labor in cramped quarters she suddenly found herself able to expand and develop her hospital work. Some influential Arabs gave her a lot adjoining the dispensary which afforded the in-patients a secluded place in which to spend their afternoons. A grateful Hindu erected a high stone wall around the lot and repaired an old room which was donated. A Moslem provided new bathrooms and a nurses’ kitchen, and repaired a second old room. Another donated two hundred and fifty flag stones and cement for the drug room floor. The date packing Company sent a gift of money twice.23 Whatever the Muslims felt about the missionary’s Gospel, the medical work had helped to destroy some of the animosity toward mission work.

**Missionary life and activities in the Arabian Mission.**

The chief forms of work which marked the history of the Arabian Mission, outside of its medical approach, were the distribution of the Scriptures and Christian literature, similar to the emphasis of Protestantism in Egypt and Syria. As soon as the Basrah station opened, this type of work immediately began.
Two colporteurs, Salome Anton and Elias Gergis, were engaged to travel from place to place selling the Bible or other religious and educational books where permitted, and to help in the Bible shop at Basrah. Cantine and Zwemer also immediately let it be known what type of work they were in. They wrote:

Whatever may be wise or politic in other fields, we firmly believe it impossible to preach the Gospel to Moslems in Arabia in any other way than openly and without subterfuge or secrecy, whatever may be the result to ourselves.24

Often the Bible shops were boycotted, and yet they were faithfully opened day after day until resistance wore down and in time visitors began coming again. Finding faithful national co-workers was a problem. Their first helper was "Kamil Abdul Messiah", a young Syrian, and student at the American Boarding School for Boys, near Beirut, operated by the Presbyterians. After six months of Arabian mission work he died. "It was then, and has always been suspected that his sudden death was not wholly the result of natural illness," wrote a missionary. "The Moslems of Basrah promptly buried him with the rites of their religion and refused to allow Christian friends to have any examination to ascertain the cause of death."25

The work of touring was carried on by land and sea, employing mail steamers and native craft, and by land, donkeys,
pack horses and camels. In this way thousands of miles were traversed each year by colporteurs and missionaries. The bazaars provided unique opportunities to disseminate literature and information. Zwemer wrote in 1902 that Kuwait was the gateway to the Nejd, and that more Bedouins thronged its bazaars than in any other town on the Arabian coasts. "The nomads of Hassa and Northern Nejd bring horses, cattle, and sheep here to barter for dates, clothing, and firearms," he noted. "Our colporteurs went about freely selling Scriptures and in four days we disposed of over one hundred and sixty portions to eager purchasers." 26

The rulers and important people of most towns and villages visited by the missionary were very polite, whatever they thought of his activity. On tours they were the guests of the sheikhs or headmen of the villages. In the Muscat area when these Sheikhs visited the town occasionally to pay their respects to the Sultan, the hospitality was reciprocated by their staying in the Mission house, and it was also found convenient to have a small rented house available for them if their visit was to be a lengthy one. Zwemer stated, concerning the Sultan of Muscat, Seyyid Faisul, who was the ruler when Zwemer lived there, that he grew to be quite fond of him, but doubted if the opposite was true. Again and again he found it necessary to ask for some material favor—a bit of land adjoining the Mission
property, or permission to close an unused street and add it to the garden. The Sultan was once heard saying, after Zwemer had visited him, "I take refuge with God from a country that has missionaries in it!" Zwemer added, "This was an adaptation of an old saying, 'I take refuge with God from Satan the accursed!'" Yet the Sultan never refused to give Zwemer letters of introduction to his deputies inland whenever he wished to make a tour.

An example of the method used by the missionary in the bazaar is seen in the following monologue:

"Come and see. Here is an Arabic Gospel, a portion of the whole Injil of Isa the prophet---only one anna. Have you read it? The Koran says it is 'light and guidance.' Or do you want to read the wonderful Psalms of Nebi Daood in this pretty green binding for three annas? Here is the whole Tora in Persian for one rupee or a gilt-edged New Testament almost 'Bilash' at two krans. You don't care to read the Holy Book because it has been corrupted, you say? How do you know if you have not read it? Does the Caravan call the water bitter before they reach the well? Don't go away; we sell other books besides the Scriptures."

The living quarters of the early missionaries were not always the best, but they were near the people. Zwemer described his room in Bahrain, when he lived there, as being above the pearl market. It had sixteen small windows without panes, a rather leaky roof, and it was so close to a small mosque that the muezzin and he exchanged greetings in the morning. Two curtains divided the room into three. One was a bedroom and
study, one, a dining room and kitchen, and the third, nearest
the staircase was the dispensary. He remarked that as he
looked back over his earlier experiences, he remembered with
pleasure his evenings when the bazaar was deserted, his door
locked and with biscuits and tea he read Gibbon's Decline and
Fall and tried to forget the vexations of the Arabs.29 After
Zwemer married, he recorded an average day for his family in
Bahrein in the year 1899. They arose at six A.M. and while
his wife dressed the children, he read the Bible to her. He
was interrupted by a Hindu merchant who came to purchase a map
of Bahrein and an atlas. After breakfast, the household in-
cluding the colporteurs, met for prayer. By this time a dozen
or more patients were waiting on his wife, who was a trained
nurse. The colporteurs were sent with books to the weekly
bazaar at Suk-el-Khamis. Zwemer visited the Mission building,
in the process of erection outside the village, and then paid
a call upon Sheikh Jasim, the judge of the island. After lunch
the wife distributed baby garments and visited the poor. Zwe-
mer had his daily Arabic lesson, and taught the colporteurs
from the Bible. Evening tea was prepared and the children put
to bed. After this they visited the home of a leading Hindu
merchant and gave a lantern talk, then returned home to sleep.30

Problems of plagues, wars, and Coptic-Maronite perse-
cution did not affect the Arabian Mission, but there were other
problems. Discouragement over the lack of converts was an ever present matter. Another, was the hostile attitude of most Muslims to the missionary or even to Europeans in general. Mrs. Calverley, M.D., of the Arabian Mission tells of street urchins collecting behind her as she visited patients, and as they threw stones they would shout:

Englishman, Englishman, they don't pray!
Even the chickens are better than they!

Englishman, Englishman, with a swelled head!
We're hoping tonight will find him dead.31

The climate and other factors took their toll of the lives of missionaries. Two different men assigned to Muscat died within a year of each other, one of them being the younger brother of Samuel Zwemer. For a time the Mission was wondering if the words of an East Africa missionary would be true for them. A Reverend Krapf had said, "Our God bids us first build a cemetery before we build a church or dwelling house, showing that the resurrection of East Africa must be effected by our own destruction."32

As in the case of Syria and Egypt, the lack of financial means often prevented the work from growing and meant personal problems for the missionary. As early as 1891 Zwemer wrote from Aden that he had sold some of his personal effects to buy passage to reach Basrah. "Believe me, we are as little inclined as is the Committee to use needless time or money in
exploring for a site," he observed. "Travelling around Arabia in the summer is not a vacation trip to be envied."

Missionary Fred J. Barny wrote from Muscat in 1898 that cracks in the wall of their house had showed that it was about to collapse, and so much of the building had to be demolished for safety sake that he and his family were living in one room. In need of funds, he continued, "I can assure you that this is far from being pleasant and am certain if you could see the way we are living, you would not ask us to stay here any longer than absolutely necessary."

In 1901 the Annual Report noted that concerning mission results, the night seemed dark yet. There had been a few inquirers but all had disappointed them. However, the work continued to increase and the missionaries labored in hope that someday the sowing would result in reaping. In the decade of 1900-1909 twenty-one regular missionaries were appointed, which included three doctors, one teacher, two nurses, and six evangelistic workers. By 1914 the Mission covered the widest extent of territory in its history, with six stations and four outstations. There were three fully equipped hospitals, with one smaller establishment for women. At Basra the medical work was practically self-supporting, while at the other stations the fees helped to carry a good part of the expense. The educational work registered advance. In 1912 the School of High
Hopes was opened for boys in Basrah, and the next year, the School of Women's Hope. The enrollment in 1913 was eighty boys and twenty-four girls. The advance in evangelism was noteworthy. The years of 1912 and 1913 saw the sale of more than 8,000 Bibles and Bible portions each year. There was now a corps of twelve colporteurs, eight of them working in shops, the others on the road. The Sunday preaching services were patronized in increasing numbers by Moslems, a feature noted especially at Muscat and Bahrain.

The War years. The years 1915-1920 were years of stress and strain and adjustment. Local steamer service made travel between the stations an uncertain undertaking. Annual Mission Meetings were interrupted until 1919 when it was possible to meet in Basrah. The Basrah hospital was eventually closed, and the Mission's medical force was reduced from nine to four by 1918. Five doctors who might have been appointed were diverted into the War. Statistics for 1917 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stations occupied</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outstations</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries - men</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate missionaries - women</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native helpers, men</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicants</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received by conversion</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' Boarding School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Schools</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Schools</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When Turkey declared war, the mission at Basrah immediately called upon the Governor and offered the use of the hospital for the Turkish wounded. The offer was accepted and it was soon taxed beyond its capacity. When the British captured the city the hospital became the regular unit for wounded Turkish and Arab prisoners of war. The hospital was closed in 1917 when the doctor returned to America on furlough. With the medical staff of the Mission depleted, the prospects of a new start in medical work at Basrah faded. A civil hospital was established with extensive technical facilities and later many practitioners set up private practices so that medical need in Basrah was not as critical as in the early days of the Mission. The hospital plant was sold to the Boys' School and the funds used in Amara for a hospital. In addition to the regular work of the station there were various services rendered by the missionaries in Basrah, who held services for the troops, and organized classes of soldiers for the study of Arabic. From the Mission's Annual Meeting in 1919 came a letter from Reverend Henry A. Bilkert which stated that the Mission was waiting with a feeling of fear and trembling on the decision of the Peace Conference in regards to Mesopotamia. A missionary, of
the Basrah mission wrote:

You cannot make a dead man alive by warming him. In fact you thus only hasten the process of putrefaction. . . . The Paris Conference cannot regenerate Mesopotamia. I am just as sanguine of what will be done there for Arabia as any man, and will be loyal to any scheme of British mandate as John Bull himself. But no program can remake the Arab himself save a program which brings him into touch with the sources of life.

.......

To sum it all up. Therein lies the hope for the regeneration of Mesopotamia. . . . Good roads, telegraphs, strict justice, education, social service, these all are necessary, but after all, they are only incidental inasmuch as they touch only symptoms or are only symptomatic. The Christianizing of this land may take centuries, but then a Christian has the right to think in centuries.\(^1\)

The matter of "self-determination" for Arabia was being discussed at this time, in various circles. Stanley G. Mylrea M.D. wrote that the question of "self-determination" as applied to Arabia would bring from those who know the Arabs, only a smile. He noted that a land where the great mass of the men and practically all the women were illiterate, and where what little education there was consisted in a knowledge of the Koran and Muslim tradition, a land where there was no mutual trust, was an unpromising soil on which to sow the seeds of Government by the People.\(^2\)

As the British began to organize the administration of Mesopotamia there was a great need for interpreters and clerks with a knowledge of English. Graduates and students of the
Boys' School of Basrah found remunerative employment. When the authorities turned their attention to education they found that there was literally nothing to build upon: school buildings, books, equipment, or teachers. As a beginning, an agreement with the Mission was made whereby Dr. John Van Ess, a missionary undertook to supervise the organization of primary schools in the most needy localities and to train promising pupils as teachers as rapidly as possible in special normal classes.

The Annual Report for 1920 indicated that twenty-three missionaries attended the annual meeting held in Basrah. The different types of work carried on the previous year were:

- **Basrah** - evangelistic work, reading classes (women), Girls' School, Boys' School.
- **Kuwait** - evangelistic work, medical work.
- **Muscat** - Bible shop, Girls' School, Boys' School, medical work.
- **Bahrein** - Bible distribution, Sunday services, medical work, primary school.
- **Nasiriya** - evangelistic work.

The Mission by the end of World War I was beginning to sense that changes in the work were inevitable for the future. The Annual Report for 1919 observed that worldliness had overwhelmed the city of Basrah, and that a feeling of resentment toward the British was developing. Paul W. Harrison, M.D. wrote that, unfortunately, the shattering impact of the West
upon the East was bound to be no temporary thing. He noted that some of the more glaring excesses incident to the period of transition would doubtless disappear within a few years, but that it must be recognized that there has been a fundamental and permanent change in the character of the Mission's task. It was evident to the Mission that in the future their work would not be conducted in a social order which was purely Arabic. The work would more and more be carried on amidst the conflict of Eastern and Western ideals in things religious, political, and economic.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2 Mason, op. cit., p. 57.


4 The Arabian Mission, statement No. 2. Period of 1889-90. (No place or publisher listed).


6 Quarterly Report of the Arabian Mission, 4th. (No place or publisher listed, nor date).

7 Zwemer, op. cit., p. 78.


9 Mason, op. cit., p. 90.

10 Zwemer, op. cit., p. 115.


12 Letter of S. M. Zwemer, Gardner Sage Library. "Near Muscat on board native boat, May 29, 1906." It is of interest that Zwemer wrote, "Our boat has no cabin, 20 passengers and crew, a cow and 2 donkeys, and measures 30 ft. x 10 ft.; this will account for worse penmanship than usual. I wish they would stop their foolish songs and constant profanity."

13 Zwemer, op. cit., p. 68.
14Ibid., p. 114.

15Letter of James Cantine, Aden, Arabia, May 6, 1891.
Gardner Sage Library.

(No place or publisher listed).

17W. Harold Storm, Whither Arabia? (London: World Dom-
inion Press, 1938), p. 64.

18Letter of W. W. Peet, Treasurer of the American Mission in Turkey, Constantinople, January 3, 1899, to the Arabian Mis-


20Mason, op. cit., pp. 147-50.

21Ibid., p. 197.

22Letter from Dr. Sarah Hosmon, as quoted by Mason, op. cit., p. 192. Concerning the problem of working with women, Dr. Eleanor Calverley said that fatalism and ignorance plague the women. "A very small proportion of the women can read. Many of the others are so densely ignorant that, in the hospi-
tal, it is only after many patient repetitions that they fin-
ally understand the instructions as to how to take their medi-
cine. Even when we think they have understood, they are likely to swallow the papers as well as the powders which the papers contain. The indifference of the women to things spiritual is another weapon of Satan. So long as a woman is in favor with her husband, has pretty clothes and good food, she asks little else. 'God is merciful,' she says. Her sins do not trouble her. Sympathy she craves, material help she gladly accepts, but Christ Himself, she does not want. She is frankly bored when one begins to talk religion." The Christian Intelligencer, Vol. LXXXIX, no. 41, October 9, 1916.


24Quarterly Report of the Arabian Mission, 1892, No. 2
(No place or publisher, nor date).
indicates that Hamil was a Muslim convert. The name of "Abdul Messiah" may have been taken as a part of his name after his conversion.

The Christian Intelligencer, Vol. LXXIII, No. 31. July 30, 1902. It is not clear who read the literature sold, as there was so much illiteracy abounding. This is not explained in any source consulted. Perhaps the novelty attracted the people, and there may have been certain ones who could read to others.

Zwemer, op. cit., p. 105.

Ibid., p. 112. In 1944, one anna equaled two cents, and one rupee thirty-six cents.

Ibid., p. 115.

Ibid., pp. 117-19.

Concerning opposition to the Mission work, the Gardner Sage Library has a letter from the American Embassy in London, of September 1, 1899 to the United States Secretary of State, enclosing a letter from the British Foreign Office, August 28, 1899 concerning a complaint the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf received from the Sheikh of Bahrain, who stated that Mr. Zwemer was speaking against the "Mussulman" religion, and thereby causing uneasiness among the inhabitants as well as running the risk of personal ill-treatment. "It is the settled policy of Her Majesty's Government not to interfere in any way with the religious customs and beliefs and to maintain the attitude of absolute neutrality in all such questions." Under such circumstances they could not promise help if the Sheikh desired to exercise his authority by requiring him to withdraw.

Letter of S. M. Zwemer, as quoted by Mason, op. cit., p. 100.

Letter of S. M. Zwemer, Aden, September 30, 1891.
Gardner Sage Library.

Letter of Fred J. Barney, Muscat, November 24, 1898.
Gardner Sage Library.

The Sixty-Ninth Annual Report, 1901.
37 Ibid., pp. 160-61.
38 The Year Book and Almanac of the Reformed Church in America (New York: Board of Publication, 1917).
39 Eighty-Sixth Annual Report, 1918.
41 John Van Ess, "A Program for Mesopotamia," Neglected Arabia, No. 109, 1919. This quotation is given by the writer to demonstrate the rationale for continued Protestant work in the Middle East and particularly Arabia in the face of so little results, relatively speaking. Ess also wrote: Meet the Arab.
43 Mason, op. cit., p. 187.
45 Eighty-Seventh Annual Report, 1919.
CONCLUSIONS

The motivating factors which established American Protestant work in the Arab Middle East were religious and benevolent. The missionaries wanted to do all the good they could for mankind and the highest good they felt was to lead individuals into a right relationship with God through Jesus Christ. To this end medical and educational means were utilized. The early missionaries in Syria, Egypt, and Arabia were pioneers in establishing schools, educating the people, and in setting up school systems, books, methods, and buildings which were later copied by the Government and some religious groups. Medical work, clinics, and hospitals relieved suffering in areas where there was no competent medical care otherwise. The crowning educational accomplishment of the 1820-1920 period was the founding of the Protestant Colleges at Beirut and Asyut. As the Protestant work grew, common primary schools were scattered far and wide, with education for girls as a part of the endeavor.

The early Protestants had hoped to work through the existing Eastern Churches and clergy. By this means they thought that the Churches could be reformed and restored to their original purity by discarding images, pictures, saint-worship, and empty ritualism. They soon aroused the animosity of the
ecclesiastical hierarchy however, and realized that Protestantism would have to go its own separate way. By 1920 an indigenous Protestant body existed in Syria and Egypt. Islam provided a very formidable obstacle for Protestantism. Converts from Islam were made in Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, but in small numbers. However, the Protestants were not negligent in attempting to reach the Muslim world because of such discouragements.

The importance of the Arabic language was emphasized by the Protestants, and the Protestant College at Beirut and the Mission Press gave a large impetus to the renewing of interest in Arab literature. The Protestants' continued emphasis on the Bible as the word of God and guide book for Christian living produced an Arabic translation of the Bible which has gone through many editions.

Problems and persecutions abounded in each of the mission fields and heroic patience in the face of trials proved the high caliber and devotion of most of the missionaries, just as their personal differences sometimes demonstrated their humanity. While depending ultimately on God for guidance, the presence of local consuls was often helpful and reassuring to the missionaries. The aid of the British diplomatic service in the early years of all three Missions was of inestimable value.

The need of more financial help and personnel continually
characterized the Protestant work. A Civil War and Church indifference in America hindered the expansion in schools and hospitals so evidently needed in the eyes of the missionaries. Yet, in spite of financial problems, the Missions held their own and were expanding rapidly until the time of World War I. The local Protestants also took over responsibilities as rapidly as they could.

American Protestant work among the Arabs was brought to a turning point by World War I. It was evident by 1920 that political, nationalistic, economic, and social trends would change many of the old methods and activities of the missionaries. They recognized that they must be ready continually to adapt their work to a changing Arab world. The indigenous nature of the Syrian-Lebanese, and Egyptian Protestant Churches were sources of encouragement to the American Protestants as they faced an uncertain future in the Arab Middle East.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS


Chamberlain, Mrs. W. I., *Fifty Years in Foreign Fields*. New York: Reformed Church in America, 1925.


B. REPORTS, MINUTES, PERIODICALS, UNPUBLISHED

AND PRIMARY MATERIAL


*Assembly Herald*. Syracuse: Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. 1894.


*Church at Home and Abroad*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. 1890. A monthly magazine.

First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834.


Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. New York: John A. Gray, 1862.


Instructions From the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to the Reverend Levi Parsons and the Reverend Flinny Fisk, Missionaries Designated for Palestine. Delivered at the Old South Church, Boston, October 31, 1819. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819.


Letters of Presbyterian missionaries in the Levant, Archives, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., Philadelphia.

Letters relating to the Arabian Mission Secretary. Gardner Sage Library.


Personal papers of Rufus Anderson, American Board of Commissioner's Foreign Secretary. Memorandum of discussions in missionary meeting during his visit to the Levant, 1843-4. Houghton Library Archives, Harvard.


View of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners. No place or publisher listed. A pamphlet. January, 1824.
