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University of Durham

THE ARABIAN MISSION

A CASE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY WORK

IN THE

ARABIAN GULF REGION

by

ABDUL MALEK K. AL-TAMEEMI

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School
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November 1977.

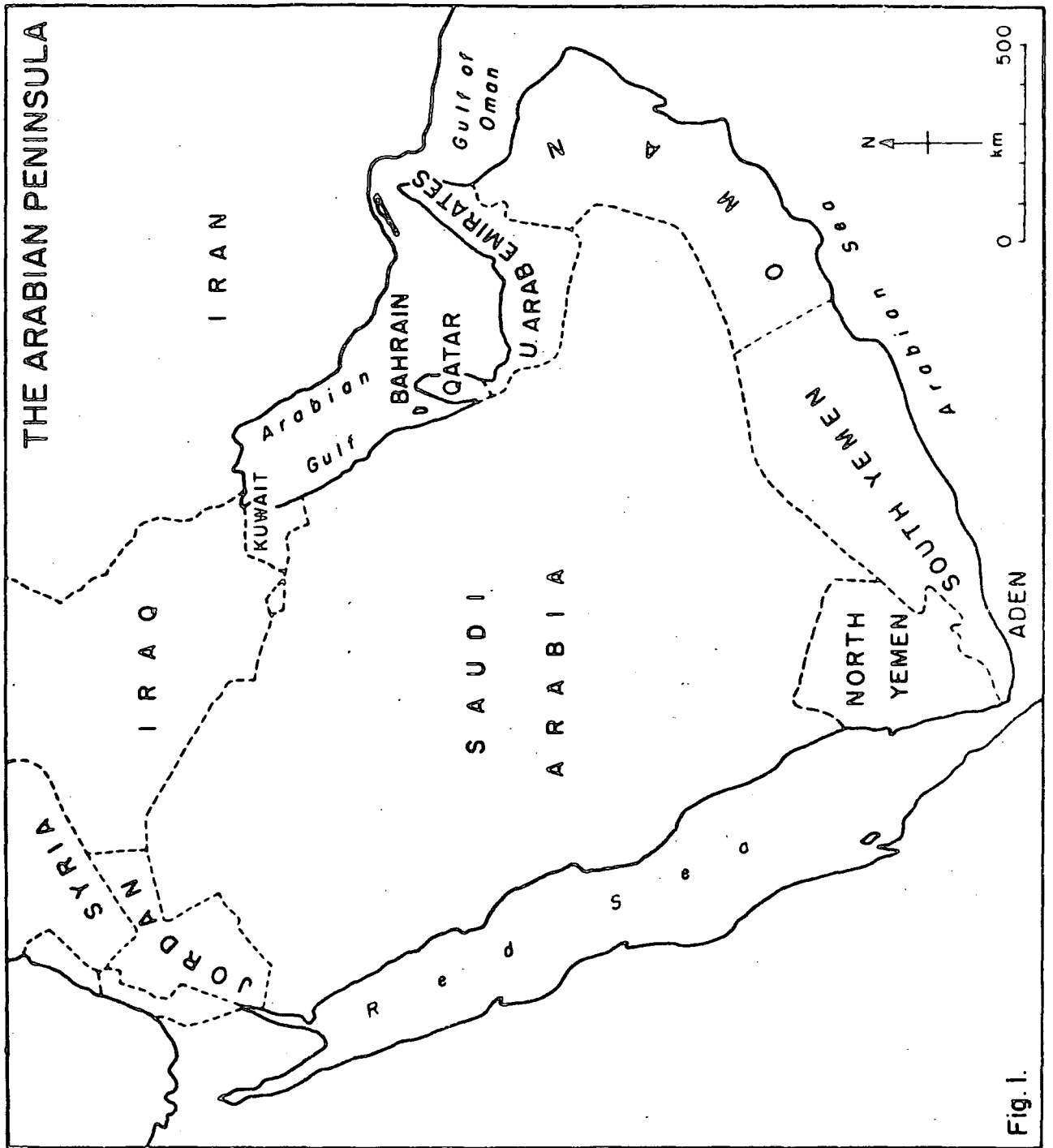


Fig. 1.

ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of seven chapters focusing chiefly on the Arabian Mission and its activities in the Arabian Gulf region. It begins with a first chapter briefly describing Arabia and its people; and since the missionaries of the Arabian Mission went to the region with the idea that Arabia was once influenced by Christianity and with the aim of regaining it, this chapter deals also with the influence of Christianity on Arabia from the earliest times. It also discusses the impact of Islam. In addition it discusses modern times and the attempts on their relationship with the growing imperialism of the Western powers, and the way in which this imperial expansion helped the missionaries to reach many remote areas, among which was the Arabian Gulf.

Chapter II gives a survey of the Arabian Mission, its birth and plan of work, and the opening of its stations and substations, with some account of the difficulties which faced the Mission in its earlier years. This chapter also deals with the contact of the Moslems of the Gulf with East Africa.

In Chapter III there is an attempt to discuss and survey the Mission's medical approach to evangelisation, this being the main way in which it attempted to preach the Gospel. Chapter III begins with some account of the health of the people in the region before the Mission came.

Chapter IV discusses another of the Mission's evangelistic methods, education, and it begins with the concept of missionary education and Islamic education, then gives some idea of educational conditions in the region in the past.

Chapter V deals with the centrally important activity of the Mission, its evangelism, in the context of the Bible-shops, hospitals and dispensaries, and the Churches. The tours made by the missionaries are discussed, and the kind of personal contact made with the natives.

Chapter VI analyses the political involvement of the Mission, giving some idea of the relationship between the Missionary work and imperialist expansion. There is a discussion of the relationship between

the Mission and the political powers in the region : the Ottoman authorities, the British, the American Consulates and the local governments.

Finally, in Chapter VII, an attempt is made to consider three important questions: What firstly has the Arabian Mission accomplished? Secondly, what are the prospects for a dialogue between Christians and Moslems, what are the motives for such a dialogue, and what the obstacles facing it? Thirdly what is the future of missionary work in general and particularly in Arabia? This last question is considered from the missionaries' point of view and from the point of view of the Moslem inhabitants of the region, and not least, finally from the author's own point of view.

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The System of Transliteration used in this thesis

a	:	ا
b	:	ب
t	:	ت
th	:	ث
j	:	ج
h	:	ح
kh	:	خ
d	:	د
dh	:	ذ
r	:	ر
z	:	ز
s	:	س
sh	:	ش
s	:	ص
d	:	ض
t	:	ط
z	:	ظ
gh	:	ع
gh	:	غ
f	:	ف
q	:	ق
k	:	ك
l	:	ل
m	:	م
n	:	ن
h	:	ه
w	:	و
y	:	ي
ah	:	آ

ABBREVIATIONS

N.A.	Neglected Arabia
M.W.	The Muslim World
N.B.	New Brunswick City, New Jersey, U.S.A.
N.J.	New Jersey, U.S.A.
N.Y.	New York, U.S.A.
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
I.R.M.	International Review of Missions
I.O.R.	India Office Records

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY IN ARABIA

Introduction

The object of this study is to evaluate and analyse the Arabian Mission; the main important Christian missionary organization in the Arabian Gulf region. Such an attempt will necessitate a brief understanding of Christianity in Arabia and a survey of evangelism as a religious institution in that part of the world. Consequently this chapter will elaborate three main points. (a) To what extent Arabia was influenced by Christianity before and in the Islamic Period? (b) The relationship between the Western expansion and the missionary work in modern times. (c) The efforts of missionaries to reintroduce Christianity to Arabia. It is important to study the extent of Christian influence on that region from its earlier time, and in modern times. Before going any further, it is necessary to give an idea about the Arabian Peninsula and its people.

The Arabian Peninsula and its People

The Arabian Peninsula occupies a large part of the Middle East covering an area of around a million square miles. It is the south western Peninsula of Asia separated from Africa in the West by the Red Sea, and separated from Persia by the Arabian Gulf.* In the south it extends to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean as shown in Figure 1. It is divided

*The Arabian Gulf. Traditionally the term 'Persian Gulf' was more common among historians, but in recent years the term 'Arabian Gulf' has become more frequently used. A few years ago the Arab States passed laws making the use of the term 'Arabian Gulf' compulsory in all communications with the outside world. At the present, the Persians call it the 'Persian Gulf', and the Arabs call it the 'Arabian Gulf'. Western writers use various terms. Some of them use the traditional name, some of them call it the 'Arabian Gulf', while others see that the Gulf belongs to both sides and call it the Arabian /Persian Gulf, or simply the 'Gulf'.

The author, will use the term 'Arabian Gulf', although all uses of the name 'Persian Gulf' from sources will remain unchanged. For more information the reader may see the following sources:

1. Emile, A.N., Arab-American Relations in the Persian Gulf, U.S.A. 1975.
2. Al-Baharna, M.H., The Legal Status of the Arabian Gulf States, G.B. 1968.

into the following areas: Saudi Arabia, Yemen (South and North), Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar. The strategic location of the Peninsula in a position between the East and the West, gave it valuable commercial advantages. Trade routes flourished following the sea route from India and up the West of the Arabian Peninsula.

The region has always been inhabited by the Arabs, and it has always been known as a centre and origin of Arabs. Lively and vital civilizations started in this part of the world particularly in the South West of the Peninsula, mainly Yemen. Inscriptions, recently found revealed that these civilizations existed in Arabia as far back as a thousand years before Christ. To name only a few; there was the Minaean (800-900 B.C.) and Sabaeen (800 B.C.) and Hadramaut and Kalabaru Kingdoms.¹

The social and political organizations of the inhabitants of the region in the past were tribal in character, and all originated from Yemen in the South West of the Peninsula. The numerous tribes can be traced to three main groups. The Ghassan who occupied a territory situated close to the Syrian border in the extreme northern borders of the country, and owed allegiance to the Byzantine Empire. The Munadira tribe whose rule extended over the area lying between the Euphrates and the Arabian desert on the border of western Iraq. Hira was their chief centre and lived under the shadow of the Persian Empire. The third group is Kinda, which became the dominant power in Central Arabia.² The separate tribes were controlled by Sheikhs who gathered into their hands religious and political authority. Their aspiration to complete autocracy was one of the important features of Arabia in the past.

The economic activities in that period, and even after the appearance of Islam, were mainly pastoral, and depended on range animals like sheep, camels, and goats to graze the desert ranges. The erratic rainfall and the scarcity of water henceforth forced them into continuous migration in search of fresh pastures. Although these tribes, which are called nomads (in Western literature) or al-badia

(by the Arabs) were the dominant social institutions in Arabia, nevertheless there were substantial settled communities - al-Hādirah - who lived by cultivating the Oases. This region's people were influenced by Christianity before and after Islam's appearance. How did such a contact happen and under what circumstances?

Christianity in Arabia pre-Islam

a. Paul and Arabia

The first Arabian contact with Christianity is still a debatable issue. Historical literature has very scanty information about this important event. As far as Wright Thoms is concerned, Christianity was introduced to the Arabs for the first time by St. Paul who resided for sometime in the territory of the Arab tribes in Syria, and Thoms went as far as to say that Christian progress was made.³ Moreover it is written in the Bible that Paul himself, according to the letter to the Galatians, mentioned that he "went off at once to Arabia and afterwards returned to Damascus."⁴ In spite of Paul's visit to Arabia and Wright's suggestions of progress which accompanied this visit; it is difficult or almost impossible to confirm whether Christianity was really introduced to Arabia by Paul. First of all what St. Paul referred to as Arabia is difficult to specify geographically. He stated that he returned to Damascus after his visit to Arabia. The point of dispute, is what did he mean by Arabia in a geographical sense? Unfortunately Christian literature failed to identify or define Arabia, as visited by St. Paul. Actually Christian writers were not certain, and were confused between what is usually called the lands of the Arabs and that of the Arabian Peninsula proper, in other words, its outermost northern fringes. For example Storm defined Arabia as one of the great Bible lands. It is most probable that the Arabia which had been visited by Paul, was the northern areas of the Peninsula that are

in Syria and were inhabited by the Arabs.

The other question is, did St. Paul preach Christianity or introduce it in any manner to the Arabs of northern Arabia? The answer to this question can not be clear either. But all indications show the opposite. Richard Bell concluded that the nature of Paul's visit is very uncertain. Moreover the length of his visit is uncertain too. Bell made a major clarification as far as the length of visit is concerned.

"The three years which he (St. Paul) mentions refers not to the length of his stay in Arabia, but to the time which elapsed between his conversion and his going up to Jerusalem, including a period of activity in Damascus".⁵

So it seems that Bell's conclusion indicates that Paul's visit was not a proof of his activity, and hence it was not for preaching Christianity among the Arabs. To Bell Paul's visit was to make clear the independence of his Christian convictions, and to determine his future policy.⁶

There are no definite or even helpful clues to indicate any substantial information about the Christian impact of St. Paul in that part of Arabia which he visited. If Bell's previous conclusion is taken into consideration, then we can substantially reject the possibility of any preaching for Christianity by St. Paul. However, there is one certain fact and that is that his visit came shortly after his conversion. Then it is difficult not to expect him to share whatever thoughts he had at that time about Christ and Christianity with some of the people of that part of Arabia. Such a probability cannot be rejected; and thus it could be stated that St. Paul did not introduce Christianity to Arabia or that Arabia was mentioned by him, but certainly he must have shared some basic

elements of Christian thought with the people of that area, and hence he prepared them for the later coming of Christianity.

The Introduction of Christianity to the Pre-Islamic Peninsula

The introduction of Christianity to Arabia after St. Paul and before Islam can be traced to two main sources; a) one is the Nestorius movement which came to the Arabian Peninsula through Persia, and b) the Abyssinians who occupied and ruled South Arabia before Islam.

a) Nestorianism

Actually, the beginning of the fourth century marked an important stage in Christian history, when the Church was troubled by a doctrinal dispute which divided the Church into two main parties. The Cyril School of Alexandria, and the Nestorius School of Antioch in Syria. The conflict was about 'the nature of Jesus Christ', and the relation in his person of the divine and the human elements. The Cyril School emphasized the divinity of Jesus, namely his one nature as a purely divine nature. The second school of Nestorius, which is concerning this discussion, believed that the divine nature and the human element of Jesus were represented by two different aspects, and that the virgin Mary had not a claim to be called the Mother of God.⁷

Nestorius who in 428 A.D. was appointed as a patriarch of Constantinople, showed himself zealous against heretics. He spoke of the two persons in Christ which were joined as one.⁸ Naturally he and his followers fought and defended strongly the human nature of Christ. Such a movement caused them to be rejected by the other party who believed in Christ's purely divine nature, and consequently they were condemned and punished by the Ephesus and Chalcedon's Councils of 431 and 451 A.D.⁹

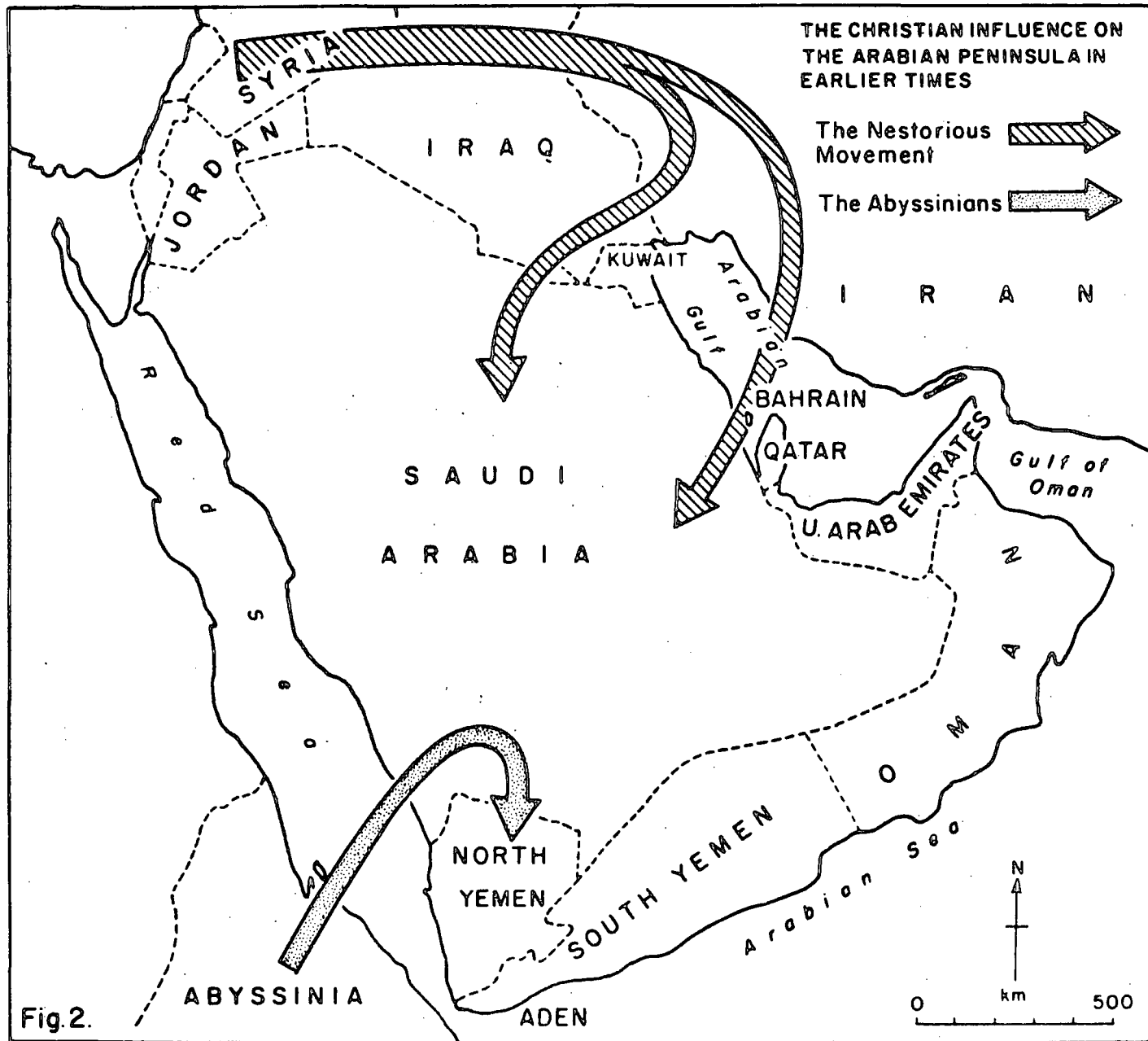


Fig.2.

Despite the action taken against him, he went ahead in his preaching, gaining wide acceptance in his home city of Antioch and farther to the East in Mesopotamia and Persia, and even extending his influence to Arabia.¹⁰ Nestorians have held fast to their own conceptions about the nature of Christ. Aziz Atiya stated that,

"The Nestorians have avoided the filioque in the creed, as they considered the idea of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father as well as the son to be an innovation. On the other hand, the Nestorians, though holding the Virgin Mary and the Cross in great reverence, object to the use of the words 'Mother of God' and refrain from installing the crucifix in their Churches."¹¹

Nestorius' views are based on a conviction that the two natures of Christ should be distinct, but in union. While he thought that Christ had lived a genuinely human life, his rival Cyril, believed that there is no distinction between the divinity and humanity of Christ, the two natures being brought together into one.¹² On the question of the beliefs of the Nestorians J.N.A. Kelly stated that,

"Christ's manhood was a bypostasis or prosopon and was not meant to imply that it was a distinct person, but merely that it was objectively real; and his insistence on this latter point should count to his credit, his motive being to do justice to the Lord's human experiences."¹³

There are differences not only in doctrine but also in liturgy between the Nestorians and those who followed Cyril. The Nestorians gave great importance to worship and the liturgy, and they appear to have developed their own liturgy from the relatively early years of their separation from the Mother Church. They meet for prayer in the early morning and in the evening. They are sparing with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, which is regarded as a very special function, not necessarily associated with each Sunday liturgy. To Nestorians Confession is not important. They regard the 'holy leaven' as one of the Seven Sacraments,* which is held to be literally a continuation of the last supper.¹⁴

Since this movement faced great difficulties in acting and spreading its beliefs in its home land, it had to migrate to Persia, because the

*The Nestorians recognize seven sacraments (orders, Baptism, oil of unction oblation of Body and Blood of Christ, Absolution, Holy Leaven and the Sign of the Cross).¹⁵

Persian Empire at that time was in conflict with the Byzantine Empire; hence Persia was the only refuge for them. In Persia this movement took advantage of this refuge and built many Churches, and in al-Hira, they converted some of the Arabs. However their enthusiasm and relative success there was feared by the Persian Kings who felt that this Christian movement should not be allowed to flourish among their subjects. Subsequently in the era of Shapore the II (379 A.D.) the Nestorius movement was persecuted.¹⁶ The movement had to move again, and the most accessible course was the migration to the Peninsula across the Arabian Gulf, starting with Oman and then extending to al-Hasa on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.¹⁷ There is a probability that this movement also used the northern Peninsula's trade routes in its movement from Persia. By A.D. 325 there were bishops from Arabia at the Council of Nicaea,¹⁸ and it is said that Qatar was a bishopric in A.D. 225.¹⁹ Their migration was not objected to by the inhabitants of that area, and in time a small number of those people of that area were converted to Christianity. The eastern coast of Arabia was indeed an ideal refuge, because there was no political or religious antagonism against this movement yet. The Nestorius movement flourished in eastern Arabia,²⁰ and through traditional commercial routes, it was able to reach as far north west as Medina, but with very little effect. Besides the few churches the Nestorians built in some parts of the eastern coast, their movement, did not last that long. Their experience was restricted by two unforeseen developments, the first the coming of the Abyssinians who represented the Cyril School, and the second event was the birth of Islam. Both of these will be elaborated on in the following discussion as the main factors affecting Christianity in Arabia.

b) The Abyssinians

Abyssinia lies across the southern corner of the Red Sea

opposite to the Arabian Peninsula, and had a close commercial and political relationship with the Peninsula, particularly South Arabia. It was a Christian stronghold from the early years of Christianity.* Christianity, had been introduced to South Arabia from Abyssinia, and the first contact of South Arabia with Christianity can be traced to as early as 356 A.D. when Constantius the Roman Emperor dispatched his first deputation to the area. As a result Christianity started to gain ground, and three Churches were built out of the Himyar King's revenues in Yemen. However the strength of Christianity in South Arabia can be attributed a great deal to the rivalry between the Roman and the Persian Empires.²¹ All along the Roman Empire sought to strengthen its political power and strategic points by controlling Abyssinia as well as South Arabia. Hence Christianity, the official religion of the Roman Empire, was spread in the area. As a result the Christians of Abyssinia managed to establish their power on both sides of the southern tip of the Red Sea.

By the fourth century Christianity had not that much effect in the eastern Peninsula but it was concentrated in the south west part of the Peninsula by the Abyssinians, where they used force to control Yemen. Thus it may be concluded that since the 4th century Christianity thrived in the region, and started to gain more ground. Besides Christianity two other religions had a certain hold, if only locally restricted, and they are Judaisim in Medina, Khaibar and some areas in Yemen, and Paganism in most of North and Central Arabia.

*Christianity reached Abyssinia through Egypt. Basically there were a great number of Jews in Alexandria and the Nile Valley. Since Christians started their missionary work among the Jews, they reached those areas. From there Christianity spread to Africa especially Abyssinia using the Nile river from Upper Egypt to Nubia then to Abyssinia. A large number of the Jews of those areas were converted to Christianity.²²

In fact the Christian rule was unsettled in the Yemen and was troubled by revolts especially in the first half of the 6th Century. Abraha, an Abyssinian ruler in Yemen built a great Church in his capital Sana', and decided to make it the centre of the Pilgrimage for Arabia instead of the Ka'ba at Mecca. He gathered a great army and marched towards Mecca to destroy the Ka'ba and to force the tribes of the north to accept Christianity. This expedition failed to achieve what Abraha had planned for. However this expedition against Mecca has become famous by a reference to it in the Quran.²³ Abraha's expedition was an attempt to Christianize the northern Peninsula by force. But the attempt did not succeed and Christianity had no important existence. A fact which can be supported by the present religious scene in that area where Christianity never had deep roots, and Richard Bell stressed that,

"There is no good evidence of any seats of Christianity in the Hijaz or in the near neighbourhood of Mecca or even of Medina."²⁴

Moreover the literature, mostly poetry, in that part of Arabia and before Islam did not indicate or mention much of Christian existence. May be the following verses are one of those few which point to some Christian existence. This is stressed by Richard Bell who stated,

"Many an early cup (glistening) like the eye of a cock have I drunk with trusty youths in its curtained chamber while the Church-bells rang, pure wine like saffron and amber, poured in its glass, and mixed spreading a costly perfume in the house, as if the riders had (just) arrived with it from the sea of Darin." ²⁵

Therefore it can be said that the Christian influence as far as the

* Darin, is the old name of al-Hasa, the eastern province of the Peninsula, lying on the shore of the Arabian Gulf.

northern Peninsula is concerned is negligible.²⁶

By the first half of the 7th century Islam started from Mecca and Medina, and it was the religion that started to change the whole religious picture in the Peninsula expanding at the expense of other religions in the region.

Islam and its Impact

The religion of Islam sprang up in Mecca in the West of Arabia in the first half of the 7th Century by the Prophet Muhammad, a citizen of Mecca who was born about 570 A.D.²⁷ For about ten years after his call, he declared his message to the people of Mecca whose main religion at that time was Paganism. At the beginning converts were few and mostly the poor unfortunates rather than the influential citizens. Thus from the beginning Islam appealed to deprived citizens, 'the poor, the slaves'. However his call at Mecca was confronted with the opposition of the political leaders, the elite and influential tribal people. Hence the preaching of Islam receded there as opposition to it hardened. The Prophet realized the impossibility of spreading his message under such strong pressure, and as an alternative he decided to move to a more secure area (Yathrib) called al-Medina (the City) in the year 622 A.D.²⁸ This year was a turning point in Islamic history. This attempt is called in Arabic al-Hijrah, or the year of the Flight, and became the year when Islamic expansion began, and for ten years the Prophet spread Islam from it until his death in 632. In these ten years he was able to overcome the opposition in Mecca and surrounding areas.

As far as the expansion of Islam to Southern Arabia and to the eastern coast of the Peninsula is concerned, it took place as a part of the overall expansion of Islam over the Peninsula.²⁹ Tribal contacts, trade routes and the Pilgrimage of some southern tribes to Mecca all helped to spread the word about the new religion. The contact of

Islam with southern Arabia was an early one. In fact, it was a refuge for a few Moslems who were fought by the Quraish tribe in Mecca. Having been able to resist Quraishite opposition, the Prophet advised them to save their souls and religion and to go as far south as Abyssinia.³⁰

Islam spread rapidly and treaties were made with the Arab tribes who had submitted one after another, and in his last years the Prophet became the master of Arabia, and Islam became the dominant and main religion there. The swift expansion of Islam in such a short period from the year of al-Hijrah is a very important phenomenon particularly in that both Christianity and Judaism in their long history in Arabia could not accomplish a great success. There are numerous reasons that can explain the Islamic expansion, they are as follows:

I. Cultural attributes

As far as the Arabian Society is concerned the most important aspect is the fact that this new religion fulfilled the regions spiritual and social needs. Islam dealt with organizing the daily tribal problems, needs, and conflicts. It suggested solutions and provided a frame-work and laws and regulations to rationalize the Arabian Society i.e. family relationship, community relations, inheritance etc. Such a frame-work was badly needed in that part of the world particularly at that time, and more important considering that the tribal scene which was caught in continuous tribal conflict had no central leadership, law making organization or a strong government. Thus Islam filled a vacuum and provided the needed leadership to unite the different tribes into one cohesive system and provided the means to rationalize the tribal society with much needed remedies for their social problems. It is

for this reason that the Quran was and still is used by some Islamic countries as the constitution (Shari'ah) or the source of their constitution.

Another cultural attribute was the fact that Islam was local in character. It was not introduced from a foreign land in a foreign language or by foreign messenger. It was born within Arabia carried by an Arab, a bedouin from Mecca, who belonged to the famous, well respected tribe of Quraish - from house of Banu Hashim. Moreover the Quran, the message of Islam, came in Arabic, a point that the Quran itself has stressed so as to appeal to the people of Mecca and Medina at large. The Quran stated,

"We have sent it down as an Arabic Koran;
haply you will understand."³¹

The Quran's prose in fact is considered in Islam as a miracle that Mohammed was provided with. It should be stressed that at that time and even at the present time the Arabic language, prose and poetry, was the most developed of cultural traits in Arabia. Language was an art which anyone who mastered it got the status and the respect of all. Thus the Quran with its highly developed prose was one of the most effective methods of introducing a great many of the Bedouins to Islam. One example is Omar the second Caliph whose first spiritual involvement with Islam started by hearing a few verses (āyat) from his sister when she was reading the Quran.

II. 'Jihad' or the Holy War

It was an important instrument in expanding Islam and certainly it was among the main reasons for Islamic territorial expansion. Without this means and without ^{the} emergence of an able Islamic military

leader it would have been impossible to achieve what was done. Islam encouraged Jihad and Quran in fact called for using this means when it stated,

"Make ready for them whatever force..."³²

From the beginning of Islam and particularly after the Hijrah Islamic expansion has always been as a result of military expeditions, that were ordered by Muhammad and his successors to different areas.³³

Medina in Muhammad's later years and in the years of the Caliphs Abu Bakr and Omar, was the centre of a very active military headquarters. Jihad appealed to the greater masses of Arabia because it was not a new institution. Ghazw the tribal term for inter-tribal conflict and wars was an ancient accepted Arabian practice and the booty ghanimah had its basis in the traditional culture of the Arabian tribes. No one can deny that Jihad was brought about and motivated by the strong religious feelings of the leadership and of the greater part of the Bedouin soldiers who fought these wars. However there were a great number of soldiers who were attracted to those wars mainly for the booty³⁴ and they always fought on the strong side, and if they found themselves on the weak side they easily shifted to the opposition to secure their booty regardless of the ideology involved. Quran stated,

"The Bedouins are more stubborn in unbelief and hypocrisy"³⁵

Islamic Expansion

Islamic expansion either through Jihād or by other means introduced to the Arab new experiences that were unusual as far as the Arabian wars were concerned; mainly the humane treatment of those conquered, and the military organization which developed to replace the old tribal wars, the ghazw. Basically Islam used force to conquer territories, but not to force Islam on the conquered.

The Motives of Islamic Expansion

There are primary and secondary causes for this great expansion, as follows:

1. The religious factor in fact comes first in that Islam was intended for the whole of mankind, so the main aim of its leadership was to spread it by any and all means.
2. The strong unity of the Arab tribes inside the Peninsula after the apostasy wars made the Islamic leadership think that it would be useful to direct their energies in a way which would serve religion. Traditionally ghazw raids had existed since pre-Islamic times. The tribes were accustomed to conducting such campaigns. The experience of Abu Bakr with the apostate tribes taught the lesson that to keep fighting against enemies was a way of protecting the new religion, and its state. This policy was fruitful because it led to the unification of the Peninsula and enabled the Islamic power to begin its expansion outside Arabia. It worked by keeping the nomads too busy for other disputes, and secondly by giving them a sense of identity and security in following a strong religion and state. The tribes could also hope to gain new pastures which were essential to their way of life.
3. Arabia was traditionally surrounded by enemies, Abyssinia, the Byzantine Empire and the Persian Empire. The Islamic leadership thought that attacking would be the best means of defence. Using military means would ensure a decisive outcome and would shorten the rule of hostile regimes in Syria and Persia.

The political and economic situation in Persia and Syria also encouraged the Moslems to attack them while they were in a period of decline. There were also secondary motives which favoured the use of an army in expanding Islam in the early stages:

1. Religious zeal to enter Paradise after a martyr's death as promised by the Koran.³⁶
2. The desire of the nomads for booty, as already mentioned, especially from occupied lands which were wealthier than their own.

The Expansion

The idea of Islamic expansion originated in the Prophet's time when he prepared an army and appointed Usāmah as its leader. The theatre of war of this army was to be Syria, but the death of the Prophet halted its operations. When Abu Bakr became the first Caliph he determined that operations should go ahead according to plan. However, soon after the death of the Prophet serious internal strife broke out in Arabia. Some of the tribes rebelled and decided to return to their traditional religion and way of life. The Caliph reacted by sending his army to restore order and regain the tribes for Islam. Moreover he intended to prevent any similar attempt in the future. He managed to subdue the rebellious tribes and force their return to Islam.³⁷

There then followed the era of Umar Ibn al-Khattāb, which marked the real beginning of Islamic expansion. He sent his armies to Iraq, Syria, Persia and Egypt. They achieved great victories in these lands, and destroyed the two great Empires which existed in the East at that time, the Byzantine and Persian Empires. The initial successes in 635 in Syria, encouraged the Moslems to go ahead in their expansion against the other areas. In 637 the Sasanian army was destroyed at Qadisiyyah.³⁸ By 641, all of the Aramaic-speaking lands had been occupied. The Roman

power in Syria and the central Sasanian power in Iraq had collapsed. One reason for Syria's collapse was the unstable situation inside the Byzantine Empire. There was pressure on the Jews and the Christians who refused to accept the Greek Church leadership which held power at Constantinople, and the creed of the Council of Chalcedon which that leadership wanted to enforce. Moreover the majority of the people in both empires were against their rulers, and suffered from such regimes. So when their armies were defeated they were ready to accept Islam.³⁹

Soon after those lands, Syria and Iraq, came under Moslem control, the migration of tribes from all parts of Arabia poured in, and joined their brothers who had already migrated to those areas. This of course provided enormous army potential which helped very much in the expansion.⁴⁰ Then Egypt became under Moslem control in 642. In the Umayyad era the Islamic expansion carried on and reached its greatest extent in the East and in Africa.

Reasons for the expansion's success

The success and victories of this expansion had their reasons:

1. The United Arab tribes inside Arabia, became a great power for such function.
2. The weakness of the Persian and Byzantine Empires paved the way for the Moslem Conquest.⁴¹
3. The Arab tribes on the borders of Iraq and Syria gave a helping hand to the armies. Also Persians and Berbers participated in those wars after entering Islam.⁴²
4. The good capability of the Islamic leadership in directing such expansion and controlling those vast lands.
5. The practical measures taken by the Caliph Umar:
 - a) The occupied land was to belong to its people rather than being divided among the conquerors, but the governing power was to be Moslem.

- b) The inhabitants were to be given a choice between entering Islam or remaining outside, ⁴³ paying taxes e.g. the jizyah in return for protection and exemption from military service.

This policy was no doubt of financial help to the expansion.

These are some of the main reasons which enabled the Moslems to achieve their great expansion. But this great state which extended from the borders of China to Spain began to break apart into many parts with the fall ⁴⁴ of the Umayyads. This weakened the state, and left the way wide open for outside powers.

Causes of Political decline

The causes of the political decline of the Islamic State were:

1. A continuous series of revolts or civil wars started after the murder of the Caliph Uthman ⁴⁵ 656.
2. The vast size of the Islamic state made it difficult to control and shortage of Arab manpower prevented Moslems from pursuing their expansion. ⁴⁶
3. The later dispute over the leadership of the Islamic States between Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo.

Now that great state which lasted more than a century (632-750), no doubt had its social, cultural and economic influence on the conquered lands.

The intellectual and organizational aspects

It is also important to consider the intellectual and organizational aspects in studying the Islamic expansion. This expansion was not simply a result of military action by backward Bedouins. It also had cultural and organizational results in the lands which came under Moslem control. The cultural activities began during the Prophet's time in Medina, and carried on in the Mosque and other institutions. ⁴⁷ This gained importance in the Umar's time. In the case of the organizational aspect, Umar began

his rule by organizing the army and the administration. Actually with the vast lands and large number of persons in the community, the organization could not be personal. The society had to have institutions in different fields which were capable of dealing with the people and to institute the religion. Umar started by establishing the army dīwān. Then other dīwāns were established to cover other aspects of society like the financial administration by organizing the payment of taxes, Jizyah, and levies assessed from the agricultural lands, kharāi. He tightened up family law, insisting on the Islamic way. He gave the slave a more secure status. In general he insisted on rigorous discipline, and discouraged luxury among the Arabs. The dīwān gave a clear social status to all Moslems, even those defeated in the apostasy wars. Thus the whole Moslem community was organised according to a strictly Moslem criterion in Umar's time.⁴⁸

On the cultural side the Prophet and the Caliphs attempted to spread knowledge about Islam which started in the Medina Mosque. The Moslems of that time concentrated their cultural activities on religious knowledge, poetry and the Arabic language. Moreover they gave importance to the studying of Islamic history. Let us take examples for such activities. The Caliph Umar took the first step in 'Arabization' by setting up Islamic administrations, dawāwīn. Since the Koran is in Arabic, this language should be known by all Moslems. In the time of Uthman the third Caliph, the Moslems collected together the Koran and recorded it. This prevented any attempt to alter the verses, and also helped to minimise the importance of local languages in favour of the unifying influence of the pure Arabic in which the Koran was written. The Koran was considered to be the pure Arabic Moslems' charter. These intellectual activities were carried on since that time. Later Basra and Kufa in Iraq in fact witnessed a period

of cultural development, and the study of fiqh jurisprudence, Arabic and history flourished.

When the expansion began Arab tribes had already migrated to Syria and Iraq. They brought with them what was left from their civilization from Yemen and augmented it with Semitic cultural influences which existed there at the time. In this way the Hellenic culture had its influence upon Islamic civilization as became apparent in the Umayyad and Abassid periods.⁴⁹

As Moslems, the Arabs, in their expansion, were not merely an army of occupation, they were also, in their view, representatives of God's order among mankind, founded on adherence to His revelation. In each garrison town, and in each city where Moslems settled a garrison, a mosque was built. There the faithful came together to perform public worship (Salāh), and to preach Islam. Islam's armies offered those people freedom in their religions, especially the Christians and Jews. It left the Christians in all conquered areas in possession of their churches, without any objections. Islam did not force Christians or Jews to enter Islam, but left them to practice their religions freely and just to pay taxes jizyah as compensation to excuse them from serving in the Islamic Army. These points have been stressed by many writers early as well as later ones.⁵⁰ One of the strongest examples of the humane treatment and the ability of Islam to co-exist with other religions was the treaty of the Caliph Omar in Jerusalem:

"The following are the terms of capitulation which I Omar, the servant of God, the commander of the faithful, grant to the people of Jerusalem. I grant them security for their lives, their possessions, and their children, their Churches, their crosses and all that appertains to them in their integrity, and their lands, and to all of their religion. Their churches therein shall not be impoverished, nor destroyed, nor injured from among them; neither their endowments, nor their dignity and not a thing of their property; neither shall the inhabitants of Jerusalem; nor shall one of them be injured."⁵¹

This attitude towards Christians is based in fact on the honoured place of Christ in the Koran, so it is worth discussing the place of Christ in the

Koran.

Christ and Islam

Islam is the only non-Christian religion which accords Jesus a position of any importance. The Koran, its holy book, acknowledges him as a prophet. It honours Jesus, and many surahs are assigned to deal with his life story and message. Moslems have always honoured 'Isā, and when his name is mentioned they say "On whom be Peace". This saying is derived from the Koran, which attributes these words to Jesus: "Peace be upon me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I am raised up alive!"⁵²

The Islamic attitude towards Jesus and Christianity is based upon the account given of his birth, names, miracles, message and death in the Koran. Here is a brief attempt to clarify Jesus' place in the Koran in order to discover to what extent this has aided Christian missionaries in propogating Christianity among Moslems.

I. His birth

Because the birth of Jesus was not a result of normal human conception, it has been a question of debate and dispute. The story of his birth is reiterated in detail twice in the Koran,

"When the angels said, 'Mary, God gives thee good tidings of a Word from Him whose name is Messiah Jesus, Son of Mary!'"⁵³

In the Koran the fact that God wanted this Prophet to be born miraculously to a virgin mother, is explicitly stated in order to prove His capacity to command anything to come about in real life. This proof was completed by the miracle of Jesus beginning to speak to the people while he was still in the cradle.

"He shall speak to men in the Cradle..."⁵⁴

II. His names

There are three main names given to Jesus in the Koran, al-Masīh, 'Isā and Ibn-Maryam (the Son of Mary).⁵⁵

Many explanations are given for the first one al-Masīh. Some believed that this name derived from Hebrew and meant 'blessed',⁵⁶ and others believed that this name, usually given to a man who travels much, was connected with the fact that Jesus travelled to many places in the East.⁵⁷ The other interpretation given to Masīh is 'Servant of God'.⁵⁸ In popular Moslem usage the name of Masīh means 'the Lord' (al-sayyid), and is a mark of honour.⁵⁹ Masīh in fact means Christ, and in Arabic Masīh is from Masahā which is to rub.

Cuppit Don stated,

"Christ and Jesus are one and the same which the very existence of the Church is based on".⁶⁰

These different explanations of the meaning of 'Masīh' all concur in indicating honour from both Moslems and Christians. This name is used many times in the Korān.

Isā, is the most common name in Islam, and is used frequently in the Korān. This name derived from the Syriac Yeshū, which in turn derived from the Hebrew Yeshua.

The Moslems commentators believed that this name may have been carried to the Arabs by the Nestorian Christians who reached Arabia. Isā is mentioned in the Koran with the prefix prophet nabī and often with the addition, "Son of Mary". 'Son of Mary' was probably added to indicate that he was a mortal like other prophets of God, or to show his humanity.⁶¹ In Christianity the use of the epithet 'Son of Mary' has been very rare, but it is mentioned in the New Testament Mark 6/3

"Is not this the Carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary?"⁶²

The usage 'Son of Mary' is found only once in the Bible and it seems that it was not taken up by the early Church. There is no trace in Christian literature of this title.⁶³

III. The Miracles of Jesus

The healing of the sick was the great characteristic miracle of Jesus and is stressed in the Korān, Suras III:49 and V:110.

No doubt these miracles were considered a sign of his status as a prophet.

The Bible also gives importance to this aspect (Matt. 9:12, Matt 11:5). One important question, which has been much debated is whether the healing miracles of the Prophet are purely physical or whether they are also spiritual in nature. The value of these miracles was to convince those who were sceptical of Christ's message, and the association of the miracles is with his compassion for the needy.

In fact none of the other Prophets had come with miracles in the same way as Jesus had, from his birth throughout his life. Doubtless the contemporary condition of religion and other circumstances of the time required this special position and role.

IV. The Death of Jesus

Christ's death is the most serious and difficult problem, which has been debated continuously by both Christians and Moslems. Christians believe that Christ was crucified, but Moslems disagree and hold that it was God's intervention that prevented this. The first reference in the Korān about his death occurs in 'Sura XIX : 33', and 'Sura the Women Aya 156'. The last one is the most important and really explains what happened from the Islamic point of view.

".... They did not slay him (Jesus) neither crucified him, only a likeness of that was shown to them."⁶⁴

The manner in which he was put to death has always been the problem. Was it an actual physical death or not? Did he die on the Cross? and was there any suffering involved?

The four Gospels state that it was a real death on the Cross. The Christian religion is based on the Sacrifice of Christ for the sins of humanity. The Koran does not agree with this view; it says that the Jews maintained that they had crucified Jesus, but they had not in fact killed him. The words (Shubbiha La-hum) is used to describe what happened. It may be translated 'it seemed to them' or 'only a likeness of that was

shown to them'.⁶⁵

Thus although Christ was condemned to death and the Jews planned to put him to death by crucifixion, God frustrated their plan and saved him raising him to himself.⁶⁶ So his death, like his birth was a miracle. This question of his death has been one of the main differences between Christianity and Islam. This disagreement is therefore among the difficulties which face any attempt at dialogue between the two religious communities.

V. The Trinity

The Korān denies the Christian teaching of the Trinity. To say that God is Christ or that God was in Christ is rejected by Islam, and the Koran makes this clear when it repeatedly states that,

"They are unbelievers who say 'God is the Third of Three'. No god is there but One God."⁶⁷

This view is not confined to Moslems, but has in fact been held by some Christians, and has been a subject of dispute since the fourth century, when the Nestorian view of Christ's humanity became influential. The Koran emphasizes that Jesus is nothing more than a messenger of God.⁶⁸ The official Christian view of this question is that there are three persons, in one God (Father, Son and Holy Spirit). In interpreting the Christian faith to Moslems Kenneth Cragg states that,

"Christians must begin with the plea that the Muslim estimate and ponder the Christian Trinity, not as a violation of Unity, but as a form of its expression. We cannot proceed except on the understanding that we are both firmly and equally believers that God is One."⁶⁹

Now to what extent does the place of Jesus in the Koran help Christian missionary work among Moslems? Islam holds the view that Christianity is the nearest to Islam, and whereas there are differences between the two, there are also meeting points. The honour accorded to Jesus in the Korān opened the way for missionaries and gave them the key with which to approach Moslems. Usually missionaries initiated a

discussion by quoting verses from the Koran about Christ, and then they gradually led the discussion to the Christian conception and belief. Even verses which reject the Christian belief were reinterpreted to give a modified meaning or outright denial of the traditional Islamic interpretation. These methods of conversion were used when difficulty arose over the differences in the Islamic and Christian versions of Christ's role.⁷⁰ For example as the Koran rejects the belief that Christ is the Son of God, the missionaries explained that Christ was the Son of God not physically but spiritually. In dealing with the Koran's version of Christ's death, the differences were minimised as being simply differences of interpretation that would occur in any community and that both religions agreed that he was raised to heaven.

IV. The Political Situation

In the beginning of Islam the political situation in Arabia was a loose one with no single powerful centre of power. The only strong powers that had any kind of influence were the Byzantine Empire in the north (Syria) and the Persian Empire in the east, and both empires had very little influence on the Peninsula. Moreover the continuous dispute between those two Empires weakened them and made them unable to face an aggressive young power like Islam. As for the power structure inside Arabia, tribalism was the main form of political structure. The Peninsula was divided into small and tiny tribal's territories and these territories in themselves had their own political identity. Hence wars were continuous between one tribe and another. Therefore Arabia before Islam never knew a strong local government with the exception of Yemen. This political situation and this power vacuum was the ideal environment for an inspired movement like Islam to expand. The efficient, ambitious Islamic machine of war found very little resistance, and in many areas Islamic leaders and armies were welcomed with open arms.

Since the beginning of Islam and its swift expansion, not only in Arabia but also to other areas, Christianity in fact lost whatever power

it used to have in the East, and has never been able to regain its early position. However this does not mean that Christianity did not try to regain some of its power. There were some attempts and some were almost successful, one obvious example being the Crusades. It started in 1096 A.D.⁷¹ when the progress of Islam was cut short by a period of crises at the time of the later Abbassid Caliphs.

The Crusades

Some Christian writers, like Duncan B. Macdonald, Wilson Cash who was the C.M.S. Secretary and S.M. Zwemer, one of the leaders of the Arabian Mission, wrote on the Crusades or about Islam as if they were themselves Crusaders.⁷² Conversely some Moslem writers have based their attitudes towards Christians and the relationship between the two communities upon their reactions to the Crusades.

The Crusades had purposes and motives which were religious, political and economic. The economic and political purposes are bound up with the interests of the Italian trading cities, Venice and Genoa. Both were situated in the north of Italy and both were looking for places in the Eastern Mediterranean to further their interests. They were therefore very willing to transport the Crusaders to that area. Meanwhile the Normans, in the South of Italy, gave a helping hand to the Crusaders, because they anticipated new adventures and new lands to conquer.⁷³

Some Christian writers have implied or claimed that the main reason for those wars was the invasion of the Turkish tribes (the Seljuks), who took Jerusalem in 1076, and that this conquest put difficulties in the way of the Christian Pilgrims wishing to visit the holy places. For five years the Emperor Alexius Comnenus asked the Pope and the Kings of Western Europe for help against the Moslems.⁷⁴ The agreement of both the temporal and religious authorities in Europe to go ahead in these wars, shows that the motives and purposes were not entirely religious. This became obvious when the Crusaders established many Kingdoms in the East, in the course of their attempts to take back Jerusalem.

"Pope Urban II received the message from the Byzantine emperor with great enthusiasm. He wanted to win back the Holy City of Jerusalem from the 'infidels' and to make the country safe for pilgrims. He also wanted to stop the Christians in the West from quarrelling among themselves."⁷⁵

From the European Christian point of view this was the real motive for the wars. The really important question is, however, who were the victims on both sides? In the West the poor were persuaded to go on Crusades. They joined the army because the Pope in his speech at the Clermont Council in 1095 stated that,

"Everyone who died in battle or on the journey would have his sins forgiven."⁷⁶

On the other hand the victims of these wars in the East were also the poor. Since the purposes were not only religious, some of those who joined the wars did so for their personal advantage. They thought that it was a good chance to achieve ambitions they could not attain to in Europe. No doubt the hope of booty was a great attraction for very many of the Crusaders.⁷⁷

What the Crusaders did, when they reached the East, was far from the ideals of Christianity. Ann Williams mentioned, that when the Crusaders took Antioch in 1098 they massacred the inhabitants, and she added that this horrible massacre shocked the Christians in Europe.⁷⁸

To justify what had happened during the wars, the Church for a long time claimed that there was no alternative other than an armed Pilgrimage, an explanation which appealed above all at the time of the crusades. This army was not going to war for aggression, but for self-defence.⁷⁹ This was hardly the case, since the decision was made to wage war against the Moslems and win back the holy land. Professor H.E. Mayer summarized the purposes of the Crusaders as follows,

"Love of adventure, lust for booty - These are characteristics of individuals."⁸⁰

Christians of the eleventh century regarded the Crusades as Holy Wars, believing that the faith should depend on force for its protection, and this attitude continued through the centuries down to the 19th century. Christians thought of Moslems as 'infidels', and this attitude created hatred, misunderstandings and mistrust, between the two communities.⁸¹

Mr. A.M. Muzafar stated that,

"It is possible to say that any aggressive attitude directly or indirectly exhibited by the missionaries of the 19th century was the same as the attitude that the Crusaders had."⁸²

The missionaries of the 19th Century, and even in the first half of the 20th Century depended very much upon the imperial powers to protect their work in non-Christian lands and to forward their aims, for they believed that political and military power was necessary support to their activities. Hence some of them became involved in politics; while they understood that the real purposes of these powers were economic and political, they took it for granted that Christian nations would give them a helping hand, which was in fact what happened. This point becomes obvious in Chapter VI.

The Modern Period

However attempts have always been made within or outside Arabia to introduce Christianity to the Arabian Peninsula. The most important is the missionary approach, although missionary work for the sake of spreading the Gospel was always there in some form or another. Missionary work in its most recent form is a later development and started in the 18th Century when it began to become a well organized institution supported and financed by powerful religious international bodies. The Missionary approach certainly is a more recent development and has introduced as well as re-established Christianity in a great many new countries, especially in Africa, South America and India.

The evolution of this institution and the extent of its global influence on the religious situation is a far reaching subject. There are numerous causes that either prepared for or induced its evolution. There are three main factors that have cooperated either directly or indirectly in the establishment of missionary work and they are the Renaissance, the Reformation and European expansion. These three movements represent three of the most important Western developments in the last few centuries, and they were so influential in shaping our present international community that the Renaissance and the Reformation are beyond the scope of this thesis.

The division in the Church and the efforts attempted by both the Catholics and the new comers, the Protestants, to spread their ideas and strengthen their Churches has continued in all religious directions including missionary work. Certainly missionary work in its simplest form, spreading the Gospel, is as old as Christianity but the transformation of missionary work through and after the Reformation was to a certain extent a major and significant one and both

Churches had their own approach in dealing with missionary work. But what is certain is the fact that since the Reformation, missionary methods have changed from relying mainly on personal contact to the emphasis on humanitarian services. The relationship between the two Churches from the missionary point of view was not always complementary or co-ordinated and sometimes they tried to convert each others' followers. As G. Antonius stated, the Protestant Missions in Syria converted members of the Catholic Communities,⁸³ and so bringing about competition between Catholics and Protestants there.

The Differences in Missionary Work

a. Widespread Evangelistic Work

Protestants tended to be more aggressive in their missionary attitude, using a great variety of evangelistic programmes. Protestants in addition promoted the distribution of the Bible through the Bible Societies, Book Stores and other outlets and Radio. They also intensified the use of correspondence courses of the Bible. Certainly the Catholic Church since the Reformation has acquired some of these new methods and used them, but not in the same degree as Protestants. The Catholics, on the other hand, tend to be traditional. Also the organizational structure of the two Churches is very different in certain respects. On the one hand the Catholic Church in its missionary work has to operate through a large complicated institutional structure which demands controlling and to a certain extent dictating the behaviour, the responsibility and the duty of its members. This limitation makes it difficult for missionary staff in the Catholic Church to be as flexible as Protestants. The Protestants on the other hand have great number of members who are decentralized, as Rev. Young emphasized,

"When one part of the Church is losing fervour another live part is raised up elsewhere."⁸⁴

b. Institutional and Individual Approaches

The Catholic Church with its traditional hierarchy tended to emphasize the Church, the spread of the Church, and the creation of the Church in every area it went to. The existence and hence the establishment of the Catholic Church is more significant to the Catholic's missionary approach than spreading the Gospel. On the other hand the Protestants emphasized the Bible and the spreading of it. In other words the Protestants aggressively go for the simple aim of Christianizing as many people as possible using the most appropriate methods to attain this goal. Therefore the question of quantity rather than quality is a major difference between the two Churches. The Catholics emphasized the introduction of the Catholic Church with its organization and hierarchy, and this usually is very slow, while the Protestants prefer to cover as much space as possible, going into more countries, so that they were spread more thinly than the Catholics and found in more lands and more missionary establishments.

European Expansion

The recent evolution of modern missionary work was induced directly and indirectly by the Renaissance and the Reformation periods. Both created the right environment for the modernization of missionary work, however there is another and very influential factor that has contributed greatly in making missionary activities what they are today, and this is Western expansion. If the Reformation movement is considered to be the main factor in vitalizing missionary work, western expansion should be considered the agent internationalizing missionary work. The first (Reformation) dealt with the religious contents of the missionary work, while Western expansion carried the message to the world. Actually western

expansion has been motivated and accelerated by the need to explore what was then the unknown world, and to exploit far away resources.

By the end of the 15th and in the 16th centuries, the age of geographical discovery opened up the world to the Europeans. The basic purposes for such matters was to find new and less costly routes along which to bring to Europe the products of the East. The search was carried out in two directions: The eastward route via Africa and the westward route across the Atlantic. The results of those voyages were: The discovery of America, the expansion of Europeans in the East and America followed. Western expansion was more than an expansion of power or influence, but was most important of all the expansions of Western culture. Western expansion, as one of the most dynamic historical events in recent history is beyond the scope of this study, ~~It is~~ however important to this study; hence it will be stressed as a fact that without western expansion, missionary work as we see it today would never have seen the light. Western expansion was the vehicle by which the Western Christian Church sent its members, ideas and the Christian message to all corners of the world.

One of the most important results produced by this expansion was the spread of Western culture the Western way of life, be it science, economics, literature, technology and most important of all religion has spread to the world along Western arms, trade etc. Christianity through the centuries had gradually moved its base from the Middle East, its origin where it started, to become a Western institution and Christian leadership nowadays is not found in Jerusalem nor in any place in Palestine or in the Middle East, but it exists in places like Rome and the Western world as a whole. In other words, the organization and the leadership of today's Christianity is found in the Western World. When the Western expansion started to strengthen western influence in the world of today, Christianity

was one of the many cultural commodities to be exported, and as far as Arabia is concerned Christianity was reintroduced again by western missionaries.

Missionary Work in Arabia.

As in other countries in Africa, Asia, and South America, Western expansion reintroduced Christianity to Arabia. Through the Western expansion era Christians of the West had felt that their position was strong enough to start religious efforts in the Arab lands. The Western Missions started their operations in that region in the beginning of the 18th Century starting with Syria.*⁸⁵ Their activities had little scope, and remained confined to the establishment of a few scattered schools and seminaries, and the dissemination of devotional books. They were all Catholics and mostly French. The first American protestant missionaries arrived in Syria in 1820.⁸⁶ They belonged to the American Board for Foreign Missions, which had already established a station in Malta, and they felt that it was important to carry their evangelical activities further east. They landed at Beirut, which was their first station and made it their most important centre. The American missionaries started their educational work there as a useful method of furthering their aims, and it was in fact a marked improvement in Syria at that time.⁸⁷ Through education and medicine they influenced the people. When they felt established in Syria, the time came to open new fields. In fact the Christian Mission's efforts to take over the Arabian Peninsula and the Arabian Gulf region had begun with Henry Martyn in 1811. His basic effort was the translation of the Bible into Arabic and an attempt to sell copies of it. In 1824, John Wilson went to

* Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan were called Syria before it was divided into many countries.

explore the Arabian Peninsula for missionary work, but he did not stay there very long. In 1829, Anthony N. Groves, a dentist from Exeter, went to Baghdad in Iraq and sold some religious books, thus beginning his attempt at missionary work in that land. The only missionary effort in the Arab Gulf region in the first half of 19th Century was made by Dr. John Wilson of Bombay, who sent Bible colporteurs to that region in 1843.⁸⁸ He was of the Church of Scotland. In 1848 members of the American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions began to prepare a new Arabic translation of the Bible.⁸⁹ As early as 1856, the Rev. Stern made a missionary Journey to San'a in Yemen, to Baghdad, and other parts of Arabia with the Gospel. In 1884 Mr. and Mrs. William Lethaby, a Methodist laypreacher from England and his wife, began a mission to al-Medina in the Arabian Peninsula. Then followed the 'Ian Keith Falconer Mission' of the Free Church of Scotland, which began its missionary work at Aden in South Yemen in 1885. At the beginning of the next year the 'North Africa Mission' attempted to reach the Bedouin tribes of the northern Peninsula, but did not succeed in its attempts. Then came the attempt of 'the Arabian Mission' which started its operations on the eastern coast of Arabia (the Arabian Gulf) in 1889. In January 1891 Bishop T.V. French came to Muscat to start a missionary work there. He was the Bishop of Lahore, and belonged to the 'Church Missionary Society' (British). His attempt did not take long because he died three months later.⁹⁰ This study aims mainly at the evaluation and the investigation of this missionary organization which attempted to reintroduce Christianity to Arabia. The Arabian Mission, like other modern missionary efforts, is western in character and carried to the Arab World by and through the Western expansion.

FOOTNOTESCHAPTER I

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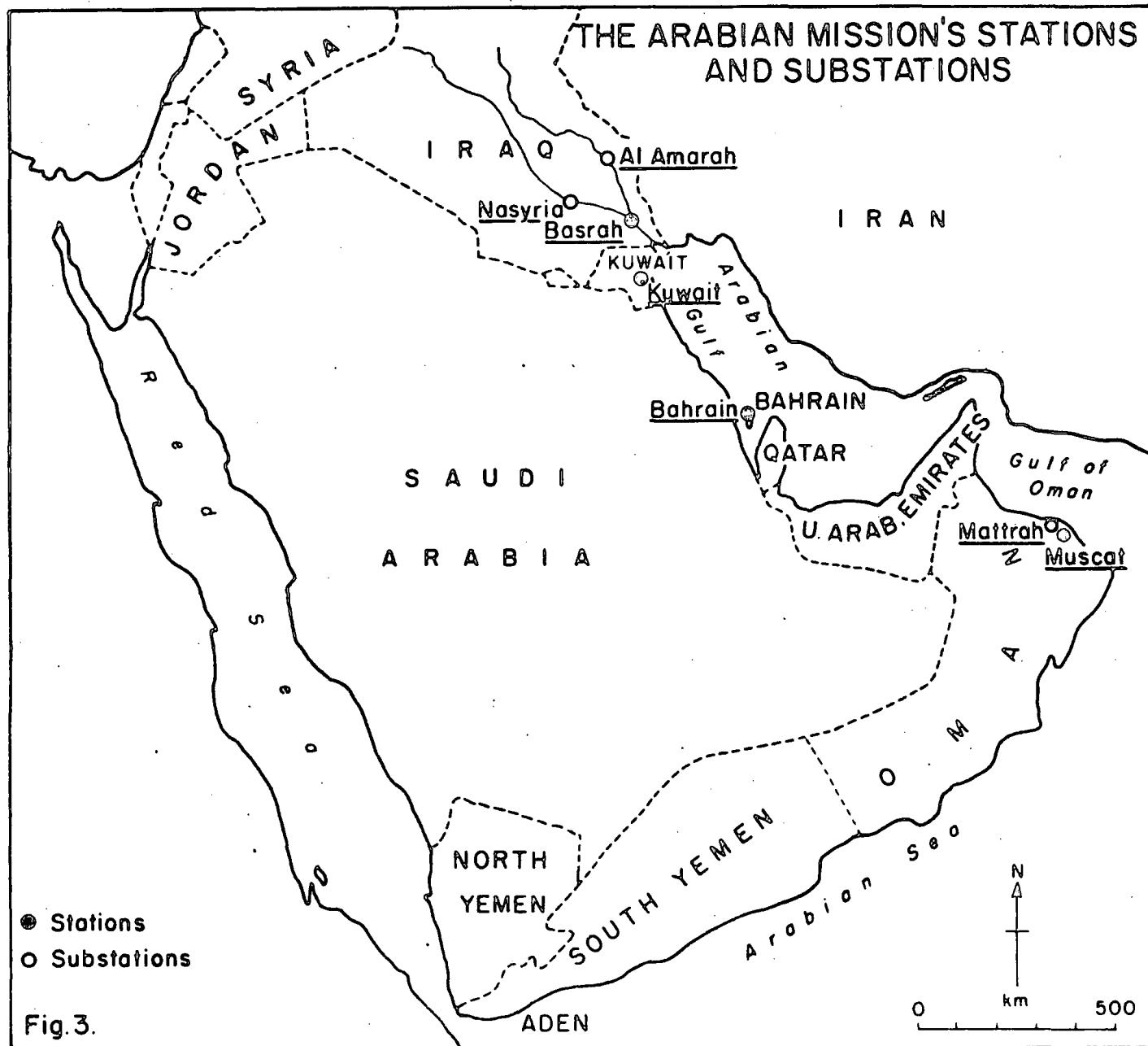


Fig. 3.

CHAPTER II

THE ARABIAN MISSION

The Arabian Gulf

a. Location and Climate

The Arabian Gulf lies on the eastern frontiers of the Arab World, and on the east side of the Arabian Peninsula. It extends in a south-eastern direction from Iraq to the Indian Ocean. It has been a channel of trade between the ancient centres of civilization since the dawn of history, placed in a controlling position on one of the main highways between the East and the West. It has also possessed strategic importance in more modern times and has been a field of international competition. The length of its waterway from the extreme south to its head in the north is about 800 miles. Its breadth varies from 180 miles at its widest, to a minimum width of only twenty-nine miles at the strait. On either side lie the two great Plateaux of Iran and Arabia.¹ Physically the Gulf region is mainly desert or steppe except for Oman, whose soil is fertile enough to support agricultural activity, and the mountains whose highest peak is Jebel al-Akhdar (the Green Mountain).

The climate of the Gulf region is strongly affected by the nature of the surrounding areas. The mountains of the north and north-west give an inflow of tempering winds which are dry, hot and healthy. In the late summer and autumn, and occasionally in winter, the south-eastern wind blows in the region, increasing the wet-bulb temperature in summer and the rain in winter.² On the whole, the climate of the Arabian Gulf is hot in its long summer, cold with little rain in its winter, except for the climate of southern Oman, which is favoured,

for it receives plenty of rain in the autumn.

b. Population:

In fact most of the Gulf region's people originally migrated from the Arabian Peninsula. The population numbers in 1975 were approximately 3,000,000.³ They are distributed as follows: Oman, 1,750,000, Kuwait 850,000, Bahrain 150,000, Qatar 100,000 and the United Arab Emirates 100,000. In the past the essential needs of the people were met by agriculture, the pearl trade and fishing. In Oman and Basrah* life depended basically on agriculture, but the other areas like Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, were dependent on the pearl trade and fishing. This was the economic picture in the past, but it changed suddenly after the discovery of oil, and particularly its exploitation in economic quantities after the Second World War. Consequently the people of those areas left the sea, and turned their attention to inland developments. They have been working ever since in the governments' fields as employees, and in commerce with the outer world. The peoples in Oman and Basrah, however, are still mainly dependent for their living on agriculture.

c. Importance:

The Arabian Gulf was the cradle of ancient civilizations, but little is known of the history and geography of the Gulf in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. What is known has been gleaned from the writings of the Greek and Roman geographers and historians. But the area became known to the Europeans, when the Portuguese explorers discovered the way to India in the 16th century. They indeed reached the Arabian Gulf and built

* Basrah occupies the northern part of the head of the Arabian Gulf and is part of Iraq, but geographically it is considered to be one of the Gulf areas.

a base in Hurmoz, one of the strategic points in the Gulf region. Then the other European powers moved towards the Gulf and entered into international competition in order to capture this important water-way. This competition ended when the British managed to monopolize the region. At present most of the Gulf area has its independence, and this region is playing an important role in the world economy. Sixty per cent of world oil imports come from this region and pass over the waters of the Gulf. The region is a very valuable market for western and American products, and moreover it has strategic importance in the East. This region was chosen as a Christian missionary target in order to begin the Christianization of the whole homeland of Islam.

The Arabian Mission

This is an American Protestant Mission with evangelistic aims in Arabia. The Mission was formed in 1889 by its first founder, Dr. Lansing* and three assistants (James Cantine, Samuel Zwemer and Philip Phelps). Dr. Lansing was a Professor of Arabic in the Theological Seminary** at New Brunswick, New Jersey in the United States. The original name of this Mission was 'The Wheel'; it was so named by Dr. Lansing and the three pioneers in February 1889. However the name had to be changed to The Arabian Mission as a result of a formal application made to the 'Board of Foreign Missions' (of the Dutch Reformed Church in America) for evangelistic work in an Arabic-speaking country.⁴

*The idea of founding the Mission by Dr. Lansing derived from his interest in that land, since his father was a missionary in Syria for a long time in the first half of the 19th century.⁵

** The Theological Seminary was founded in 1784 to train ministers for the Reformed Church in America, the Seminary has been located in New Brunswick, New Jersey, since 1810 when it became associated with Rutgers University.

The Mission started as an independent project, as it seemed that its project would not at first be accepted by their Church, but later it became closely tied with the Dutch Reformed Church of the United States, and in 1894, it became a full member of the main organization.⁶ The mother organization in the United States had only partial control over the Arabian Mission. The relationship between the two was decentralized, hence the Arabian Mission managed its daily affairs independently and referred to the mother organization only for funds and staff. The main objective of the American Arabian Mission was missionary work within the Arabian Peninsula. However, as a result of a lack of staff, it was later confined geographically to the Arabian Gulf region.⁷

Arabia is the home-land of Islam, and that religion was the chief rival of Christianity, and the most difficult problem facing world missionary strategy; so the founders of the Mission decided to apply the antidote of the Christian Gospel at the very source, where Islam had been born and where there was little hope of numerical success in converts. The pioneers of this movement were fully aware that it would be difficult to establish Christian evangelistic work there, but thought that it would not be impossible. The Mission's main activities were evangelism, education and medical care. Their day to day operations were managed locally by Committees which were formed for this purpose.⁸

They were warned of the many inhospitable circumstances they would encounter, particularly the fact that they would have to

preach Christianity in all parts of Arabia, the heart land of Islam. In other words, the missionary going to that field had necessarily to have a strong faith and interest in this sort of work, because he would be going into a special field, to preach to Moslems strongly attached to their religion, and to work in a difficult climate. Before the start of the missionary work, a plan of action was formed by the Mission in 1889, to outline the policy and scope of activities of the new organization.

The Mission's First Plan

It is obvious from reading the plan of work and the Mission's constitution* that the main evangelistic objective was the evangelization of Arabia. Emphasis was placed on the structure and policies of the Mission's activities. However the evangelistic aim was stressed in their other sources. Mrs. Ann Harrison stated,

"We are sent out to transform men
and to call for the power of God."⁹

On this foundation the missionary enterprise of the future was to be built. To Christianize Arabia and turn its people to Christianity was the main aim. The initial attitude of the Mission was a very hard line one against Islam and was Samuel Zwemer's and his colleagues' evangelical impulse, which was to draw all mankind to following Christ. Through this thought the plan of the Mission was detailed.

The second point in discussing the plan was the naming of the organization. The name, Arabian Mission, was selected as a result of the following considerations: First, the fundamental purpose of this organization was evangelistic work in Arab lands, basically the

*The Mission's Plan and Constitution are attached to the end of this thesis in Appendix I.

Arabian Peninsula - the home land of Islam. Secondly, they wanted to keep this Mission differentiated from other Christian Missions, in order to attract attention to this new field, which they believed was open to receive such activities. Thirdly, this name was chosen to overcome the inherent Arab mistrust of foreign activities. Such mistrust was natural, especially in that period, a time of international dispute particularly in the Arabian Gulf region. The plan outlined the Mission's future work, and selected the Arabian Peninsula as its target.

The Reasons for Selecting Arabia as a Missionary Target

There were many reasons behind the selecting of Arabia as a field for the missionaries' operations. One of the primary reasons was the historic claim based on the fact that Arabia was once influenced by Christianity. This point has already been explained in the first chapter - therefore the reinstatement of Christianity, at least theoretically, was thought not to be impossible. The importance of this reason was emphasised by S.M. Zwemer and J. Cantine the pioneers of the Mission - who stated that

"Among the claims of Arabia there is first of all the historic claim to claim Arabia and Asia for Christ is to re-claim. Within the past fifty years evidence has been accumulating that early Christianity in Arabia was extensive there is archaeological evidence of the Christian Church, so we must win Arabia back to Christ." 10

The second reason was that a Christian success in Arabia - the heart land of Islam - would be a turning point in Christian missionary work. Such a notion assumed that their success would be the key to open the way to the whole region.

The Mission also placed emphasis on the importance of co-operation with similar organizations which already operated within the region. To put this idea into practice, James Cantine stopped

at Edinburgh on October 16th 1889, on his way to the field, to establish co-operation with Keith Falconer's Mission in Aden which belonged to the Free Church of Scotland .¹¹ After reaching the field the Arabian Mission contacted the Keith Falconer Mission for co-operation and assistance. Actually the American Missionaries received valuable help from this Mission. The most valuable was the briefing on background information on the area, mainly geographical, social and religious. Moreover the Arabian Mission obtained the co-operation of similar organizations in Iraq The United Mission in Iraq, the Near East Christian Council, and the C.M.S. Details about this point will be obvious later.

The Start of Field Operations

After detailing the plan of work, the Arabian Mission started preparing its fieldwork. First of all, the missionaries gathered and studied all the relevant information about the region, e.g. geographical, social, economic, religious etc. However the region was considered at that time to be unexplored. Such a point had been stressed by Mason and Barny.

"The land of Arabia and its people was practically an unexplored land and (an) unknown people, therefore it was vital that a certain amount of time should be given to the study of the conditions and the selection of a proper site for future operations before any positive work could be attempted."¹²

Actually the lack of information was considerable, and the Arabian Mission had to face considerable difficulties. The most important difficulty was the underestimation of their field problems, such as language, climate, religion etc. In a detailed report of his journey to Arabia (1880) General Haig described at some length the geographical, social, commercial, and religious conditions of the various towns and

tribes which he visited. His observations convinced him that,

"In one degree or another all Arabia is open to the Gospel."¹³

General Haig's forecast was mistaken and the Mission's efforts did not spread the Gospel either over the Peninsula or in the Arabian Gulf region. Details of this point will be discussed later. However it is important to detail the reason for such a forecast. One of the facts that could be blamed for misleading General Haig might have been that Arabia was not well known at that time, or else it could have been the fact that the illiteracy of the people gave an impression that they had no strong faith. Another important reason could be that the British control of those areas was thought to have paved the way for the Gospel. But it has not happened yet in history that a colonial power has changed the character and the thought of a people in any part of the world by force.

The important factor is that the Islamic religion had not been thoroughly studied by the Mission; therefore it operated under the impression that Christianity would not have to face a competitive and similar faith, which was more familiar to the region than Christianity, and more adapted to the needs of the people. Such a failure to understand Islam and its importance and strong connections with the people of those areas, can be illustrated vividly by the impressions and convictions of the missionary pioneer in Arabia, Mr. Stone^{*} who went as far as to say,

"The need (for Christianity) has not been exaggerated, and that Mohammadanism is as bad as it is painted I do firmly believe that the strength of Islam has been overestimated, and that if ever the Church can be induced to throw her full weight

* Mr. Stone, was one of the pioneers of the Arabian Mission. He worked in Muscat for short period in 1899, then he gave up because of illness, and died the next year.

against it, it will be found an easier conquest than we imagined ... I do believe that Islam is doomed." 14

Besides this important factor, the Mission did not have sufficient grasp of the Arabic language to establish a natural contact with the people, and in addition their contact with the British and American Offices gave the local people the impression that the goals of the Mission and the colonial powers were similar. Details about the political implication will be discussed in a separate chapter later.

Field Stations

Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, was the first transit station for the Mission's field work in the whole region. The missionaries stayed there a few months collecting information, studying and practising the Arabic language, and looking at their future field for the first time, and above all, meeting the very important and valuable future companion, Kamil Abdel Massia, a Syrian Christian, who came to be an assistant to the Mission. He was, as Mason described him,

"One of the most useful and admirable characters he was a young Syrian, his home was in Beirut and he was of an inquiring disposition and an earnest mind." 15

The Mission got help also from the American Missionaries who were already active at Beirut long before this Mission was born.

Opening the Basrah Station

After Beirut, the Arabian Mission went to Basrah, and started to construct the first station. That station in later years became the centre and the base of their operations in the Arabian Gulf region, and was among the important areas which they planned to occupy. 16 The choice of Basrah as the first and the base station was not a chance event, but had been planned. The location of this city is of

strategic importance in the whole region, as it controls the northern head of the Arabian Gulf. The American Government had already established a consulate there, and the American Missionaries were able to live and work under its protection. This was a great help, especially as that area was still under Ottoman domination. S.M. Zwemer and James Cantine were the first pioneers to start the missionary work in that station, hence they were the first to go through the experience of facing the negative reaction of Islamic community leaders and the Turkish authorities.

From Basrah the work of the Mission started to cover **most** of the Gulf lands and some parts of the Peninsula. The missionaries visited the ports on the Gulf Coast line and the areas inland of Oman and also other areas in the Peninsula, starting from Muscat, Bahrain, Hasa and Kuwait. In order to open a new field, the missionaries relied on their initial trips. Such trips were the right way to discover and study the social, political and geographical conditions of the areas at close hand. After these trips the Mission was ready to start its operations in the new area. At first central importance was given to requirements such as the residence, the hospital, the shop, the school and the church. They always chose places for these establishments which would allow them easily to contact the people.

The establishing of their station at Basrah, founded in 1891, for some time met with determined opposition and open hostility on the part of the Turkish local government, especially in the matter of obtaining the necessary buildings. In Basrah the major missionary building project was the girls' school with its large date garden. A residence for the missionary women was also needed. The Bilkert Memorial Library in the boys' school compound in Ashar, in the centre of Basrah, was erected at the same time as the girls' school. In fact

the presence in Basrah of Mr. Dykstra - one of the Mission's leaders - on a building assignment provided an opportunity for the use of his services in the field. The various projects were completed by 1930.

One of the main features of the early days of Missionary work in Basrah, was the distribution of Scriptures and Christian literature. A Bible shop was opened in this area in 1891 as the first missionary establishment.¹⁷ The missionaries claimed that they usually started by selling a lot of religious books, and they regarded that as a measure of their effect on the people's mind. The case indeed was different, for the people were thirsty for reading matter, and interested particularly in knowledge they knew nothing about at a time when they were still living far away from modern civilization. This point will be discussed in detail in the chapter on evangelistic activities.

The renting of houses, at Basrah offered no serious difficulties in the second decade of the Mission's work in that area, and various houses were occupied. The need for the great influence of medical services was the main question which faced the Mission in 1908.

In the same year a friend of the Mission gave the sum of 6,000 dollars for a second hospital in Arabia. After lengthy negotiations a permit was granted to build the new hospital, which was the Lansing Memorial Hospital, founded in 1909.¹⁸ Thus the missionary work grew gradually (in spite of the difficulties which became serious after the revolution in Turkey in 1908) and continued there until 1958, when the revolution took place in Iraq. As a consequence of this last event the Mission decided to close this station and transfer its work to The United Mission in Iraq which operated in the northern part of the country.¹⁹ When the establishment of the Mission's base

at Basrah became stable, the time came to open up another area in the Gulf region, starting with Bahrain.

Opening up the Bahrain Station

Bahrain island lies in the Arabian Gulf. The importance of this island is its strategic location midway between Basrah and Muscat and very close to Hasa, the eastern coast of Saudi Arabia. Actually this island was in foreign hands from the beginning of the 16th century; the Portuguese occupied it in 1521, the Persians in 1622, the Arab tribes in the middle of 18th century and the British in 1820.²⁰

The Missionaries reached the island at the end of the 19th century when the Rev. S.M. Zwemer visited this area many times in order to open a new missionary station there. He said about his first visit in 1892, that,

"All Arabs are hospitable to strangers but on the whole Arabs (of the) Arabian Coast have to suspect a Christian who comes with the book (the Bible), but they received me with less prejudice than I had expected."²¹

Early in the next year, Zwemer established a Bible Shop there.²² During 1893 the work of establishing the station at Bahrain continued slowly with the opening of a hospital and a school. Although at first Bahrain was considered an out-station of Basrah, later it became a second main station, and moreover the base of the whole Mission's work after the First World War, when Basrah ceased to be the Mission's base. The outcome shows that the effect of the missionary activities in those areas was limited. The missionaries found it easier to operate at Bahrain than Basrah, first of all because of its location, and secondly because this island was a British Protectorate.

"Its political position gives greater security to Mission work than is the case in the more independent Arab States."²³

The Missionaries' basic work at Bahrain was the medical service. It was developed when Dr. and Mrs. Thoms came from Basrah in September 1900. The need for a hospital was apparent, and the corner-stone of the Mason Memorial Hospital was laid with appropriate ceremonies on March 19, 1902, and the building was dedicated as the first missionary hospital in the Arabian Gulf region. As at the other station, a school and church were provided in downstairs rooms of the dwelling house. The establishment of this hospital was in fact financed by members of the Mason family of Brooklyn in New York.²⁴ In 1926 a new hospital was built, the Marion Wells Thomas Memorial Hospital .

The Missionary residences here then underwent a complete change. A large house, subsequently remodelled to make two separate apartments, was built near the hospital compound. The doctor's residence, near the two hospitals, was demolished, as it had deteriorated beyond hope of repair, and a new one was built on the same site. The historic East House, considered a perfect place of comfort and convenience when it was built in 1908, has been used over the years for a succession of missionary activities. A new separate house, designed for one family, was also being built on the east compound.

Opening up the Muscat Station

Once the Mission had become firmly established in Bahrain, the time was ripe for a move into another important area, Muscat. Muscat was held to be as important a strategic location as Basrah. It controlled the Southern end of the Arabian Gulf, an important water-way in the East. There was a basic reason for evangelization in that area.

The Role of Arab Moslems in Africa

Because Islam was directed towards mankind as a whole, Africa was not omitted from its field of activity. When these activities began Christianity had already been established for a long time, particularly in Egypt and Ethiopia,²⁵ from where it had been taken to Nubia (the Sudan).

In the beginning Moslem expeditions to North Africa succeeded in establishing Islam by peaceful means. Its influence was spread by Moslem holy men who settled in lonely places to practise their religion, and gradually attracted to themselves the people of the surrounding areas.²⁶ This study, however is concerned with Moslems' activities in East Africa. The first Europeans who landed there were the Portuguese, who had built churches in the area by 1501, and from 1560 European missionaries arrived and began actively converting the people.²⁷

East Africa had been known to the Arabs for a long time, and trade between the coasts of the Red Sea was already taking place before the arrival of Islam. This trade between Arabia and East Africa played an important part in spreading Islam in Africa, especially in the Coastal areas. The establishment of Islamic states in Africa from the tenth century did not threaten the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia, and from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries centres of Islamic activity existed in such important areas of Africa as Zaila, Harar and Eritrea.²⁸

The spread of Islam in Africa was, however, slow, despite the nearness of Arabia. Arab sailing ships travelled from South Arabia and the Gulf areas to Africa, as well as to India and China, during the four months of the year when the wind was favourable, and they returned when the wind changed direction.²⁹

The continent had been known to Europeans since Vasco Da Gama

reached the towns of East Africa in 1498 and saw the Moslem trading centres. The arrival of the Portuguese upset the balance of power for they occupied many places and controlled the coast from 1530 onwards. This naturally led to the collapse of Arab dominance and Persian influence there. But in 1698 the Arabs of Oman expelled the Portuguese from the North and captured Zanzibar and Kilwa, so that the Portuguese lost control of the area. Permanent Arab trading centres had been established by 1840, but after that time the other European powers, especially Britain, began to penetrate Southern Arabia and the Arabian Gulf.³⁰

During the years of political and economic conflict Islam continued to be spread by unofficial missionaries, by traders and by means of social institutions such as marriage. In the 19th century Christian missionaries entered Africa with the Western imperial powers and trading enterprises,³¹ and Islamic activity did nothing to prevent the action of Christian missionaries there. They started actively working there by 1850. There were important social and political factors which helped the missionaries in the area such as the growth of imperialism, the expansion of trade and the use of humanitarian services like medicine.³² The Christian missionaries increased their activities extensively while the Arab Moslem missionaries* continued to influence the coastal and interior areas of Africa. Because the Arabs had already established themselves there for a long time the Africans were already familiar with Arabic social conventions. They therefore found a congenial environment for their activities and there was also little difficulty in the Arabs conforming to the social and domestic customs of the African natives.

* The reference to Arab Moslem missionaries does not imply a similar meaning to the term Christian missionaries. The Arabs were unofficial missionaries, not belonging to a state or societies in their religious activities.

The fact is that the Arab missionary work in Africa occurred as a natural result of communication brought about by trade and intermarriage with the natives. The sympathy between the Arab missionary and the African is therefore more complete than that which exists between the European and the Negro. ³³

"Today there are Christian Missions in many Muslim areas in the Tropics, and smaller ones in the Islamic north. Converts from Islam to Christianity have been very few in North Africa, because conversion goes against the whole community, from which an individual can hardly be separated. But much indirect influence has come with Western education and government in the last hundred years The influence of Islam upon Christianity is less obvious and has been disputed." ³⁴

Today there is competition between Moslem and Christian missionary work in Africa. Bearing in mind the attempt at communication between the two religious communities which began a few years ago, it is interesting to ask whether this will influence the competitive situation. It is difficult to answer this question until the dialogue has made positive progress. The nature of dialogue will be discussed in the last chapter.

To summarize, the Omani's have played an important part in bringing the people of the East African Coast into contact with people from South Arabia and the Arabian Gulf at an early date. The Arabs exploited the existence of the trading to spread Islam as far as the East Indies. Their contacts with the nomadic Hamites of the Red Sea Coast and the eastern horn of Africa led to the conversion of the inhabitants, yet the influence upon the Bantu world during the centuries of unbroken coastal contact was negligible. ³⁵ Islam was therefore securing a foothold among the divided people on the Coast, who had struck up relationships with the traders, but it was not until this century that its influence really began to penetrate deeper into Africa. ³⁶

For a long time the Omanies, whom the Arabian Mission had been trying to convert, were influential in spreading Islam in Africa. Now it is obvious that both Christian and Moslem missionary work is operating successfully in Africa. The question which is the concern of our study is why the Christian missionary work is succeeding in converting many people in Africa, while it has not been successful in the Arabian Gulf region. There are many differences between the two societies which may account for the varying degrees of success. First, Christianity has been deeply rooted in African Society from its early years, especially in Egypt and Ethiopia.

Second, in Africa the Christian missionaries have been acting mainly among Pagans, while in the Gulf they have been working among Moslems. Third, the dominance of the Western powers was stronger in Africa than in the Gulf region, and this fact helped the missionaries to extend their work freely and without hindrance. Fourth, the missionary societies in Africa have been more powerful than those who acted in the Gulf region, for example C.M.S. was strengthened by the aid and protection of the British authorities. Fifth, Mr. H. Al-Tammam emphasized that the use of Arabic language was one of the main reasons. The Koran is written in Arabic and as this is the local language, there was no problem in understanding it. In the case of the Africans, the situation was different, because their knowledge of Islam was weak, so it was easy for the missionaries to influence them.³⁷ These are the main reasons why the Christian missionary work has been more successful in Africa than in the Arabian Gulf. It is worth noting that the Moslem unofficial missionaries succeeded in Africa because of the native paganism and because of establishment of social relationships which enabled easy communication to take place.

The connection of Oman with East Africa led to the sending of the first missionaries to Muscat by the Church Missionary Society of England, for that connection in 19th century was permitting Islam to penetrate Africa, otherwise an open field for Christian Missions. Alexander MacKay, the pioneer missionary in Uganda, repeatedly insisted on the necessity of centering missionaries on Muscat. He set out for that area in February 1891, but he was unable to carry on his work because of his illness. He died in the same year. The Arabian Mission, already active in other Arabian Gulf areas, moved into Muscat in 1893, and thus founded their third important station in that area.³⁸

In fact, when the missionaries decided to open up a new station, they usually made many tours to the particular place, as will be discussed later. In the early part of December 1893, Rev. Peter J. Zwemer one of the Arabian Mission's pioneers visited Muscat with a view to finding out the prospects for missionary work there. The outlook proved favourable. Rev. P. Zwemer has stated in his first letter from that new field:

"For some time Muscat offered an opportunity for Bible and Mission work, being unoccupied. My coming here was with the purpose of seeing what methods of work were possible at this place On invitation the Arabs are very willing to come to my house to talk religion The Colporteur, Naom proves a very satisfactory Bible reader Most of the villages along the mountain passes have been visited. Bibles sold and in most places, publicly read in the Bazaar or Coffee Shop."³⁹

Rev. P. Zwemer in fact tried to show the opportunity open to the Arabian Mission in that new field. It has already been mentioned in the case of Basrah, that the missionaries regarded the selling of many religious books as an indication of their successful missionary work. But in fact the people at that time were eager to read anything available.

When the missionaries started their operations at Muscat, there was not any kind of objection facing them, but when they began to extend their activities to Mattrah - which became one of their substations, - the reaction came from many directions from the people, the local government and the British Authority. In the first year of their operations at Muscat, it was a question of getting any sort of accommodation, and when at last property could be purchased and buildings erected, it was the visible sign of their permanent existence in that area. When Rev. Peter Zwemer came to this area for the first time he hired a native house, one of the best in Muscat. Partly owing to the fact that there was an American Consul on the spot, Rev. Zwemer's position was less difficult, because when he met trouble, he found his Consulate a refuge. It treated him and his colleagues in the first place as American nationals. He was able to use its protection for carrying on his missionary work. More will be said about this point in the chapter on Political implications. The missionaries, however, purchased a house. The Sultan of Muscat offered a piece of land for a garden in front of the rebuilt house, and also for a cemetery nearby.

By 1909 the Mission owned about two acres of land, the practical result of which was that the surroundings could be kept sanitary. In the spring of 1908 there was completed the Peter Zwemer's Memorial School, a substantial one-storey building with a room measuring twenty by thirty feet, costing 1,200 dollars.⁴⁰ They used a part of the building as a hospital. The old Mission house had been repaired and modernized. The Peter Zwemer Memorial Chapel next to it has now been considerably enlarged, and has become a worthy church for Muscat and Mattrah as well.

Once the Missionaries had a permanent residence there, their activities started with zeal and confidence.

One fact should be mentioned here. The Missionaries tried hard to buy lands in each of their stations instead of renting buildings. The explanation of such action was obvious, in the British Consul's advice to the missionaries when he stated,

"It would be best to have the ground formally consecrated, so that there might be no future withdrawal of concession."⁴¹

The work in this station, Muscat, was on the same lines as that at Bahrain, because in importance of location and in political conditions they were very similar. When Muscat became formally a missionary station the attention turned to a new area. In their policy of spreading their missionary work in the whole region, the missionaries found that Kuwait was suitable as their next station.

Opening up of the Kuwait Station

Kuwait's location is on the north western side of the head of the Arabian Gulf. A.T. Wilson said of its importance,

"The strategical and commercial advantages of its situation, its proximity to the Tigris-Euphrates corridor, and its intimate connection with the Central Arabian Kingdom of Ibin Saud, to which region it afforded easy access, have all combined to render the position of the Kuwait Shaikhdom of special importance."⁴²

Kuwait had been visited by the missionaries in 1900 and again in 1903 when they opened a Bible Shop there. But Sheikh Mubarek, the ruler of Kuwait refused at that time to give permission for such establishment or any kind of missionary activities in his country, asking them to close their shop and leave the Sheikdom immediately. Naturally the missionaries were surprised at this decision, because it had never happened to them in other stations in that region when they first started their activities. They of course could not argue with the ruler, for many reasons: First, the missionaries opened the Bible Shop without official permission.

Second, they were in the first stages of their work, so their position was not so permanent as to enable them to face such a difficulty.

Third, it was difficult to argue in such a society where the Moslems are loyal to their religion and can put pressure on their ruler. The missionaries' first reaction to such an action was to send a letter to the British Agent in Kuwait complaining that the ruler of Kuwait did not allow them to stay and act. This letter was sent on 17th September 1904 via the manager of the missionary Bible Shop there, asking for help in dealing with the ruler of Kuwait. The letter is as follows:

17th August 1904.

To His Excellency Captain Knox.

I offer you my compliments and respects.

I wish to inform you that we (the missionaries) have been in Kuwait for about six months with the permission of Sheikh Mubarek. We had offered to come to Kuwait before, and the Sheikh was fully informed about our work. The day before yesterday he ordered me to leave the country. I do not yet know the reason for this decision. We await your help.

Thank you very much

Kuwait Book-seller under 43
Mr. S.M. Zwemer in Bahrain.

In fact the official opposition to the missionaries' activity in Kuwait continued until 1910, when Sheikh Mubarek, while visiting Basrah, asked Dr. Binitt of the Arabian Mission to come to Kuwait in order to treat his daughter. Upon the success of Dr. Binitt's treatment the Sheikh asked him to stay and practice medicine in his country. The missionaries consulted the ruler about their project of opening a hospital in Kuwait. He accepted the idea, but opposition to this sort of development was started by many of the leading men of the area. They thought that medical services could have a religious impact on the people, because they knew that what had happened in Bahrain was that the missionaries began with medical service and developed to a religious one. The Sheikh resisted the opposition because

he saw the benefit for his family and his people,⁴⁴ especially after the successful operation by Dr. Binitt on his own daughter's eye. Moreover he felt that the missionaries could not influence his people.

Dr. Binitt left for Basrah, and a month later Sheikh Mubarek asked him to return and practise medicine in the area. When he arrived with a few of his assistants, the Sheikh placed at their disposal a big house, the property of one of his nephews situated close to his palace,⁴⁵ probably because he thought that such proximity would keep them under his watchful eye, or because he intended that such proximity would be useful if he needed any medical treatment for himself and his family.

From this point onwards the missionary work went on steadily in this area. It began in a small way and gradually grew. The work started with the opening of a dispensary there. Actually the establishment of the Arabian Mission's branch in Kuwait was begun by a request to the ruler for the purchase of a plot of land to the West of Kuwait City and clear of the town, on which it could be obtained at a reasonable figure, for its members, much on the lines of their station in Bahrain, which was the second most important station of the missionaries operations in that region after Basrah. From the start Sheikh Mubarek was anxious to fall in with Dr. Binitt's proposals, as he was convinced no political complications were entailed, while he would secure the advantages of independent and thoroughly efficient medical treatment for himself and his household, not to mention a larger sum of money for the land than he was likely to receive from any of his own people.

To assure their future the missionaries signed an 'undertaking' with the British Authority in the region. It is as follows:

The Arabian Mission
Reformed Church in America
Undertaking with the British Government
Bahrain

18th November 1910.

We the undersigned Directors in the Persian Gulf of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Arabia, recognizing the special position of the British Government at Kuwait, hereby undertake - in the event of our obtaining from Sheikh Mubarak, with British consent, a site in Kuwait on lease or purchase, for the permanent establishment of our Mission - that while it will always be our endeavour to carry on our work and arrange any little difficulties that may arise from time to time, with the Sheikh direct, should we find ourselves unable to adjust our differences in that manner, we will refer them for the arbitration or good offices of the British representative alone, or, in his absence, of the British Resident in the Persian Gulf. The Kuwait establishment will be entirely independent of the branch of our Mission at Basrah and in no circumstances will we, directly or indirectly, seek the intervention of Turkish authorities, or of Consular officials accredited to Turkish territory.

Signed: Jas. E. Moerdyk and
D. Dykstra.⁴⁶ (See Appendix I)

After the signing of this undertaking by the directors of the Arabian Mission in Bahrain it became possible for the Missionaries to go ahead with their programme in Kuwait, their new station. They received the Sheikh's consent to buy a piece of land for a hospital and other necessary buildings in the town of Kuwait. In 1913 the corner-stone was laid for the Men's Hospital, and in 1914 the hospital was ready for use. Before that time medical services were provided by Drs. Binitt, Harrison and Mylrea in a native house. Thus this establishment was a step forward in the evolution of the Mission's humanitarian services in that region.⁴⁷

During the first World War such services were interrupted, returning to normal when the war was over. The Medical Mission's staff there concentrated their efforts on the Women's hospital. It

was opened in 1920. In fact Kuwait had a new hospital for women in 1939, the Kate V.S. Olcott Memorial Hospital, named after a great and good friend of the Mission.

What distinguishes the missionaries' work is their determination to act and continue there despite all the trouble they have faced. Whether their work seems likely to achieve anything of value or not, they usually look forward in an optimistic way. In Kuwait they faced opposition from the beginning of their work from the ruler, and then from the religious leaders in the country. When they faced a wave of opposition they emphasized the Medical Services, and when this died out their religious activity began again. They have had the ability to adapt themselves to all the circumstances around them. This explains in fact their survival for this long time, despite the continuous decline in their work in most of their mission stations. In 1967 the Mission decided to give up its work in Kuwait because of the local development in the area and because of the argument between its staff, there especially Dr. R. Scudder and Dr. Fell 1964-1965. Each of them saw the problem of dealing with the people in a different way.⁴⁸

Substations

a. Amarah and Nasyriah

The missionaries attached importance to substations, regarding them as the main stations of the future. At the end of 1895 work started on a substation in Amarah on the Tigris, and on another acquired at Nasyriah on the Euphrates. In 1897 a Bible-shop was opened in each of them, both being in the south of Iraq. Operations at Amarah were at first limited, and by 1914 it had become an out-station of Basrah once more. By then, however, a hospital had been built at Basrah, and patients from Amarah came for treatment

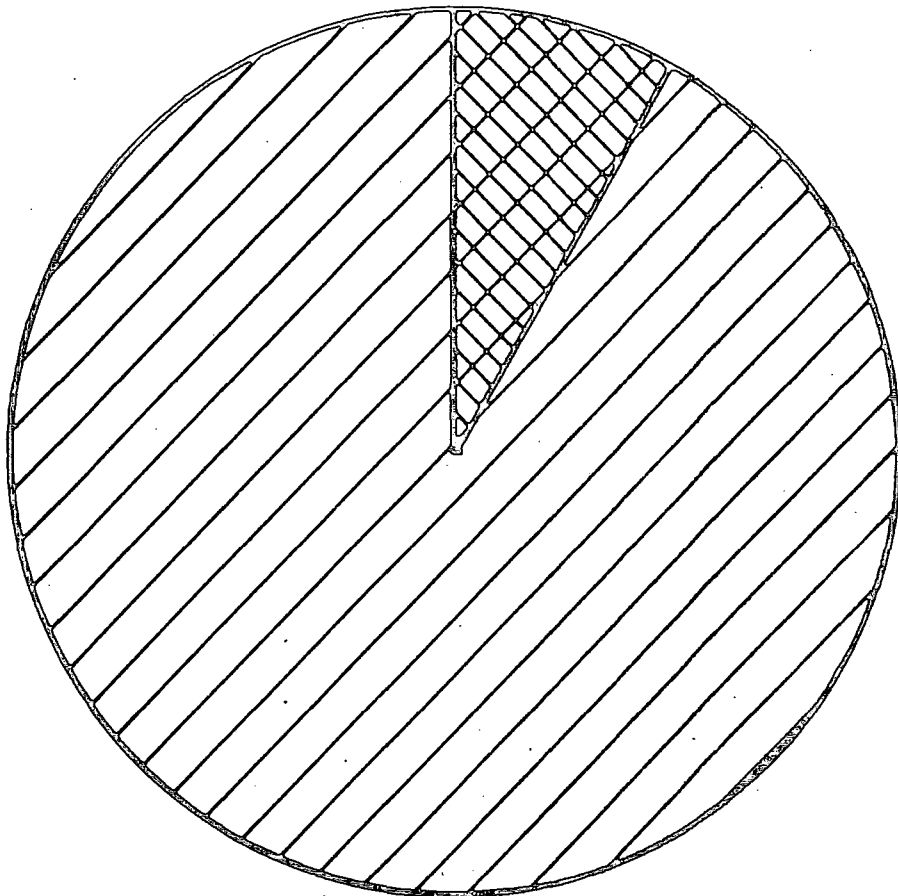
in Basrah, especially after the opening of the Lansing Memorial Hospital there in 1911 under the leadership, first of Dr. Worrall and then of Dr. Arthur Binitt. 49

The missionary work in those substations was growing until the beginning of the First World War, when the work was stopped, because of military operations, which interrupted the missionaries' activities. But the work started again after the war when these substations re-opened in 1920. This work was then under the care of Rev. and Mrs. Bilker, and later Mr. and Mrs. Dykstra. The work in fact got back to normal between 1920 and 1930 in those areas, after that it decreased gradually in Nasyria and came to an end by the end of the Second World War. The only explanation for this is that the Mission began to concentrate on the Arabian Gulf region as its main target and a base for entering the whole Peninsula; in addition the political situation in Iraq did not provide an encouraging atmosphere for their activities. However, their work was continued in Basrah. It is worth noting that from the beginning of the Second World War the national movement grew there and a revolution took place in 1941 but it failed after a few months; and the call for independence from Western influence became the main question which occupied the politically more sophisticated in that country. 50

The missionary work was carried on in Amarah until 1959 when the Mission considered Amarah a closed station because the Mission was forced to leave the area after the revolution of 1958.

The opening up of Matrah

Matrah, a port near Muscat, became an out-station of Muscat when the missionaries started their medical service there in 1914, and a hospital and women's dispensary were opened in later years. When the Mission started its activities in this area, its aim was not limited to the area itself, the intention was mainly to reach



Graph 1



Total Area of
Arabia
1,000,000sq. mls.



Area Occupied by the
Missionaries
80,000 sq mls

Aden, etc, 8,000 square miles
Muscat 600 square miles

Bahrein 400 square miles
Busrah and Bagdad, 71,000 square miles

Source: I. Zwemer S. Arabia: The Cradle of Islam. N.Y. 1900 p. 381

inland Oman and the Peninsula. Mattrah was important for such a role because it lies on the way to these areas. It was the Mission's intention to create an opportunity to act among the inland people, using Mattrah as a base. But the Mission was shocked by the emphatic refusal of the ruler of Oman to allow its members to act there. Consequently the Mission found itself in a difficult situation, and this threatened in fact the whole of the missionary work in Oman. But the intervention of the American government through its Consulate in Muscat put an end to this dispute, and resulted in permission for the Mission to stay and act. Detail about this dispute will be found in the chapter on political implications. This situation made the Mission very careful in its activities and it concentrated on Mattrah itself and especially on the medical services.

After a long period of work in that area, a new hospital was built in 1934. The doctor's house was built at the same time. The Sharon Thoms Hospital for Contagious Diseases was opened in 1948, and a second building added for the care of lepers.⁵¹

After all the Mission's preliminary efforts to open up the Arabian Gulf region and construct their stations and three substations in the region, the missionaries work began seriously and effectively from the second decade of their operations.

The Attempt to open Qatar

Qatar was among the areas which engaged the Mission's attention. It lies on the Gulf Coast not far away from Bahrain, physically it is a stretch desert of the Peninsula in the Gulf. This area was toured many times by the missionaries of the Arabian Mission before permission was given to them to act there. The Missionaries were : Rev. Gerrit Pennings, Drs. Harrison, Dame, Storm, Thoms and Miss Cornelia Dalenberg. In 1945 Rev. G. Van Peurseem and

Dr. W.H. Storm went to Qatar on a medical-evangelistic tour. They asked to examine the ruler's blood pressure in his Palace. During that visit the Sheikh asked the missionaries to come and run clinics and a hospital in his Sheikdom. He promised them that he would build a hospital for them. They found this a good opportunity to open up this area and treat it as a substation from Bahrain. The Sheikh asked them to draw up a plan for the hospital and promised he would give orders to start building it immediately and when it was finished would give it over to them to run.

In the autumn of 1947 the hospital was ready for action. The Storms plus a staff from the Mason Memorial Hospital at Bahrain came to Qatar on Nov. 20th to unpack and get the new building ready for actual work.⁵² The medical service in this area however, did not long survive. In 1952 the Mission had to give up its activity because of problems of staffing and the hospital was handed back to the local government.⁵³ This was also the case when the Mission tried to open Zobair in Southern Iraq; it rapidly gave up its work there for the same reason, shortage of staff. Tours were still made to these areas and some medical and religious activities did survive but they did not result in the opening up of these areas as permanent stations or substations.

The Mission's Relationship with the other Missions in the Region

The Arabian Mission was the major Christian organization acting in the region, but it was not the only one. There were four other small Missions working there. The Arabian Mission had a kind of relationship with each of those Missions.

The first was the Keith Falconer Mission at Aden which was already in existence a few years before the Arabian Mission started its operations in the Gulf region. The Mission got good help from

the Keith Falconer Mission. The second one was The United Mission in Iraq which also helped the Mission in its first years in Iraq and in its last years when the Arabian Mission handed over its work there to this Mission, when it was forced to leave the area after the revolution in 1958 (see page 48). Before going further, the Missions in Iraq need to be discussed in some detail. Since the collapse of the Nestorians Church of the East in the 15th century, the Christian population of Iraq has been confined to three centres there; Mosul in the north, Baghdad in the centre and Basra in the south. Some of the Christians are original Nestorians and others are missionaries and Europeans who came later, mainly the C.M.S.* All of them came under British influence⁵⁴ after the First World War, when the country as a whole came under British rule.

The Nestorian community was organized on a tribal basis in Iraq under the head of the area, and all chiefs owed him allegiance in civil and religious affairs. In the Kurdish areas in the north the Nestorians were subject to the Kurdish chief (Amir).⁵⁵ When political conflict started in Iraq after World War I, the Nestorians fled, and their Patriarch was exiled from Iraq in 1939. Despite what had happened to the Nestorians, and as a result of Western influence, missionary activities started there and the Christian population accordingly increased. One of the important Missions which worked in that country and was influential is the C.M.S. This Mission started its operations there when the British established a political and Military presence in the country.⁵⁶

*This Mission started its operations in Malta in 1815, and transferred them to Beirut and other places in the Eastern Mediterranean afterwards.⁵⁷

This was not only the case in Iraq, but in many areas in the East under British control, for example Aden. The Mission had a political role because of its relationship with the British authorities.⁵⁸

The American Missionaries came to the area by the end of the 19th Century, and they prayed that the Nestorian Church would reawaken for their missionary efforts.⁵⁹ They were given a helping hand by the C.M.S. in their work there, since both were Protestant organisations. This happened both in Iraq and in Aden.⁶⁰ Co-operation began by helping the Americans to study Arabic and printing their literature.

A.L. Tibawi stated that,

"Since no printing in Arabic had yet been attempted by the American Press, Faris was employed at the C.M.S. Press as general assistant in the Arabic department. There is specific mention of his producing for the C.M.S. an Arabic commentary on the parables. He may also have helped Smith and other members of the American Mission with their study of Arabic."⁶¹

In Muscat members of the C.M.S. paved the way for the Arabian Mission to act in the Arabian Gulf region especially its distinguished members like Bishop French and General Haig.⁶²

The last Mission was The Evangelical and Alliance Mission (TEAM) led by Dr. Kennedy in Buraimi Oasis in Abu Dhabi which has historical associations with the Arabian Mission, although relations have been irregular over the years. Its committee were members of the Arabian Mission. It separated itself because it had its own view of Missionary work among the Arabs. It believed as Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. stated,

"That the Missionary work should be directed directly to influence the people through all the Mission's establishments. For example they believe that the patient in the Mission's hospital should not be discharged without influencing him religiously."⁶³

It seems that this new Mission has not achieved anything with this policy so far. The author met Rev. Young,⁶⁴ one of the Evangelical and Alliance Mission staff, and he did not notice in his discussion that that was the case of his Mission's separation from the Arabian Mission. It seems that there are other reasons still unknown at the present time. The fourth Mission was the Presbyterian Church. It existed in the East before the Arabian Mission in Lebanon and Persia and had a good relationship with the Arabian Mission.

The End of the Arabian Mission

After eighty five years of the Arabian Mission's activities in the Arabian Gulf region the decision was made by the Reformed Church Conference in March 1973 to put an end to the work of the Arabian Mission, its affiliated organization.⁶⁵ Since then officially the Mission

has been closed, and each of its establishments has been directed locally, its relation with the Reform Church merely one of moral obligation. Financially the Mother Church has been not committed to support it. This decision came as sad news to the missionaries in the field, but it was taken as a result of the conviction that there was no alternative choice. The Reform Church did not announce publicly any reasons for the decision. The probable reasons are:

a. The Reform Church realized that its duty was not to run medical and educational services, but to carry on its basic religious function, by helping the local churches in their religious activities.⁶⁶

b. Using these methods for the missionary work in that region did not achieve what it was intended to achieve from their point of view during the whole of the Mission's career.

c. The rapid local development in the last twenty years or so made it difficult for the Mission's establishments to compete with the local governments' hospitals and schools, and when such services were found locally there was no justification for staying any more. After this serious development in the Mother Church's strategy, the Mission's staff first in Kuwait and then in Muscat were transferred to the government's establishments. In Bahrain the case is different and they still direct locally, and the relationship between them are stronger than those in the other areas.

This is the story of the Arabian Mission, its birth, its reaching the field, the opening of stations and substations and the difficulties which faced it. Now it is possible to discuss its activities, starting with the medical services.

After opening a station or a substation the medical service became the important part of the Mission's work there, because such an activity in that region among those people at that time

was the only way of justifying the missionaries' work and the only reason they were allowed to exist, act and continue. The medical services will be the subject of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

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59. Betts, B.R., op.cit., pp. 52-3.
60. Author's, interview with Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., Kuwait, June, 1977.
61. Tibawi, L.A., op.cit., pp. 52-3.
62. Zwemer, S.M., op.cit., pp. 52-3.
63. Author's interview with Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., Nov. 1974, Kuwait,
and Interview with him in Sept. 1976, New Brunswick, N.U., U.S.A.
64. Author's interview with Rev. H. Young, Birmingham, Feb. 1975.
65. Author's interview with Rev. Scudder, L. Jr. Sept. 1976, New Brunswick
N.J., U.S.A.
66. Ibid.

CHAPTER III

MEDICAL SERVICE AS A MISSIONARY APPROACH

Its Importance

Medical service as a missionary approach has always been given high priority and played the major role in the Arabian Mission's social activities. The provision of such a service has always been a part of the Christian ethic, which calls for helping people and healing them. In reply to the question, why did the mission choose medical work as a method, Dr. Pennings, the Chief Medical Officer in the Mission hospital at Bahrain said,

"It is easy to know why; Christ was a teacher and was a healer, in fact was a doctor. What we are doing is following him."¹

Mr. H. al-Tammar argued that,

"Christ was not a physician or a healer in the sense that we are familiar with in hospitals. He did not use any kind of medicine to heal people. What Christ did was to perform miracles nothing more."²

Healing in Christianity is a deeply rooted religious activity starting as early as Christ's miracles of healing the sick and the blind. The priority given to this approach was based on satisfying the most urgent need of the native people, above all, of medical treatment. At that time the Arabian Gulf communities had no modern medical service, the only one available was based on native treatments. Moreover medical service provided the most friendly approach, an approach that was not only humane, but also appealed to local society and forestalled any religiously or politically induced negative reactions. It was thus the most effective method of establishing a friendly and receptive social environment. H. Storm emphasised that,

"Medical work has proved to be the key to unlock closed doors, the means of promoting friendships, and the tool for breaking down opposition."³

This approach has been stressed as the main missionary tool, and a means of capturing the natives' favour, creating an appreciative audience and, most important of all, providing an opportunity for

preaching the Gospel. Samuel Zwemer went so far as to state that,

"All missionaries in Arabia are agreed that the qualified medical practitioner and surgeon has a passport that opens closed doors and wins hearts no matter how obdurate. The hospitals in Arabia are places where mercy and truth meet together, where righteousness and peace kiss each other."⁴

The medical approach has many advantages, the most important being its psychological impact on society. Beside the fact that the native population were in great need of it, they viewed a man of medical qualification as a superman using highly modern methods that were far more efficient than the 'native doctors'; therefore they always liked to be close to him, to ask for his guidance and advice, after all who could be more trustworthy than an able healer. Also a medical approach appeals to the Arabs' passion and admiration for medical service.

A traveller, Wendell Phillips, has noted that,

"Actually, Arabs have a strong passion for medicine and medical treatment."⁵

It is this passion that made the Arabs contribute to medical science in the past, through the famous Arab physicians e.g. Ibin Sina and Al-Razi, and this passion has also been encouraged by Islam, the Quran declaring that,

"... and whoSO gives life to a soul, shall be as if he had given life to mankind altogether."⁶

However, the indulgence in the use of medical service as a missionary approach has not been universally encouraged by missionary authorities. It has been criticised by some as being a costly venture that induces a substantial deviation from the main focus of the missionary aims, namely the preaching of the Gospel and the spreading of the faith. It is the view of some that the indulgence in medical service leads to a heavy involvement in running local hospitals and clinics and demands great efforts. Such a responsibility

takes more time and means less effort for the missionary's main aim of preaching the Gospel. Dr. Harrison, one of the important men in the Arabian mission after S. Zwemer, went so far as to declare that,

"The missionary is not satisfied with the development of hospitals, even if their service reaches the entire province. We are in Arabia to make men and women Christians." ⁷

This dispute indicates a basic missionary concept, which is that involvement in medical work should not become the end but should rather be a means. Rev. Gerrit D. Van Peurseem, emphasised that,

"The medical missionary should not and cannot divorce himself from active evangelistic work Medicine is not the limit of the doctor's activities on the mission field This should include the evangelistic as well as the other departments." ⁸

This dispute also indicates the continuing fear entertained by some missionary scholars that an unrestrained indulgence in medical activity might lead to a situation where approaches become ends in themselves, losing their original purpose of being a means to the main end of preaching the Gospel. Rev. Peurseem argued,

"No one will think that I speak disparagingly when I say that the other departments of our activity are not ends in themselves, but noble and admirable means to an end. Our Lord went about doing good but he seldom healed the sick or raised the dead, except that it bore on the spiritual." ⁹

Hence the balance between approach and the aim is the matter that is in dispute. This dispute illustrates the fact that medical service has always been a missionary approach rather than a medically oriented service, in the sense that medical activities are the by-products of missionary aims and not vice versa. However, the

idea of carrying on medical service only so far as was necessary to provide an approach rather than as an end in itself also aroused disagreement.

Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. rejected the attitude of some missionary organisations, which he said, advocated,

"The use of hospitals and schools as baited traps into which to gather Christians out of Islam." ¹⁰

To Lewis Scudder Jr. these groups had to admit defeat, because their argument could not hold up with any integrity in a theological court. Also, in his interview, with the writer, he defended the missions' attitude towards medical service saying that it was regarded as a humane activity rather than an approach to preaching, and he stated that,

"Hospitals and schools paid off in souls". ¹¹

On this question D. Van Ess has stated,

"The temptation to follow the line of greater efficiency and physical expansion is carefully considered, and weighed against the evangelistic emphasis which is the reason for the mission's existence. One (missionary) doctor reflects: 'Jesus must frequently have left some sick unhealed in order to do what He determined more important' While Christ was talking to the women of Samaria or preaching the Sermon on the Mount, He might have been healing the sick people. Obviously He did not give all His time to healing. Often He used the healing incident as a teaching opportunity The work in the hospitals is dedicated to making real the presence of Christ to the hospitalised, the Muslims, to all who come. They come for release from physical pain or incapacity, but they must hear of the Healing Christ who brings not only release from the pains of the body but from the agonies of the Soul as well We have come here not to establish the mission as an esteemed and valuable institution, but to establish the Church of Jesus Christ, even with her medical mission, in the lands of the Arab." ¹²

The evangelists believe that the hospitals are not separate from the Church, and not more important than the Church. They should

be an extension of it; the evangelists seek in fact to use medical means to win over non-Christians. The central point of the argument is that the missionary doctors believe that they are doing their religious duty through their medical service, because this kind of activity is part of the Christian ethic, the tradition of Christ as a healer. F. Barny believed that the medical approach in Arabia was the only work possible, outside the Bible work, for reaching and influencing the people.¹³

Dr. S.T. Thoms stated,

"We are longing for the time when, besides giving them medicine for physical needs, we can give them something better for their spiritual need by telling them of the great Physician."¹⁴

Dr. Thoms links medical with religious service, and he clearly expresses the missionaries' attitude towards Islam, when he says that they can give Moslems something better for their spiritual needs.

Dr. P. Harrison put it this way,

"We hope at least that a crowded, dirty and happy hospital is a better instrument for the spreading of the Gospel, than a clean unpopular and empty one."¹⁵

Dr. Harrison agreed with Dr. Thoms' idea that the hospital should be a place for preaching the Gospel. What worried the evangelists was that some of the missionary doctors were making medical service the more important of the two; this could lead to conflict between the Hospital and the Church, and this would naturally affect the whole missionary work. This argument was translated into reality by one of the Mission's doctors in the first year of their operations at Basrah.

The year 1892 can be considered to mark the beginning of the establishment of medical work at Basrah. However, this beginning was disappointing. Ironically the disappointment was created, not by the natives, but by the Mission's first doctor, C.E. Riggs. Dr. Riggs was

sent by the Mission's Board of Trustees in January 1892, and he was noted in the words of Samuel Zwemer as a man with testimonials of his standing as a physician and a member of an evangelical church. Shortly after his arrival his commission was revoked and he returned to America. The reason for this sudden termination was not related to his medical work, which was busily and efficiently carried out, but was the result of his doctrinal position, mainly his doubt and disbelief in the divinity of Christ. Naturally this necessitated his recall to America. Mason and Barny speak mildly of the matter stating that,

"It became evident that his doctrinal views on essential points, such as the divinity of Christ and other truths, were not in accord with those held by evangelical Christians and that in other respects he was not in full sympathy with his fellow workers."¹⁶

Samuel Zwemer, however, was more specific in pointing to the doubt in his Christian faith by stating,

"Shortly after reaching the field he avowed his disbelief in the divinity of Christ."¹⁷

Unfortunately a great deal of the background of Dr. Riggs is unknown, for his early career, beliefs, and personal character have never been investigated. No doubt he was such a disappointment to the Mission that the main writers who mentioned him (Zwemer, Mason and Barny) said very little about him, and this could be attributed to their sense of the failure of the Mission in choosing him, and secondly their wish not to encourage other doctors to behave in the same way. They wanted to close this sad chapter of the Mission's history. The three writers express personal admiration for him and mention the testimonials of his standing as a physician, a man of attractive qualities, unexceptionable personal character, professional skill and above all, evangelical faith.¹⁸ Moreover the only report Dr. Riggs wrote indicates his ability, knowledge and co-operative spirit; the report also indicates his popularity, for he had had about 980 patients during his time, with only three deaths.¹⁹ His

religious curiosity involved him in learning about the religion whose members he was supposed to Christianise. Later investigation led the writer to find a report written by the Board of the Mission in the United States, it mentioned that they received a letter from Dr. Riggs saying that he would give up his activity because of his disbelief in the divinity of Christ and the Board appointed a committee of three leaders, Dr. Lansing among them, to deal with the question.²⁰ (See Appendix I)

Medical Conditions in the Region

The health situation in the region was desperate. Smallpox, measles, whooping cough, trachoma, tuberculosis, intestinal diseases, venereal diseases and malaria were common. Geographical location was an important factor - malaria was common in Basrah, Bahrain and Oman as a result of the mosquitoes which thrived in the swamps. Cholera and Bubonic Plague were rare; however they had their outbreaks, killing large numbers of the population. The areas in contact with the Far East, mainly India, introduced a great number of diseases from that area. Blindness and facial pustules were common as a result of smallpox, which also killed many children. Coastal areas had many cases of tuberculosis. Inland areas had commonly cases of Actinomycosis. Cancer and heart attacks were unknown,²¹ because people did not live long enough; also the diet and the relaxed psychological atmosphere played a major role in preventing them. Influenza was frequent in the winter months. Stone in the kidney was also a common affliction. Besides these major diseases, the perils of delivery and the locale of the sanatorium played a major part in high mortality among children.

Medical treatment used in the Arabian Gulf at the time when the Mission started its work was based on what the natives call al-tibb al-sha'bi or sometimes al-tibb al-arabi ; the first means 'folk medicine' and the second Arabic medicine . Arabic or folk medicine

is partially physical and partially religious.²² The physical treatment is based on a synthesis of medicines from desert shrubs and trees. When a person in this society became ill, he did not get rest and treatment from the beginning of the disease, and he carried on his work until he became unable to do anything. Thus the disease became far advanced; probably his family would not even realise that a simple disease could become dangerous in the near future, and they also needed his unremitting effort.

At that time there was no social and health insurance to help the people. The patient received medicines prepared basically from shrubs and trees. These were usually mixed together and each person had his tradition and experience in preparing the drug. This treatment was given to the patient many times for many days, meanwhile there was no cleanliness in administering the treatment and in the patient's body and clothes, and even the native 'doctor' himself was not clean. This no doubt gave a chance for the disease to increase, or for the production of other diseases, thus threatening the life of the patient. If there was no improvement in his condition, they usually changed the treatment many times until they found one that produced a positive effect. They did not of course realise that this could harm the patient, because they were not educated. Therefore the results of most of these treatments were hopeless. Some of the patients were cured of their illness, but such instances were very rare. The use of plants for treatment has now been proved effective, but the preparations actually used were impure and contained mixtures of different elements that acted against each other.

Cauterisation was a common treatment used for many growths, and usually used for cases that could not be diagnosed. It was common among the native population for a cautery to be successful, and it

depends basically on the performer's ability. The body was cauterised by a piece of iron which is heated in a very hot fire. The idea was perhaps to create a counter-irritant, which became a festering sore. The shock effect alone usually succeeded, and in most of these instances the patient was held by his relatives or friends, because of the extreme pain. Sickness in the end was left to the 'hand of God'. Normally the native Arab population, who were generally Moslems, believed that healing was from God, because the traditional Moslems have a religious justification for everything in their life.

Psychological treatment based on religious prayer played an important part in the people's life. They instinctively discovered that this kind of treatment has its effect in healing. They did not differentiate between physical and psychological treatment, and sometimes they used them together, for example using plants and reading religious verses at the same time. Psychological treatments were of two kinds: firstly religious and secondly superstitious. The religious treatments were various, the most important was the use of Koranic Suras and holy sayings for healing. The local religious man (Mullah) in each area was the 'doctor' who was usually called in to read from the Quran over the sick, and the people were confident that this pious action would produce the desired improvement in a sick person's condition. Despite that, they also believed that if it were not for God's mercy and medical care, nobody would recover from his illness. However the basic healing value of the Quran was supported by both the healer, usually a religious man, and the patient. The second psychological treatment was the superstitious kind. The most common kind was al-Zar. It was an African custom brought to the region by the Arab merchants when they dealt with Africa before the supremacy of the Western colonial powers in that region. The

action was controlled by a man or a woman who professed this kind of work and sought to draw the evil spirits out from the patient's body. On a specific day the patient's family were called for an Al-Zar session. Most of his relatives and friends would attend on such an occasion. They surrounded him, and the person who was in charge started his work by covering the body with a blanket, meanwhile the atmosphere was usually full of drum beats, and the scent of particular perfumes. The man or the woman in charge started with some religious words, and he threatened the evil spirits by hitting the patient with a stick many times. After a short period of this drama, the master would ask the evil spirits about their desires, promising that the hitting would stop if they answered quickly. Then the patient would say that the evil spirit wanted particular things, like food, clothes or to visit special places. If they refused to talk, the healer had to decide whether the patient was healed or still needed another session or whether his condition was difficult and they had to leave him to the will of God. There were many diseases treated by the 'popular medicine', physical, religious and superstitious in Arabia.²³ Most of these treatments were without good results, but the society could not produce other means of healing. These were the conditions of health in the region when the Arabian Mission started its operations there.

THE MISSION ACCOMPLISHMENT

Medical Service at Basrah

The year 1892 can be considered to mark the beginning of the establishment of medical work at Basrah. Although medical service was needed by the native population, the Arabian Mission faced a number of problems at this station. The main ones being that people were not sure of the mission intentions and were hesitant in accepting

the Mission's service in the beginning. However, later they gradually became more receptive and later still became extremely co-operative and eager to take advantage of the Mission's medical help. The Mission's unfortunate experience with Dr. Riggs ended by depriving the Mission in Basrah of a professional doctor. For a whole year the Mission relied on unprofessional staff for simple remedies. The medical service returned to normal with the arrival of Dr. J.T. Wyckoff in 1894. Dr. Wyckoff engaged in little practice and spent more time learning about the people, their language, conditions and so on. However in June 1894 the medical work was accelerated by the spread of fever and various other diseases. By the beginning of 1895 the work was too much for one person to handle, so a new doctor, Thoms, joined the Mission.

The Mission was faced with the difficulty of its ignorance of the people as well as the problem of identity which caused the departure of Dr. Riggs. The habits, customs and culture of the local society were strange to the Missionaries. Consequently, the number of patients who sought treatment was disappointingly small in the first years. The following table shows the statistics of 1895.

Table Number III : I

Religion	Number of Cases	Sex	Number of Cases	Treatments	Number of Cases
Moslems	112	Men	146	Medical T.	155
Christians	87	Women	37	Surgical T.	33
Jews	24	Children	42	Eye T.	34
Subies*	2			Ear T.	3
				Death	1
				Of Tumor	1
				Of Opistholbnous	1
				Bright Disease	3
				Mitigated	30
				Cured (so called)	192
TOTAL	225		225		358

Source: N.A., 1895, p.7.

*The Sabians, designation of two different sects:
 1. The Mandaeans, a Judaeo-Christian gnostic, baptist section, Mesopotamia (followers of St. John the Baptist) used in this sense in the Quran.

Looking at this table, it seems that the number of cases is very small in a city of half a million population. But this had its reasons. The first was the native medicine which had formed part of the people's life for a long time; the modern medical system had to fight hard to make headway against this and win acceptance from the people. Native medicine was linked mainly with the religion of the local population, and the Mission's modern medicine was also linked with its religion, but as a means of evangelisation. The second was the political situation. Basrah, as a part of Iraq, was under the Ottoman Empire, which was at that time at the end of the nineteenth century in sharp dispute with British power; conditions were especially unstable in this city since it stood at the head of the Arabian Gulf, which was at that time under British control. Moreover the Turkish official medical service was challenging but not effective. The third was the reaction of the people. They interpreted the presence of any kind of Westerners in their country as politically motivated at a time when the Western powers were moving towards a World War, and were already heavily involved in colonial activity. The fourth was the ultimate aim of the Mission's medical service, which was to change the people's religion. This provoked the opposition of the local religious leaders, who began to teach their people that the Christian message was coming to their society disguised as a medical service. Consequently the people's attitude was generally discouraging and at first, few people came to be treated by the mission. These attended the Mission's dispensary because of their urgent need and they were confident that nobody could in any way affect their religion. Fifth, the ignorance of the majority of the people was one of the reasons. As already mentioned, their belief in superstitions hindered the Mission's medical service, but did not stop it, for the Missionaries believed in an idea and in carrying a religious message.

Missionaries have patience, seek solutions to their problems, and never give up easily. This was their way in Basrah and later in the

other areas. They considered the limited number coming for treatment in the first four years a natural thing, and anticipated increasing numbers of patients in the following years. The numbers did increase although the hindrances did not vanish overnight. The patients came because modern treatment produced positive results. In the next few years the medical service found itself in a good position. The people understood this kind of work as a humane service, but the Mission understood it as a means to a religious end. This mutual misunderstanding led the Mission to mistake the people's conviction of the benefits of medical treatment for a conviction of the truth of the Christian message. Consequently most of the missionaries considered the acceptance by the people of that kind of service a first step in the preaching of the Gospel and an indication that the people were being influenced by Christianity. Actually there was not only an increase in the number of patients, but even in the sale of Christian religious books, all brought about by the people's need for medical service. This will be obvious in Chapter V. The Missionaries only realised this later when they saw the result of their work in this area over many years, which was that very few of the Muslim natives became Christian.

The medical service was normal and regular in the years 1893-1894. In 1895 the Mission faced a difficult test, when the plague afflicted the city and the dangerous situation proved too much for the Mission's resources.²⁴ This epidemic somewhat weakened the people's confidence in the Mission's medical service. It caused the Mission to think seriously of building a hospital in this station in order to establish its work on a solid base, to cope with similar epidemics in the future and also to deal with the increase in the number of patients. In fact contagious diseases found a fertile ground there because of the absence of hygiene and of modern medical care. In 1896 the service returned to normal and the number of patients increased compared to the previous year.

In that year the station received a new doctor, Lankford Worrall.

The next year passed without striking incident. The clinical service received most attention. The Medical service in general was similar to the previous year with an increase in the number of patients who received treatment from the Mission's dispensary. This increase is obvious from the following table.

Table Number III : II

Religion	Number of Cases	Sex	Number of Cases	Treatment	Number of Cases
Moslem	760	Men	464	Medical T.	713
Christians	200	Women	376	Surgical T.	150
Jews	40	Children	160	Eye T.	162
Subies	25	-	-	-	-
Total:	1,025		1,025	-	1,025

Source: N.A., 1897, pp. 11-12 Dr. Worrall.

It seems that the number of women drew level with the number of men. This event marked a specific change in that underdeveloped and conservative Moslem society. It indicated that the people's awareness had gradually been broadened. The location of Basrah as a harbour controlling the head of the Arabian Gulf, gave its people flexibility of mind, and approval of modern medical treatment became normal in a short time. The year 1898 witnessed little increase in the number of patients, which is recorded as 1,137. In general there was regular and normal service, except for the appearance of several cataract cases, most of which were sent off till the advent of cool weather, as eye cases especially did not heal well for some reason in the summer, because of the hot weather. ²⁵

Two events took place at Basrah in 1899 for the first time in the history of the Mission. The first was the performance of

surgical operations. The second was a Cholera epidemic. Surgical operations were started after seven years of the Mission's service at that station, because operations need special equipment, skilled doctors, and the approval of the people, and all these need time. Dr. Worrall performed many operations in that year. He operated in a room in the Mission's house, because at that time the Basrah hospital was not yet built. Why did he not do them in the dispensary? No reason is given, but probably there were not enough rooms there or he did not want to do them there because of the crowd of people.

When cholera broke out in Basrah in that year, a quarantine was imposed between Basrah and Baghdad, the capital of the country, which was very inconvenient, as passengers were compelled to spend ten days in a hut house below Baghdad. Cholera died out in Basrah, but a few cases were reported in Amarah, which became the Mission's substation later. Dr. Worrall went there while Dr. Thoms carried on the dispensary work at Basrah.²⁶

Dr. Thoms thought that gaining the friendship of the Ottoman Governor in the city would secure protection for his Mission. He stated,

"Having fortunately secured the invaluable friendship of the Governor of the province, or vilayet, all Turkish officials with whom I had dealings with were exceedingly good to me."²⁷

The missionaries gave importance to friendship with the governors in all the areas which formed their field of operations. They began with the Turkish governor at Basrah, then sought the good will of the Sheikhs in the Arabian Gulf areas. It was a good tactic which enabled them to carry on their activities without interference. It helped them in travelling around and opening the substation at Amarah on the River Tigris. It prepared the way for their subsequent work in their other

stations along the Gulf coast. But this tactic did not succeed in persuading Ibn Saud of the Peninsula to allow them to work in his country. He informed Dr. Harrison and Dr. Dame that he would let them stay for some time, and they should then go back to Bahrain; when he felt there was a need for them he would ask them to come again to treat his family and other sick inhabitants.

The years 1895 to 1900 might be called years of growth. Tours were made as frequently as possible along the Arabian Gulf coast, and as far into the interior as was permitted by the Turkish and British authorities. The missionaries began with touring campaigns which were the only practical way to study the field at first hand and to deal with it gradually. Thus many stations and substations were established in the region. The medical campaigns continued for a long time and considerably helped those suffering from disease. Dr. Harrison, Dr. Dame, Dr. Storm and Dr. Thoms became famous on these tours. This will be discussed in detail later.

The medical services at Basrah were interrupted in 1900 through the transfer of Dr. Thoms to Bahrain. The service was closed by this event, and the station received a shock, because Basrah had been the base of the whole work of the Mission, and any damage to this station was felt to be most unfortunate. But there was consolation in the thought that their loss would be another's gain, because Dr. Thoms was going to work in another important place which occupies the middle point in the Arabian Gulf and which became the base for future operations. However, the missionaries considered the event serious, because medical work was so well suited to conditions in Basrah.²⁸ The question is why was Dr. Thoms transferred when he was the only doctor at Basrah, and after the medical service there had been so firmly established? What happened to the patients who regularly used the Mission's medical

service, especially those who had chronic diseases? These are some of the probable reasons:-

- a) The Mission probably felt that the medical service was not religiously affecting the people by the Gospel message, therefore they should move and concentrate their efforts on another area.
- b) From their work in Bahrain they knew that the results were better than those in Basrah; and when Bahrain needed a doctor and would be their permanent location they preferred to supply it first.²⁹
- c) There is the probability that Dr. Thoms himself did not want to stay at Basrah any longer.
- d) Since the main goal of the Mission was to occupy the interior of the Peninsula, when work began on the Gulf coast along the Peninsula's eastern borders, it was important from their point of view to give these points preference. All these are probable explanations for Dr. Thoms' sudden transfer from Basrah to Bahrain at a time when Basrah was in need of his efforts, and for the Mission's failure to send a replacement to the city for more than a year.
- e) Also the Turkish authorities' forbidding them to practice medicine there without having a Turkish diploma was among the reasons.

The condition of the patients, especially those who had chronic diseases, was miserable during this period. These people had grown used to modern treatment, and it was therefore difficult for them, when their doctor disappeared and they found themselves compelled to go back to the old system of local native treatments. Eventually Dr. and Mrs. Worrall arrived to reopen the dispensary in 1902. The shutting down of the work seemed to them to have been necessary because Bahrain was to be their future base instead of Basrah, and they hoped that it would not happen again. This hope depended upon the growth of their medical staff, as they pointed out. When medical service

was reopened at this station in 1902 after having been closed for more than a year, the great demand for a doctor was shown by the fact that hardly had one arrived before patients began to come again. To set up the medical service again after that gap needed some time, and further efforts were required to make it regular.³⁰ Thus this station was restored to its normal activity. Dr. Worrall reported, when summarising his work in 1902, that there had been several operations for stone in the kidney. A number of patients had come with necrosis of the jaw-bone from bad work by native 'dentists'. Many had eye diseases. The number of patients treated in this year was 5,864.³¹

Two years later the mission felt that the time had come for medical stability, and they began to think about building the hospital. This scheme faced many difficulties, caused partly by the Turkish authorities and partly by the cost. It did not become effective until 1910. 1903 passed normally, but 1904 witnessed a cholera epidemic. There were above five deaths a day on average. The Mission's medical staff worked very hard to deal with this dangerous disease, and the Turkish authorities put the city in strict quarantine. The normal life of the city was disrupted. The bazaars were only half opened, and on some days they seemed quite deserted. By the second half of this year the disease had died out. During this year Mrs. Worrall, also a doctor, opened her own clinic for women.³² The treatment of women was continued in 1905 in spite of the absence of Mrs. Worrall. Her husband kept up the women's dispensary during that time, but not at the same level of activity, because of local traditions which favoured a woman doctor. In 1906 many eye cases needed operations, and many were performed successfully by Dr. Worrall.³³

Dr. and Mrs. Worrall did much for the people of that area,

and the work became more than they could manage, so it was necessary to increase the Mission's doctors at Basrah station to cope with the increase in the service. Dr. Arthur Bennett arrived in 1907 to help in carrying on this sort of activity. He extended the field of medical service, working among the tribes to the north and east of Basrah.³⁴ Actually each missionary step was studied carefully, and when Dr. Bennett worked among those tribes he had a particular aim, pursued despite the increase in the number of patients at Basrah. The work of Dr. Bennett among the northern tribes took place because the Mission was planning to open substations at Amarah to the north of Basrah and in Kuwait in the south.

The tribes to the east of Basrah were ruled by Sheikh Khaza'al. This area was called 'Arabistan'. It was strange that the mission did not open a station or a substation at 'Arabistan', when it had a good relationship with its Sheikh. The mission's reports and the pioneers' writings do not mention the idea, saying only that the Sheikh of Kuwait had met Dr. Bennett in the Sheikh Khaza'al's palace and an agreement was reached to allow the Mission to act at Kuwait, as previously mentioned in the last chapter. The only reason why the Mission did not act at 'Arabistan' was that the Mission's main target was Arabia, and it knew of the dispute between the ruler of 'Arabistan' and the Persian authorities who claimed that this area belonged to them, therefore any mission activity could put the Mission in dispute with Persia, which lay outside the Mission's intended region of activity. Dr. Bennett could have thought that establishing a good relationship with Sheikh Khaza'al by introducing medical service to his country was the way to reach Kuwait because of the good friendship between Sheikh Mubarek of Kuwait and Sheikh Khaza'al. The policy was successful and the Mission opened a substation at Amarah and another substation at Kuwait which became shortly afterwards one of the

missionaries' main stations.

The years 1908, 1909 and 1910 witnessed Dr. Bennett's successful activity among the tribes of north and east of Basrah.³⁵ He visited Kuwait when its ruler asked him to come and treat his daughter's eye. He successfully treated her, and after that incident, the Sheikh asked him to stay in the country to treat his family and the sick from the public. From that time Kuwait became one of the Mission's substations and then one of their main stations.³⁶

The year 1910 was an important year for the Mission's medical service at Basrah and in all their stations in Arabia, because it was the year of laying the foundation stone of the second missionary hospital, which was the Lansing Memorial Hospital. The building was completed and dedicated in the next year, 1911, by Dr. and Mrs. Worrall who had developed the medical service there on a solid base.³⁷ Establishing a hospital at that time meant much to the Mission and the Mission's work. It meant stability, and success in their temporary work, also it meant an increase in responsibility and in medical staff. In general it meant that the Mission's work was in good shape and an extension of its activities was reasonably possible.

After this new event a new relationship began between the Mission in the field and its supporters in America. The relationship was translated into a scheme, by the Student Volunteer Movement at the University of Michigan for medical and industrial work at Basrah. Proposals, first made by Dr. S. Zwemer in connection with his work for the Student Volunteer Movement, led to the development of plans whereby this University might carry on medical work along lines similar to the undertakings of other large Universities. The plan as first conceived was to support Dr. Bennett's work in the Lansing Memorial Hospital at Basrah, but it finally developed into a scheme whereby the Students' Christian Association of the University

became responsible for the support of its own representatives and appointed Dr. Hall G. Van Vlack for medical work, and Mr. Shaw and Mr. Haynes for industrial and educational work. These men with Mrs. Van Vlack and Mrs. Shaw were also appointed as a matter of course by the Trustees of the Mission.

Medically it was hoped that the scheme would take over the whole field. It was well conceived and gave promise of growth. However, in the middle of 1914, the industrial part of the scheme failed, though the medical part was not affected by their withdrawal. Mason and Barny state:

"Writing at the time, Mr. Shaw gave it as his opinion that their undertaking was begun five years too soon. He named among the causes that operated against such an undertaking as theirs the disturbed political conditions, the undeveloped state of the country and general ignorance in commercial circles regarding this land The Student's Christian Association found difficulty in meeting their financial responsibilities." ³⁸

Consequently the scheme failed to achieve its purpose, but the work as a whole, and especially the medical service, was carried on.

Without doubt the Mission's hospital and its staff played a large part in bringing about a healthier and a cleaner Basrah. The medical missionaries did their share in showing the people how to keep free from disease, how to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. They also healed many suffering from serious illness.

The year 1912 saw a small medical service for lepers in this city. There were scores of them there, but it proved difficult to segregate them because the common people cared little for the disease until the stage when the healing of the individual becomes difficult. Some of the lepers wandered among the people unrecognised for many years. ³⁹ Leprosy was also a common disease at Muscat, a matter which will be discussed later.

At this time preparations were being made for the First World War. Basrah, as a part of Iraq, was under the control of the Ottoman Empire, and as this Empire entered the war against Britain, Basrah was affected. Consequently the missionary work there faced many difficulties.

The year 1913 passed without major problems, the medical work was normal and the number of patients increased in that year. At the beginning of 1914, the people felt that the medical service would close down because of the increasing political strains, but it did not happen. During the war the Mission's medical staff played an important part in treating the British soldiers at Basrah as a result of their good relationship with the British Consulate there, a relationship which will be discussed in Chapter VI. Rev. Lewis Scudder stated,

"The circumstances, however, must be accounted for. An army, any army does not request medical help, it demands it. It does not ask for rooms and beds in hospitals, it requisitions them. These are circumstances of war, and civilians are in a powerless position to thwart them."⁴⁰

An increase in the number of patients in that year proves that the medical service was normal. The total number of treatments given was 20,013. The increase also indicated that the general awareness of the populace was continuing to develop. In the next years of the war the medical service at this station was interrupted because of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. But the Mission's activity returned to normal when the war ended in 1918. When the Mission started its operations in Bahrain and other areas in the Gulf region, it seems that less attention was given to Basrah, because the missionaries were penetrating to their objective, the Arabian Gulf region, and Basrah's importance as a strategic base declined. Also the difficulties which faced them there compelled them to do that.

Medical Service at Bahrain

Bahrain was the second important station of the Mission and it became the base for all the Mission's activities in the Arabian Gulf region. The Medical service on the island grew quickly and strongly from 1892 onwards. There were many reasons for this development. Firstly, the Mission's experience at Basrah enabled it to stabilise its work there very early on and to set up permanent establishments. Secondly, money was available for this scheme of medical progress, provided partly by the Mission's Board and partly by payments from the patients. Thirdly, the political atmosphere favoured the Mission's activity, probably because the island was under British authority. Fourthly, the increasing number of patients also encouraged the Mission to build dispensaries and hospitals early at this station. Fifthly, the Mission had already decided that Bahrain was to replace Basrah as the base for all the missionary activities in the region; its permanent establishments therefore took priority, and the Hospital was the most important of these. Thus, all these reasons supported all active missionary work at this station, especially in the medical service.

The years 1892-1893 were the constructive years; a straightforward medical service was established, and meanwhile the missionaries studied the field and the surrounding places as part of their duty.

At the end of 1894 an epidemic of Denque Fever attacked the island. The people came daily to the hospital to receive treatment, but the number was not large as this table shows:-

Table Number III : III

<u>Treatments</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
Medical Treatment	380
Surgical Treatment	38
Extracting of Teeth	33
Other Treatments	29
TOTAL:	480

This treatment in fact built up day by day the confidence of the people in modern medicine, introduced to them for the first time by the Mission. Meanwhile the missionaries did not forget their main duty, evangelistic activity, and the epidemic gave them a good chance to contact the people to give them treatment and sell them the Scriptures. The people were attached to the Mission by their need for medical treatment, nothing more. Religiously the missionaries talked to the people about the Gospel and Jesus Christ as the Saviour and Healer.

During 1895, 1896, the medical service was normal. S.M. Zwemer reported of the service in the station during 1897 that,

"Medical work was not very large during the (second) quarter, for two reasons: First, competition, and second, a stagnation in trade. The former caused by Ibrahim Saeed, who since leaving our employ, has sought to make his living as a hakeem (doctor); and the latter by the Mohammedan fast and the rainy season. At any rate we can safely hang the key on the nail after the door is opened, for future use on other doors." ⁴¹

Medical service, such as it was, gave them entrance among the people from the outset; with a fully qualified medical missionary on the spot they thought greater success possible in the region in the near future.

In 1899, Dr. S.J. Thoms stated,

"The work there (at Bahrain) was of special interest to us because, having no certificates allowing us to practice (medicine) here, (i.e. Basrah) we knew that in all probability Bahrain would be our permanent location." ⁴²

At Basrah the Turkish authorities had demanded that the Mission's doctors should have Turkish diplomas in order to practice medicine in their territory. This posed a considerable problem since the diploma required of the missionaries a knowledge of Turkish at a time when they were bent on learning Arabic. No such demand was made in Bahrain. This gave additional force to the advantages of Bahrain's geographical situation

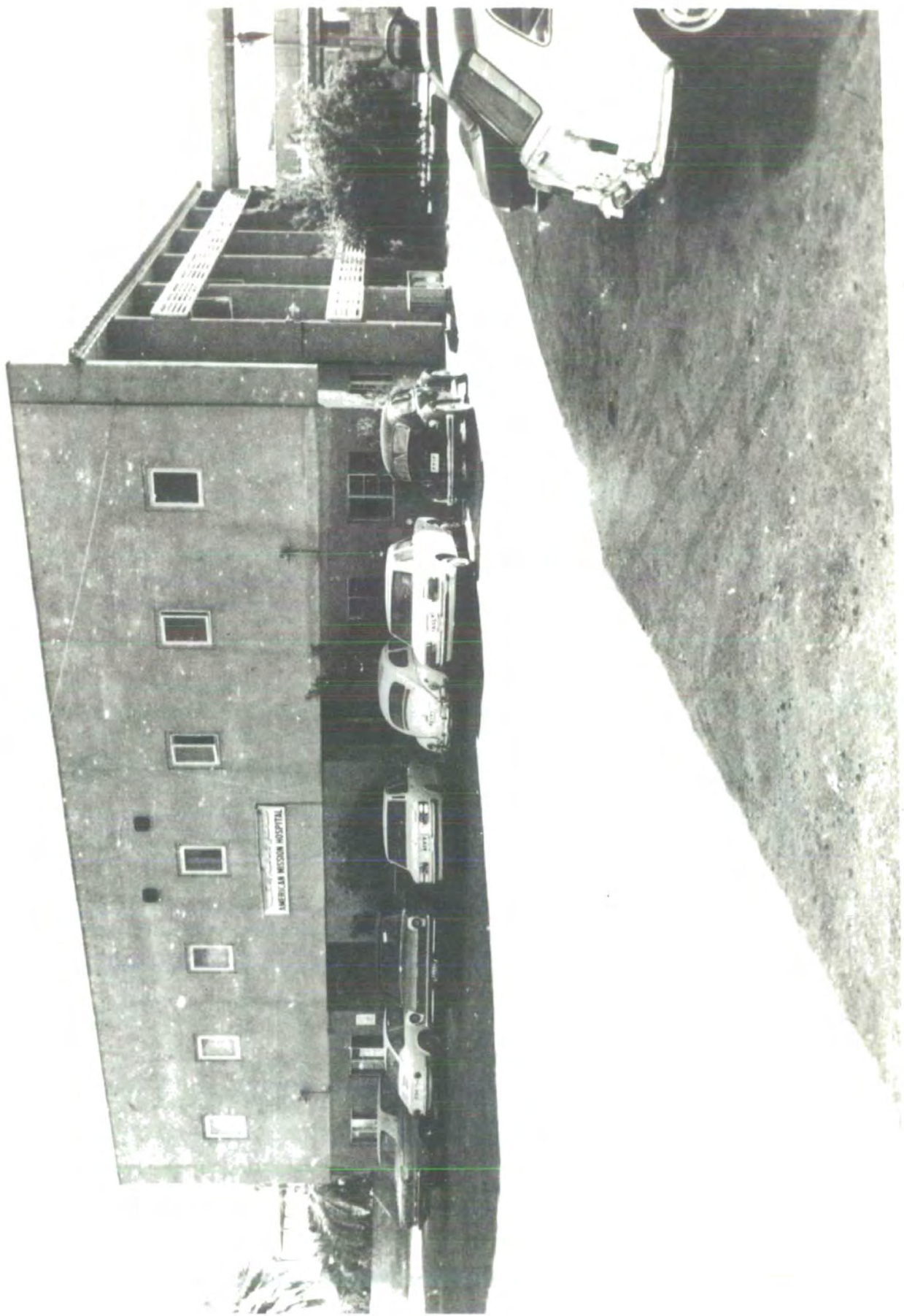
in the middle of the Gulf and within easy reach of the Peninsula, the target area of the Mission's strategy. Bahrain became the base for all the operations of the Mission, but their hope that this island would be a spring-board for taking over the Peninsula proved fruitless.

In 1899, Dr. H. Worrall reached Bahrain, and started his medical service there. The daily average of patients receiving treatment was then about ten.⁴³ From the beginning the treatment of women was not a big problem at Bahrain, because the Mission had Mrs. Zwemer, who treated most of the women with her limited knowledge of medicine.⁴⁴ It then also acquired Mrs. Worrall, who was a doctor.

The medical service on the island was quietly maintained. S. Zwemer carried on his evangelistic work among the patients every day, reading from the Gospel and discussing the Christian message,⁴⁵ and most of the time talking was from one side. He taught and the patients listened. The Mission's establishment on the island was due largely to friends won over in time of need. The aid of the natives, especially the merchants, helped the mission to become influential. This support was given in order to develop the medical service.

This area was in good economic shape compared with its neighbours, where life depended on the pearl merchants.⁴⁶ This Mission's budget drew from many sources, the Board of the Mission in America, payment by the patients, and the support of local inhabitants.

In 1900 the missionaries felt that the time had come to think seriously about building a hospital on the island. The dispensary was unable to help all who came for treatment because of the increase in the number and because of cases which required hospitalisation or operations. They all agreed that the time for doing medical work on a small scale was past, and the time had now come to build the first Mission hospital in all Arabia.⁴⁷



The Arabian Mission's hospital in Bahrain

One of the problems which faced the Mission's doctors was the fasting during Ramadan; since Moslems fast from before sunrise to sunset for one month every year, they did not complete their courses of treatment properly, and during that month they only took medicine at night. But Islam is flexible on this point and allows a Moslem to break his fast if necessary and to fast afterwards instead. During this year of 1900 the treatment of women was inadequate, since there was no suitable place in which to treat them. Enough had been done, however, to show the need of work among them, even more than among the men. ⁴⁸

The medical staff were very busy, but when the men left for the pearl beds they usually had a breathing spell. Diving for pearls was the natives' main occupation. Natural pearls were sought after and expensive in the world markets before the appearance of the Japanese cultivated pearl, which became the natural pearl's rival. The advent of cultivated pearls and the discovery of oil in economic quantities were later to lead to the decay of pearling, but at this period, men who were able to dive would put to sea on each alternate pearling voyage, and each voyage would mean weeks away from their country and families. Hence the number of patients who came to the missionaries' dispensary during the pearling season was very low, not only because the men had gone to sea, but also because the women would usually only come to receive treatment with their husbands or male members of their families; some of them were not allowed to go out of the house alone. When the divers came back from the sea, the pressure on the Mission's dispensary and hospital would be unusually great. Divers suffered from a great many ear diseases in addition to the usual diseases. ⁴⁹ Similarly their wives tended to suffer from chronic diseases because they could not reach the Mission's dispensary or hospital during the men's absence. The Mission's medical service at Bahrain thus varied accordingly to the season.

The Mission succeeded in purchasing land for the Hospital which they named the Mason Memorial Hospital . The foundation stone was laid on March 19, 1902, and at the next annual meeting of the Mission in Bahrain in January 1903, the hospital was dedicated as the first missionary hospital in Arabia. Dr. and Mrs. Sharon Thoms, who had been carrying on the medical work in Bahrain, were the first doctors to work in this hospital.⁵⁰

The building of a hospital by the Mission in its early years in the field was an important matter, and had a particular significance. It meant that the medical approach, which was the Mission's main method, had succeeded and become firmly established in that area. Secondly, it meant that the field was open for more and wider activity, medical and evangelistic, in which the hospital would be used as a place for preaching the Gospel among the patients. Actually the Mission's hospital there did help the people in their suffering, and they greatly appreciated it at a time when they had no modern medical service of their own.

A great advance had thus been made in 1901 when Dr. and Mrs. Thoms first moved to Bahrain. While a good deal of medical service had been provided by Mr. and Mrs. Zwemer with their limited medical knowledge, they were nevertheless not physicians, but had done what they could to keep the medical service going in this area until the doctors arrived to take up the work and make it more adequate.⁵¹

In 1902 a problem faced the Mission at this station when the Christian dispenser, a native of Basrah, refused to leave his country for Bahrain. He did not want to live away from his country and friends. In the winter of that year they acquired a trained Christian dispenser from Baghdad, but when the heat of the summer came with its discomforts, he made up his mind that Jesus Christ did not need him any more in

Bahrain, and he returned to his own country. ⁵² The missionaries did not say whether these dispensers were converts or came from Christian families, but either way their faith was weak. In fact, one of the Mission's problems was that they could not depend on the native Christians, a point which will be discussed later.

In 1903, Bahrain passed through a difficult period when three epidemic diseases ravaged the island, smallpox, diphtheria and plague. What a disaster to suffer these three diseases at the same time and place! The medical missionary staff struggled against them, but their sudden appearance and rapid spread did not give any chance for prevention. The catastrophe was bigger than their capability. Consequently very many died. This year witnessed the opening of the first Mission hospital, but the hospital could not cope with these diseases. Dr. S. Thoms sent a letter to J.C. Guskin, the British political agent at Bahrain, on May 20th, 1903, informing him about health conditions in the island. He reported that he had seen cases of plague since April 26th, and he adds that most victims died within 48 hours of the appearance of the first symptoms. There had also been quite a number of cases of other diseases reported. ⁵³ By the end of the year the danger had passed, and left a lot of grief and suffering behind.

In 1904 Dr. Lucy Patterson arrived at Bahrain; she found the medical service quite disorganised. The hospital worked full time and at full speed, and was filled with patients. During two weeks she performed twenty operations on the eye, one amputation, the removal of a large tumor, and extracted numerous teeth. Dr. Patterson stated,

"One of the peculiarities of the people here is that they never present themselves for treatment until the disease is far advanced, but of course there is an excuse for them in some cases." ⁵⁴

This was in fact a consequence of the ignorance of the people who did not realise that a simple disease could become dangerous if it was ignored. Some of the patients tried the native treatments for some time, and when they felt that there was no improvement in their condition, they turned to the Mission dispensary or hospital.

During the second half of 1905 cholera attacked Bahrain. It was estimated that, out of a population of 30,000 in the villages of Manama and Moharek (the only large settlements in Bahrain) about 3,000 people caught the disease, and over 2,000 died. In the most serious stage all resources were pressed into service. This epidemic had come to the island less than two years after the three epidemic diseases, plague, diphtheria and smallpox. It had taken its departure by the end of the year and it left behind very many deaths and much grief. Consequently the number of the patients was largely increased as the following statistics show:-

Table Number III : IV

Treatments	No. of Cases
Medical Treatment	4,500
Surgical Treatment	2,700
Eye Troubles	1,800
TOTAL	9,000

Source: N.A., April-June, 1905, pp. 7-8.

In the following years the people were given some respite from these contagious diseases. It seems that they had built up some resistance to them.

The medical service was regular and normal in the next few years. In 1911 Mrs. A.E. Zwemer reported,

"At the daily clinic there are the usual run of cases: malaria, with all its consequences and complications, scarcely one person with two good eyes. Gynecological cases of long standing present themselves for treatment almost every day."⁵⁵

From their experience they felt that the need of medical service for women by women was important in this society. They found the number of women patients increased when Mrs. Zwemer and Dr. Lucy Patterson started their work there. This seemed likely to become a problem in the near future, since the Mission with its limited staff would not be able to provide the station with all that it needed.

During 1912 and 1913, when the world was moving towards a World War, the island was not unaffected by events, and missionary work was carried on with some difficulty. At the end of 1914 Mrs. Van Peurseem, who was Superintendent of the hospital and was also in charge of women's medical work, wrote:

"My work during the past year consisted in holding the morning dispensary for women, general nursing and supervision of the patients, assisting at operations, outcalls with the physician, or alone, and housekeeping for the hospital. With the patients we did personal work. We tried to speak to each one individually each day about spiritual things. This was the most encouraging and pleasant feature of the evangelistic work."⁵⁶

Thus, as they had planned from the beginning, the hospital was a place for evangelistic activity. They paid special attention to personal contact. The reaction of the patients was that they pretended to accept what the missionaries said and kept silent; because of their need for treatment, and because of their ignorance, they were not in a position to enter into discussion with them. That it was dissimulation became obvious later, when the missionaries proved unable to influence religiously even one per ten thousand of their patients; this point

will be discussed more fully in one of the later chapters.

When the First World War broke out in 1914, it had an effect on the Arabian Gulf region, as has already been mentioned. It was natural that the Mission's activities in the Gulf areas should be influenced by the war. Bahrain was a British military base, and was used as such during the war. The situation in the island then became unsuitable for such activity. Its communications with the outside world were interrupted, and so the Mission could not acquire what they needed for the medical service including things like medicine, medical equipment etc. They also had difficulty in corresponding with their Board in America. Moreover, Basrah, their first station, became a battle-field for the British and the forces of the Ottoman Empire. The Mission's hospital and dispensary there were used to treat the British soldiers. Consequently all the Mission's efforts were centralised there and only secondary attention and care was given to the natives; this added to the effect of wartime conditions, which in any case prevented the maintenance of the medical service on its pre-war scale. When the war finished in 1918, the Mission's medical service gradually returned to normal. There was no further important development in the medical service in Bahrain until 1924, when the Mission began its scheme to build the women's hospital at the station. It was difficult in such a society to mix women with men in one hospital or even to have male doctors treating women.

"Hence the decision was reached to appeal for a new hospital for women and children, and in 1924 the Board approved it. A fine site adjoining the medical compound was given by Abdul-Aziz bin Qusaibi, the local representative of the Ruler of Nejd, though the good offices of Major Daly, the (British) Political Agent. Then a thousand dollars was voted for this hospital by the Board at home, and 20,000 Rupees has been raised locally. Two princely gifts of 5,000 Rupees each were given by Sheikh Hamad, the ruler of Bahrain and by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The balance was subscribed in lesser sums so that 50,000 Rupees was assured, and the erection of the building had begun." 57

In 1926 the Women's hospital was ready for service and began receiving patients. This hospital was called the Marion Wells Thoms Memorial. It had a nurses' residence attached. The hospital offered obstetrical work, which showed a gradual increase and was incorporated with child welfare, which had a clinic in the hospital. Moreover classes in child care were given to the older school girls, and village work was a regular part of the missionaries' programme.

The men's hospital of the area was directed by a competent Indian doctor who was called to do so when the Mission doctor went on medical tour. In 1930 Dr. Dame and Dr. Lakra who were members of the Mission were maintaining the medical service at the station. In 1933 Dr. Wells Thoms joined the staff of the Mason Memorial Hospital there and played an important part in serving those people as his father did before. Midwifery began at this time under the auspices of the women's hospital, and the laboratory became a useful and efficient adjunct to both hospitals.⁵⁸

At that time the local government began to think that it was time to give importance to a modern medical service. Nobody knows the motives, but probably, when it saw the benefit of the Mission's medical service, they reached the idea that the area should have its own medical service. Such thinking started from then. Both the government and the Mission's medical services went on side by side to introduce the modern medical service. With an increasing number of doctors and dispensaries in these parts, there was in fact bound to be more appreciation of modern medicine, and a greater need for well staffed and well equipped hospitals.

After all these developments, Bahrain became - as the Mission expected and planned for - its medical centre for the whole field of operations. On the other hand at exactly this time, 1932, there was



Dr. A.G. Pennings, the Chief Medical Officer in the American Mission hospital at Bahrain,
and Mrs. R. Nykerk the recent director of the Mission's establishments there.

a continuous increase of Malaria in Bahrain and its surroundings. The Mission's medical staff fought against the disease with some success. When this disaster was over the missionaries began their touring programme. It is possible to say that the medical service there was normal during the next four years until the Second World War broke out in 1939. The region was not influenced directly by the war except in two respects. Contact between the Mission at the field and its Board in the United States was interrupted, and since then the Arab nationalist movement began activities to gain independence, and then after the War the Palestine Problem began and strong Arab feeling was aroused against the Western colonial powers. The westerners who were already in the Arab countries were embarrassed, and the missionaries were among those who felt that all their efforts could be destroyed by this reaction. But they did not face harassment from the people. The Second World War was a turning point in missionary activity in the Arabian Gulf region. After the war two important developments occurred in the area. First of all the rise of Arab nationalism made the peoples' life political rather than religious, and secondly the discovery of oil in economic quantities gave the local governments opportunities to develop in their countries medical services better than those provided by the missionaries. This was a very important development for medical missionary activity as an approach and means for missionary work. Without this kind of activity the missionaries could not work and carry on their other activities. Therefore as their medical service grew less and less, their religious activity showed the same decline.

Medical Service at Muscat

Muscat was held to be as important as Bahrain for entering the Peninsula from the South East, therefore the Arabian Mission gave

this third main spot no less importance than the others.

The Mission had started there with evangelistic work at the end of 1893. Rev. Peter J. Zwemer was the first missionary from this Mission to operate there. The work in Muscat was in fact on the same lines as that at Bahrain because of the similar location and political situation, since the area was also under British demination. But medically there were differences, for leprosy was so common in this area that there was a leper colony which nobody from other areas was allowed to enter because of fear of contagion.

The medical service there started shortly after the opening of the Muscat station. The area was rife with many diseases, and its needs exceeded the Mission's capacity; nevertheless the medical staff did their best to help the suffering people despite their own limited numbers and facilities. In 1897 the Mission Medical Report stated,

"It is well known that leprosy exists in those parts of Arabia where our missionaries are working, and mention is often made in letters, of some leper in whom we are especially interested Most of the lepers came from the very lowest classes and the life in the colony is not unlike that to which they are accustomed." 59

The non-existence of modern medicine and the lack of hygienic care of the sick were in fact among the main reasons for the spread of this disease. While it could be treated if it was not very advanced, treatment was impossible without modern medicine. In this year, 1897, an advance in the service was made by the arrival of Dr. and Mrs. Thoms, who settled at the town of Matrah, to serve the people of the two towns Muscat and Matrah.

The Mission's medical service in Oman had been intended to reach the interior. However, the work in these two cities was quite sufficient

for the staff. The interior was indeed never fully penetrated by the missionaries. Diseases of most sorts were there, but as a sort of background of lesser ills, for malaria in various shapes and forms dominated the entire medical field.

Medical service for women at Muscat showed the same pattern as in the other stations. There was no major difference in the social structure and attitude there, the only difference being that this area was poorer than the others and had leprosy as a common contagious disease. Medical work for women was begun by Mrs. Cantine, when she resided there from 1904 to 1907. This area had no women's dispensary until 1913, when the Mission decided to build one. Dr. Sarah Hosman was sent there in 1911 when she had completed her study of Arabic, and the foundation of a prosperous service was laid. She had too many people to treat; meanwhile she gave Gospel talks to the women besides providing a medical service. In the first three months following the dispensary's opening, 202 patients received treatment.⁶⁰ The medical service for men was carried on by Dr. Thomas in both cities, Muscat and Matrah in 1910-1913, and then suddenly it was stopped by his death. He was killed in an accident when he fell on a rock on the shore of Muscat's cliff. The medical service for men at Matrah was stopped for a long time because of this, and because the Mission could not afford more medical staff. However, Dr. Hosman carried on the service for women. The service for men began again in 1927 when the Mission sent a doctor to reopen the service in that station. In 1930 Dr. Storm reported,

"As far as material possessions and equipment are concerned, the medical work had been completely wiped out by the fire of the summer of 1930. We confronted what seemed like a hopeless task, but finally a rather tumbled-down building, the only place available, was secured and after considerable alteration, the Muscat Men's Hospital once more took form A deficit of over one thousand Rupees was made up by gifts. The

actual medical work has steadily grown especially in inpatient work and surgery Touring has always been a bright feature of the Muscat work and was carried on this year in the form of one extensive tour of over two months In spite of handicaps both large and small, we are now in a position to go forward." 61

Between 1926 and 1943 Drs. Dame, P. Harrison, Storm, Hosman, Wells, Thoms and Mylerea made extensive tours in the interior of the Peninsula. They offered a good medical service to the tribes of that region. They found its people suffering from many contagious and chronic diseases. Their condition cried out for medical service, but the Mission could not afford all that the area needed, because of its limited resources and because the purpose of the tours was not basically to provide a medical service in itself, but to open the interior of Oman as a phase in the penetration of the Peninsula. The medical staff could not manage to stay there long because of the hard geographical environment and because of the needs of the stations that had already been established. 62

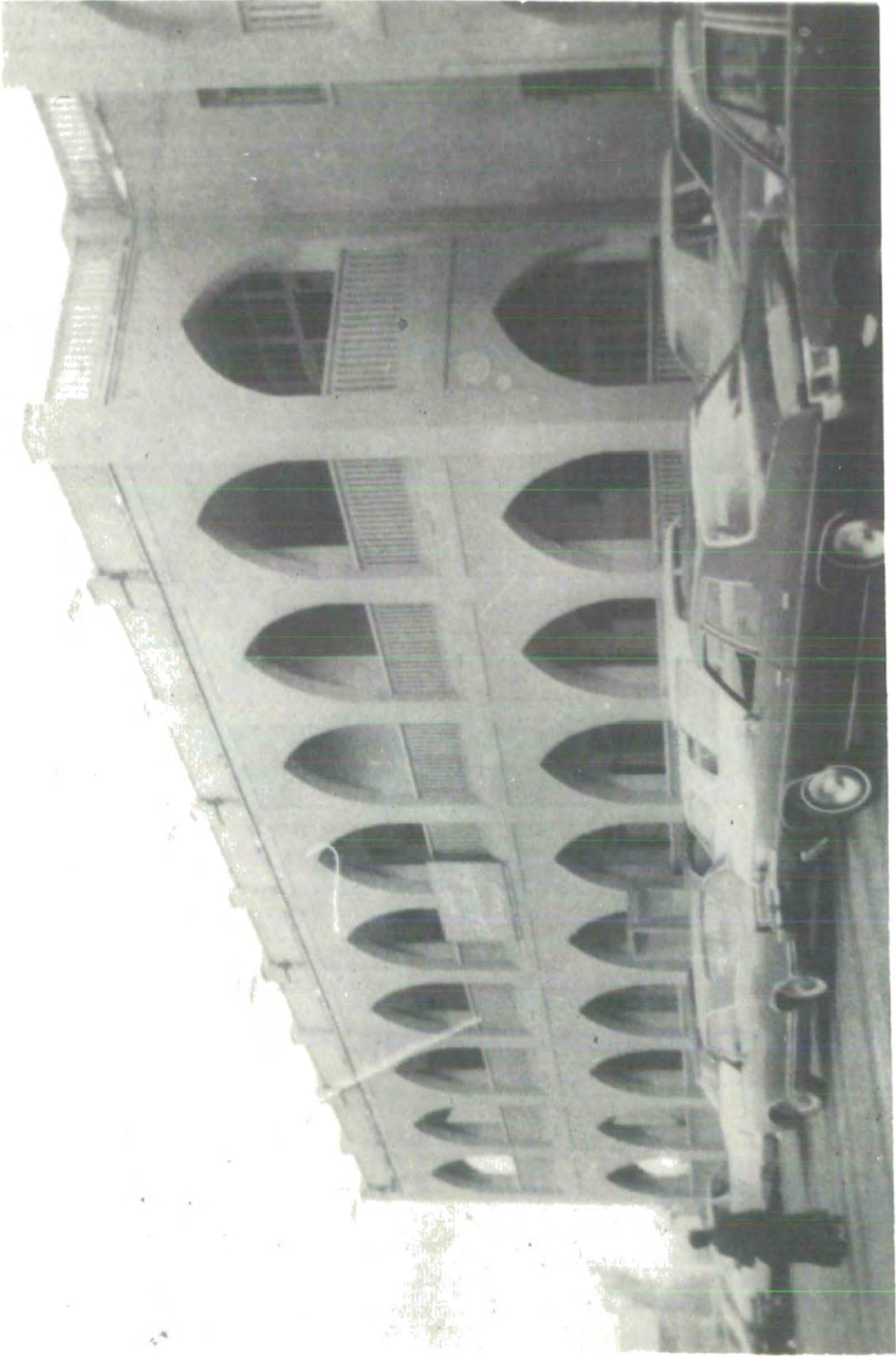
In 1935 Dr. S. Hosman wrote,

"My desire is to select by prayer some important town (that) will give me access to a large area of villages, then to settle in that town and live a normal missionary life among the people." 63

These words indicated that something might happen. In 1938 she resigned from the Mission to undertake this pioneer type of work independently, first in Oman and later in Sharja on the Arabian Gulf coast. Dr. Hosman began with a successful service at Muscat. Her field was extended to inland Oman, where patients came as they did to the other medical centres. But the striking feature of her activity was the fact that she regularly toured out in the district. 64
The Mission did not give any explanation of her resignation except

that she wanted to undertake the work independently. She was an important member in the Mission. She served more than 22 years in the field. No doubt there were many reasons for her decision, though she herself did not say anything about it. There are the following possibilities: First, there is the possibility that she preferred working on her own to being bound by the restrictions imposed by the Mission. Secondly, her long experience may have taught her that the Mission's policy was not able to achieve its aims. Thirdly, she may have felt that the organization was losing sight of its real purpose and that therefore she should separate herself from it. Anyway this event seriously damaged the structure of the Mission. After her resignation the medical service was carried on with difficulty for many years by nurse Mary, the invaluable Indian nurse, who worked under the supervision of the doctor in Matrah.

The medical service was appreciated from the beginning and the community was increasingly well established. The rented quarters were replaced by a fine modern hospital built in 1933. The two doctors in Muscat and Matrah made extensive tours to inland Oman. In 1937 Dorothy Van Ess stated that, "The Knox Memorial Hospital is coming to be better known, and the stream of patients from the interior is increasing."⁶⁵ The service was normal with little interruption during the Second World War, because Muscat was an important strategic area which commanded the entrance to the Arabian Gulf. After the War missionary work entered upon a difficult phase at Muscat and Matrah as elsewhere in the Gulf. The problem was the repressive policies of the Sultan's government. He felt that any influence of the Mission would create higher expectations in the people and undermine his power. In 1948 the Sharon Thoms Memorial Hospital for contagious diseases was opened at Muscat.⁶⁶ This



The American Mission Hospital in Kuwait

hospital played an important part in helping the sick, especially as the area was affected by leprosy.

The Mission's activities are still going on in that area in recent times because Muscat is still in need of this kind of service. But the hospitals were given over to the government in 1972-73 and personnel of the Mission have been working within the government hospitals.

The Medical Service at Kuwait

To the Mission, Kuwait's importance was its location on the route of the great caravans to the interior of the Peninsula. For many years the Mission had stood waiting for Kuwait's doors to be opened, and eventually so much was accomplished that it became one of the Mission's important stations. Dr. Bennett stated:

"Our aim is to occupy the interior of Arabia from the coast as a base. The strategic importance of Kuwait as the future terminus of the overland railway and as the best harbour in the Gulf, is evident." ⁶⁷

Thus the missionaries attention had been turned to Kuwait since 1900, but they could not open a station there until 1910 when Sheikh Mubarek the Ruler of Kuwait met Dr. Bennett at Basrah and asked him to come to Kuwait in order to treat his daughter's eye. Dr. Bennett agreed to go, and this was the golden opportunity for which the Mission had been longing. After the success of the operation on the Sheikh's daughter's eye, the ruler asked Dr. Bennett to stay. The first location of treatment was in a house which was part of Sheikh Mubarek's Palace. Dr. Arthur Bennett, Dr. Paul Harrison and Dr. Stanley Mylrea took turns, each serving a few months in Kuwait, and with the service of an Iraqi assistant, they managed to maintain a small dispensary until a permanent person could be assigned. ⁶⁸

During the next year the Mission was given permission to

build a hospital. It was put up by Shaw and Haines, two itinerant American University engineers from Michigan. The man in charge of the building operation was Dr. S. Mylrea. This was the first attempt to introduce a modern medical service into Kuwait. Delay in the Mission's appointing a permanent resident doctor annoyed the Sheikh, and he only granted the land after the Mission appointed Harrison then Mylrea as permanent resident doctors. From 1911 until 1949 the Mission's hospital was the only one in the area.⁶⁹ For five years before the hospital was completed the Mission conducted its medical service in a native house. Its activity in Kuwait went on without major difficulties. The hospital was built very soon after they received permission to provide a medical service there, because there was no opposition to this sort of action, and because of their experience in the other areas of their field operations.

The people received their modern medical service with pleasure and came to the hospital every day to receive treatment, and the number of patients increased gradually. The following table shows the number of cases in 1911 the first year of that kind of service there.

Table Number III : V

<u>Cases</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Treatments</u>	<u>No.</u>
New Cases	2,387	Surgical Operations	165
Old Cases	4,287	Chloroform was administered	25 times
		Novocaine	51
Total	6,674		

Source: Dr. Mylrea, S. N.A. 1911, p.15.

These figures show the quick acceptance by the people of the medical service introduced by the Mission.

The medical service carried on normally, and in 1913 the number of patients increased, 4,521 patients being treated and over 11,570 treatments given. Mrs. Calverley, the first woman doctor in Kuwait, writes:

"It has been a year (1913) of slow, but continual progress, and in no respect has there been any cause for discouragement. The friendliness of the people and of the Sheikh has increased, and the evangelistic work in the hospital has been steadily pushed." 70

During the first two years of continuous occupation medical service was principally for the Bedouin, and a considerable number were coming from the mouth of Shatt-al-Arab at Fao, South of Basrah. The Bedouin dominated the situation and during some seasons their numbers increased to hundreds. These men and women came long distances, some of them travelling from the Peninsula.

The medical missionaries struggled against many diseases including chronic and contagious ailments. In 1915 and 1916 the patients figures show increases in numbers as table number III: VI shows. These figures show the increase in the number of patients compared with previous years and also indicate the improvement in the women's attitude towards the modern medical service for women which was developing side by side with the one for men. It is fair to say that the popularity of the medical service was steadily growing, and the attitude of the people was ever more and more friendly and appreciative of medical service.

The evangelistic work of the hospital was actively maintained. Mr. Michael, the Mission's colporteur, always spent his mornings with the dispensary patients. He sold more Scriptures to the patients of

TABLE NO. III : VI Increase in patients' number in Kuwait 1915,1916

Hospital work inpatients	No. Cases	Dispensary work	No. Cases	Sex	New and old cases	Different individuals	Fees paid to the hospital
Surgical	182	New male cases	2,203	Men	6,166	120	
Eye	13	New female cases	796	Women	1,986		1,711 Rupees
Medical	9	Extractions	300				
TOTAL	214		3,299		8,152	120	

Source: N.A., Dr. Mylrea 1915-1916, p.16.

the hospital.⁷¹ Consequently the hospital had a dual function, medical and evangelistic, and the two aspects were means to one end, which was religious, the christanizing of Arabia.

The hospital at Kuwait had at first to care for both men and women, but it was seen that this presented considerable difficulties. The appeal for a women's hospital was approved. The construction was taken in hand soon after the men's hospital had been built. In 1916 the hospital was completed. In that year the Mission received a gift of 1,000 Rupees from Colonel Grey, who was then the British Political Agent at Kuwait. There are many possible explanations for this aid. First, the British citizens in Kuwait usually received medical care from the Mission's hospitals and dispensary, and the aid was a recognition of this.⁷² Second, there was a good relationship between the British Consulate and the Mission in this area as was mentioned many times in Dr. Calverley's book, I was the First Physician in Kuwait. The aid was thus to help friends. Third, the British attitude towards missionary activity in the Gulf region was to be very close to it in order to know whether the Americans had a political purpose or not, a point which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. Fourth, the British political agents were also Christians, so the aid may have stemmed in part from personal motives on the part of Colonel Grey. In general the Mission's good relationship with the local government, the people, and the British Consulate greatly helped its work, and especially in overcoming its financial problems by the contribution collected for them every other time.

The Medical Service at Kuwait was not much influenced by the First World War, and was maintained normally and extended. In 1921 Sheikh Salem, the new ruler, donated an additional piece of land to the Mission, and in 1923 one of the leading men, Abdul Latif bin Esa,

added a considerable area to the Mission compound. These lands were used for building the women's hospital and the residence of the medical staff. The capacity of each of the two hospitals was about 5,000 cases a year with 100 operations. In the earlier years this limited number caused some strain during epidemics, when the endurance of the whole staff was put to a severe test. A striking service was rendered by the men's hospital in October 1921, on the occasion of an attack by the Ikhwan* on a village on Kuwait's border, when relations between Kuwait and Najd became hostile, to the detriment of the former both in territory and in trade. This attack was extensive. Nearly one hundred and twenty wounded were brought to the hospital of the Mission for Dr. Mylrea to care for. It was a large number compared to the number of population of the area at that time.

From 1929 the Women's Hospital was increasingly appreciated by the women of Kuwait who strikingly demonstrated confidence in it. The amount of work done in 1931 was decidedly satisfactory. The totals for dispensary service were far in advance of anything hitherto recorded. Treatments totalled 27,042 and new cases 5,420. Dr. Mylrea treated 263 men, women and children daily during the summer. The Mission offered the royal family special care.⁷³ This had been done in gratitude for allowing the Mission to act and also to gain the local government's protection. In 1932 there was one of the worst epidemics of smallpox ever known in this area. This disease spread very quickly and resulted in many deaths. It placed a great burden on the Mission, for the trade caravans, which usually passed through Kuwait on their way from the Peninsula and the Gulf to Iraq and the Mediterranean Coast, made the epidemic difficult to control.

* The Ikhwan, is the name of the followers of Muhammad Ibn Abdal Wahhab, the leader of the Wahhabi movement. It began in the early part of the 18th century in Central Arabia, claimed credit for the revival of Islam. In its founder's view 'Islam had sunk into impiety'. He was a reformer. His preaching was concentrated on the return to Islam's former purity. His movement was a religious-political movement wide spread within the Peninsula, and also outside towards the north and reaching to Iraq and Syria, although its major influence remained within the Peninsula.⁷⁴

When the epidemic had passed it left a toll of dead and blinded. The next problem came. During the period of the smallpox attack, the other diseases which were already in the area had not been treated properly, consequently complications set in and it took prolonged and hard work to bring medical conditions back to normal. Meanwhile the women's medical service entered a new phase. Dr. E. Barny noted the improvement in 1932 and stated that the largest attendance of women patients at the clinic on any single day was 132. This indicates the development in the medical service as a whole in that area, which in turn encouraged the building of a hospital for deliveries in 1933.

One of Kuwait's medical problems was the diseases of the pearl divers. The doctors of the Mission did all that they could to prevent scurvy among them, and to make it clear that it was caused by a vitamin deficiency in their diet. Dr. Mylrea was in charge of this campaign in 1934. In place of a cheap vegetable oil for their rice, he persuaded diving masters to provide lime juice, vinegar, and butter, and thus they had practically no signs of the dread disease in the next diving season. ⁷⁵

The medical conditions of the area needed more efforts to tackle its problems, so in 1938 the Olcott Memorial Hospital for Women was opened by the Ruler of Kuwait, Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah, and a new era began in the Mission's work for women and children. A short term nurse was appointed to this hospital and all expenses were paid by the Kuwait Oil Company under a friendly arrangement which assured them of the Mission's medical care for their personnel.

During the Second World War the Mission doctor was called upon to act as Quarantine Medical Officer for a time, and because of the Mission's shortage of staff this no doubt affected the Mission's



Mr. Haider Khalifa, a close friend of the Mission in Kuwait who had worked in the Mission Hospital there as a technician.

medical service. Exactly at that time and by the end of the Second World War the local government began its own medical service. The huge income from oil made it possible for the state to spend vast sums on medical service. Consequently large and modern hospitals were erected. Since there were no native doctors at that time, doctors, nurses and technicians from England, Egypt, Palestine and other Arab countries were brought to work in the state hospitals. It is worth noting that, because of the small population of the area the government managed to afford such services as were needed. With the increase of every sort of medical facility in this new small welfare state, it was natural to wonder whether the Arabian Mission's hospitals would be needed any more after all these developments. However the Mission's medical service continued to function until 1967, when its hospitals were handed over to the government. Most of the Mission's medical staff were transferred to the government and the Mission's activity since then has been limited to the usual devotional service for the Christians who came to Kuwait from various countries looking for jobs after the discovery of oil.

Medical Service at the Substations

a. Amarah and Nasyria

Amarah was always looked upon as a strategic place, the base for reaching the hundreds of villages of the Tigris river country extending to the east and the west of Iraq. Medical Service in this area was started at the end of 1895 when many medical tours were made by the Mission's medical staff at Basrah. They began treating the people of Amarah who suffered from many diseases, especially Malaria, because of the rice farms and the swamps. The service did not become regular there until 1914 when the Mission had a dispensary and considered Amarah as an out-station of Basrah.

Dr. Worrall worked there very hard for about four years, 1895-1898. He treated various diseases, but the need was more than he could cope with.⁷⁶ The Mission gave importance to evangelistic work, and Mr. and Mrs. Van Ess took responsibility for it there, in addition to their work at Basrah. Despite all the efforts of the Mission, its religious work was not successful. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

Medical Service remained the only effective activity. Year after year nothing could prevent this sort of service, because of its humanitarian value and because of the urgent need of the people everywhere in Arabia at that time. By 1897 the Medical Service was functioning regularly and the following statistics are recorded:

Table No. III : VII

Religion	No. Cases	Sex	No. Cases	Treatments	No. Cases
Moslems	1,253	Men	672	Eye T.	495
Christians	135	Women	494	Surgical T.	212
Jews	45	Boys	205	Medical T.	790
Sabian	64	Girls	116	-	-
Total:	1,497		1,497		1,497

Source: N.A., 1897, pp. 10-11.

In the next few years medical service was normal and regular at Amarah. During the First World War this city became one of the large military base camps for British troops after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, since the area is strategically situated, controlling the way to Baghdad, the capital of the country. The Mission's medical staff during the war spent most of their time serving the British soldiers there. The result was that the natives did not receive their usual treatment and this caused difficulties after the war because complications had by then occurred in many cases. Thus the area was affected by the political

situation. When the war was over a new political situation resulted from the independence of Iraq. The Mission watched the situation carefully, looking forward to rebuilding its service there after the interruption caused by the war. The Medical service did not return to normal until 1926, by which time the Mission felt sure of its status, and gradually developed its service there.

The Amarah Service was dependent on the Basrah main station. The Lansing Memorial endowment at Basrah was transferred to the Amarah out-station, and the Basrah Boys' School bought the building which the Lansing Memorial Fund had erected as a hospital. The reason for these changes was that Basrah's environs were well served by the health service set up by the Mission, whereas Amarah was at that time suffering and in urgent need of an adequate medical service.

From the beginning the medical service was built on a solid base. Good service was done during a typhoid epidemic. Old patients returned in large numbers after the reopening at Amarah, showing that confidence had been established; also a number of patients came from outlying districts. The new hospital was built with accommodation for both male and female staff. At that time the Mission faced a new problem, as a wave of opposition swept over Amarah when the Mission used the hospital for evangelistic work besides its medical service, but the opposition passed without major effect on the medical activity.

By 1930 Dr. Moerdyk reported that, in spite of the opposition and persecution, the medical work was not suffering, and was indeed more than self-supporting. Clinics for both men and women were large and inpatients increased in numbers, many friendships resulted from the medical help given. Frequent outcalls to distant villages opened the whole area to the doctor. The treatment of women was the responsibility of and directly controlled by the

doctor, who set aside one morning a week for a clinic where he saw all cases. Actually it was difficult for one doctor to cope with the crowds of people, so each patient did not get the time and care he needed. Mrs. Moerdyk - the nurse in charge - with an Iraqi helper carried out all treatments, kept the records, and coped with the crowd, as well as carrying on routine service on all the other days and helping Dr. Moerdyk. In 1931 new Iraqi government regulations and restrictions were imposed on non-state hospitals, medical service and institutions, and these made the Mission's work very difficult. The missionaries would have preferred the situation to stay as it was. Putting medical service under local government control was nevertheless a natural step towards providing long-term medical care for millions of people.

In that year, 1931, Miss C. Dalenberg made many tours to the villages of the area. She gave hundreds of treatments. It was then that she became impressed with the great need of obstetrical help for the poor people, who had no better care than their own traditional means provided. This feature of the work for women was rapidly developed by the Mission in the following years. Calls for help, wrote Miss Dalenberg,

"With few exceptions come from the very poorest of the poor, and have taken me into the highways and byways of the town. They have taken me into huts and hovels where there was much of human trouble and little of human happiness." 77

In 1932 Dr. Moerdyk wrote,

"The Medical development of Amarah has a great deal to be thankful for at the end of this year perhaps my most satisfactory experience during the year was the part I was able to play in fighting the cholera epidemic. Although the disease had spread all over the Amarah district, we were able to control it in the town itself, in less than two

weeks time. In addition Miss Dalenberg and I were privileged to help in the task of giving of some 7,000 inoculations in less than a month and a half The government doctor deserves great praise for the efficiency with which he fought to control the epidemic."⁷⁸

Leprosy was in fact one of the area's problems. Since 1926, when the medical service had been reopened in Amarah, Dr. Moerdyk had been greatly concerned with the plight of lepers. He began treatment in a small way and eventually formed a small leper colony not far away from the hospital. Proper medical care and consideration was given, similar to that which had taken place in Muscat, but the disease was less common here than it had been there.

The foundation for future surgical work in this area captured the Mission's attention, and in fact was laid in 1948 when eye surgery was undertaken, and hernias and other ailments dealt with, by means of co-operation between the government surgeon and the Mission doctor. This indicates that the government had confidence in the Mission's medical service.

A baby clinic was conducted in 1950 with great success. Much laboratory work was done and the facilities for this improvement were available and mostly adequate at that time. Amarah had successive doctors and nurses. Dr. Moerdyks, Scudders, and Heusenkvelds, Dr. Voss, Dr. Bosh, and Dr. Nykerk all served there. Miss Dr. Cornelia Dalenberg, Miss Jeannette Veldan, Mrs. G.J. Holler, Miss J. Boersma, Miss Christine Voss, Miss Anne De Young and Miss Allene Schmalzriedt also served as nurses in this out-station for longer or shorter periods.⁷⁹ The work in this area was stopped in 1959 after the revolution where the Mission was forced to leave.⁸⁰ Such was the medical service of the Arabian Mission at Amarah.

The other out-station in Iraq was Nasyria. This city has an

important location on the Euphrates. Medically it was controlled by the Mission's medical staff at Amarah and Basrah. The service at this city was in fact not regular for most of the time because of the Mission's shortage of medical staff.

The area suffered from similar diseases to those at Amarah. The condition of the local populace was miserable until the government medical service began there in the late 30's. During the Second World War and after, the Mission gradually gave up its activities in that substation.

b. Medical Service at Matrah Substation

Matrah occupies a good location in Oman near Muscat. It is the gateway to the West, to the inland region, and by setting up there a doctor who could also serve the people of Muscat and make his influence felt in the hinterland. There was some political opposition at first to this undertaking, but this was gradually withdrawn, and medical service started actively in this area. During the first year, 1897, the number of treatments reported was about 10,000.⁸¹ This gives a clear idea about the medical conditions, which were difficult, and what vigorous efforts were made by the missionaries to cope with the situation. The medical service at Matrah began with the arrival of Dr. Sharon Thoms. In 1897, in order to open this area as a substation, Dr. Sharon Thoms established in fact a successful service in the first years, but the work there was interrupted somewhat by his furlough in 1910 and 1911. During his absence Dr. Paul Harrison was appointed to fill the place. He made extensive medical tours, which gave a great deal of medical help. Dr. Thoms returned from his furlough and continued the same large medical service. The patients also came from the

inland region of Oman, where they added more pressure on the Mission's medical service there. Suddenly bad news came when Dr. Thoms was killed in an accident when he fell on a rock in 1913. No doubt the service was seriously interrupted, but the daily clinic was carried on by the compounders under the direction of Dr. P. Harrison, who came again from Kuwait Station for a visit of several months, until the Mission found a solution to enable a continuing of the work in this area. Unfortunately it can be said that the general medical service there stopped. The result of the loss of Dr. Thoms was not only the end of his daily medical service, but also his attempt to persuade the local authority to buy or hire a piece of land in order to build a hospital. This came to an end, and those who followed did not have the same opportunities to go ahead with such a project,⁸² because of the changing circumstances^{and} relationship between the two sides, the Mission and the local government; but this was not for ever, and the future gave the missionaries another chance to achieve what Dr. Thoms planned and worked for. Dr. Thoms had given admirable medical service in the Mission's field. His service dated from 1897, and during almost fifteen years he laboured in Basrah, Bahrain, and Matrah. Had he lived to erect a hospital at Matrah, he would have put the medical service there upon a solid base just as he had done in years gone by in Bahrain. In 1914 the Mission medical report stated that, Matrah has been cut off from the interior, for the entire year, but the amount of work accomplished has been surprisingly large, over 4,500 patients being treated.⁸³ Medical work in Matrah was given up after Dr. Thoms's death. It was twenty years before the Mission could send a doctor to Oman again and take up where Dr. Thoms had left off.⁸⁴ Medical Service was reopened at that city in 1927. Gradually the service became normal and active. The gap since the tragic accident which had caused Dr. Thoms' death was no doubt full of illness and grief which made great difficulties for those who came afterwards

to carry on the service there. In 1933, the Mission could say the service was regular, but with difficulties for those who came later. In 1934 the Rev. Dr. Dirk Dykstra designed and constructed a new hospital for women at Matrah. This encouraged more women to come for treatment than before.

During the Second World War conditions for the medical service were similar to those in Muscat; some political interruption arose because of the strategic location of Oman, but the interruption was not very serious and the service continued despite some difficulties in correspondence and supply.

In 1948 the time came to achieve Dr. Thoms' dream in this area, when land for a hospital for the treatment of contagious diseases was donated by the Sultan in memory of Dr. Thoms, and

The Sharon Thoms Memorial Hospital was built. And since the area was suffering from leprosy, a second building was later added in the same compound for the care and treatment of lepers. The year after that over 400 tuberculosis patients and 140 leprosy patients had been treated in that hospital.⁸⁵ In that year, 1948, and a long time after Dr. Sharon Thom's death, his son Dr. Wells Thoms went to the same area as a missionary which witnessed his father's medical service, to continue the same service there. Actually, until 1955, Dr. Wells Thoms and his wife were the only westerners in the area with the best personal knowledge of the interior of Oman, because they had on more than one occasion entered that area.

Later the medical service in the Mission's hospital at Matrah was taken over by Dr. Maurice Heuskinveld, a specialist in physiological problems with years of experience in the other Mission stations and substations like Kuwait, Bahrain and Amarah. In fact the work in Matrah was in some sort to be considered that of a

main station, and if the Mission could manage to open a substation in the inland Oman, certainly this area would become a main station. Opening a substation captured the Mission's attention, and it carried on its attempts along this line, but sometimes such efforts did not succeed, and it had to withdraw, as happened in Qatar and Zobair.

c. Medical Service at Qatar and Zubair

Qatar is on the coast of the Arabian Gulf mainland, south-east of Bahrain. It is a little desert sheikdom with a population of 100,000. It is seen on the map as an arm of the Peninsula.

The Missionaries made many tours to the area in order to open a substation there. In 1943 Dr. Chandy, the Indian doctor in the Mission's hospital at Bahrain, visited Qatar three times, and Mrs. Mylrea and Mr. Storm once each. The acute shortage of medical supplies, as the Second World War went on, was a severe handicap in touring, as well as in station work.

In 1947, the medical claims of Qatar were pressed. It had been toured by the missionaries many times and a background of friendship and confidence built up. The Sheikh of Qatar asked for a medical service to be provided in his country and said, 'he would build a hospital if the mission would run it as an out-station of Bahrain.'⁸⁶ In the fall of 1947 this was ready for service. Medical staff led by Dr. Storm went there to unpack and get the new building ready for actual service. They occupied a building and used it as a dispensary until the hospital was ready. In 1952 the Mission suddenly decided to give up its activity at Qatar because of the limited members of staff. It became apparent that they must either assign a full time medical worker to have charge continuously or entirely give up their commitments. The latter became the only alternative when Dr. Nykerk was suddenly

obliged to leave the field because of illness. The Mission lost forever the chance to work in Qatar and to open a substation there.⁸⁷

A similar attempt was made to open a substation at Zobair south of Basrah. The Mission was eager to reach this area, as it could provide a key to the interior of the Peninsula because of the Nejd families⁸⁸ who usually travelled to and fro between the Peninsula and Iraq, for trade. Zobair was their rest place between the two countries. The Mission realised that working among these tribes could prove a way of gaining the Peninsula itself. Its medical staff made many trips to the area, but their efforts did not achieve any useful result because of the shortage of staff and because of the strong Islamic feeling of these tribes. Thus, the result of this attempt to open up Zobair was no better than the result of the attempt to open up Qatar.

The Mission's Medical Tours

Touring has always been a vital part of the activity of the Arabian Mission, which has continuously stated that its goal is the Peninsula itself, the area that had captured the Mission's imagination from the beginning. By small boats around the shores of the Peninsula and on the rivers of Iraq, on camels, horses and donkeys over the deserts of the interior of the Peninsula and Oman, the missionaries made extensive tours. Medical service was a prominent feature of these tours, because it was the only way to persuade the people and the local authorities of those areas to accept the missionaries and allow them to operate. Dr. Paul Harrison was the first missionary to go to the interior of the Peninsula in 1917. By 1927 he and his wife and Nurse C. Dalenberg made the second tour to that area. They visited Dammam and Kateef and medical service was provided on this trip. Many natives received modern medical treatment for the

first time. In 1929 Dr. Louis Dame received an invitation when he was working at Bahrain to visit Hasa, to treat Amir Saud, eldest son of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud who became the King of Saudi Arabia, and also to treat the Governor of Hasa. Dr. Dame was allowed to treat the public. Hasa is in the eastern part of the Peninsula on the Gulf Coast and is the gateway to the Najd. Many patients came from Hasa to receive treatment at Bahrain. In 1932 Dr. Dame was requested by a telegram from King Abdul Aziz to go at once to Taif in the Hijaz to treat a member of the royal family. He reached it after six days' journey from Bahrain. He stayed there two months for that purpose.⁸⁹

After these tours the missionaries felt that there was no major hindrance to entering the Peninsula, medically, educationally and religiously. Dr. Dame made another trip to the area this time without invitation; after this the missionaries claimed that, 'now Arabia was opened to receive the Christian message.'⁹⁰ In June 1935 Dr. Storm made a visit to the interior of the Peninsula, and stated:

"A most significant Christian Service was held in Riyadh, proud capital city of Saudi Arabia Two missionary parties of the Arabian Mission had met in this great desert metropolis. The one party, consisting of Dr. Dame, the Rev. and Mrs. G.D. Van Deurse and Robert Van Deurse had just returned to Riyadh after a most successful and epoch-making tour into the northern part of Najd, during which time they had been able to visit Hail, Baraida and Aneiza. This was the first missionary tour ever made to this historical stronghold of northern Arabia."⁹¹

Dr. Storm did not mention what sort of Christian service was held there, but it seems that little more occurred than the selling of some scriptures and conversations with some of the people about Christ

and his message. In 1937 Dr. W. Thoms made a tour to Riyadh, and gave medical service mostly to the royal family. He also treated some of the public, but not very many.

In 1938, King bin Saud requested Dr. E. Barny to come to Riyadh, the first woman doctor to visit the interior of the Peninsula; she spent four months there treating the women of the royal family. In 1941 Dr. and Mrs. Storm made another tour to that area, while Dr. and Mrs. Harrison visited Hasa in the same year. Dr. Harrison wrote:

"We have been building solidly and well in our efforts to gain a foothold in the sterile inland desert, among the thin half-starved, undefeatable Bedouin. The people have flocked to us, the people want us more than ever, and the opposing political and religious leaders have ceased hating us. On some such trip as this we shall get the coveted permission and build a lighthouse in the citadel of Islam." 92

The missionaries considered their trips to the inland of the Peninsula, and the lack of opposition to their medical activity as signs of success, and thus they thought they could increase their efforts and achieve their aims. From their point of view, if the Peninsula, the homeland of Islam, could only be converted to Christianity, then it would be possible to occupy the other Islamic areas. Dr. Harrison was very optimistic when he considered the missionaries' medical service and their selling of some religious books as a solid basis for gaining the area. The Mission's activity continued to be confined mainly to medical service and it did not obtain permission to remain in the area continuously and build permanent establishments which would have led to the opening of a new missionary station. The Saudi Government simply refused to accept missionary work in its territory. Consequently, despite all the Mission's attempts, it could not manage to establish a permanent work there.

All the mission's activities along the Arabian Coast had in fact aimed at surrounding and then penetrating the Peninsula, but despite all the Mission's efforts this main purpose was never achieved. Dr. Paul Harrison asked the following important question and tried to answer it:

"Does the medical missionary accomplish anything? Sanitary practices are not suddenly revolutionized, but they are gradually improved a little. He relieves the suffering of a few people a great deal, and of a great many people a little. He wins the friendship of the hostile and gains an entrance for the Gospel. He prays for the work, and especially for those who are put in his care. Perhaps he accomplishes more in that way than by any other means." ⁹³

Dr. Harrison confirmed the connection between the religious message and the medical means and he tended to regard the medical missionary service as successful. However, since its religious purpose was not achieved, it was in that respect a failure.

Conclusion

To sum up the medical service of the Mission in the region, the following are the most important facts:

- a. The region was in urgent need of medical service when the Mission started its service. It was the first modern service the Arabs had ever seen. The region suffered from many contagious diseases and its people used their own traditional means of treatment, which were largely superstition.
- b. When the Mission began its service, the people gradually turned to modern treatment without great opposition. The Mission considered this a successful preparation for religious work.
- c. The medical success encouraged the mission to extend its activities and open new stations and substations.

d. During the first quarter of the century the Mission concentrated on medical service, which was the only accepted and effective activity. This absorbed the main efforts of the Mission, which resulted in the dispute between the Medical Staff, who saw medical service as important and right and linked with Christian ethics, and some of the missionaries appointed to strictly evangelistic work who felt that the Medical Service was unduly dominant and ought only to be a means to a religious end. Not all those appointed as pastors and evangelists stood in this camp. The tension remained but many ordained missionaries refused to take the position when confronted by conservative people in America about the seeming failure of medical work to gain converts, it was the clergy in many cases who spoke strongly in the doctors' defence. ⁹⁴

e. The Medical Service was in fact connected with the religious work, and the hospital was used for religious persuasion. Medically, the Mission greatly and sincerely served the people of the region. History will recognize its efforts. For more than half a century people in this region received medical treatment from this Mission. ⁹⁵

f. To reach the new areas many tours were required. The missionaries made many medical tours for that purpose, despite the difficult geographical nature of the region. The real aim of these tours was to reach the inland of Arabia and win over its people, but they failed to achieve missionary success in the Peninsula itself.

g. When the discovery of oil resulted in the development of medical services by the local governments, the Mission's activities came to an end. All the Mission's work was influenced by the new situation; the Mission's departments were interdependent, so that when their medical service declined, their educational and evangelistic activities went the same way, and most of the activities were concentrated among the Christians who attended their devotional services. Since the missionaries believe that Christ came as a healer, and a teacher, they use education also as a method side by side with

medicine. They gave medicine the priority in their activities because of the region's circumstances. Educational service was the second of the Mission's means, but it never had the importance of the medical service. The educational service forms the subject of the next chapter.

TABLE NUMBER III : VIII

MEDICAL STATISTICS OF THE ARABIAN MISSION
1892-1937

Station	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Doctors	Nurses	Trained Assistant	Beds of Hospitals
Basrah	2	2	7	5	8	83
Bahrain	2	2	5	4	6	80
Kuwait	2	2	3	3	4	32
Muscat	2	2	3	3	4	50
Amarah	-	1	2	2	2	-
Matrah	1	1	3	5	5	-
Nasyria	-	1	1	1	1	-
Total	9	11	24	20	30	245

Source: Storm, H., Whither Arabia, N.Y., 1938, p.110

Also, Mason and Barny, The History of the Arabian Mission, N.Y., pp. 242-247.

TABLE NUMBER III : IX

DOCTORS OF THE ARABIAN MISSION
1892 - 1923

	<u>Doctors</u>	<u>Years of Appointment</u>	<u>Stations and Substations</u>	<u>Notices</u>
1	Charles E. Riggs	1892	Basrah	Left the Mission in the first year.
2	James T. Wyckoff	1893	Basrah	
3	Henry R.L. Worrall	1895	Basrah and Amarah	
4	Sharon J. Thoms	1898	Basrah, Bahrain and Matrah ..	
5	Mrs. Marion W. Thoms	1898	Bahrain and Matrah	
6	Mrs. Emma H. Worrall	1901	Basrah and Matrah	
7	Arthur K. Bennett	1904	Basrah and Kuwait	
8	Charles S. Mylrea	1906	Bahrain and Kuwait	
9	Miss Thyra H. Josselyn	1908	Bahrain	
10	Mrs. Anna C. Bennett	1909	Basrah	
11	Mrs. Eleanor Calverley	1909	Kuwait	
12	Paul W. Harrison	1909	Kuwait, Bahrain and Matrah ..	
13	Miss Sarah L. Hosman	1911	Muscat	Resigned 1938
14	Miss Lucy Patterson	1914	Bahrain	Short term appointment
15	Hall G. Van Vlack	1917		
16	Louis P. Dame	1919	Basrah, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia	Left the Mission in 1936
17	William J. Moerdyk	1923	Amarah	
18	Walter N. Leak	1923	Muscat	Short term appointment

Source: Mason and Barny, Ibid pp. 242-247.

TABLE NUMBER III : X

DOCTORS OF THE ARABIAN MISSION
1924 - 1957

<u>Bahrain</u>		<u>Muscat and Matrah</u>		<u>Kuwait</u>		<u>Basrah and Amarah</u>	
1	Louis Dame	1	Sarah Hosman	1	A. Bennett	1	Voss
2	S.J. Thoms	2	Mary Allison	2	P. Harrison	2	Bosch
3	P. Harrison	3	P. Harrison	3	S. Mylrea	3	Nykerk
4	W. Storm	4	S. Thoms	4	W. Storm	4	Moerdyk
5	Nykerk	5	W. Storm	5	L. Scudder	5	L. Scudder
6	Heusinkveld	6	Heusinkveld	6	Nykerk	6	Heusinkveld
7	C. Mylrea	7	Voss	7	Heusinkveld	7	
8	Voss	8	Pennings	8	E. Calverley	8	
9	Margaret	9		9	Esther Barny	9	
10	Esther Barny	10		10	Mary Allison	10	
11	M.N. Tiffany	11		11	Ruth Crouse	11	

Source: Van Ess, D., History of the Arabian Mission, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A., pp. 37-39, 75-79 (unpublished)

TABLE NUMBER III : XI

MISSIONARY DOCTORS WHO SERVED IN KUWAIT 1910 - 1975

<u>No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Years of work</u>	<u>Notes</u>
1	Dr. Arthur Bennett	1910 - 1912	Three died and were
2	Dr. Paul Harrison	1912 - 1913	buried in Kuwait:
3	Dr. Eleanor Calverley	1912 - 1929	Dr. Mylrea 1952,
4	Dr. Stanley Mylrea	1913 - 1942	Dr. Nykerk 1964 and
5	Dr. Esther Barny	1930 - 1937	Dr. Scudder 1975.
6	Dr. Mary Allison	1937 - 1940	Dr. Mylrea and
7	Dr. Lewis R. Scudder	1939 - 1975	Dr. Scudder who
8	Dr. Wells Thoms	Short period	served longer period
9	Dr. Harold Storm	" "	in the area.
10	Dr. Alfred Pennings	" "	
11	Dr. Egbert Fell	" "	
12	Dr. Gerald Nykerk	" "	
13	Dr. Morris Heusinkveldt	" "	
14	Dr. Bernard Voss	" "	

Source: Mrs. Scudder, Dorothy, Paper presented for a seminar held in Kuwait April 4-6th, 1976, p.2.

TABLE NUMBER III : XIII

NURSES OF THE ARABIAN MISSION
1902 - 1923

	<u>Nurses</u>	<u>Year of Appointment</u>	<u>Notices</u>
1	Mrs. E. Cantine	1902	These nurses were worked in the different mission stations, and there is not any source giving detail about each one and her specific station. Also there is not any information about the Nurses who worked before 1902
2	Mrs. S. Zwemer	1903	
3	Mrs. J. Van Peurseem	1910	
4	Miss M. Horlzhauer	1913	
5	Mrs. R. Harrison	1915	
6	Miss M. Van Pelt	1917	
7	Miss C. Dalenberg	1921	
8	Mrs. C. Moerdyk	1923	

Source: Van Ess, D., Ibid, pp.75-79.

TABLE NUMBER III : XII

NURSES OF THE ARABIAN MISSION
1924 - 1957

<u>Bahrain</u>		<u>Muscat and Matrah</u>		<u>Kuwait</u>		<u>Basrah and Amarah</u>	
1	C. Dalenberg	1	Miss J. Boersma	1	Miss M. Van Pelt	1	Miss C. Delenberg
2	Mrs. H. Storm	2	Miss M. Walvoord	2	Miss M. Tull	2	Miss J. Veldman
3	Mrs. G. Peurseem	3	Miss A. Schanalz	3	Mrs. Scudder	3	Mrs. G. Holler
4	H. Oudemool	4	Miss J. Veldman	4	Mrs. Heusinkveld	4	Miss J. Boeksma
5	J. Bast	5	Miss A. De Young	5	Mrs. Holler	5	Miss C. Voss
6	R. Bakker	6	Miss C. Dalenberg	6	Mrs. J. Buckley	6	Miss A. De Young
7	H. Wanrooy	7		7	Miss T. Boomgarden	7	Miss A. Schmalzriedt
8	N. Hekhuis	8		8	Miss M. Holmes	8	
9	N. Wood	9		9		9	
10	M. Schuppe	10		10		10	
11	Mrs. G. Holler	11		11		11	
12	M. Tanis	12		12		12	
13	A. De Young	13		13		13	
14	J. Veldman						
15							

Source: Van Ess, D., op.cit, pp. 37-39, 75-79.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

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CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL SERVICE AS A MISSIONARY APPROACH

The Concept of Missionary Education

Education has always been given some importance as a missionary approach by the Arabian Mission. It is also linked with the Christian ethic in that Christ was a teacher and calls upon his followers to spread his teaching among the peoples. The importance of education is emphasized in the New Testament, as shown in the following verses.

"He went round the whole of Galilee,
Teaching in the synagogues, preaching
the Gospel of the Kingdom."¹

"On another occasion he began to teach
by the lake side ... with the whole
crowd on the beach right down to the
water's edge. And he taught them many
things by parable."²

"On another Sabbath he had gone to the
Synagogue and was teaching."³

Therefore Christian education is defined, in Basil Mathew's words
as,

"First, an education that reveals the
world (through geography, history,
science, mathematics and so on) as a
world created and cared for by God.
An Almighty Spirit revealed by Jesus
Christ - the Father who works through
moral law to achieve His will, which
is Love Secondly, teaching what
Christ Himself is, and what He means
for the individual and for society."⁴

The missionaries considered it their duty to teach the
Christian faith, using education as an approach to influence non-
Christians. It is clear from Mathew's definition of education that
missionary education is basically a religious education aimed at
spreading the Christian approach to teaching, and above all spreading
the Gospel. A more precise definition of the Christian Missionary's
concept of education is provided in the main principles stated by

a prominent missionary leader. Rev. Hooton.

- "a. The evangelistic aim must be predominant
- b. The Bible must always have first place in the day's lesson, and attendance at this lesson must be an absolute condition of joining the school.
- c. The missionaries' aim must be openly confessed; parents must know that their children attend at the risk of conversion.
- d. Every effort must be made to eliminate non-Christian assistant masters, and to equip the institution with an adequate staff for direct personal influence.
- e. Missionary experts should consider the relative importance of this and other branches of the work with a view to the needs of the work as a whole".⁵

These principles were accepted by the missionary organizations and they emphasize that education is a direct tool for spreading the Christian religion.⁶

It is obvious from the definition of missionary education **mentioned** above, that missionary education is religious and aimed mainly at either converting or creating an environment favourable to conversion. This attitude caused major social and cultural problems for missionary education:

- a. Local families sending their children for the first time were shocked to discover that their children were learning basically the Christian religion, instead of learning what they themselves hoped for, that is modern subjects of study, mainly English and various sciences. The following table shows the curriculum of the Mission and the religion of the pupils as it was in general in the Arabian Mission's educational service in the Arabian Gulf region.

Table No. IV : I

<u>Studies</u>	<u>Religion of Pupils</u>	<u>Condition</u>
The Bible	Moslems	Majority
Reading and Writing	Christians	Minority
English	Jews	Very few
Arithmetic	Persians	" "
Geography	Indians	" "
	Negresses	" "

Source: Mason and Barny op.cit., pp. 217-218.

b. Missionary education in the Arabian Gulf region made the mistake of disregarding the Islamic dominance in the region. It intruded into a predominantly Islamic Society, and aggressively pursued its own religious education with no regard to local culture, as is suggested by the curriculum shown in table No. IV : I, which is basically constructed according to the principles of Hooton. This situation evolved into a conflict with the Islamic culture of the region; such a clash between missionary education, which came from outside, and traditional education which had its roots deep in the social structure, was indeed only to be expected, as will be shown later.

c. One of the basic drawbacks of missionary education is that, it ignored the future of the students of the missionaries' schools. Its aim to produce primarily teachers and leaders for the native Church created a situation where only a few of the students could find jobs in the Mission's establishments, which are limited in number. The great majority of those that the Mission had hoped to educate would not have found work, mainly because there are not a sufficient number of Christian establishments to employ them. The

local establishments, which are traditional in culture and predominantly Islamic, had no place for this type of education.

d. The advance of modern education all over the world and the local pressure in that direction made the missionary education appear too old fashioned and useless. This point was emphasized by John Mott:

"Western education needs to assume a more definite leadership in agriculture and in the direction of commerce and public health than it has hitherto done. Whether viewed from the standpoint of opportunity, of policy, of achievement or of function, western education in Moslem lands is now facing a crisis, and both needs and deserves the sympathetic interest and support of the homeland." 7

From this quotation it is apparent that missionary education was in crisis; the success of the medical service had not resulted in success in the educational approach, the medical success being in fact accomplished because of medicine's obvious humanitarian value.

e. Half a century ago the area was going through the early stages of political involvement in the Arab national renaissance, hence the young leaders accepted a modern education that taught English and the sciences. They were disenchanted with the local Islamic schools Kuttab and were therefore not much inclined simply to replace the Kuttab with Christian education. Such difficulties evolved as a result of,

a. The uncompromizing nature of missionary education as shown earlier.

b. Missionary education's overt aim of converting, an aim so overt as to encourage suspicion.

c. The ignoring by missionary education of local culture, history, religion and language. Hence the missionary teachers severed cultural ties with the area, and the education they offered was

looked upon as foreign.

As a result of these difficulties and the subsequent failure, the concept of missionary education was one of the main subjects of debate in missionary gatherings. At the later Jerusalem Conference 1924 the missionary educational approach was the main issue of discussion⁸ and the moderate missionaries succeeded in forcing a change of attitude and outlook in missionary education, as is very clear from the following quotation:

"In the past the chief use of the Mission School, has been as an approach, a means of entrance for other forms of Mission work. But now that changing conditions have rendered this no longer necessary, the school has been set free for its direct education task It seems necessary not only to re-emphasize our former aims of educational work, but also to state the necessity of sympathetically guiding students in their historical and scientific studies."⁹

As a result of this Conference modern education was given a new emphasis, thus indicating the strong influence of Western education on the missionaries' work, as John Mott noted in the passages referred to above.

Rev. Hooton, himself a missionary, stated:

"We believe that the primary purpose to be served by the educational work of missionaries is that of training the 'native Church' to bear its own proper witness our first thought must therefore be given to those institutions which exist for Christians alone. Such are Boarding Schools, Training Institutions, and Divinity Colleges."¹⁰

Hooton explained the role of the Christian Colleges as follows,

"The Christian Colleges are seeking not only to win converts from heathenism, but to help to perform the important function of providing these leaders for the Church

What we need to know now is how much in each separate field we can do to answer them (educational needs) in the face of still more urgent calls for direct evangelization."¹¹

Thus Hooton put the missionary educational strategy and stressed that missionary education should follow the central stream of evangelization. It was in other words a means to reach the missionaries' goal, the Christianization of others. In fact the missionary educational approach in the region achieved very little, even in educational terms, let alone religious. This will be obvious from an examination of the missionaries' activities in the Arabian Gulf region. But before taking up this point, it is necessary to form some idea of the Islamic education.

Islamic Education

Its Definition

Education like everything in the social order is regarded by moslems as divinely ordained. Religiously it aims at approved conduct and happiness in this life and eternal bliss in the next by preaching and teaching.¹² Ibn Khaldun - who was one of the most important Moslem philosophers - thought of education as a social phenomenon, and teaching a social activity and skill. In his view man being a social animal, the prosecution of learning is conditioned by the material, intellectual and spiritual values of the civilization in which he lives.¹³

Islamic Education

Any attempt to deal with this topic demands a precise examination of what the Koran says and what the Prophet Muhammad practised. The essence of Moslem education is stated in the divine revelation in the Koran and is elaborated in the traditions transmitted from the Prophet.¹⁴

The traditional basic education in all Moslem countries was predominantly religious in content, and was usually taught in the

Mosques or other small religious institutions. The main purpose of the foundation of the Mosques had been for the performance of the daily prayers and rituals, but they soon evolved to become religious institutions for teaching the basic tenets of Islam, with the major emphasis on the study of the Koran and the life of the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁵ Islam's system of education encourages learning. The Koran says,

"O my Lord increase me in knowledge." ¹⁶

The Prophet stated,

"The Quest for learning is a duty incumbent upon every Muslim, male and female." ¹⁷

In fact the whole of pre-Islamic Arab tradition was oral, and its rich heritage in poetry was transmitted orally. The Koran itself was first transmitted orally, but was written down by the end of the first generation of Moslems. Accordingly, teaching and learning was primarily oral. This kind of teaching and learning was carried on in the early years of Islam. Then it became necessary to learn through reading and writing, because without them it is impossible to read and understand the Koranic text. Hence arose the importance of studying the Arabic language.

The Arabic Language

The necessity of understanding Islam in the Arab world, and among non-Arabs, helped to bring about the wide acceptance of Arabic. Consequently, in a short time, Arabic dominated the whole empire, and became more important than the Syriac language, which in the year 600 was considered as the vehicle of a Christian Hellenistic culture. In most spheres it was soon replaced by Arabic.¹⁸ It is clear that by A.D. 700 neither the new non-Arab converts to Islam, nor even the Arabs themselves could easily understand all the vocabulary of the Koran. Thus Koranic scholarship united with the general love of poetry to revive interest in the work of the pre-Islamic poets.

Interests in the interpretation of poetry and the Koran was almost inevitably combined with an interest in grammar. The founders of Arabic grammatical science are usually reckoned to be al-Khalil (d.776-91) and his pupil Sibawayh (d.793-809). They were the founders of the philological School of Basra, which soon had a rival school at Kufa, while another developed later at Baghdad (all in Iraq).¹⁹

During the Umayyad period scholarly concern was mainly devoted to the relation of the language of the Koran and the pre-Islamic poems to the dialects then spoken. They were very proud of their Arabic language, to the degree that the others accused them of fanaticism and racialism.

The Impact of Islamic Education

Islamic education passed through many stages. It developed from using the Mosque for that purpose to the establishment of other institutions by outstanding thinkers, who were open-minded in their approach to other civilizations, who studied them and took from them what was useful for their own people. Greek philosophy was studied and translated, and its influence absorbed by Arab culture. Consequently in periods of Islamic history such as the Abbassid period in Baghdad, learning and culture flourished. William Hall has stated that,

"The influence of Arab learning played no small part in the great awakening (of Europe). There were three main channels through which this learning of Moslem lands penetrated to the countries of Europe: The Pilgrims and Crusaders returning from Palestine; the Arab scholars and schools of Sicily; and the Arab Moors of Spain. Through these three sources Europe came in touch with the philosophy, Science, Mathematics and Medicine of Moslem lands."²⁰

In an account of some of the Moslem thinkers who played an important role in Islamic civilization and developed the richness of Islamic education, it is common to start with al-Jahiz. He flourished

in Basra in Iraq during the third century of Islam, writing on a variety of subjects, his prose style was to become a model that survived for centuries.²¹

Another great educational philosopher was al-Ghazali. Classical Arabic literature contains no theory of education more precise and comprehensive than that presented by him.

Islamic Education and Modernization

Talking about modernization lead us to talk about the aims of modern education. Article one of the Covenant of Arab Cultural Unity signed in 1964 defines them as follows:

"The creation of generations of Arabs, believing in God, loyal to the Arab homeland, confident in themselves and in their nation, aware of their responsibility to their nation and humanity armed with science and morals, so as to share in the advancement of Arab Society by maintaining the position of the glorious Arab nation, and safeguarding its rights to freedom, security and dignified life ..."²²

Mr. A.L. Tibawi argued that this definition of the educational aims in the Arab countries, gave less importance to religion, and stressed Arab nationality. Moreover - in his view - it seems to be more ideal than practical, and more general than specific.²³

There is uncertainty in the minds of many scholars today about the aims of religious education. They are confused as to whether education should help in understanding religion or in making the students religious. Some still cling to the latter and the others hold the former aim.²⁴

Some of the scholars are thinking of a renaissance in education in the Moslem countries in the following direction.

- "1. A profound study of the Islamic system of belief, the sources of its strength and vitality, in order to build the new education on these points of strength.

2. A study of the factors making for backwardness in the Islamic world ...
3. A study of the educational system of western origin - its strong and weak points, and also of the educational philosophy to be found in the Quran ...
4. A Confrontation with the challenges which western creeds present to us in in the name of humanism and democracy.
5. A recognition by Muslim educators of the need to revive Islamic identity by their teaching ... Also they need to have a regard for the Arabic language. This, as the language of the Holy Quran which belongs to all Muslims, as well as being the national tongue of the Arabs." 25

Since the heritage of the schools is not suited to the needs of our age, it is necessary that a complete rethinking of scientific, social and economic values, as well as spiritual and moral aims should take place. Such a renaissance calls for thought and action based on the changing of the institutions and policy which lay behind the backwardness in that Society.

The Traditional Education in the Region

The early attempts to provide elementary education for boys who wished to learn were implemented in what was known as the Kuttab . * Teaching in this type of 'School' consisted mostly of memorizing the verses of the Quran and then in reading and writing. This was developed gradually and the full curriculum covered also Shari'ah, ** fiqh *** and the devotional services of Moslems. Consequently many aspects of education in this region could be traced back to the influence of Islamic religion and culture. But unfortunately the Kuttab of the region were not at a very high level, as will become obvious soon.

At first the Mullahs **** taught in their homes, where pupils sought

* 'Kuttab' derived from the Arabic root 'to write' It was the name of the traditional school.

** Shari'ah is the canonical law of Islam.

*** Fiqh, is the Jurisprudence in Islam, which defined as knowledge of the rules of God, such knowledge is aquired from the Koran.

**** Mullah, is the name of the traditional religious teacher, who used to teach in the Kuttab.

their services. But these places became inconvenient for such functions, when both the demand and the teacher's need to earn his living led to the formalization of education. So Mullhas soon began to receive pupils in special places, say a room in a house. A place thus assigned for instruction became ultimately known as a Kuttab.²⁶ The teaching of writing in particular must have been difficult for two reasons: Firstly, mainly for religious reasons, the Kuran, with its majestic and highly poetic language, was the sole textbook. Secondly, the Arabic script was difficult at this early stage, before it was standardized. A single word could be read in several different ways with only the sense as guide.

Historically the Kuttab in the region dominated the whole educational situation for a long time. These Quranic schools were run by local Mullahs first in their houses, then in the corners of shops, and during the summer in the lanes in the bazaars. Most of the Kuttab were in fact co-educational. The programme consisted mainly of memorizing the Quranic verses and some reading and writing.²⁷ When a pupil finished reading the whole Kuran and became able to memorize it, his or her parents and friends joined in the most popular celebration called al-khatmah,* a celebration comparable to graduation ceremonies in present-day schools. This type of education needs describing in some detail.

When a man decided to send his son to the Kuttab, he would do two important things, he would buy a special piece of wood for his son to write on, the writing being removed by washing with water, and secondly he would pay the fees for entering the Kuttab. Teaching at this kind of 'School' usually started with the alphabet, and when the pupil had mastered it, he began the more advanced lesson in reading and writing sentences; when these

* al-Khatmah is derived from the Arabic word meaning to finish off, and the Kuttab used it for the completion of the memorizing of the Koran.

two had been mastered, he started on his real education, the memorizing of the Koranic verses. Usually the Kuttab began this with the short Surās. The way of reading was first by spelling, and then when the Mullah felt that the pupil's reading had become better, he would transfer him to an advanced level. The Mullah would read and the pupil would read after him. This was accompanied by the movement of the head from side to side by both the Mullah and the pupils, showing that they were being influenced by the holy words.

The average period needed for a pupil to qualify and leave was between one and two years, probably more for some pupils. There was no examination in this kind of education. The only thing which showed that the boy or girl was educated was the memorizing of the whole of the Kuran. After this level there was another one which studied reading and writing in general, but this was a kind of post-graduate stage attended by very few. Here are some of the sayings which were usually taught at this level.

(By learning writing you become a prince, while all the ignorant are donkeys).²⁸

(Writing remains long after the writer, when its owner lies under the ground).²⁹

When the pupil became expert at calligraphy on the piece of wood he was allowed to write on paper, which was the final stage which would present him to society as a well qualified person.

The Mullah was a dictator in his Kuttab, and none of his pupils could ask or object or even complain. He gave orders and they had to obey him. Their role was to receive. Usually he behaved to his pupils in the Kuttab with haughtiness. Punishment was very harsh. Each Mullah had two sticks for hitting and terrifying the pupils. A long one was used to hit anyone who made a mistake in the lesson and it reached all the pupils while the Mullah remained sitting in his place; the other one was thick and short and was used for the very harsh punishment meted out to those who perpetrated a serious fault, like delay in coming to the lesson, or who made any disturbance in the class or escaped from the Kuttab.

The Mullah believed that hitting the pupils was very necessary to discipline them. He usually repeated this line of poetry:

'May God have mercy upon him who makes
me cry because he for the best
is guiding me'.³⁰

This punishment in fact did not affect any pupil from the wealthy families or from the Royal family.³¹ It was the fate of the poor.

The Mullah also had his justification for this in a proverb.

(Hit the common boys, the boys of the distinguished have discipline).

Punishment was very harsh and sometimes it resulted in chronic disease or madness. The Mullah liked punishing to show the parents of the pupils his determination in looking after their interests.

The Kuttab's income derived from fees which were paid by the pupils' parents on different occasions, and each fee had its special name.

1. al-dukālah: this was the fee for entering the Kuttab, and was assessed according to the standard of living of the pupils' families.
2. al-khamīsiyyah: this was paid every Thursday either in the form of cash or goods.
3. al-nāfilah: this was alms paid to the Mullah on religious holidays like the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet etc.
4. al-fidyah: this was given to the Mullah on the morning of the first day of a feast.
5. al-fitrah: this was an alms given during Ramadan by the pupils families and considered by the Mullah as his right.
6. al-ḡazā': this was a present given by the pupils after the finishing of each part of the Qurān.
7. al-khatmah: this was the final payment. Such payments, especially when made by the wealthy families, were very important to the Mullah. They were given to him during the celebrations held to mark a student's

completion of his studies.

This kind of education disappeared gradually after modern education found its way to the region during the second decade of the 20th century. Some of the Kuttab continued until the end of the 40's.

There was no sudden and complete transformation of the traditional education. Rather there was for a time a mere shadow of the past Islamic education together with modernization. This is the story of the traditional education of the region, which played an important part in the life and thought of society there.

The Mission's Educational Achievement

Educational Service at Basrah

The second decade of the twentieth century **Marked the effective** beginning of the Arabian Mission's educational service at Basrah.³² The pupils were received by the missionaries in the earlier years of their activities in this area. This kind of activity was led in 1905 by Mr. Barny - one of the leaders of the Mission. He started a small school in his dwelling. But this school was closed by the Turkish authorities because it did not have official permission. The Mission did not give up its attempts to develop such a service. In 1908 the local authorities allowed Mr. Moerdyk to run a missionary school where a determined effort was made by the Mission to secure a permit. The School started with about thirty pupils. Much work in fact remained to be done in the way of securing school premises, the courses of study, the text-books and the teachers. Most of these efforts were made by Mr. Moerdyk. But such activity was really developed by Mr. and Mrs. Van Ess when they returned from their furlough in 1912.³³ They took

on the responsibility for the Mission educational service in this area, and regular schooling for boys and girls was then begun.³⁴ John Van Ess had been working for schools to be opened for both boys and girls. He began the boys and the girls schools after getting permission from the local authorities in 1912. The boys school was called 'The School of High Hope' (madrasat al-rajā' al 'āli), and the girls' school called, 'The School of Hope for Girls' (Madrasat al-rajā' l'il banat).³⁵ Mahmūd Samra stated that, the reason why the missionaries attached importance to the education of the girls is

"because they would be the mothers of the coming generations, and to win them over would mean that the people of the country were won."³⁶

After the first problem which faced the Mission there, to get permission for such a service, it faced the second problem which was the teachers for running the school in a proper way. The solution was reached by adopting the policy of sending American short-term teachers for three year periods to teach English and sport; the first of these was George Gosselink, who returned to become the principal of the School in subsequent years. At first the number was adequate at that time, and that means there was no major problem yet facing the Mission in this kind of service. The third question was about the Mission's school curriculum. It consisted of these subjects: Scripture, English, hygiene, geography and sport for both boys and girls, and in addition sewing and knitting for the girls only.³⁷ The Bible was studied throughout the course in graded sections. They concentrated on the main aim which was religious; had there been any doubt of their working for that aim, they would have left the field as Dorothy Van Ess stated,

"Christ must be at the very heart of the curriculum. I personally would not care to spend five minutes of my life in the East teaching in a School where Christ is not made such."³⁸

A system of instruction was successfully developed, by which each subject was divided into sections through each of which a

scholar progressed at his own individual speed. The system worked well in that it tried to adapt to local conditions and the great variation in the abilities of the scholars. The problem is not only to plan the teaching, but also to carry it out in practice. Actually the teaching of Scripture was forbidden by the Turkish authorities when the girl's school was opened. Permission had to be obtained and written into the regulations of the local educational department.³⁹ The people also reacted when they realized that the Mission's Schools were teaching their children the Bible. This reaction took various forms, protesting to the local authorities, complaining to the schools' directors and the withdrawal of some children from these schools. Such reactions presented a problem to the Mission's educational service in its early years.

As has already been mentioned in the last chapter, the Mission's work as a whole there was interrupted by the First World War, and the educational service was of course also affected. Despite the difficulties, however, the Mission tried hard to keep its educational service going and surviving.

When the War was over, the missionary work in the area gradually returned to normal. It has already been mentioned that the Jerusalem Missionary Conference in 1924 was disposed to develop the missionary educational system, and not to limit it to the Christian faith, in order to enable it to continue in the new situation that had developed in Moslem countries. Consequently the Arabian Mission's educational service fell in with the new line. During the few years immediately after the war the Mission began to modernize the education in its schools and the missions schools accepted pupils from different classes of society, rich, poor, and middle class. In 1932 Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations.

The tide of nationalism rose, and goodwill to westerners declined proportionately. In that year an educational conference was held in Baghdad, which was organized by the Ministry of Education in Iraq. Six teachers from the Arabian Mission at Basrah Station were invited to attend the Conference.⁴⁰

The attendance of the missionaries at such a conference has a specific significance. First, the Mission's educational service was such that the government could not ignore it. Secondly, the missionaries had obtained the government's recognition and permission to stay and work in its territory. Thirdly, the level of the Mission's educational service was reliable, otherwise the Ministry of Education would not have allowed its representatives to attend such a conference. Fourthly, the attitude of the new regime in Iraq was different from that of the Turkish authorities who had governed before the First World War.

With the attainment of national independence, the Iraqi government naturally enough established its own standards. The year 1936 marked the introduction of the conscription law. It exempted pupils in Schools from military service, if they passed the Department of Education's examination. From then the Mission's School was obliged to follow the government's curriculum exactly.⁴¹ This does not imply that the missionaries agreed with all of it, but they had no choice; meanwhile they also carried on their own curriculum. The Iraqi enthusiasm for education went side by side with a strong nationalistic spirit which increased rapidly after independence. Boys and girls were encouraged, as a consequence, to attend the government schools rather than foreign ones. Moreover Diplomas from the Mission's school were not recognized, so that their leavers could no longer obtain teaching positions, one of the few

professions at that time open to women. This educational situation no doubt affected the Mission's school, and the number of the attendance, particularly of Moslems, which dropped steadily. ⁴²

Actually the Mission's school with its limited possibilities could not compete with the work of government institutions, or duplicate them. Therefore the Mission decided to capitalize on the assets of religious dedication and the Christian message, and to specialize in teaching boys of the ordinary classes. These formed the majority of the population and the State schools often had neither room nor appeal for them. That does not mean that the Mission Schools managed to have them because of its limited capacity. In 1940, and along the national lines a new law was passed in Iraq by the government - forbidding all primary school pupils to attend any foreign or private schools; this considerably damaged the Mission's schools, which were mainly elementary schools. This action threatened to put an end to the Mission's educational service in that area. Moreover the Mission's educational service at Basrah entered a new stage when the government insisted that the Mission schools should register officially with the local Department of Education. This step no doubt opened the way for a deal with the government, which resulted in a working agreement between the two sides. The Mission acquired a legal status in this service and full assurances were given that no discrimination was aimed at the American missionary schools; relations with the authorities were friendly and cordial. This agreement, which offered the Mission a legal status in action there educationally, nevertheless also hindered the Mission educational service, but it carried on.

In 1951 the Mission report shows the increasing regimentation of government regulations, and the difficulties which faced its

educational service at Basrah. Dorothy Van Ess stated that,

"The pattern of our educational work grows more and more rigid as the government rules increase. We cannot introduce a textbook that is not in the list required by the Department of Education (although there are many publications superior to those now in use); it must also approve the appointment of all teachers and decide which one is competent to teach Arab history and other subjects related to Islam. Thus far; in our case, they have not enforced the rule that such lessons must be given by a Muslim, but they constantly tell us that they will do so as soon as the law demanding it comes into effect."⁴³

Such was the situation of the Arabian Mission's educational service in Basrah until 1958, when the revolution took place in Iraq, and the new regime finally put an end to all missionary work there in later years. The Mission Staff of Basrah left for other Mission stations along the coast of Arabian Gulf. The Mission's **educational** ~~Staff at Basrah during the whole period~~ ^{were:} John Van Ess and George Gosselink who had successfully run the boys' school, and Henry Bilkert, Harry Almond, Donald MacNeill and Edwin Luidens who had co-operated as assistants. Miss Charlotte Kellien, Miss Rachel Jackson, Miss Swantina De Yong, Miss Ruth Jackson, Mrs. John Van Ess and Miss Lavina Hoogeveen had been teachers at the girls' school. A succession of short termers had made an invaluable contribution to the life of the Schools.⁴⁴

The Educational Service at Bahrain

The Arabian Mission's educational service at Bahrain began at the same time as its medical service. The first western style school was founded there by the Mission in 1892 and opened by Mrs. S. Zwemer. This school was not only the first one in Bahrain, but also in the whole Gulf region. The number of boys and girls who

joined the two schools was very small in the first three years, about a dozen in each. This number gradually increased in later years, but not to the same extent as the number of medical patients there, because of the primarily humanitarian nature of medical activity as opposed to the more overt missionary nature of the educational work. The parents were naturally anxious that their children should not be influenced against their own religion.

The curriculum consisted of English, the Bible, Arithmetic and Arabic grammar.⁴⁵ Later sources also mentioned other subjects. In an interview with the journalist Mr. Nassif, one of the old Mission school teachers said:

"The studies were, Arabic, English the Bible, Arithmetic, Geography and History."⁴⁶

The additional subjects were probably added later. According to an interview with the writer, Mr. Ahmad Ibrahim, one of the old students of the Mission in Bahrain, said,

"The daily study usually started with Christian prayers and reading from the Bible. In fact we argued with the teachers about our religion. We had studied the Islamic religion from the earliest age at home. We had had a solid grounding, and they could not affect us by their religion, and I am still a Moslem."⁴⁷

Most of the students joined the Mission School primarily in order to learn English, and reading and writing. Mr. Nassif stated:

"One of our main problems then was, that the pupils did not attend for the whole period of study, which was four years. Their parents sent them to the School just to learn how to read and write, and when they felt that their children had become proficient enough, they withdrew them from the school to look for jobs in the government employ or in the Merchants' Offices."⁴⁸



Mr. A.H. Ibrahim the first native student in the Mission's School
in Bahrain 1905.

The Mission's educational service did not face any kind of opposition in the beginning, but such a problem arose soon afterward. Mr. Nassif stated,

"There was a strong wave of Moslem religious reaction against the Mission's educational service. The Moslems accused us of aiming to convert this society, not to educate their Children."⁴⁹

Dorothy Van Ess stated:

"Kor'an teachers (Mullaahs) tried to persuade Muslim girls not to attend the Christian school, and some of them solved the problem by going to the Kor'an School (Kuttab) first and turning up at the Mission School later in the day."⁵⁰

This no doubt affected the attendance of the pupils. The following statistics show that the number of them in the Mission School was very small.

Table No. IV : II

<u>Enrolment</u>	<u>Moslems</u>	<u>Christians</u>	<u>Jews</u>
Total enrolment December 1, 1907	17	8	-
" " " 1908	12	6	3
Admitted during the year	6	-	3
Dismissed during the year	11	3	-
Total attendance for the year	2,656	628	117
Average attendance for the year	11.4	2.69	0.5
Total School days for the year	233		

Source: Van Ess, D., op.cit., p:20.

In 1910 some of the enlightened Moslems from the two religious communities, Shi'a and Sunni, thought of providing a modern education for their children. Both started putting the idea into

practice. Al-Ittihad School was established by the Persian minority in Manama City. At the same time Mohammed A. Zainal, a pearl merchant from Hijaz, founded al-Falah school, mainly for the teaching of Islamic religion, Arabic, and some practical Arithmetic. Soon afterwards a similar school, Dar al-'Ilm, was founded in Muharek City, and taught practically the same subjects.⁵¹ In general the motive for establishing these native schools was religious, to counteract the missionaries' activities there, as is obvious from the emphasis on Islam in their curriculum.

The idea of affording modern education to the area was extended to include the teaching of modern scientific subjects.

"According to the official report of the Bahrain government and those of the Department of Education, the year 1919 marks the beginning of the first modern public school in Bahrain; al-Hidayah School for boys was opened at the northern end of Muharek, and a number of notables of the Bahrain Community contributed to the costs of the School The curriculum was partly religious and partly adopted from the syllabi of some other Arab countries. Most of the teachers were brought from Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. In addition, some teachers were brought over from Basrah in Iraq."⁵²

Meanwhile, despite all these difficulties, the mission managed to carry on its educational service. Its girls' school was developed by Mrs. Louis Dame after the First World War, and by 1926 the curriculum included the Bible, Arithmetic, Geography, Writing, Sewing and English. The records showed a small increase in the number of pupils every year. In 1928 this school moved to the Mission property, occupying two rooms on the ground floor of the chapel building. At this time a school library was started for the first time and girls were encouraged to read simple books when their other lessons were finished. The missionaries put emphasis on guiding the girls towards the Christian faith.⁵³ In 1929

a girls' club was also opened in the school. The teaching staff now consisted of the missionary in charge and one native teacher, assisted by the evangelistic missionary in Bible classes, and by the American nurse, who taught child care, with demonstrations in the womens' hospital. This was the situation of the girls' school then. The Mission's boys' school faced with lack of money for the rent in 1926, received an offer from the boys themselves to help with the problem in order that they might have a better building for their school. The enrolment soared to 151 in 1932 and would have continued to increase if there had been rooms and teachers enough to expand. This in fact shows the enthusiasm for learning in that area. In 1934 the total attendance was 156, and Mr. Hakken, one of the teachers, reported that,

"Some boys had been there since 1924, when the school was opened on its present basis. It is interesting to note that the longer the boys stay in school the less they resent Christian teachings. It is the new boys that have the most objections and feel most confident in Islam." 54

In 1936 the Mission's annual report sadly stated,

"It was with the very greatest regret that we closed our boys' school in Bahrain, an institution of decided promise." 55

It was closed as a result of financial need. As Mr. Nassif stated,

"The school was closed because of the question of money. The Board of the Mission in America did not offer the aid which would have been necessary if the school was to overcome its problems and continue to meet its responsibilities." 56

What then happened to the pupils of the school? Neither source says anything about them after the closure of the school. They probably fell into four groups: First, some of them probably stayed at home helping their parents in their work, on the farm,

fishing or diving for pearls. Second, some of them, who had spent a long time in the Mission School and learned reading and writing, probably found jobs in the government's employ or in private businesses especially at a time when few could read and write. Thirdly, some no doubt went to the Kuttab to continue their studies. Fourthly, others would have joined the schools opened by the religious communities or by the government.

After a long interval this school was reopened at the end of the 50's and still exists. In the meantime modern education had spread throughout the area. The basic national assumption of responsibility for education at Bahrain occurred with the formation of two committees on a religious basis. One committee was concerned with the affairs of the Sunni Schools, and the other with the Shia. In 1930 an important attempt was made by the government to combine the two education committees into one education council under its control. This policy failed after two years, but the two committees had faded away. During the 1933 the government took a further positive step by the amalgamation of Sunni-Shia schools into one primary school, but with separate provision for the boys and girls of both sects. This early achievement of 1932-33 was a landmark in the progress of Bahrain, and it has been to the credit of education that it stimulated progress and change in this society.

The government then started developing well-conducted and organized schools, very different from the traditional Kuttab and based on the modern system. At that time religious pressure was brought on the Arabs there, as in other stations of the Mission, to send their children to their own schools and not to the Mission Schools.⁵⁷ This development of modern education in Bahrain gave the Mission more trouble and forced it to think hard about the future of

this kind of service. The Missionaries believed that there was no point in entering into competition with the government's schools for a variety of reasons: First of all, the Mission's resources were no match for those of the government. Secondly, the Mission could not afford to enter into a dispute with the government in its territory and among its Moslem people, because it was easy for the government to take over all the Mission's establishments and evict the missionaries from the country. Thirdly, the modern system of education introduced by the government could hardly be rejected by the Mission, because this was what it had been claiming to bring to the region, at least in appearance, even if its real aim was to Christianize the people. Consequently the Mission accepted the government's development of education and tried to form a good relationship with it in order to maintain its own educational service there.

After the closing of the Mission's boys' school, the girls' school continued. In 1940 Miss Rachel Jackson reported,

"We have travelled far since the Acorn School of pioneer days, for we have regular and fully qualified teachers, much better equipment, a systemized curriculum and a large body of young women whose enlarged horizons (fuller life, and higher aspirations) are due entirely to this school. Club work for former and present pupils has met a great need and gone far to cultivate solidarity of interest as well as to cement friendship."⁵⁸

So far the number of girls who had graduated and had their diplomas was eleven. Some of them worked in the Mission School as teachers and the others stayed at home because of the social conditions in this island at that time, which did not allow a girl to work outside the home. Their parents' aim in educating the girls had been to enlighten them and enable them to look after their homes and children in an intelligent and open-minded way. Not one of the Moslem girls and boys who studied in

the Mission Schools became Christians. The children acquired the literacy they sought, but missionary efforts had to contend with the Moslem thought of the parents and the solid Islamic social and religious structure of the region.

As for recent developments in the mission's educational service, the boys' school was re-opened at the end of 50's, as has already been mentioned, and both the boys' and the girls' school carried on without incident.

After the discovery of oil, very many people came to the area in order to find work there. Among these were Christians who established a school for their own community. And the Church of England also established its own school. These were in addition to the Protestant Schools already established by the Arabian Mission. In an interview with the writer, Mr. Yousif Hayder, the director of the Mission Hospital at Bahrain, stated,

"There are four hundred and fifty students in our schools - the Protestant Schools - girls and boys. We have twenty three teachers (women). They are primary schools. Our curriculum is the same as in the government schools except that we have additional lessons in the Christian faith. In the middle of November 1974 the Ministry of Education ordered the Mission Schools not to allow Moslem students to attend the lessons in the Christian faith. This is a big problem for us, and we are thinking seriously about how to find a solution to make the lesson what it was." ⁵⁹

Thus after three quarters of a century, the Mission's educational service has yet to achieve its fundamental aim, but no doubt it has served the people of the area and has helped them educationally at a time when they had nothing modern of their own in this field. Indeed it was ironically one of the factors responsible for stimulating the development of modern Moslem education in the area.

Educational Service at Muscat

Muscat was the third important station of the Arabian Mission, and was considered the most important one in this field. A boys' School was begun there by Rev. Peter Zwemer in 1896. It was indeed the outcome of his individual effort. About eighteen boys* were handed over to his care in the beginning.⁶⁰ This School was named, 'The Freed Slave School'. The missionaries gave this name to the school because it was established basically for the slaves' children, to care for them, educate them and convert them. Most of these children were orphans. They provided a good opportunity for the Mission, and the care and education of these children was a very humane undertaking on the part of the Mission. The School was begun with a few pupils, and the first year was devoted to establishing the school. After the school had been well organized, its first teacher and head was appointed. She was Rachel, the widow of one of the Mission Colporteurs, and a graduate of the high school of the American Mission at Mardin in Turkey.⁶¹ The study of English was the chief feature of the instruction, but in an Arab land they had to teach Arabic also, and they did so. Of course the Bible was among the main regular studies.

The first problem which faced the Mission teacher in this school was that the children spoke different languages, because originally they came from different countries, and the non-Arabic speaking children were so many, that the arrangement of the classes was made very difficult. At one time they had Baluchi, Swahili, Gujarati, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic, all represented, and some pupils scarcely knew anything besides their own language. Therefore English was the chief feature of study at the school. A little arithmetic and geography were taught later, but most of the time was spent in learning to read, write and spell. James Cantine

* Rev. Lewis Scudder stated in his interview with the author in Sept. 1976 at New Brunswick, that these were children taken off a slave ship by British Navy whom P. Zwemer offered to take in his care.

stated,

"Some, especially the Hindu boys, seem remarkably quick in learning and if they will only stick to it, will make good progress. The 'Mohammedan' boys are more irregular, and it is only by offering rewards for attendance that I can stimulate their Zeal." ⁶²

James Cantine did not explain why the Moslem Children were irregular in the school. That they were being taught the Christian faith was probably the main reason. Their religious background and the environment exerted a natural pressure against absorbing such teaching. The school opened or closed with a recitation of Scripture and prayer. Also the children were taken into the chapel for singing. ⁶³ It was not just an isolated institution, but formed a part of the mission's religious activity. It was nearer to the church than to the ideals of a scientific educational service.

The number of boys in the school decreased over the few following years to eleven from the opening total of eighteen. The following table shows the pupils' nationalities and religions.

Table No. IV : III

<u>Nationality and Religion</u>	<u>No. Pupils</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Christians	2	
From the Mission Colporteur family	1	
The son of the translator at the British Consulate	1	
Native Moslems	2	
Indian Moslems	2	one was missing
Africans	2	
Total:	11	

Source: N.A., Jan.-March 1907, p.13-14.

Meanwhile the Mission had a separate girls' class which was taught by Mrs. Cantine for about six months of the year. The girls were taught Arabic, English, the Bible, sewing and lace-making. The average number of pupils ranged from five to eight. They also taught both boys and girls portions of the Psalms in English and the New Testament. Much of what has been said about the boys applied equally to the girls.⁶⁴

After four years of the schools existence five boys had graduated; two of them had been found work at the English Consulate, and the three others were found jobs in different places. Some of them were sent to the Mission's branches in Bahrain and Basrah.⁶⁵ All the older boys had left the school and only the smaller ones remained. The Mission's report stated,

"Certainly only two or three really seemed to enjoy their studies There were at the same time grave difficulties in the way of carrying on the school on the same lines, which rendered us not averse to considering the advantages of its gradual extinction. After a few experiments and much thought we had come to the conclusion that no promising future lay open to the lads except domestic service, and naturally we wished to place as many of them as possible in Christian families."⁶⁶

The following table shows the names of some of the students and teachers of the Mission's School at Muscat in the first four years of its career. From reading the names of the pupils, it is obvious that they are Christian names. These children were the orphan boys of slaves and were collected by the Mission in that area and given these Christian names, becoming Christians.

For many years subsequently, the educational service at Muscat was limited and not effective because the work was given to missionaries who were in charge of other work, like Rev. P. Zwemer, Rev. J. Cantine

Table No. IV : IV

<u>Teachers</u>		<u>Pupils</u>	
1	Peter Zwemer	1	James
2	F.J. Barny	2	Samuel
3	Rev. Cantine	3	John
4	Mrs. Cantine	4	Mark
5	Mrs. Raheel	5	Andrew
	-	6	Stephen
	-	7	Adrian
	-	8	Henry
	-	9	Nathan
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total:	5	9	

Source: N.A., April-June 1899, p.8.

and F. Barny, whose basic work was evangelistic. But despite that, it can be said that this service was relatively regular during its first decade in that area. During the First World War the service was not affected directly, but the whole of the Mission's work was indirectly affected by the situation, for Muscat was an important strategic point controlling the entrance to the Arabian Gulf and looking out upon the Indian Ocean. After the war the service continued normally. Meanwhile the traditional Kuttab, with their highly religious influence, continued to exist.

In 1926 the local government started thinking about modern education, and its first school was opened in 1928, with teachers from Syria. It took some of the Mission pupils from their school. As a result of such action the Mission's educational service was then developed, and seems to have been in a good position. The

Mission's report stated that,

"There is a desire for learning here, but the government cannot supply the schools and the Mission has a wonderful opportunity to train the local youths for better lives in their own environment. Besides there is a growing group of children here belonging to our converts and inquirers who ought to be in a Christian school instead of in the Koran School (Kuttab) where they are now. The educational opportunities here ought to be utilized for the Kingdom."⁶⁷

The Christian leavers of the 'Freed Slave School' at Muscat were found jobs in different places. These jobs are listed in the following table:

Table No. IV : V

<u>The Leavers' Occupations</u>	<u>No. Leavers</u>
Entered the Nurses training Programme at Basrah	3
Girls moving to Bahrain to improve the teaching ability	2
Girls working in the Women's hospital at Muscat	3
Working elsewhere in the Mission	2
Working in the Men's hospital at Muscat	3
Working intermittently in the Mission	Unknown
TOTAL	14

Source: Van Ess, D., op.cit., p.33.

The number of the Mission's school leavers was not so far very great, probably because of the great difficulties the school had to overcome.

In recent times the pupils in the Mission's school have consisted of children from originally Christian families whose parents are working at Muscat and the missionaries' children, with very few native children. After the opening of the government schools the Mission was worried that its own pupils might be lured away from it. Mr. Dykstra said in 1942,

"We could not let the children of our Christian group drift along, or be placed under other influence The group of two dozen children is the nucleus of an indigenous force for the evangelization of Muscat, and no labor spent on them was spent in vain." 68

Mr. Dykstra was very optimistic about the future of their service in the area, but his hopes have hardly been realized because of recent developments in the educational, social, political and religious situation. Thus, despite all the missionaries' efforts in an area, which the Mission considered of primary importance, the results have not been encouraging or marked by great success. The Mission's converts in the area have so far been very few. This is the picture of the Mission's educational service at Muscat which has been in existence for about eighty-six years. The people of the area have appreciated the Mission's efforts because of their humanitarian side, and because they introduced modern education to the country for the first time.

Educational Service at Kuwait

Before the beginning of the Mission's educational service in Kuwait, the Kuttab system dominated as it did in the other stations, except that the idea of establishing a national modern school was launched earlier here than elsewhere, as we will see shortly.

In 1913 the Mission decided to begin educational work here. Edwin E. Calverley started preparing to open a mission school in the hospital, but the school was eventually opened by him in a native house called Bait al-Rabban. 69 In the beginning the pupils were few, numbering only twelve. Mr. Calverley wrote a book to help teach them simple English, and simple Arabic. Most of these pupils were sent to this school primarily in order to learn English. The missionaries in fact valued school work highly, even with so few pupils.

They believed in it, as Edwin Calverley put it,

"Because in Kuwait at least, it was our only way to influence the same young people continually for any length of time, and the small number made the impression on each stronger, although, of course, we would have taken more if they could have been induced to come."⁷⁰

Mr. M. al-Fuzan stated,

"My sister had contact with the missionaries' school when she was young. We decided to send her to this school in order to learn reading, writing and English. After two or three weeks we noticed that when she came home from school she brought a Bible with her. We realized that an attempt at teaching her Christianity was in progress. As we wanted her to continue studying, we began to teach her Islam at home and to advise her and answer questions arising from what she had heard about Christ in the School."⁷¹

Within three months of opening the school, strong native religious opposition arose, which resulted in the withdrawal of most of the pupils from the school. Several things occasioned the opposition. First, Mr. Calverley usually took the boys to the Sunday Services. Secondly, he taught them the Christian faith, and gave each one a copy of the Bible in Arabic to give to his parents. Thirdly, the Mission's evangelistic work had also been meeting with growing opposition. A Bible shop had been opened in the Bazaar to sell scriptures to the people and this had caught the attention of the Mullahs who had begun preaching against the missionary work in the Mosques and speaking against it in their personal contacts with the people.

The propaganda of the opposition had become more active against the missionaries. This wave of opposition had resulted in two important developments, first the establishment of al-Mubarekia, the first national modern school, and secondly the founding of the 'Charitable Association' which will be discussed in Chapter V.

al-Mubarekia School:

This school was established in 1912 on somewhat modern lines.

The name of the school came from the name of the ruler of Kuwait at that time, Sheikh Mubarek. Its first purpose was to meet the challenge of the coming missionary educational service which had

already been established in Bahrain and would soon appear in Kuwait. The second purpose was to train clerks for the management of the businesses of the merchants, who contributed to the cost by subscription. They put up a fine building and placed at the head of the institution a progressive master, Mr. Essa bin Yousif al-Essa. At first the school differed very little from the traditional Kuttab except perhaps in the stress on writing and commercial arithmetic. Otherwise the Kuran and religion formed the main centre of attention. But the curriculum was developed gradually to include other modern studies for the senior forms.

The attendance of the students was not regular, especially in the pearl diving season when a number of them usually went to sea with their parents. The following statistics give an idea of the number of students in the school's first five years:

Table No. IV : VI

<u>Years</u>	<u>No. Students</u>	<u>Fees in Rupees</u>
1912	254	3,580
1913	346	3,820
1914	332	4,700
1915	304	2,600
1916	341	3,420

Source: Al-Noory, A., The Story of Education in Kuwait, Cairo, p.45.
(in Arabic)

There were then three educational systems in existence in the country, the traditional Kuttab, that of the missionaries and the new rival of both, the national modern school. Some of the natives began to send their children to the Mission's Schools in order that they should learn English, and studying in these schools became commonplace after the First World War. The Mission School's excellence in English somewhat offset the appeal of the other schools to religious zeal. Competition

between these rivals seems to have continued; al-Mubarekia School had originally been established to counter missionary education and to teach commercial subjects to satisfy the Merchants' need for clerks for their businesses, and soon the Mission also began to include such studies in its schools. As Dorothy Van Ess stated,

"Commercial pursuits for young men were already looming on Kuwait's horizon, and a business training seemed to be what the Mission should offer to the youths of Kuwait. The whole afternoon in the (boys') school was given to that study, which included the Bible and the Christian way of life."⁷²

By 1932 the total number of pupils that they had had, calculated by totalling the monthly attendance of full-time, part-time and night-school students, came to four hundred and twenty one. Meanwhile the Mission's girls' school, which had begun with five girls, had a total of forty-two pupils in 1932. The curriculum of the girls' school was similar to that of the boys' school except for the addition of sewing.⁷³

The Mission schools thus carried on despite the strong opposition; but for how long? By 1933 the Mission found itself unable to carry on its boys' school, because of lack of money. So it was closed. Rev. E. Calverley, Rev. G. De Young and Rev. F. Barny were in charge of this school.⁷⁴ This school has never been reopened, because from that time Kuwait began its up-to-date educational service with many modern schools, modern facilities, and good teachers brought from some of the Arab countries. The story of this development began in 1936 when some of the leading men of Kuwait felt that the need for education was more than al-Mubarekia could satisfy. They decided to establish a Department of Education. The new Department invited the Supreme Moslem Council in Palestine to send a mission to organize the new schools. The result was the establishment of four primary schools in 1936-37, three for boys

and one for girls. Most of the teachers came from Palestine, Syria Iraq and Egypt.⁷⁵ After the discovery of oil in the area, the number of elementary, middle and secondary schools for boys and girls ran into hundreds. This development gave the mission no opportunity to continue its educational work, and its girls' school was closed at the end of 40's. Thus the Mission's educational service in Kuwait was finished many years before its medical service. In conclusion, this kind of service did not achieve its aims as a missionary approach. Its role in local society was never anything like that of the Mission's medical service.

Educational Service at Substations

The Mission never provided education in its substations for the following reasons:

First, the Mission's educational capacity was limited, so it could not manage to extend this kind of service outside its main stations.

Second, its educational service in the main stations met with strong opposition from the local religious leaders, so the Mission centralized this service in the main stations, for any extension in this field meant the extension of the opposition against the Mission's work as a whole. Third, the number of Moslem pupils in the Mission's Schools was very limited and this did not encourage it to open more schools in the substations. The educational service was thus not extended to the substations.

To summarize, the following are the salient facts:

First, from the Mission's point of view education was basically to teach the Christian faith and the Gospel. Second, the Mission's educational service varied from station to station. At Basrah it faced official Turkish opposition. This did not exist in the other stations. In addition modern education was introduced in Basrah shortly

after the Mission had started its educational service there, and before it was introduced in the areas where the Mission had its other stations. Third, the Mission's educational service was unstable in Kuwait and Bahrain because of local religious opposition, in addition to the Mission's own financial problems. Fourth, the continuous service at Bahrain and Muscat, has its reasons and justifications:

a. These two areas were and still are under British influence and British policy has never been against Missionary work in the areas which are under its control.

b. Bahrain, being an island, was isolated, from the trade caravans which usually passed through the other areas like Kuwait and fostered strong religious feeling, especially those which came from Nejid in Saudi Arabia. Moreover Bahrain became the Mission's base after Basrah, and therefore the Mission has lavished special care on it since then.

c. Muscat was, and still, is in great need of modern education, because this area has not been developed like Kuwait for example. So the Mission's educational service and other services still actively exist.

Fifth, the educational service failed as a means of approach for teaching the new generation of this region the Christian faith in order to convert them. The aim was itself religious rather than educational. Meanwhile the Mission has carried on evangelistic work from the beginning of its operations in the region. These religious activities were carried out through many establishments. The schools and hospitals were among those used religiously. This will be the subject of the beginning of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

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CHAPTER V

THE MISSION'S EVANGELISTIC ACTIVITIES

Introduction

The object of the Arabian Mission is the ultimate evangelization of Arabia, starting from the Arabian Gulf Coast as a base. Such an aim has been pronounced clearly by Dr. Harrison who stated.

"We want them to become Christians".¹

Evangelism is the presentation of the Gospel and its message to the world as a whole. Its activities are the core of the missionary work. This method is closely related to the Christian ethic; that the basic means for Christian expansion in the world is preaching the Gospel. This message is emphasized many times in the Bible. It states,

"Go therefore and make disciples of all nations".²

"And the Gospel must be published among all nations".³

Evangelism as a Christian concept is a religious activity geared towards converting non-Christians to Christianity. Samued Boon-Itt of Siam defined evangelism as,

"Living, doing and talking for Christ."⁴

Dr. Royohiko Kaqawa went farther and thought of evangelism as a basic religious requirement,

"Evangelism means the conversion of people from worldliness to Christlike godliness. Conversion is absolutely fundamental, for without the awakening of spiritual hunger, there is no hope for an individual, a society, a race or a nation."⁵

A Canadian Missionary in China thought evangelism so vital as to state,

"Its aim is to effect a change of life so that the man becomes actually a new creature, living a life of such a character that he may truly be said to have passed from death into life."⁶

In fact all these definitions agree that evangelism as a Christian institution stands for preaching Christianity in the world. Christian scholars go even farther in emphasizing the essentiality of evangelism

to the extent that Hugh Thomson Kerr went so far as to state that,

"We are sent not to preach sociology but salvation; not economics but evangelism; not progress but pardon; not the new social order but the new birth; not revolution but regeneration; not renovation but revival; not resuscitation but resurrection; not a new organization but a new creation; not democracy but the Gospel; not civilization but Christ. We are ambassadors not diplomats." 7

All agree that evangelism is an essential element of today's Church.

However there is great disagreement on the nature of evangelistic activities. Missionaries have always served their purpose by establishing different activities. Some of these activities like education and medical services are an indirect means towards an evangelistic purpose, as explained in Ch. III and IV. Evangelism is a straightforward activity when it is approached through preaching the Gospel, holding religious meetings and preaching to anyone who is willing to listen. However the Sunday Service and the Church activities are important aspects of any Christian activity and certainly they are a basic and elementary part of the Arabian Mission. Are these activities evangelistic in nature? In other words do they serve an evangelistic purpose? This question is a debatable issue, and some contemporary missionary scholars completely disagree as to the notion that these two activities are evangelistic. A prominent scholar with a missionary background stated in precise terms that the worship service conducted by the Church, "is not an evangelistic exercise." 8

Moreover he goes on to say that,

"These services are meant to achieve three purposes: (1) To worship God, the Creator Redeemer (2) To foster the fellowship of all those who worship God in Christ's name, and (3) To strengthen these people (through reading scriptures, preaching, the sacraments, spiritual songs, prayers, and so on) in their faith and in the practice of their faith in their daily lives."

The other view is that evangelism is not a simple term nor a simple activity, it is a complex process that aims at - if successful - the conversion of the subject by several means, some are direct and others are indirect, and all are aimed in the end at bringing the subject to the Church; then it is the Church that improves the subject's Christian understanding and finalizes his Christianization. The prayer, the speeches, the conversation with the Church members and finally the religious and Christian atmosphere of the Church build up a more reliable Christian subject. In other words the Church as well as the Sunday Service are the final stages of a successful evangelistic process. Therefore it is within this context that the Church and Sunday Service are considered as evangelistic means. Moreover some missionaries go along this way. Dr. Stanley Mylrea confirmed that direct evangelistic work in Kuwait was carried on along three principal lines of effort: the Sunday Services was among them.¹⁰

There are many activities which constitute the evangelistic work of the Mission in the region. Tours, Bible-Shops, personal contact, the use of Hospital and dispensaries and Schools for religious activity, evangelistic literature, and finally the Sunday Services and the Church. These establishments and activities will be elaborated in the following pages.

Evangelistic Tours

The missionary work started with many tours. The aim was to explore the region, studying the people's customs and habits, and most important of all to explore the religious trends in the region. During all of these tours Christian Scriptures were distributed. Also to find out the local reactions towards this kind of activity. Usually a doctor accompanied each group on these tours in order to give the tour a medical character, so as to avoid any objection from the people or the local

governments. Treating some of the sick acted as a passport allowing them to travel from one area to another.

These tours in fact passed through many stages. In the beginning their main purpose was to explore the region geographically and to study the people's life and thoughts. They were extensive, quick, and each one mostly took a few days.

The Second Stage was more elaborate and after opening in the region a station or a substation, their tours operated in two directions, the first one covering the villages surrounding the station, and the others to the places which were nominated as their next stations. Through these tours many Scriptures were sold at a nominal price, and the missionaries tried to open a dialogue with the local people about Christ and his message.

The major problem which faced evangelistic tours was how to acquaint themselves with the people. They often began by inquiring about the people's own religious customs, then gradually they started introducing the Christian message.

Mr. J. Cantine and Mr. S. Zwemer were the pioneers and the first to begin the Mission's tours in order to investigate the field in which they would be operating. Mr. J. Cantine left Basrah for Baghdad and then on to Mohammerah in October 1892. Mr. S. Zwemer followed him in this kind of activity, and went also to Baghdad in March of that year looking for a colporteur for their Bible work in their first station at Basrah. He also purchased some religious books for the Bible-shop there.

After those tours Mr. S. Zwemer made the first tour to Hasa on the coast of the Arabian Gulf, in 1892. From there he travelled to some of the towns around the area to explore the possibility of establishing missionary work there. During these tours, he met the people and the Turkish officials and sold them some Scriptures. The attitude of the people and the authorities was then normal, and

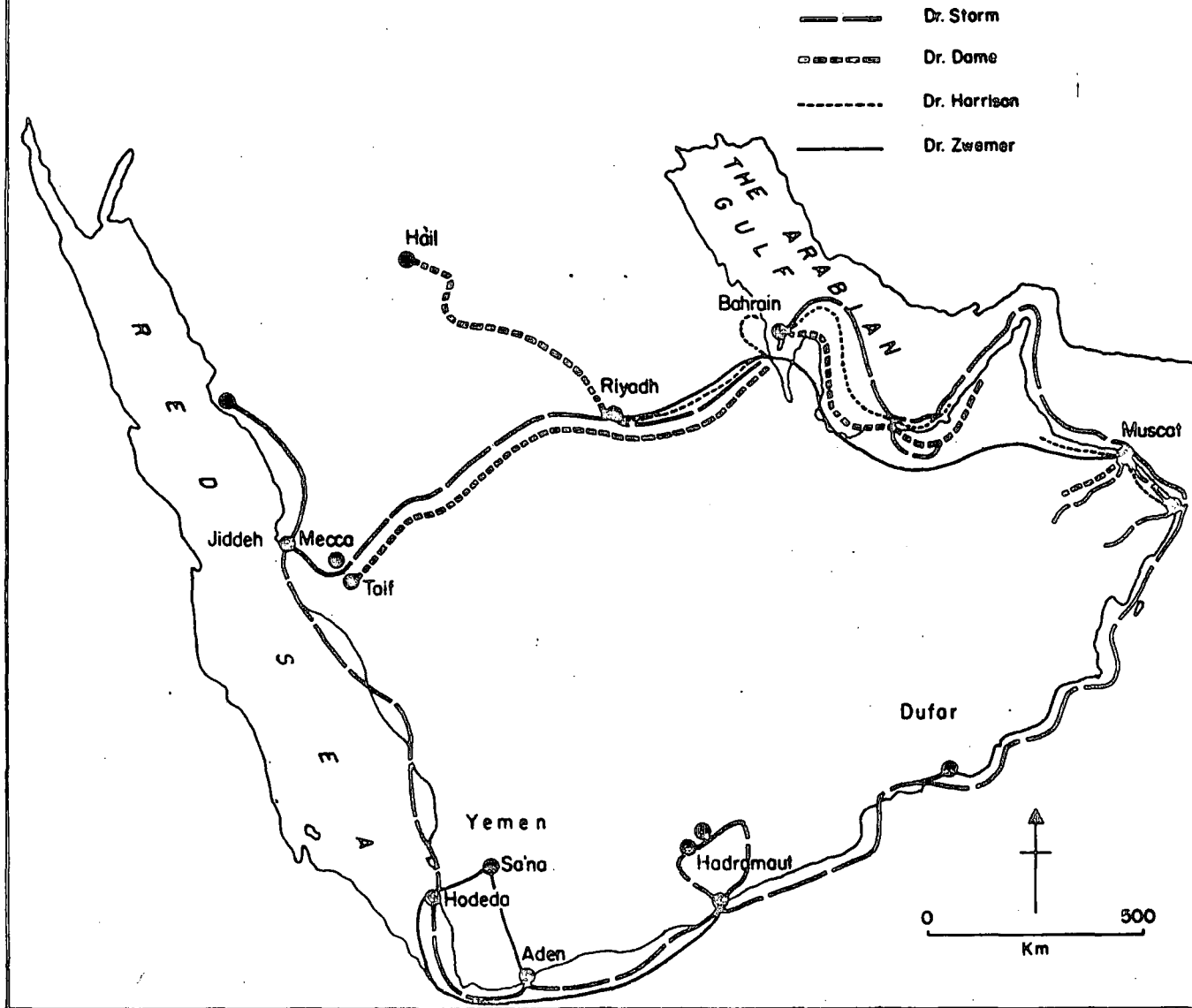
they did not see anything unusual in the visit of a few individuals. Moreover the locals had no comprehension of the religious aim of their visits. Mr. Zwemer's tour, with its limited success, encouraged the missionaries to go again and again working on the same lines. Consequently they extended their tours to the other areas, with an emphasis on selling scriptures. In 1899 tours were continued in Bahrain as well. Those were made by Mr. S. Zwemer, Dr. Worrall and a Colporteur for most of the island villages. These tours in Bahrain were quite extensive in scale and very active, and this can be illustrated by the number of tours made to that area in 1900, which were eleven tours covering around 3,735 miles and consuming 487 days by Colporteurs.¹¹ In the same year Dr. Worrall and a Colporteur made a trip to Qatif to the north east of Hasa. Their visit was possible because Dr. Worrall who was the leader of the tour had a Turkish diploma. Such a diploma was a prerequisite for visiting that area by any non-Turkish doctor.

What had been accomplished during the last few years was the establishment of several stations in Basrah, Bahrain and Muscat, and extending the tour's activity to the inner areas of the coast like Qatif. They saw there was a great deal to be done along these lines if they were to cover the whole region which had been mapped out as their field of operation. Consequently Mr. Barny and a doctor toured the river country in Iraq from Basrah.

Oman and the Peninsula were among the areas which were toured during these years, because those areas were within the Mission's field, and about 3,646 portions of scriptures were sold in the last year, 1900.¹²

These tours also reached Nasyria in Iraq, which became one of the Mission's substations, and it held the Mission's attention for some time. A tour was made to that area in 1901 by Rev. Harry Wiersum and a Colporteur. They left Basrah by the river in a small boat. On their way they came into

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contact with Turkish officials. Rev. Wiersum and his companion were carrying some Scriptures with them. Since everything had to be declared in the customs house, the investigation of their luggage resulted in some of their Scriptures being withheld. The investigation of the missionaries' luggage was a hard lesson, but they did not know how to benefit from that lesson. Direct evangelistic work was obviously not very productive, so they should have placed more emphasis on indirect activities. But they went on with both direct and indirect work which did not help to achieve the required results. It was only later that they discovered that the direct approach resulted in complications. Thus they did their best to include a doctor in each of their tours. Gradually those tours became mostly medical tours with a clergyman joining each of them, not the other way round as they had begun.

During these tours they met different kinds of people. In the first place they met Moslems who were mostly illiterate, Turkish officials and soldiers. Each of these groups had its own cultural background. To understand and to deal with such a variety of people, it was necessary not to confine the missionary activities to these short journies. This fact had been realized by the Mission, and it is for this reason that priority was given to establishing as many stations as they could. This policy caused more problems, because their work started to cover a large territory and they expanded too much to be able to manage it. Thus their staff and their possibilities were limited, and the people consequently were not easily influenced by their message. Thus they had to give up their work in some places like Nasyria, and later in Amarah, as will be explained later. Sometimes the staff had to be cut in some stations or substations, leaving only two or three missionaries in areas populated by hundreds of thousands of people. Nevertheless their tours carried on in the extreme south eastern coast of the Gulf Region.

In 1904 many tours were made from Muscat to the surrounding areas and to inland Oman. The missionaries endeavoured to visit as many places as possible. Those tours did not face any sizeable opposition. This lack of opposition did not imply acceptance of evangelistic aims, but it was mainly due to the inclusion of the doctor as a part of the tours which made these tours more useful, hence acceptable, especially since the region was in urgent need of such medical help. Moreover the local people who were mostly illiterate could not absorb the new ideas. The missionaries used a sophisticated language and had new ideas that were too new and too strange, and it was difficult for the people to comprehend or to understand the far reaching aim of these tours.

The Bible Shop

The Bible Shop was one of the Mission's important establishments, usually situated in a place in the centre of the bazaar, so as to attract the greatest number of Moslems. The missionaries believed that the shop's role was more than selling religious books. Meeting the people and talking to them, and gaining their friendship was the main and the real purpose of the shops. Basrah was the Mission's base, so it witnessed the establishment of the first Bible Shop in 1892.

To the people the Bible Shop was something new. They had never seen anything like this before in their land, therefore many came every day to buy books, to talk to these strangers and to know what was going on. The people who came to the shop were variously motivated. Some of them came just for the sake of curiosity, others were patients who came to ask about the way to the hospital or the dispensary. On the whole the majority of the people did not realize why the Westerners, who were dominating most of the world at that time, had come to their poor country to sell some books for a few dollars! With time the people gradually started to understand that this was not just a book-shop, but it was a

Christian establishment and one of the missionaries' means to affect them religiously. The establishment of the Bible shop could not survive alone in such a land and among such a people. Thus other missionary establishments came to life, such as the medical and educational etc. This was to support the book-shop and to give the impression of humanitarian purposes.

At the beginning of the Bible-Shop's activity at Basrah, the missionaries faced hostility to such a work by the Moslem community, especially its leadership, which felt that such activity could harm the Islamic position. The Mission considered this reaction to be natural and this probably indicated, from the Mission's point of view, that the people were listening gradually to the Christian message. In the second and third years of the Bible work, the demand for these books gradually increased. Such an increase could be attributed to many factors, the most important are: (a) the natives were in need of something to read, because there were no similar modern book-shops there at that time. (b) Some of the local religious leaders and the educated people bought books because they wanted to know what they were about. (c) Some were buying these books so as to get close to the Mission and get some medical help, (d) These book-shops were started in an important era. It had witnessed the two World Wars; hence the educated and enlightened people wanted to know about world news which was largely provided by the Mission's book-shop in the form of the newspapers and magazines.

The role of the Colporteur is as important as the books he sells. He must make local visits. On each visit Scriptures were sold and conversations were held with the fishermen, merchants in their shops and homes and the ordinary people in the bazaar. Those visits covered mostly short distances and lasted for only a few hours. The long distance visits



Mr. Jacob Shammas, an old active Colporteur of the Arabian Mission in Kuwait.

which required a few days were left to the missionary tours. Moreover, as in the case of Muscat, the Colporteur closed the shop sometimes and joined the missionaries in visiting villages and towns in the neighbourhood. This important role played by the Colporteur was so vital that the Mission was careful to choose and screen a suitable man for this kind of work. The Mission's criteria in choosing a Colporteur were specific. The main criteria are:

First, the Colporteur must be an oriental. He alone understands his people's mind and knows how to present the Christian message to them. Secondly, he must be Christian and intensely committed. He must be deeply convinced of the dignity of his position and of the dignity of the message he is carrying. Thirdly, he must have a special gift for public relations so as to understand the nature of those he meets.

"The proud Arab must be rightly approached. Due respect must be paid to his beard, to his notions of propriety, to his reverence for all that is sanctioned by custom." ¹³

Fourthly, the Colporteur must know how to encourage and sustain the new convert in the Christian faith.

The Bible shop's work did not rely on the Colporteur, but was also served by a missionary who usually spent two or three hours daily in the shop, talking to the people about Christianity, very carefully avoiding any deep discussion about Islam. Moreover he tried hard to make the Gospel's ideas very simple, because he knew that he was dealing mostly with illiterate and mostly ignorant people.

In fact the Bible shops were largely evangelistic in character, also the fact that their main aim was to distribute Scriptures and to promote talk with the people about Christian ideas, made the position of the Bible shops clearly evangelistic. And it is for this reason that the Bible shops came to be considered by the Islamic Ulamā and community leaders as a form of Christian invasion into the region.

These shops had to give the impression that they were aiming at competing with Islamic dominance in the region at large. Naturally opposition started to grow, first within a small circle, then later on a wider scale. At the beginning the people were curious. They wanted to know more about it, but later the evangelistic character started to be comprehended by many. It was at this stage that the opposition began its process of formulation and growth. Local clashes and opposition to the Mission's establishments, especially the Bible shop, started as early as the foundation of these shops. Gradually local opposition started to be more organized and with time became very strong.

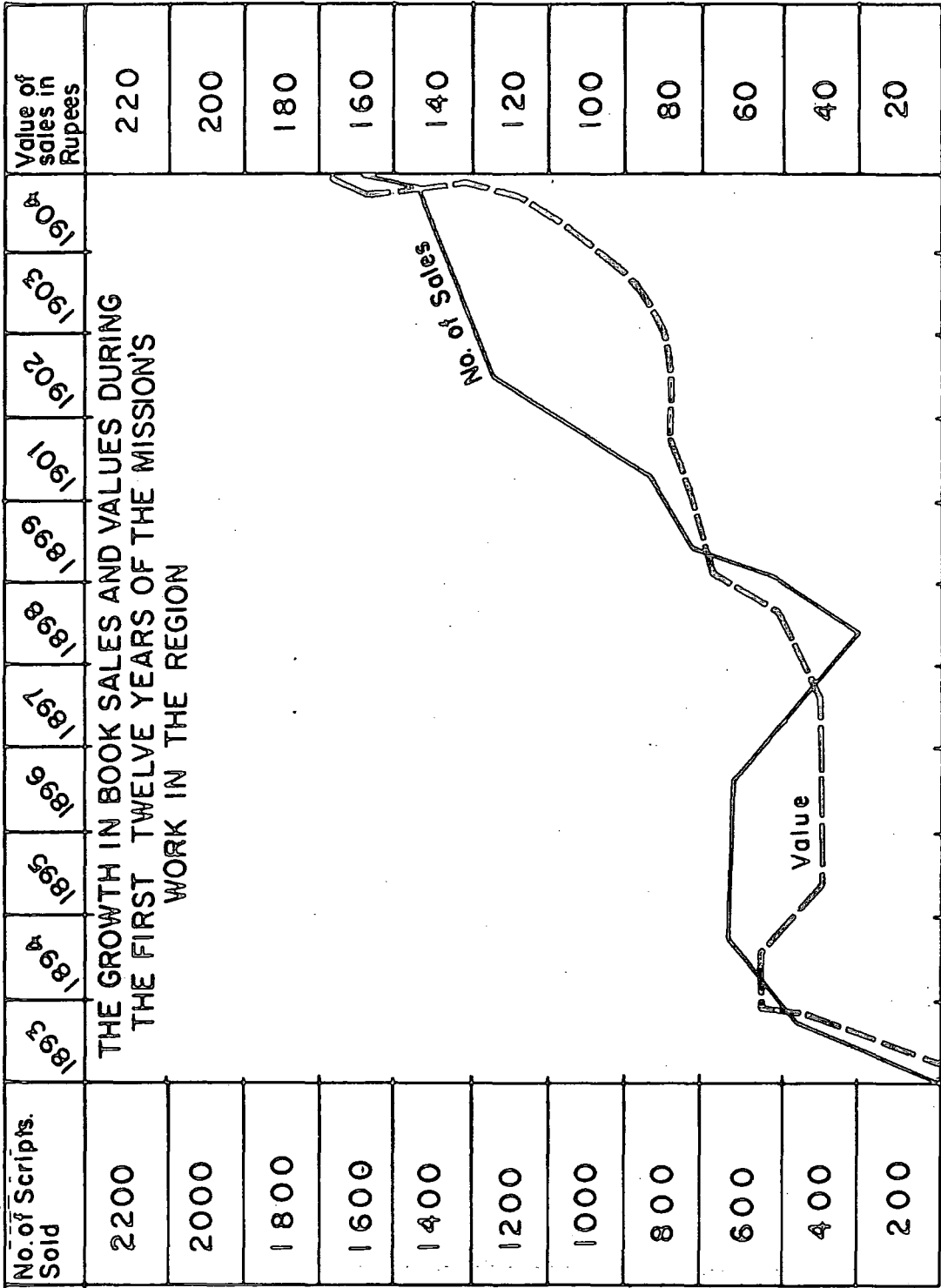
Table No. V : I

STATISTICS OF BOOK WORK
Jan. to Mar., 1893

LANGUAGE	Bibles	Testaments	Portions	Total Scriptures.	Educational	Religious	Total Books
Arabic	3	7	68	78	60	81	219
Hebrew		6	7	13			13
Turkish	1	1	18	20			20
Persian	1	1	3	5	5		10
English	3	9		12	103	37	152
French		2		2			2
German			1	1			1
French-Arabic			4	4			4
English-Arabic			2	2	12		14
Turkish-Arabic			3	3	3		6
Hebrew-English	1		1				1
	8	27	106	141	183	118	442
Blank Books							<u>147</u>
Total for Quarter:							589
<u>VALUE OF BOOKS SOLD (IN DOLLARS).</u>							
	Jan.	Feb.	March.	Total			
Scriptures	\$2.08	\$3.50	\$5.58	\$11.16			
Religious	8.05	2.40	4.42	14.87			
Educational	9.25	13.50	20.85	43.60			
Total	<u>\$19.38</u>	<u>\$19.40</u>	<u>\$30.85</u>	<u>\$69.63</u>			

Source: N.A., Jan to May 1893 Basrah, p.6.

Graph 2



Source: Neglected Arabia, April-June 1904, p.11.

The graph shows the number of Scriptures sold in the whole region in about a decade of work of the Mission's early years.

Table No. V : II

BOOK SALES, FIRST QUARTER, 1895

LANGUAGE	Bibles	Testaments.	Portions.	Scriptures.	Religious.	Educational.	Total Books
Arabic	4	5	153	162	64	77	303
Persian		1	23	24	1		25
Turkish			21	21	4	4	29
Hebrew			18	18			18
Armenian		1		1			1
Gujerati							
English	1	1		2	1	43	46
French	1		1	2			2
German							
Portuguese		1		1			1
Total	6	9	216	231	70	124	425

Source: N.A., First Quarter 1895, p.7.

In 1897 the Bible Shop in Muscat faced a major problem, when the local religious leaders began their campaign against the missionary work there. This opposition was considered to be influenced by Wahhabi ideas.¹⁴ Saudi Arabia with its central position in the Peninsula, its religious leadership, and most important of all, its strong objection to the Christian presence in that land, has in the opinion of some missionaries had an indirect influence on the encouragement of opposition. That kind of opposition, as is already obvious, was not confined to a specific place, but in fact was a general feature in the whole field in which the Mission operated among its people. But that opposition varied from one place to another, and was various according to the people's alertness, and the

level of the missionaries' activities. So, as a result of that wave of opposition, the Mission closed its Bible shop in Nasyria in 1902. That closure came at a time when the Mission had always expected that its out-stations such as Nasyria would grow and expand. No doubt the Mission could not enter into a dispute with this local opposition in its land and among its people, but its hope was that the day would come when they would overcome this problem. But as a report of the Mission stated, that day at that sub-station did not come, and this shop has never been opened again there.¹⁵

The opposition in Bahrain and Kuwait was strongest and the most organized. In 1913 the Islamic leadership in Bahrain strengthened their campaign against the missionary work, and opened an Islamic cultural club named 'The Arab-Islamic Club' under the leadership of a very famous 'Alim Mohammed Ibn Manih who came from Nejd in the Peninsula and was considered a very devoted Moslem, and a Wahhabi follower.¹⁶ Ibn Manih was not the only leading opposition at Bahrain, but also the Qādī of the whole of Bahrain, Sheikh Qasim bin Muhzah, whose origin can be traced to the central part of the Peninsula, the Hijaz. He had concentrated on educating the young people who studied Islamic Sciences at his brother Ahmad's School. He gave the question of the danger of missionary work importance in his teaching.¹⁷ Sheikh Ibn Muhzah and his brother constituted a very strong opposition block in Bahrain at a time when S. Zwemer was doing his best to establish the Bible Shop and other missionary services. In 1913 and in Kuwait a similar organization was established called al-jam'iyah al-Khairiyah, 'The Charitable Association'. Its main aim was to oppose missionary work. This association tried to do that by using some of the missionaries' ideas, as will be obvious in the first and second points of its plan.

- "1. The first action of our association will be to provide a Moslem preacher who has a knowledge of our religion to preach to our people.
2. We have decided to bring a Moslem physician and pharmacist to treat the sick people of our country." 18

This association gathered a good library. It did not last long, for Sheikh Mubarek the ruler of Kuwait then ordered it to disband. Because he felt that such an association was against him, since he himself had given permission to the missionaries to operate in his country. Moreover, in Kuwait most people who visited the Bible Shop went merely to argue, accusing the mission of having as its main aim the destruction of Islam and the replacing of it by Christianity.

The missionaries chose the location of their Bible-Shop in Kuwait near the main Bazaar and opposite to the principal Mosque. On the one hand the shop was in the right location for meeting and acting among large numbers of people, but on the other hand it caused the missionaries great trouble, because of its location opposite the principal Mosque of the country. This put them face to face with the traditional religious leaders who used this Mosque for their prayers.

Table No. V : III Bible shops in the Mission's stations

Stations and sub-stations	No.	Year established	Year seq.	Closure
Basrah	1	1891	0	Closed with end of their work there.
Bahrain	1	early 1893	2	Reopened 1898
Muscat	1	1893	1	
Nasyria	1	1897	4	Closed in 1902
Amarah	1	1897	0	Closed after the First War
Kuwait	1	1903	6	Closed 1904 reopened 1910, Closed again by the end of 50's

Source: N.A. 1891-1910 The Table shows the years of establishment and closure of the Bible Shops in all the Mission's Stations and Sub-stations.

Note : Bible Shops still existed in Muscat and Bahrain, and a Bible Shop in Kuwait now belongs to the English Church.

The missionaries tried to continue their missionary activities despite the opposition. Their concern was not to awaken more opposition, but this policy was difficult and was not an easy task in a small town like Kuwait, whose religious and social structure was coherent. The only thing which saved their existence there was the ruler's attitude which was on their side because of the benefit for his family and citizens from the Mission's medical services.¹⁹

The Hospital and Dispensary's Evangelistic Role

Medical services have always been a main missionary approach and this has been dealt with in Chapter III. However, this discussion will focus on the indirect evangelistic role that the hospital and dispensary provided.

Hospitals and dispensaries were well used for evangelistic work. Much of it had been done in connection with these establishments. Day by day preaching was carried on by the doctor, his assistants and by the clergyman who took a seat among them and read some verses from the Bible. During the reading and the explanation which followed, the listeners remained quiet and attentive. A prayer usually followed the reading. Mr. Ali Husain stated, that,

"About twenty years ago I was ill, and I decided to go to the American hospital in Kuwait. I needed to have an operation. The doctors did it, and I was well looked after. I spent about three weeks in the hospital. Every day a clergyman came to sit beside each patient and talked to him for a while. One talked to me and started by asking me about my social circumstances and my family, then he led the conversation to religion. His Arabic was not bad. He did not attack Islam. Mostly he talked about Christ. Sometimes he read from the Bible. On the last day I was given a copy of it."²⁰

Preaching was carried on by the missionaries among the patients in the clinic or in the wards or when visiting them in their houses. In the hospital the clergyman usually visited the patients in their beds and talked to them about different subjects, their lives, social and economic conditions, and gradually lead the conversation to religion, "The visiting of inpatients is of very great value".²¹ The doctor also played a dual role, treating the sick on the one hand and on the other talking to them about religion even for a few minutes. When the patients were discharged from the hospital the missionaries tried to visit them at home and frequently made a point of discussing religion.

In the case of the women patients, the same thing applied.

However women were not as co-operative or attentive as men because there were few of them who came daily for treatment and even fewer were able to read. Therefore the missionaries' talks with females were of the simplest nature. A report of the Mission in Kuwait stressed that,

"During the prayer some of the women approached just to say Amen; but they did not get up and join the prayer."²²

Also in the case of Kuwait Rev. G. Pennings stated,

"Hospital evangelism has been carried on regularly and faithfully by Mr. De Jong with the assistance of the Colporteur."²³

The attention that was given by the most of the Moslem patients to the evangelistic approach by hospital and dispensary staff was on the whole a form of courtesy. Their need for medical treatment and the fact that there were no other sources of modern medical service in the region at that time made them accept this situation and listen to evangelistic discussions.

In fact most of the Moslems who came to the hospital were ordinary Moslems and basically came for medical treatment. Their Islamic religious feelings made them more firm in their religion. This negative attitude is a common reaction that has been felt by the many patients the author has talked to during his field work, and has been supported by the elders who had lived with missionaries in the late 40's, 50's and 60's in Kuwait and Bahrain.

During the medical activities, they sold many books to the patients,

"The Scriptures are the backbone of the hospital and our reason for being here at all."²⁴

Some of the patients bought them just to pretend that they were interested in such books. Others bought them, because they believed that probably they would not be treated if they did not do so. Finally there were those who bought them out of courtesy. Most of those who bought these books did not know what was inside them because they could not read.

On the other hand missionaries knew that most of the patients could not and would not read these books, but they thought that the patients would hand the books to those who would be able to read them to them.

The hospital and the dispensary certainly provided an ample opportunity for evangelistic work, because they provided a suitable environment for personal contact with the patients; this in turn allowed for friendship and prepared for exchanging visits with the patients after they left the hospital. Moreover the medical help provided by the hospital was of such importance to the local people that the local leadership overlooked the evangelistic work done alongside it during or after medical treatment was over. In many ways the local people, and especially those who were sensitive to the evangelistic work, consider the evangelistic aspect of the hospital and the dispensary a price that had to be paid to get modern medical treatment. In certain cases the security and the suitable environment of the hospital for evangelistic work led some missionaries such as Rev. Pennings, in the early years of their work in Kuwait, to extend their evangelistic activities out-side the dispensary there. He intensively visited the natives, encouraged them to visit him, arousing the opposition of the local religious leaders to the point that the ruler Sheikh Mubarek had to interfere and request the Rev. Pennings to limit his discussions to the dispensary.²⁵ From this case one can see the benefit that evangelistic activities received from the medical establishments. The ruler was able to limit their evangelistic work to the hospital. This was tantamount to recognition by the local government, granting informal permission for evangelistic work, but strictly confined within the wall of the hospital. The people and the ruler understood that medical treatment was badly needed; hence they had to pay the price.

In another similar case, Mrs. S. Mylrea, who was also working in Kuwait, since her husband was a missionary doctor there, was able

to visit a number of houses,

"And received a warm welcome and a place of honour. I have had numerous invitations to stay on and have supper with the friends and dropped into lunch with several whenever I could." ²⁶

Unfortunately these successful visits by Mrs. Mylrea were not that successful from an evangelistic point of view, because as she stated,

"There is not always an opportunity to read to them." ²⁷

And this was confirmed by a report from the field to the Board in the United States,

"There is little desire to enter into religious discussion or to listen to the gospel message. It is the hospital that still offered the more intimate and therefore the more satisfactory contacts." ²⁸

The reason is that the people she visited, for reasons of politeness and hospitality could not refuse her visit or meet her rudely, because this society does not permit inhospitality. Add to this the fact that Mrs. Mylrea was the wife of the only doctor of the Mission and everyone accepted her gladly for his sake. In fact Dr. Mylrea was the only doctor in Kuwait at that time, and his role was so significant that both he and his wife were important to everyone.

Missionaries in their early days in that part of the world made the mistake of misinterpreting the local attitude. The fact of the matter is that the people of the Arabian Peninsula, and the Gulf included, were known for their generosity and hospitality, therefore their social concepts demanded that they be on their best behaviour towards guests. They had to be warm, and friendly to the point where they encouraged their guests to say what they liked. Accepting what they said is another matter. But the usual impression a missionary got from his visit is that he must have succeeded. In fact he had not succeeded at all. The host in his house does not want to offend his visitor - the missionary - so he let

him say what he liked, hoping that he might change the subject. Usually the host did not argue with the visitor, either because he did not want the visitor to elaborate or he is not enlightened enough to understand what he is talking about; but usually neither of these types of host, as some people assured the author in his field work, wanted to know about Christianity.

The missionaries in their plans envisaged the

"evangelistic work as the main stem of tree
and other establishments i.e. medical,
educational etc. as the branches of the tree." ²⁹

In other words evangelistic work is the aim, and other establishments are just the means. The people of the Gulf, however, held precisely the opposite view. They saw that the hospital is all that they wanted and the other missionary establishments were something that have to be accepted because, without them the Mission would not have established the hospital and the dispensary. These contradictory points of view were held by the two sides as a result of the fact that the medical activities were valuable and touched almost each person in that society. The people received benefit basically from medical services because they were the only services in the area. On the other hand, from a religious point of view, they did not feel that they were in a religious vacuum and did not need to change their religion for another.

The Sunday Service

The Sunday Service is the main devotional practice introduced by the Missionaries to the region. It is one of the most direct evangelistic approaches. It aims largely at informing and enlightening the people who attend about Christianity, and then to involve as many people as possible in the services. Thus its evangelistic character was obvious. So it was natural for the Mission to attach to the Sunday service importance, among its activities in that region, on the one

hand to give its members the chance to practice their devotional services, and on the other hand to influence the local people by asking them to join such services. The Sunday Service as a direct evangelistic means was not attractive enough to capture the people's attention, and also it aroused local opposition which was entirely against this kind of evangelistic activity. Consequently they could not manage to get even a few natives to join the Sunday Services, and those who were persuaded to come once, did not come again.

The Mission's Sunday Services passed through two stages. The first one was from the beginning of its operations until the discovery of oil, where this kind of service was confined to the missionaries, their helpers and a very few of the natives. The second stage started from the discovery of oil until now. During this stage the service was for missionaries and a few natives, in addition to the Christians who came to the region in great numbers looking for jobs.

In the beginning, Sunday Service was held in English; then they gradually were done both in English and Arabic. Holding Sunday Service in Arabic was to attract the local people to come and join them, but however, the number of those attendances remained small. The bulk of the attendance at those services were the Mission's staff, the Europeans, and sailors from the ships at the Gulf harbours like Basrah and Muscat. To overcome the hesitation of the locals about attending Sunday Service, the Mission decided to open a Sunday School in each of its stations. These schools were somewhat different from the Mission's educational service which has already been discussed in Chapter IV. In this School the children or the adults were taught only the Christian faith. This kind of School was set up for the first time in Bahrain by Mrs. Worrall in 1911. She gathered a number of the native children and began to teach them the Bible, and how to practice the Christian services. The attendance varied considerably, but the average was about fifteen scholars each Sunday. ³⁰

The parents sent their children because they did not know that such a school only taught the Christian faith. Their concern was that their children were learning and studying modern sciences. When they discovered that their children did not learn other sciences in this school, they withdrew most of them. But nevertheless the Mission did not give up this kind of work. It continued with those left of the children and probably the orphans, who were mostly illegitimate. Then the Mission in Bahrain began to think of opening a class in the Sunday School for women. It seems that the Mission was interested in acting among the women more than among the others in the region. The reason was, that the women had nothing to do except their house work which was simple, and some of them helped their husbands on their farms. But mostly they had nothing to do during the day. In the case of Bahrain or Kuwait, during the pearl diving season (which was between two to three months when the men were out at sea) the women found the Mission atmosphere quite useful for passing the time to some profit at a time when there were no clubs or schools etc., which they could join. This was one reason for joining such activities. Another reason was their need for medical treatment which the Mission already offered to the area. They believed that attending the Mission's activities would pave the way for treating them well and would give them priority when they needed such treatment.

In the case of Kuwait, the Sunday Services were also carried out on the same lines as in Bahrain. The missionaries usually held these services there in the open air in Bait el-Rabban. A house was rented for that purpose, before the Church was founded in that area. ³¹ The natives who joined these services were very few and their number decreased for the same reasons as in Bahrain.

As it was with the Bible Shop, the popularity of the Sunday Service was not great in the region. In fact the author, in an interview with an

elder in the region and those who worked with the Mission there, emphasized that the Sunday Service with its prayers, discussions and Sunday School had no attraction for the natives. The natives did not get any benefit such as those obtained from the dispensary or the hospital, or even the news and general reading from the Bible-Shop.

As far as the local governments were concerned their reaction to the Sunday Service varied from one area to another. The government in Kuwait did not take the Sunday Service seriously. It did not like it, but it believed that its influence was very little. The Turkish authorities in Basrah opposed it and tried to limit it. In Bahrain and Muscat the strength of the British authority there discouraged the opposition from acting against such activities. However, on the whole, the Sunday Service has never been able to establish itself in the region simply because the Mission never managed to convert a large number of natives to Christianity, and for this reason it remained very much a family activity for the Mission staff and other Christians who came to the region in the later years.

The Church

The Church is the most important establishment of the missionaries. It is a place for prayer, meetings and preaching. The other meaning of the Church is community, not just the building. The establishment of the Church gives the missionary work a permanent character. To the missionaries the Church remains the core and the aim of the whole work. Rev. Hooton emphasized that,

"It is indeed (the Church) the end and aim of all our efforts".³²

The first thought of those who belonged to the Arabian Mission was to 'occupy' and hold Arabia with the purpose of remaining there until the native churches grew and took responsibility for the work. Thus establishing the Church was the final stage of missionary work, the aim

towards which all else has been directed. Actually the purpose of the work in that region was two-fold, as Edwin Calverley put it,

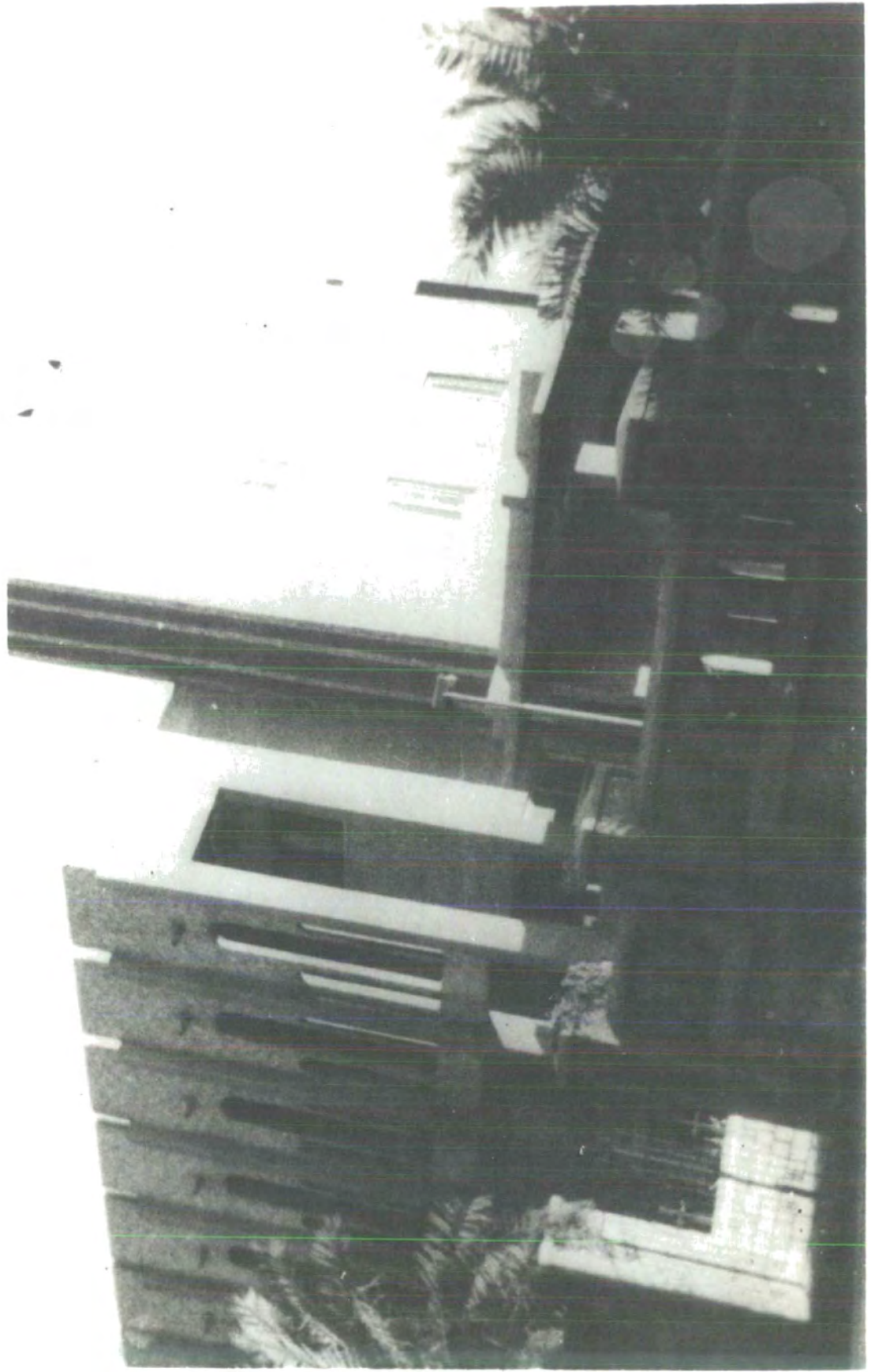
"To present Christ to the Arabs, so that they will accept Him as their Saviour, and secondly, to establish here a native Christian Church which shall be self-propagating, self-supporting, and self-governing."³³

The first concern of the Mission was to secure converts, but the missionaries' experience of difficulty in converting people convinced them that a native Church was the most urgent of all missionary establishments, because evangelizing non-Christians should be done by their own people after converting some of those people and letting them carry on the work. They believed that this would be more effective, because the Church would be led by native preachers and teachers.

To avoid the local public reaction, the missionaries did not start by establishing their Church, but emphasized humanitarian services until they had obtained the peoples' good will, when it became possible for them to build their Church and start evangelistic work.

The founding of Churches in the field came after many years of work there. In the beginning, they held their devotional services in the hospital or in their houses, then they began by erecting chapels which were developed later into Churches.

By 1904 the insufficiency of the room at Bahrain Station made it impossible to hold prayers because of its small space, so a Church had to be built. The missionaries and their helpers used this Chapel for services and meetings for nearly three decades until the Church became the centre of the Mission's evangelistic work in that area. As a result of the development of the region in later years a large number of Christians came to the area; thus the Church became a social as well as a religious centre, a place for weddings, funerals, baptisms, devotional services, and controlled the evangelistic work among Moslems. In Basrah the chapel was founded in 1913. The missionaries considered its



The Arabian Mission's Church in Bahrain

establishment a step forward in their evangelistic work. There came to these chapels or Churches, the missionaries themselves, their helpers who were mainly Christians, and foreign sailors who came sometimes to the Gulf harbours. As far as Moslems were concerned, they were few.

The Church development at Muscat Station was similar to that in other stations. They claimed that the first three decades of their evangelistic work saw progress in Church attendance.³⁴ As far as the natives were concerned, their attendance was very limited, because the total conversion from those people was no more than four persons, in addition to the few orphans who grew up in the Christian environment.

The situation of Church activity in Kuwait was also similar to those in the other stations. After a long time of holding the missionary religious services in their house and in the women's hospital, they decided to build a Church. The preparation for that project began by the end of the twenties. In 1932 their Church in Kuwait was built and became ready for services. The Mission establishment of course gave better facilities and opportunities for carrying on the evangelistic programme in that area. Both English and Arabic services were held in that Church.

After the Second World War, Kuwait became an important oil producer in the Middle East. The government built a large harbour in the south eastern part of the country, and gradually there grew one of the most important cities there, called al-Ahmadi. In 1956 a new Anglican Church was established at Ahmadi City, by the oil company community. Christians from different countries who were working in Kuwait attended the services in both the Mission and the Anglican Churches. These two Churches still exist for normal Christian devotional services. In the later years more Churches were established by different Christian groups in the area.

Along the same line of establishing Churches in the Mission's main stations, the work carried on with similar establishments in the substations. In 1945 Amarah witnessed the establishment of its Chapel. The devotional services were held there for the Church members and some people who came from long distances for medical treatment. However the chapel was closed when the substation as a whole closed as a result of government closure of the hospital.

Mattrah, the other Mission substation, was the next area which the Mission thought of as a strategic zone, because it would pave the way for evangelistic work in inland Oman. This was stressed by Dr. P. Harrison who stated,

"The hope of Oman lies in a sincere and active Church, however small, which will be the beginning of better things in that empire of blackened rocks and deep poverty. What will the Church of the future be in Mattrah and Oman? ... It will be a Church characterized by great loyalty free from all contaminating support from alien powers." ³⁵

However the Mission's hopes of getting into inner Oman did not materialize, despite all their efforts, because of the strong hold of the local opposition in the Peninsula and its influence on the surrounding areas like Oman.

Actually the Missionaries worked hard to provide preachers and leaders for these Churches through their other establishments. They believed that such a Church should have three principles as Rev. W. Hooton says:

"Self-support, self-government, and self-extension The ideal aimed at by these three leading principles is, of course that there should be planted in every field an independent Church, no longer as a daughter looking for spiritual or material support and guidance to the parent, but rather as a sister in perfect independence through complete communion." ³⁶



Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. The Minister in charge of English services in the Evangelical Church in Kuwait, and a missionary there.

It is important to see whether these principles were put into practice by the Arabian Mission or not. The Mission established many Churches in its main stations. These Churches have been controlled so far directly by the Mission's staff. There were many reasons for their determination to hold on to those Churches and not to hand them over to the native Christians. The missionaries differentiated between the ordinary Christian and the Missionary Christian. The missionary is carrying a message to convert another, while this is not the ordinary Christian's function. Hence the Mission saw that the evangelistic work of the Church should be carried on by its staff until they could find missionaries from among the native converts. But so far the Mission could not manage to convert the required number of the people able to take on the responsibility of such a task. Therefore there was no alternative than themselves to take charge of the work and continue it. The local Christians whom the author met in his field work saw the matter differently, namely that the missionaries of the Mission felt that this work was founded by them, and it was difficult for them to leave it to others, because they believed that the local Christians* would not constitute a proper staff to control such a work on the same lines which the Mission had established. They considered that such attitudes were among the reasons why the Mission did not achieve its aims. ³⁷ Thus the Mission managed to build many churches and chapels in its stations and substations, but it remains a mystery why their churches did not become 'native churches', but remained controlled and used by the missionaries. The dream of handing over this work to the local converts remained a dream and the aim did not materialize.

The Religious Impact

Conversion has always been the main purpose of evangelistic work. It was on this basis that the Arabian Mission went to the Arabian Gulf region

* Local Christians, those who are originally Christians and those who were converted by the Mission.



Rev. Y. Abdul Noor the Minister in charge of Arabic services in the Evangelical Church in Kuwait.

in order to convert Moslems to Christianity. Therefore conversion is the main criterion by which to judge the extent of the success of missionary work in that region. Thus the evaluation of this criterion will be the main subject of this discussion, to evaluate the impact of the evangelistic approach throughout the Mission's activities.

Strange though it may seem, the missionaries, in their writings and their reports, gave only general and brief accounts of this question, although it is a very essential aim which the whole work was intended to achieve. However the lack of elaborate discussion about the quantity of converts in missionary literature can only be attributed to the very limited number of people who were converted. The information available reveals that there were only four Moslems converted by the Mission throughout their period in the region : Essa al Dawi originally from Hasa who was converted in Kuwait in 1925. He was seriously ill, and his family did not care about his condition. Then he took refuge in the American hospital in Kuwait, where he found good treatment, and recovered from his illness. After that he became a Christian. He died in 1950 and is buried behind the Protestant Church in Kuwait.³⁸ The second convert was Merash bin Belal at Muscat, who had died by the end of 1930. A dispute rose about whether he should be buried in a Moslem way or a Christian way. Also his family complained to the ruler asking him to intervene to get Belal's widow back to her home, when she took refuge in the Mission house after her husband's death.³⁹ The third convert was Mrs. Khayria Haider in Bahrain. She was originally Persian, and came to Bahrain with her husband after the First World War looking for a job. Her husband worked as a pearl diver, and his work required him to go for two or three months to the sea. During her husband's absence, she lived in very bad conditions. Sometimes she could not manage to have even one meal a day. She did not receive any kind of care from her



Mrs. K. Haider the only convert in Bahrain and her son Yousif Haider the Director of the Arabian Mission's hospital at Bahrain who is a Christian.

community. Her three children were ill with smallpox. When the author met her in November 1974 she was 82 years old. In her interview she said,

"I went frequently to the Mission's Hospital for treatment for my children and myself. I received very humane help and very good care, and I found that Christians were better than Moslems. During that time the missionaries used to teach me and talk to me about Christianity. After my husband's death, I went to the hospital and I told them that I wanted to be a Christian. The missionaries welcomed me, and made me a principal of the orphanage in the Mission at this Station, where the pupils were illegitimate. Those including my three children lived in a Christian environment, and so became Christians I want to acknowledge that, the social circumstances, especially my need to live, formed the basic reason for my conversion from Islam to Christianity."⁴⁰

The fourth convert was a man from Oman, who came to the Mission's hospital at Muscat and informed the missionaries that he believed in Christianity. His name is not mentioned.⁴¹

At Muscat the 'Freed Slaves Boys School', the other Mission establishment for direct conversion, produced a few Christians who were also orphans. Some of them died and others are working in America. They grew up in a Christian environment, so they became Christians. Details about this School have already been mentioned in the previous chapter.

There were some people who pretended to have been persuaded by the missionaries just for their own personal purposes, and when they achieved what they wanted they went back to their own religion. One of those was Yousif al-Mal in Qatar who refused to have an interview with the author. Later indirect investigation* showed that his need for food and medicine did lead him to pretend to be Christian. He is at present in his seventies and does not like to discuss this experience.

*One of the references was Dr. A. Al-Khwari, at present on the staff in the Qatar Oil Company.

This in fact is all what has been achieved in the field of conversion by the Mission.

There are many reasons for the missionaries' meagre religious impact on these people. As far as the missionaries are concerned they blame this lack of success on a number of reasons. Dr. Pennings the medical chief officer in Bahrain believes that this failure has resulted from the fact that probably they did not,

"carry the Christian Message in the right way. Second, Moslems are very strong in their faith. The whole structure of the Moslems' political, economic and family life is in communities, so it is difficult for anyone from out-side to produce an effect." 42

Such an opinion was supported by Mrs. R. Nykerk who stated that,

"Since the State religion in the Gulf region is Moslem - there is strong community pressure against any such change". 43

Another authority is Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. who traces this lack of success to more complex factors. An interview with him was held at the end of 1974, hence his evaluation of the accomplishment of the Mission is based on recent developments in the region, rather than on the situation of the region in the early years of the Mission. As far as Rev. Scudder is concerned, the whole religious and social impact of the Mission in the Gulf is difficult to assess, but he pointed to

"the growth of health institutions in the various states and even to the development of schools and religious institutions as owing something to the Mission, even if that might only be a source of competition. This kind of development, however, is not always to be applauded." 44

Attributing the lack of success of the Missionary work in the region to recent wealth, was not in fact wholly correct, but no doubt it was among the reasons which led to that result. The evaluation of Rev. Scudder's words leads to the conclusion that probably he wanted to say that without the hospital and the school the Mission could not achieve anything valuable

because similar establishments were developed by the local governments which were more efficient than those of the Mission after the discovery of oil there. But the question still remains; what about the period extending over about half a century of the Mission's activities before the discovery of oil? Why could the Mission not manage to influence those people when they were poor and more co-operative? The discovery of oil and the new wealth can certainly explain the lack of converts in recent years, but it cannot be a reason for the lack of success in the half century of the Mission's work in that region before the discovery of oil. Moreover, not all areas in the Gulf have oil, and not even all the areas that have oil are wealthy. Oman, South Iraq and some parts of Saudi Arabia still live in poverty. This lack of success can be attributed to other more practical reasons:

Firstly, that the missionaries' hopes were idealistic more than realistic, because they thought that influencing Moslems was an easy task, and that they should start from the home land of Islam, Arabia. However Arabia is the centre of Islam and Islam is not only a religion, but also a culture to those people in that part of the world. It is as difficult to convert Moslems in Arabia as it is difficult to convert a Catholic in the Vatican. Secondly, the Mission did not understand well the people's attitude towards their work. They concluded that the friendly behaviour of most of the locals was an indicator of acceptance of Christianity, while most of the people had many reasons and the main one was their need for the Missionaries' humanitarian services. Thirdly, the Islamic leadership in that region strongly opposed such work and argued against the Missionary success. The Clubs founded by them in many areas were to organize opposition against missionary work. Also the Mosque was used for such campaigns to force the local governments to limit missionary activities and remind the people that the real purpose of this kind of work was to destroy their religion and replace it by Christianity.

Fourthly, the Missionaries overestimated the ignorance of the people in the region so as to conclude that there was a good chance of influencing them. However the Mission did underestimate the fact that these people are strong in their religion. Moreover their lack of argument was mainly on account of their politeness or need for the missionaries' services. The Mission believed that the ignorance of the people indicated that these people were ignorant of their own religion, and that it was possible to convert them to Christianity. Fifthly, the Mission's limited staff, finance etc., were among the reasons which caused the Mission not to realise its aims. Sixthly, the involvement of some missionaries in the political situation in the region and their relationships with the imperial powers also played its part in giving the impression that the missionary organizations were politically oriented. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

Evangelistic Literature

The written word is a very important means of evangelism. It is by the written word that missionaries may reach the people whom they want to Christianize and affect their thinking. Moreover the recent development in printing in modern times has made the task of spreading ideas easier. Certainly the first task the missionaries tried to accomplish was the translation of the Bible into Arabic.

The Bible

Strange though it may seem, a written translation of the Bible into Arabic has been used very little, except in modern times. On the whole, efforts to translate the Bible in the past were attempted, but unfortunately early translations were far from correct. The ancient Arabic translation of the Gospels and Epistles discovered at the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai,⁴⁵ may be the oldest known translation, and as L. Scudder stated, this translation reveals an interesting phenomenon,

namely that, prior to the Crusaders period, Arabic speaking Christians and Moslems used the same Arabic invocations and words.⁴⁶ Some early translations go back to the early Crusaders period.

It is important to point to the fact that there is great doubt about the degree of the use and the extent of the circulation of the early Arabic Bible translations, because whatever was done, was limited, and it was only important for its historical significance. It seems that most of the ancient translations of the Bible may probably have been lost and were written in an early Arabic language.

Some Christian scholars, and mainly those who were connected with the Arabian Mission, agree that Dr. Van Dyck's translation of the Bible into Arabic in 1865 was an important one⁴⁷ and it is still the main translation the Arabian Mission depends upon, and which makes missionary work possible. However other missionaries in other Arab countries had their own translations. The translation of the Bible into Arabic and its printing in good Arabic type, was one of the most important works of the American Missionaries at Beirut.^{48*} This work is not the latest attempt, there are other recent translations.

The problems facing the translation of the Bible into Arabic are enormous, the most out-standing one being the fact that the Arabic used is not very good. A good style, especially for a holy book like the Bible, in the Arab World is important. It is important to point to the fact that the language of the Koran is considered by Moslems to be the word of God - with its excellent rhythm, the depth of its meaning is to the Arabs a part of the Miracle of the Koran's revelation. The Koranic language - Arabic - is so highly regarded that it is a standard for Arab linguistics and poets who see it as a guide and example to follow. Therefore the translations that were done of the Bible by people who were

* See pp. 19 and 20 about the date of the translation of the Bible.

not good Arabists, usually produced work of low quality. Thus the Bible and such translations cannot compete with the Koran. Therefore Moslems-whom they attempted to Christianize - think of a holy book as being in very fine language, but the translation of the Bible did not give this impression. This fact has been stressed by many missionaries and Rev. Hooton stated that,

"First translations will often be far from perfect".⁴⁹

In fact local Arab authorities and linguists who read some of the Bible, and whom the author has met in his field work have stated that the Bible translation is weak. It is not interesting and attractive. It does not induce reading. Arabs have been proud of their language, and words - written or oral - mean a lot to them.

The Mission's Evangelistic Literature

Beside the Bible and the translation of some portions of it, the missionaries printed and distributed a very few printed works, - pamphlets, circulars and books - This limited work was aimed at introducing Christianity to that region, and at counteracting the other religious activities, especially those of Islam. Unfortunately the author in his field work did not find any missionary literature available or in circulation or even filed. This shows how sparse the missionary work was in this respect. The few pamphlets written for the sake of introducing Christianity to the people in the region at that time were only referred to in the accounts written about the Arabian Mission.

One of the most often referred to, was a translation of an anti-Islam article entitled, "Jesus or Mohammed; on which will you rely".⁵⁰ The disadvantage of this material is that it creates more problems than it solves. Instead of introducing the religious and humanitarian aspects of Christianity to the Moslems, this article offended the people. A missionary work should be flexible at the beginning, so as to introduce

people to Christianity and persuade them of it and be as far away from offensive content as possible.

It is expected that a missionary establishment must take advantage of all methods to attain its aim, that is reaching the people, and certainly the written word is one of these means. The Arabian Mission could have utilized it to serve its aims. However the Mission did not use this approach as intensively as it might. Moreover the Mission has been more successful in utilizing more expensive and time consuming means e.g. medicine and education than literature. The question that arises is why the Mission did not utilize literature in the form of local printed material to be distributed among the local inhabitants? The answer can be found in the following points:

1. The Arabic Language, It seems that it was inevitable that the Mission should not be able to print evangelistic materials because none of the missionaries' leaders or senior staff was well acquainted with Arabic, so this is a problem that became a main handicap. To be able to speak the local language and to write it in an acceptable way, not to say a popular Arabic, demands great depth of understanding of the language. And this was not available within the Missionary organization in that region.
2. The Missionaries often relied on distributing Scriptures; mainly on the Bible. Some of them believed that the distribution of the Bible was the most important work, and others saw that such a work was not enough, as Rev. Barny put it,

"There is no leavening agency like the Bible, so the Mission tried to develop a colportage system that brings the Bible within reach of nearly all in its territory. But no one, however can say that it is in itself sufficient as an agent of evangelization. No doubt that there was need of explanation and defence and even attack of error."⁵¹

Emphasizing the distribution of the Bible rather than other literary materials is one of the basic convictions of the Protestants in their missionary work, and this - as was already mentioned - is among the differences between them and the Catholics. Thus the Arabian Mission as a protestant organization worked along this line. Consequently the Mission did not give importance to other literary work directed to influencing the people of the region.

3. Printing and Distribution, The Missionaries faced difficulty in printing. There were no modern printing houses in most of their stations. Hence they had to search for other sources to keep the work going. Consequently they printed what they needed in the U.S.A. or other far away areas, and transported the material to the field. Most of the Mission's printed materials came from three sources. The first one was their ally in another branch of the American Foreign Missions in Egypt called 'The American Christian Literature Society for Moslems'.* The productions of this Society were not of quality and were too limited for the Mission's daily work; however it filled a gap at a time when the missionaries had no alternative sources. Their ally in Beirut, 'The American Press'** helped in this matter by printing some of their material. The third source of printed matter came from their attempt to have their own printing press, upon which they built great hopes, but it did not reach the level of their requirements. This printing machine in the field was important for their work, whether religious or secular. The Mission found

*This Society began in 1911 as an 'American Committee of the Nile Press', and in a few years it widened its field of activity to include Moslem lands everywhere. The Society carried out its purpose of spreading the Gospel through the printed page.

**The American missionaries in Beirut who were acting there long before the Arabian Mission gave a helping hand to this new organization to stand on its feet especially in the first stage of its operations.

it necessary to establish a printing house in Muscat in 1895. Muscat was chosen because of the strong hold of the British authority in the area. However the capacity of that small printing house was limited. Its growth was very slow. The political implications of its published materials probably limited its production. But it seems that the anti-Moslem tract which was issued by it - which has already been mentioned, put an end to it, because it aroused Moslem religious objections.

4. The inhabitants were largely illiterate and the ones who could write and read were very few. This was one of the major problems which faced the Mission in getting through to the peoples' minds by means of literature. Therefore they found that personal contacts were easier and more useful in such a region. The Missionaries were active in distributing the Bible to those who could read, but that was not very effective in such a vast region, and to such a large number of people who were mostly illiterate.

Table No. V : V The quantity of Bible and book sales for 1900 in Bahrain Station in Arabic, Arabic English, and Arabic Turkish.

	Type	Quantity
1	Bibles	11
2	Testaments	14
3	Portions	695
4	Religious books	868
5	Educational books	185
Total:		1,773

Source: The Arabian Mission, N.A., 1901, Jan-April, p.21.

To illustrate this point, table No. V : V gives an idea of the limited quantity of literature distributed in one station in one year - Bahrain. As shown in the table, the number of Bibles distributed in the area was only 11 and Testaments were 14. Considering the figure for population in that area at that time, which was around 50,000 such a distribution is too sparse.

5. There was also the political factor, which prevented the Mission's literature from reaching its aims. The Mission began its work at Basrah, which was under Turkish domination. These authorities were watching everything connected with the missionary work, and all its literature had to obtain its approval. Rev. F. Barny stated that,

"No book or even leaflet can be sold or distributed without the censor's stamp In fact the large works are outlawed and it would be a serious matter for a Turkish subject to be found having one in his possession." 52

Even in the areas which were under British domination the Mission found difficulties but not as serious as in Basrah.

6. There was also the local religious objection, led by the Moslem leaders, who had a strong influence upon their people. They opposed the missionary literature which aimed at the conversion of their people to Christianity. They used everything available for that purpose, the Mosque, educational institutions (Kuttab) and personal contacts. These leaders even had influence with their local governments. The Mosque was used for two purposes in this campaign: to caution the people that the missionary work could be a danger if left to act among them, and to put pressure upon the local government to put an end to such activities. They also used personal contacts which were useful in such a society especially at that time. Moreover the 'Kuttab' was a place to carry on this campaign against Missionary work. Printed materials were not used much as a propaganda, because such materials were printed outside the region and those who could read were very few.

Literature about the Mission

The Mission's poor performance in producing material to gain the inhabitants' attention, and to orientate them towards Christianity has been overshadowed by the Mission's prolific literature about the

Arabian Mission, its history, its problems and the region's political, social and geographical aspects. (See Appendix I). The Mission's leaders, and mainly S. Zwemer wrote a great deal which was so richly informative that western knowledge of the region has been in many instances influenced by it. It is very difficult to understand how the Arabian Mission could produce so much literature about the Mission and the region, and yet be unable to write evangelistic material to make the local inhabitants Christians.

Certainly the language difficulty must have contributed to this situation. Moreover the ease of writing in English made it possible for the Mission's leaders to write about the Mission and the region. The fact that the Mission could get more publicity and recognition in the West and within the Christian Church by publishing its work is a very good reason for their activity in publishing accounts of the Mission and the region rather than in working in ways which might be directed to the subjects of the region.

The Impact of the Mission's Evangelistic Literature

Literature as an evangelistic method was the weakest of all the approaches i.e. including Medical, educational and personal contact. The reason lies in two main factors. On the one hand, as already mentioned earlier, the quantity and quality of literature produced was very limited, and on the other hand the Arabs of the region who are Moslems enjoyed a great amount of available Islamic literature (Koran, Hadith etc.) which is written in their own language. The fact of the matter is that the Arabs of that region have a language which is relatively rich in literature. A variety of prose and poetry which were very popular. However the translation of the Bible or the reproduction of other Christian literature was done by people unqualified in Arabic and this resulted in a low level

of reading material which failed to impress the people. The Arabs of that region have a religion which they strongly believe in, and they manage their daily life according to its guide lines. Therefore they have a strong sense of religious belief. This fact has been emphasized by one of the important leaders of the Mission, Paul Harrison who stated that,

"The Arab has a religious mind, far more religious on the average than has the American."⁵³

Thus any literature about Christianity must be of a high quality and quantity to be able to counteract it,

"The pride of heart that Islam develops in its adherents is perhaps its most astonishing achievement".⁵⁴

An important reason for the low performance of literature as an evangelistic approach is that this approach was considered and understood by the inhabitants and their religious leaders to be a direct attack upon their religion, and aimed against their heritage and culture. Hence their reaction at large to the Missionary literature was a negative one.⁵⁵

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER V

1. Harrison, P. Doctor in Arabia, op.cit., p.30.
2. New English Bible, op.cit., Matt, 28 : 19.
3. Ibid., Mark, 13:10.
4. Zwemer, M.S., Evangelism To-day, Message not Method, N.Y., p.14.
5. Ibid., p.14.
6. Ibid., p.14.
7. Ibid., p.16-17.
8. Author's interview with Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. Sept. 1976.
New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A.
9. Author's Interview, Ibid.
10. Dr. Mylrea Stanley, N.A., Sept.-Dec., 1916, p.15.
11. Ibid., June-Sept., 1895, p.6.
12. Ibid., Jan-March and April-June, 1895, pp. 7-8.
13. Van Ess, John, Ibid., April-June, 1903, pp. 12-13.
14. Ibid., Oct.-Dec., 1897, pp. 4-5.
15. Ibid., July-Sept. 1902, p.7.
16. Al-Hamer, Y.A., op.cit., p.7.
17. Mubarek al-Khater, Ibin Mahzah, paper presented to the Islamic Conference in Libya 1973, p.6.
18. Al-Noory, A., op.cit., p.58.
19. N.A., April-June, 1901, p.15-16.
20. Author's Interview with Mr. A. Husain, Kuwait, July 1977.
21. Rev. Pennings, J. Coerrit, Arabia Calling, op.cit., No. 330
Winter 1952-53, p.7.
22. N.A., op.cit., No. 161, 1932, p.8.
23. Arabia Calling, No. 236 Spring 1954, p.11.
24. Ibid., p.11.
25. N.A., Jan.-March, 1911, pp. 8, 12.
26. Ibid., April-June, 1914, p.3.
See also Ibid., Jan-March, 1901, p.5.

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., No. 161, 1932, pp. 7-8.
29. Author's interview with Mr. Haider Khalifa, Kuwait, Nov. 1974.
30. N.A., op.cit., Jan.-March, 1907, pp. 4-5.
31. Ibid., 1911, pp. 16-17. See also Ibid., 1916 Dr. Mylrea, p.15.
32. Rev. Hooton, S.W., op.cit., pp. 95-5.
33. N.A., Jan-April, 1892, p.3.
34. Van Ess, Dorothy, History of the Arabian Mission, op.cit., p.5.,
See also Mason and Barny, op.cit., p.126.
35. Harrison, P., Doctor in Arabia, pp. 277-80.
36. Hooton, S.W., op.cit., pp. 95-97.
37. Author's interview with Mr. J. Shammās, Kuwait, Nov. 1974.
38. Van Ess, D., History of the Arabian Mission, op.cit pp. 6, 9, 10, 12.
39. I.O.R., R/15/3/66, 14 Dec. 1930, See also dated 20th Jan., 1931.
40. Author's interview with Mrs. Khayria Haider, Bahrain, Nov. 1974.
41. Dykstra, W., Arabia Calling op.cit., No. 229, Autumn, 1952, pp. 3-4.
42. Author's interview with Dr. Pennings, Bahrain, Nov. 1974.
43. Author's interview with Mrs. R. Nykerk, Bahrain, Nov. 1974.
44. Author's interview with Rev. Lewis Scudder, Kuwait, Oct. 1974.
45. Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., Muslim-Christian Interaction, 1973, p.3.,
quoting from Dr. Harvey Stwal, Doctoral Dissertation, Part II, p.151
University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
46. Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., Muslim-Christian Interaction, 1973, p.4. paper.
47. Rev. Zwemer, S., op.cit., Arabia: the Cradle of Islam, p.316.
48. Samra, Muhmūd, op.cit., p.23-24.
49. Rev. Hooton, op.cit., p.130.
50. Mason and Barny, op.cit., pp. 91-92.
51. Rev. Barny, F., N.A., Oct.-Dec., 1905, p.4.
52. Ibid., p.5.
53. Harrison, P., M.W., Vol. XII, July 1922, No. 3., N.Y., p.225.
54. Ibid., pp. 225-26.
55. Ibid., pp. 228-29.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL IMPLICATION

Missionary Work and Imperialism

Imperialism is a result of two important events which took place in Europe. The first one was geographical discovery in the 16th century and the other was the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th century. Consequently the European countries began their colonial ventures in the region in 19th century looking for new markets and new sources of raw materials.

Then the Christian missionaries also began their operations in non-Christian countries which had already fallen under colonial domination. Both of the two elements thought that there was a common purpose between them and that they should co-operate in order to achieve their aim. Actually there was a common religious and political idea, shared by the leaders of both sides. This Western mentality proceeded from the cultural development which covered the political, social, religious and economic events from the dawn of their history, beginning with the Crusades, the Renaissance, the Reformation, geographical discovery, the industrial revolution, and the imperialism of the nineteenth century. These matters in fact caused great physical, cultural, economic and political changes, which no doubt had been accompanied by equally great changes in the spiritual sphere.

Despite the long period and these great changes the European mind carried the Crusaders' mentality into the 19th century. Therefore the missionaries and the colonial powers worked together. It is important to see the nature of such a relationship. How did the missionaries see in imperialism the bridge to reach non-Christians? Mrs. Crowe stated,

"It is a geographical fact that colonial expansion was the immediate signal for the commencement of missionary work".¹

Mr. De Lacy O'Leary confirmed that,

"Western influence also is responsible for the presence of Christian missionaries".²

Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. added,

"There was indeed a correlation between Christian Missions and imperialistic institutions. The same cultural drive that opened the world for imperialism, also allowed the western churches to consider foreign Missions."³

James Barks stressed that the Missionaries' religious interests before the First World War,

"Were aided by the continued presence of the European consuls which gave them the security of a certain political dignity."⁴

But James Contine who was one of the Arabian Mission's pioneers put it this way,

"It is certain that the Portuguese ... (who) ravaged the (eastern) coast (of Arabia) did nothing to commend the teaching of Him For one hundred and fifty years a Christian government ruled supreme on the Oman Coast, the whole story is a sad and humiliating one for us."⁵

And finally, Stephen Niell concluded these views in a phrase when he stated,

"As a result of the Christian Mission in the colonial period, the Christian Church exists in every corner of the earth."⁶

These in fact are some examples of the missionaries' views about the relationship between missionary work and imperialism. It is possible from reading these views to come to an important conclusion that there was a link between the two. The colonial powers in fact served missionary work in two directions, paving the way for its activities,⁷ and protecting it in their field operations. In the missionaries' opinion the existence and protection of their work could not be achieved without the help of

those colonial powers. But this was not without its price, and therefore they found themselves involved in politics, by giving details about the political, social situation etc. in regular reports. The missionaries' close contact with the people and their leaders enabled them to obtain information that the colonial powers could not obtain.

Such a relationship compelled the people to react against both of them at the same level and did not differentiate between them. Both of them were Westerners and Christians and the missionaries were protected by those colonial powers. This political connection was carried on until the Second World War, but it began to die out when traditional imperialism began to wane. This new stage put an end to a long mutual interconnection between political and religious thought among westerners which had begun in the 19th Century with the rise of imperialism. This of course does not mean that the relationship was severed completely. This will be obvious from studying the Arabian Mission's relationship with the political powers in the Arabian Gulf region so far. One more point should be added before going further in this discussion. This point is that not all the missionaries were involved in such political implications. Some of them have deplored colonialism in all its forms, but these have been very few and could not influence the close relationship between their missions and the colonial powers at a time when each side saw that it needed the help of the other side. Also the wrong conception which was accepted by most of the missionaries was that colonization had opened the world wide to their work, and that western civilization is a Christian civilization which should reach the world by cooperation between the Western Christian religious and political institutions.

The Arabian Mission and the Political Powers in the Region

The Mission started its activities in the region at a time when political relations between the various powers there had become complicated

and difficult, where local and international powers entered into sharp dispute in order to put this important part of the world - the Gulf region - under its supremacy. This dispute resulted in destroying the Ottoman Empire and putting most of the Middle East areas under the Western powers' domination. The Mission's work then, was sensitive in those difficult circumstances. But it managed to get through, and found suitable ground for its operations.

The main political powers there then were the Ottoman authorities and the British power, and their political dispute was increasing and became gradually worse at the time when the Mission had just started its operations in the Arabian Gulf region. No doubt such a dispute affected the Mission's work, especially when it was under the supremacy of the Turkish authorities in South Iraq and the British authority in the Gulf region. This situation restrained the Mission's work, and effected a sort of relationship between the Mission and these political powers. First of all the Ottoman authorities already dominated the whole of the Arab lands as an Islamic authority. This worked against any kind of Christian activity in these lands. In fact the Mission came into conflict with those authorities when it opened its first station at Basrah. Meanwhile the British colonial power became a considerable force in the region, where would be the real missionary field of the Arabian Mission. This power had its own attitude towards such activities. It was anxious as to whether this work would lead to the probability of American citizens living in this region. From its point of view this could open the way for the American Government to entertain political ambitions there. At the same time Christians required its help; and it became favourably disposed towards them.

When the major powers came into sharp dispute, the Mission found itself in an embarrassing position. But this problem soon vanished with

the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War. From then all the region came under British domination. Therefore the Mission's relationship was mainly with this power. The main purpose of this relationship was to secure and further the missionary work there. Such a purpose also needed a good relationship with the local governments. This complicated political situation compelled the Mission to behave in a way which was far from its real purpose as a missionary force. Actually that behaviour was intended to create a suitable atmosphere for its activities. The relationship with the political powers needs to be dealt with in detail.

The Mission's Relationship with the Turkish Authorities

The Arabian Mission first dealt with the Turkish authorities in Basrah, their first station and base. This area was under Turkish domination as a part of Iraq when the Mission started its activities there. The Mission did not anticipate any major problems from those authorities because the Ottoman Empire was passing through a weak period. The main objection was that the Mission's doctors should have a Turkish diploma to practice medicine there. Also there was the fear that those missionaries had connections with the British authority, the Turks' main enemy at that time. The Turkish attitude towards them was, that it did not allow them to attack Islam, to speak publicly against Islam or to sell or distribute in public any controversial works. To those authorities this was natural behaviour because they were ruling in the name of Islam and they feared that such activities could carry a political purpose. Consequently the missionaries faced some trouble there, but not enough to put their work in danger.

No doubt their uncertain status there at that time was among the Mission's problems, but it realized that the future of the region would be in British hands, so the missionaries built their strategy on this

expectation, namely that they would be dealing with the British authorities more than anybody else. To them such a situation would be reasonable, because there was a sympathy between the western colonial powers and the missionaries, and they could obtain their protection and cooperate with them. This feeling was confirmed in the letter of the British Foreign Office dated April 5th 1910. It stated that,

"His Majesty's Government are in the fullest sympathy with the American Missionary enterprise at Muscat." ⁸

Under Turkish domination, the Mission's activities faced some difficulties. But it was flexible in its work there in order to stay and reach its target - the whole Gulf region and the Peninsula. Therefore the missionaries did not take a very hard line with those authorities under any circumstances, because the Mission was not a considerable force for the authorities in the territory, and because it did not want to enter into such disputes as would put an end to its work as a whole, and divert it from its main purpose, which was religious.

The Turkish authorities in fact feared the missionaries' activities, but did not act against them, because they knew the missionaries were working as citizens of their countries, and under the protection of their nations' flags. The Arabian Mission's nationality as American saved its existence, because the Ottoman Empire's real dispute was in fact mainly with the British authority. Actually when the missionaries faced any problem, they sought refuge with their Consulates asking for their help, and usually they obtained such help.

The Mission's difficult situation in Basrah did not prevent its activities in the Gulf region starting with Bahrain, which was under British domination. These activities were carried on with great caution, because of the sensitive political situation there at that time.

The Mission's Relationship with the British Authorities

When the Arabian Mission began its operations there, the British power had increased and came to cover the whole region. Its main enemy in the East was the Ottoman Empire, therefore it was concerned about any kind of activities whatsoever coming from its territory.

Bahrain, which was under British domination, was the second station opened by the Mission after Basrah. Hence the British became seriously concerned about its activities there. They were afraid of two things. The first was, could such a work be acceptable to the Turkish authorities? The second one was that those American missionaries could be the beginning of an American influence in the region. Consequently the British attitude was to allow them to act, and to put them under its complete control. Moreover it tried to provide similar medical services for the natives. From their point of view such services could gradually make the Americans' existence unjustifiable there.

This policy was put into practice in Oman, which was under British supremacy. The Sultan of Oman asked it for a medical service in 1900. It seems that that request came as a result of British influence, and by their advice. A medical Mission came from India for that purpose, and was put under British control. In the same year the British authority suspended the Medical Health Board in Bahrain, and, in 1905, the responsibility was given to her agent in that area after the plague had attacked the Island. Also that year witnessed the building of the Victoria Memorial Hospital by the British authorities at Bahrain. In 1904 the British political agency in Kuwait also opened a pharmacy and out-patient clinic there.⁹ Actually all these British official medical activities came as a reaction to the Arabian Mission's work, and to prove that there was no justification for the Americans to be in that land, although those activities were mainly to serve the British soldiers and citizens in the area.

This policy indeed did not put an end to the Arabian Mission's work. Therefore it was thought that it should be put under British control. This was obvious in the following letter of Captain Shakespeare, the British political agent in Kuwait, dated 3rd August, 1910, which stated,

"From our own point of view I venture to submit that so far from the suggestion being adverse to our interests, it will really help to strengthen our position in Kuwait and that an absolutely unexceptionable manner. The Mission must in the circumstances remain under British protection."¹⁰ (See Appendix II)

It seems that the British authority regarded the Mission's activities as more than missionary work. This was clearly confirmed in a letter from Percy Cox, the British Resident in the Gulf, to the Foreign Office, dated 15 August 1910, stating,

"The Kuwait Mission (Arabian Mission's branch) will be quite independent of the Basrah Mission The Mission recognised the special position of British in Kuwait."¹¹ (See Appendix II)

This letter shows that these authorities had suspicion of the Mission's branch in Basrah, and this confirmation was emphasized in the Mission's 'undertaking' which was signed at its annual meeting at Bahrain in November 18th 1910. This document already has been mentioned in Chapter II. This 'undertaking' was issued because of British pressure, especially in Kuwait, which lies on the southern border of the Turkish territory. Actually the British authority had disagreed with the Sheikh's earlier policy, to give permission for the missionaries to work in Kuwait, but would not attempt to force him to act against his will, because there was a treaty between the two in 1889, which put Kuwait under British protection. If the ruler of Kuwait invited the missionaries it was his own lookout. The British authority had learned the lesson of non-involvement from its experience at Muscat. Moreover, to gain the ruler of Kuwait's friendship was very important because of the position

of his country at the head of the Gulf at a time when the Turkish and British powers were entering into a sharp conflict there before the First World War.

British concern was, in fact, as to whether those missionaries were anti-British or not. This was emphasized in many official reports and letters which were mostly confidential. The following letter shows this concern very clearly as written by the British political agent in the region to the Deputy political Resident in the Gulf region, stating,

20th February, 1918.

"I am sure that the attitude of some of the missionaries whom I have met are not friendly at heart, and any individual whose feelings are in any way anti-British has great opportunities for mischief owing to the influence the Mission exercises through their hospital, school and most difficult to discover or combat, the visits of the lady missionaries to the harems. It appears that the Arabian Mission, in common, I believe, with other American Missions has been informed by the United States Government, that if any one of their number causes trouble in connection with the war, the whole of the Mission will have to go which disposes of the matter for the period of the war It might be feasible to come to some agreement with the United States Government to the effect that the Arabian Mission should be warned that Great Britain holds a special position in the Persian Gulf and that, if complaints are received from the British Government of missionaries being guilty of conduct to the prejudice of British interests, they will be liable to removal".¹² (See Appendix II)

This in fact was the reaction of the British Officials in the region about the Arabian Mission's activities. This reaction came from those afraid that such activities could carry a dual purpose, religious and political, especially when Britain itself had experience of such activities. There was General Haig for example, one of the British Officers in India, who was a military, political and missionary person. He travelled to the Peninsula, and was in fact behind the idea of establishing Christian missionary work in that region.¹³

The British fear of the American missionaries' activities continued. Its agents made a close relationship with them to get to know precisely

their attitude towards Britain. This is clear enough from reading the following letter,

"Confidential D.O. No. 18.

From, Political Agency, Kuwait, Dated 18th Feb. 1932.

.... Van Ess is quite the best of the missionaries out here I think and stands head and shoulders above the rest in broad mindedness. He is pro-English too, and therefore not entirely popular with the rest of his people.

To : H.V. Biscoe

Political Resident in the

Persian Gulf." ¹⁴ (See Appendix II)

It is obvious from reading this letter that some of the American missionaries were pro-English and the others were anti-English, and probably there were some of them who were neither. When a missionary became pro-British, what did that mean during that complicated political period? No doubt that meant that he was involved in politics, and would try hard to prove to this power that he was not anti-British. Of course this behaviour led the missionaries to a political involvement in order to stay and act freely in the region. This is obvious from the following important report written by Dr. Paul Harrison one of the very active Arabian Mission's leaders, stating,

".... As to the political situation it is obvious that by all odds the strongest Sheikh in that region is Hamadan of Abu-Dhubbi He is quite in a class by himself. He is sincerely and strongly loyal to the British Government, to the degree indeed, that probably the strongest motive that could be brought to bear upon him, would be the possibility of some special recognition or decoration from that Government On the surface nothing is met with but the most cordial loyalty to British Government. But it is not difficult to see that underneath, that loyalty is considerably tempered. In the first the increase of British power is feared because it is felt that their ascendancy means the disappearance of slavery. This feeling however, is pretty largely confined to the small upper class British prestige however, suffers greatly because of the government's representative in those parts, and it is due to him in no small degree that the respect and admiration which ought to be the

completion of their loyalty, is quite lacking. Whether true or not, he has succeeded in creating the impression that he is able to bring about almost anything he wishes."¹⁵ (See Appendix II)

This report suggests that the Mission was directly involved in the political affairs in the region, and it needs to be resolved. First of all this report is a completely political statement. The surprising question is, what is the connection between the Mission's religious and humanitarian activities and political affairs? What was the Mission's advantage when Dr. Harrison, as a missionary doctor, reported to the British authority that Sheikh Hamadan of Abu-Dubbi appeared to be the most intelligent and progressively inclined ruler he came in contact with and that he was also friendly towards Britain?

There are many probabilities behind Dr. Harrison's report: Firstly, that there was a link between political and religious thought in the minds of that generation of missionaries; therefore they felt that they should co-operate in the field of both operations, despite the fact that, as missionaries, they claimed different purposes. Also as an educated people, who came from an open country, they could not separate themselves from the cultural life of which politics is a part. But Dr. Harrison's report shows clearly enough that he had drifted to the British imperialistic side, namely as an agent advising this power with whom it should deal, and giving it detailed information about the political situation in the areas which he had visited. Secondly, as Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. explained, the motive of such a report, was that in view of the British suspicion of the missionaries' activities, Dr. Harrison wanted to prove to that authority that his Mission's attitude was not anti-British, in order to let them remain and act freely there. ¹⁶ But Rev. Scudder's explanation is not enough to justify such a political involvement by the Mission, because it is wrong to imagine

that this would remove the British suspicion of the Mission's activities because, on the other hand, this attitude might lead the British Officials to think that those missionaries were interested in politics and that they might play a dual role by working for both British and American interests. Moreover this kind of activity is contradictory to their avowed purposes which were religious and humanitarian, unless they considered such political activity as among their humanitarian aims. This report in fact shows that the Mission was involved in a political manoeuvre. According to it the British authority began to re-examine its policy there, and started to extend its influence along the coast of the Gulf as the political Agent at Bahrain mentioned in his letter to the Deputy political Resident in the region, dated 4th May 1918.¹⁷

Actually allowing the American missionaries to operate in the region which was entirely controlled by the British authority was not without its price. The Mission co-operated with this authority, because it realized that without such co-operation it could not assure its future, and it could not obtain British agreement to act there. This co-operation was not restricted to this report only, but more than this had happened in Kuwait for example. After the British-Kuwait treaty in 1899, the American missionaries tried also to help the British authority, by helping Kuwait's ruler against his enemy who frequently attacked his country from the Peninsula which was ruled by Ibn Saud. Eleanor Calverley, a missionary doctor in Kuwait mentioned that there was a regular meeting between them as missionaries, and Captain Shakespeare, the British political agent in Kuwait, and they explained to him the American policy.¹⁸ She added that Dr. Mylrea, one of the Mission's important medical staff members in Kuwait, accompanied the British pilot in 1920 on a journey to reconnoitre Ibn Saud's army which was moving to attack Kuwait. Dr. Mylrea himself, who dropped leaflets, asked the attackers to withdraw from Kuwait's territory or the aeroplane

would attack them.¹⁹ Moreover Dr. Mylrea was asked to attend a political meeting of the British leadership there, on board a naval vessel, and he did so many times.²⁰ The following is a serious event took place during the First World War in Basrah which confirms the co-operation between the missionaries and the British authority. Dorothy van Ess stated,

".... A few days later the five paramount Arab (Tribal) Sheikhs of the region also met in my husband's study (John Van Ess). With his help and advice they worked out a statement of support for the Allied side, which was to be of greatest value to the British forces."²¹

These activities, which were all political, came from a conviction that the imperial powers were the key to the missionaries' work in non-Christian countries. Paul Harrison emphasized this idea when he stated that,

"The greatest political asset of the colonial administrators in a certain province is in the reputation of the resident medical missionary. Thus it is that the Gospel, in its appeal to the hearts of the Moslems, must carry on its back the whole evil weight of western imperialism ... The missionary too often believes that the only hope of the Gospel lies in its support by western bayonets. Unless the protection of the Western Government with their military power is given to the missionaries, their lives will not be safe and they cannot proclaim the Christian message."²²

Practically in fact the Mission obtained the British authority's help, in the region. In return for such help, the Arabian Mission reported to this authority very useful information about the region and welcomed many British who were operating in the region into the missionaries' homes in all the Mission's Stations, and the British soldiers into its hospitals, especially during the two World Wars.²³ More about the co-operation between the Mission and the British authority there. When Samuel Zwemer decided to travel across the Arabian Peninsula he obtained considerable help from that authority as he stated,

"I obtained a special passport through the kindness of Colonel Mockler, the British Resident, with the privilege of engaging a police escort in case of necessity." ²⁴

Even though British concern was still accompanied by caution. It followed anything connected with the Mission's work, even things which were not very important, such as what had happened when the Mission brought x-ray equipment for the first time there. The Political Agent at Bahrain sent a letter to the Political Resident in the Gulf region informing him, that the Arabian Mission was contemplating the purchase of an x-ray unit for use in their hospitals in Bahrain. ²⁵

No doubt there was anxiety on the part of British authority, that the local populace should not be disturbed by the Mission, in the sense that the Mission's activities could develop the people's conscience; especially when there was a belief in the Mission in American democracy. In fact when those missionaries came to the Arabian Gulf region they carried their national spirit with them and mixed it with their religious thinking; hence came the British concern as to whether such thinking would affect its existence or not. It is interesting to know the later missionaries' attitude towards the relationship between the British authority and the Mission. Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. stated,

".... These (Imperial) powers tended to view the American missionaries as something of an interloper danger to imperial interests in any given region. This strain of suspicion has been applied by Britain to the Arabian Mission." ²⁶

Rev. Scudder's attitude is clearly enough different from those pioneers of the Mission. He is against imperialism and any kind of relationship with it. But he considers the relationship between the two as something natural, because as he explains it, there is a tie in culture between the British and Americans. This factor - in his view - was important, the common language and the fellow-feeling as Christians and Westerners, also they were both few in number in that region. ²⁷ What Mr. Scudder tried to

do in his explanation of the Mission's involvement in political affairs at that time was to show that the Mission had no political purpose, but had it imposed upon them. He was in fact expressing the recent thought of missionaries which has of course changed from that of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

Thus the relationship between the Mission and the British Authorities permitted the Mission to stay and continue its activities for all those years. This relationship however also played an important part in the missionaries' failure, because of their political involvement, so that the people considered them as an agent for the imperial power. On the other hand this relationship helped the British authority in the region by providing it with very useful information about the political and social life of the people and their rulers. Moreover the Mission's institutions were used by the British authority, especially during the two world wars.

The Mission's Relationship with the American Government

America and Britain considered themselves the two great representatives of evangelical Christianity in the world. This was discussed in the missionary conference which was held in Edinburgh in 1910, where it was recognised that there are powerful influences pressing governments towards a policy of increasing restriction of missionary freedom in the territories under their control. This policy in fact was put into practise, but with caution. During the First World War, some of these governments found it necessary to exclude missionaries of enemy nationality.²⁸ This policy would not have been adopted if those governments - especially the British - had not felt that the missionaries were involved in politics.

In the case of the Arabian Mission and its relationship with the American Government, it is interesting to see how the Mission managed to build good relationships with both American and British authorities.

"The form of American activity in the Persian Gulf remained unchanged until 1900. In that year an American consular Agent was appointed at Basrah. At one time the affairs of the Arabian Mission in Bahrain gave some trouble to the British authorities who were responsible for the safety of the missionaries." 29

There are three important points in this question: Firstly, the British came to a conviction that the missionaries' activities could be linked with political affairs, when Lorrimer mentioned that the American Consular Agent appointed at the same time as the Arabian Mission in Bahrain gave some trouble to the British authorities. Secondly, Lorrimer did not give any details about that trouble he mentioned, whether it was political or not. Thirdly, he confirmed the protection of the British authority for the missionaries, and this no doubt helped them to act there, because they felt that the colonial powers were protecting them. Basically, the missionaries felt that real protection came from their own Government. When the United States entered the First World War, it was welcomed by the missionaries as this would unite the whole of the Anglo-Saxon world politically and religiously, and would help them to carry on their activities.³⁰

This matter made the United States adopt a policy of protection for all American citizens abroad, whether missionaries or merchants. This policy in fact gave useful encouragement to religious institutions. Hence the United States Government had been much more decisive in upholding the Christian faith, and in encouraging Christian missionary undertakings in the Near East than had the others.³¹ This was emphasized by John De Novo when he stated,

"Of the Americans active in the Middle East were the Missionaries of several protestant denominations who penetrated into many parts of the area. When requesting financial and moral support at home, these missionaries held up a mirror, though an imperfect one, through which Americans saw the Middle East. They frequently requested, and usually obtained, diplomatic support from the State Department." 32

Accordingly, it is obvious without any doubt that the missionaries were involved politically, and this does not seem strange in the light of imperialism's growth by the end of the nineteenth century or at the beginning of twentieth century, but to hear a justification from a missionary leader of the Arabian Mission at present, suggests that the nineteenth century mentality is still alive among the missionaries of recent times, which is obvious in Mrs. Nykerk's answer to the author's question about the political involvement of the Arabian Mission.

She stated that,

"We sometimes become involved in politics, when our country does or says something contrary to the good of the Arab people, among whom we live and work We have tried to be good citizens and ambassadors for our country as well as serving our God faithfully in service to humanity."³³

Mrs. Nykerk acknowledged that there is a link of political relationship between the Mission and the American Government, and they sometimes become involved in politics when their country did something contrary to the good of the Arabs as they claimed! These in fact are general words, and it is not obvious whether this means supporting their government's attitude or not, also what is good or not to the Arabs needs to be made clear. Probably the missionaries' thought and background led them to understand the American policy as good and right at a time when it was wrong for the Arabs. Also it is not clear, what she means by 'we have tried to be good ambassadors for our country.' Has this a political meaning? If so this means that the missionaries were seriously connected with the United States foreign policy, or does she mean by this that the missionaries should maintain a good level of humanitarian services, in order to prove to the out-side world that the American people were helping the underdeveloped people. This attitude is however far away from the missionary's real purpose which is mainly religious, serving the Christian faith.

Actually the missionaries were working in the region as American citizens. They used their nationality as an umbrella to protect their existence and work. Once, Mr. James Contine, one of the Mission's pioneers was arrested by a Turkish policeman in Basrah, and when taken to the governor, he told him that,

"This man has arrested me on the street, which, as I am an American citizen, he has no right to do, he has wounded me and this is a serious matter between your government and mine".³⁴

Mr. Contine could not have said that, if he had not been sure of the protection of his government. Moreover when Peter Zwemer came first to Muscat in order to open it as a station, Mason and Barny stated about the place that,

"Partly owing to the fact that there was an American Consul on the spot Mr. Zwemer's position was less difficult".³⁵

The helpful hand of western countries was confirmed by the two important men and the pioneers of the Mission S. Zwemer and J. Cantine, they stated, .

"Very helpful in this connection were the cordial relations between the missionary home (in the field operations) and those of the American and British consulates."³⁶

Therefore the missionaries were working in security because of their government's protection, even in the areas which were under the British authority's domination, because there was an arrangement between Britain and America in foreign policy especially towards missionary work, as has been mentioned earlier. But this policy went on with British caution particularly at the time when British power was the main one there, holding strongly strategic positions especially Bahrain and Muscat.

Actually early developments at Muscat and Mattrah were similar to those that had taken place in Bahrain, Basrah and Kuwait. The British authorities mistrusted the missionary work at Mattrah. The ruler at Muscat

strongly protested against their activities and at first refused to allow them to continue working in Matrah. The refusal came after the Sultan of Muscat had informed the American Consulate that the missionaries had made arrangements for taking a house in Matrah and for opening a hospital there without obtaining his leave. He informed them early in March 1909 that he could not sanction the proposed enterprise and requested them to confine their energies to Muscat.³⁷

The reasons for this decision were:

1. His permission had in fact not been sought, and in his opinion any foreign activity in his land must have his sanction.
2. He feared that the Mission might gain undue influence among his people by medical service and endeavour to convert them from their religion, which seemed to him their main aim.
3. He feared that if the missionaries were allowed to provide medical services in Matrah, it would be difficult to refuse their permission to go inland for the same purpose, and if they did so, it would cause him trouble.
4. He feared that, if the American Mission appealed to the United States Government, in order to enforce their claim, diplomatic pressure might affect his position and his relationship with the British authority.³⁸

The American official attitude towards missionary activities in Muscat was obvious in the following letters between the American Vice and Deputy-Consul at Muscat, and Faisal, Sultan of Muscat and Oman;

"From: The American Vice and Deputy Consul at Muscat.
To: Sultan of Muscat.

Dated: 23rd March, 1909

Sir,

..... From international law digest, protection of missionaries, Missionaries sent out by religious commnions in the United States to Mohamedan or pagan lands are entitled to all the protection which the law of nations allow this Government to extend to citizens to reside in foreign countries in the pursuit of their lawful avocation."³⁹ (See Appendix II)

Undoubtedly, this letter shows the direct support and protection of the American government to the missionaries. The Sultan insisted strongly in his reply that he could assure the safety of American subjects in his country without interference. His reply as follows:

"From Sultan of Muscat,
To: The American Vice and Deputy Consul,

Dated: 2nd April, 1909, Muscat.

.... We have a mutual understanding about permitting others for trade and live here. I protect your subject at all times with the greatest care We provide all comforts, excepting the Doctor who now wants to open a Hospital here. (This) I cannot permit him (to do). I have already arranged for a physician at Muttrah to work charitably, and I do not think if anything more is required there". 40 (See Appendix II)

Thus the Sultan's attitude led to strong American objection, and it is obvious in the American Consul's reply:

"From: The American Vice and Deputy.
To: Sultan of Muscat.

Dated, April 3rd 1909, Muscat.

.... I have the honour to say that I must strongly object to any disparaging discrimination being made against American doctors and their rights in your Highness's dominions." 41 (See Appendix II)

As a result of this American attitude a strongly worded refusal in fact came from the Sultan in his letter to the American Vice and Deputy,
Dated April 3rd 1909.

"I will not allow the missionaries to open a hospital at Mattrah. Inform the American Government that it cannot compel me to do something I do not want." 42 (See Appendix II)

The American Government in fact took the question seriously in supporting the missionaries, and rejecting the ruler's attitude towards them as is also very clear from the following letter:

"From: The American Consul at Muscat
To: Sultan of Muscat.

Dated, 15th Nov. 1909.

.... The American Government maintains that the right of American citizens to practise medicine in your majesty's dominions is guaranteed by the treaty between your Majesty's Government and the United States of America 1833
.... The American Citizens should have protection in Oman (The) missionaries are entitled to the same protection as any other citizens of the United States of America."43

In fact the point was not the right or not of American doctors to practise medicine in Oman, but the possible religious work of these men among the Arabs of Oman. The Sultan's attitude could be interpreted as consisting partly of religious objections and partly of concern lest the missionaries should attempt to intervene in administrative matters on behalf of their proteges. He had no wish to render himself responsible to the American Government for the protection of the missionaries. Also one must not forget the British influence on the Sultan's attitude. Actually after much pressure, the Sultan agreed to give the missionaries permission to operate in Mattrah, and they built the hospital there in 1910 and continued without major trouble. In addition to this Mr. John Van Ess - one of the influential leaders of the Arabian Mission in its early years - acquired a political role at Basrah, he was appointed as an American Counsul in Basrah during the first World War as Dorothy Van Ess stated,

"It was now, for the only time in his life, that John (Van Ess) held a government post. He was asked by Ambassador Henry Morgenthau in Constantinople (The American Ambassador) to act as American Counsul in Basrah." 44

Therefore all these facts - throughout the Arabian Mission's career in the region - shows that there was a good relationship between it and the American Government which allowed the Mission to stay and act without any impression that its work and future might be in danger. It is important also

to point to the fact that, without the British authority's agreement, especially at that time, the Americans could not have offered the Mission what it had, because American policy was not very effective there then, since the whole region was under British domination.

The Mission's Relationship with the Local Governments

Generally speaking the relationship between the Missionaries and the local government had to be built on a base, which is as W.S. Hooton put it,

"The Missionaries need unceasing care not to interfere in political matters, or in any way diminish respect for constituted authority."⁴⁵

The actual experience in fact was not as Rev. Hooton stated. In the case of the Arabian Mission, the missionaries' concern to stay and act led them to interfere in political matters. Thus they had relationships with the political powers in the region, and the local governments were among those powers. Relationships with such governments needed special care, and they were based on the following considerations: Firstly, to stay and continue was the essential thing which concerned the Mission and this needed special relationships with the local governments. Secondly, this relationship had to begin by making friends with the rulers and their families. This no doubt would help them when they faced problems, which were naturally to be expected from the local religious leaders, or from anyone else. Also to get permission for their work on the spot and in other areas they were planning to reach. Thirdly, the Mission entered those areas by a sort of close relationship with the royal families there, by serving them medically, which gradually became indispensable, particularly at that time, when there were no such services. Consequently the missionaries obtained their protection and agreement to carry on their function in return for that service. From studying the Missionaries of the Arabian Mission's behaviour there, it seems that they studied the nature

of this society carefully before starting their operations, because such personal contacts were very useful in a tribal society. And actually such contacts are among the missionary work's means.

Fourthly, in addition to the Medical service which the Mission provided for those royal families, the Mission also helped them with their political problems. They regarded the missionaries as educated people, accepting their help when needed, especially in a time where the region was deprived of people qualified in the modern sciences. Mr. Edwin Calverley, a member of the Mission's staff at Kuwait after the First World War, confirmed to Sheikh Ahmad of Kuwait that the Mission was committed to Government policy in its dispute with the Arab tribes."⁴⁶ The attitude was entirely unjustifiable and far from the missionaries' purposes. The tribes' dispute was a local and political question. It did not or should not have concerned the missionaries. They should have had no connection whatsoever with such a dispute. Moreover, their Mission was not to enter into the local tribal conflict, and help one side against the other. If the missionaries wanted to prove to the new ruler that they agreed with his policy, they did not need to behave in such a way. They supposed that all future policies of the ruler would be right and correct in advance, and that the others were and would be wrong. As the missionaries claimed that they only came for religious and humanitarian purposes, they should not have become involved in such local problems, and should have done their best to avoid such disputes and help in finding solutions and solving the situation between the rival tribes, if there was no escape from what was happening.

Fifthly, among these considerations, is that the missionaries had to be very careful in understanding the people's attitude, so as not to embarrass the rulers with the local traditional religious leaders. There were those who felt that the missionary work was a dangerous action and

the governments should fight against it. Meanwhile the rulers did not feel this way, because the people were not easily persuaded to accept Christianity.

Sixthly, to avoid such an embarrassing event, the basic efforts were concentrated on the medical services. In fact, during the time when the region was under British supremacy, and when the local governments were as a tool in its hands, the nature of the relationship between the Mission and the local governments was part and parcel of its relationship with the British authority.

The Mission's relationship with those local governments changed gradually when the region underwent changes after the discovery of oil. Life became more complicated and those areas became states, Moreover the Mission's real work became restricted to Christians themselves who came to the region looking for jobs, and practising medicine. Also it is important to note that missionary work there is dying gradually, so the Mission's relationship with the recent governments is not as relevant as it was from the beginning of their work until the end of the Second World War. The missionaries felt that it was difficult to continue such a relationship which was built on personal contacts, not only because of the difficulty in maintaining such a relationship in a complicated situation, but also because those governments felt that they did not need their services any more, since they already had their own services better than the Mission had. Also the missionaries felt that there was no hope of influencing those people.

To sum up this question, one can say that the Mission entered upon a political involvement, sometimes compelled, and sometimes by choice. The basic idea which the Arabian Mission used to justify such involvement was the necessity of survival, but the real thing, as has been already mentioned, was that those missionaries were western people who had a common religious political ideal. This ideal was in fact a part of the

culture which had developed from the Crusaders' time and carried on during the rising of imperialism in the 19th century, and the first half of the 20th century. This link between missionary work and imperialism was based on a conviction that imperialism meant that the wide non-Christian world would be open to the missionary work, and there was a sort of co-operation and relationship between the two sides, because of the western nineteenth century mentality. Such missionary work found itself falling into a complicated relationship with the imperial powers, and with the local governments. This involvement continued until the end of the Second World War. After this the situation changed in the world. The traditional imperialism had fallen and many countries gained their independence and started to develop by themselves. Consequently missionary work found itself in a difficult position. Therefore a new attitude and thought had to direct this work. This attitude began by looking at other religions in a different way, even though missionary work was dying gradually there, and its political implication was one of the main causes of that result. The recent development in the relationship of Christians and Moslems stressed in the dialogue between the two communities. This attempt has its motives and justifications. This point will be among the important points which the final chapter will deal with.

* The National Archives in Washington, U.S.A.

In order to find out whether any of the material in the National Archives in Washington was important for this work or not, the author wrote to Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. asking for information. After contact with the people concerned, he confirmed in his letter dated July 25, 1977, that the Archives were not essential to this thesis, and would not change or modify the argument put forward in it.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VI

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CHAPTER VII

THE ARABIAN MISSION IN PROSPECT

Introduction

It is now possible to sum-up the results of the whole discussion. Since the second half of the 7th century Christians have been in contact with Moslems. The contact between the two communities has extended in range, sometimes with the spread of Islam and sometimes with the advance of Christianity, until today the representatives of these expanding religions meet each other over vast areas. During these centuries misunderstanding and hostility have marked the relations between Christianity and Islam. From the earliest times to the most recent the Christian Church has made efforts to reach Moslems and convert them to Christianity. Such missionary work has rarely met with success.

This final chapter will cover three important points. The first one is the Arabian Mission's achievements and contributions so far, its main positive and negative aspects. The second is the recent developments in evangelism. And the third point is about the future of missionary work in general, and in particular in Arabia. This will be considered from the natives' point of view and that of the missionaries who previously worked or are still working there.

The Arabian Mission's Achievements

The previous chapters have been focused on the history of the Mission as well as appraising the missionaries experience. This Mission was a Christian body and its ultimate aim was the evangelization of Arabia. The missionaries have used different approaches to achieve their aims and the previous chapters have dealt as elaborately as possible with these aspects. What this chapter is concerned with is the aftermath of the missionary attempt. It is essential to state that the experience of the Mission is not

and never has been separable from that characteristic Christian ambition and hope of spreading the Gospel and influencing as many people of the region as possible. Such an ambition is natural as well as being a universal trend. All vital movements in history have always aimed at diffusing their ideas. Therefore the results of the Arabian Mission's experience as a Christian movement can be evaluated so as to see to what extent it has affected Arabia, and particularly the Arabian Gulf region. Perhaps the most striking outcome of this experience has been the fact that in its career, which covers about eighty five years, it has failed to attract the masses of that region to the Christian faith, and consequently has failed to achieve its aims. The number of converts have been very small, as has already been mentioned in Chapter V. This outcome is a puzzling. History records very few movements of the scale of the Arabian Mission which accomplished so little in so long time.

The Arabian Mission was born in the Theological Seminary in New Brunswick in New Jersey in the United States in 1889. It began field operations soon after its pioneers agreed on the plan of work and its constitution. Its first staff in the region had in fact an aggressive attitude towards Islam and they were very optimistic that the people of that land would soon change their religion.

The first decade of the Arabian Mission's activity in the region may be considered as the time of study in an initial attempt to understand the region. Much had to be done in order to pave the way for the work of evangelization there. Seeking places for strategic stations and establishing them took much of the missionaries' efforts and made them realize that touring was important if they wanted to know the people's life intimately, and to pave the way for opening more stations and substations. Gradually the missionaries discovered that westerners could live and

work there without great difficulties. Then they felt that they could carry on their missionary work in a region where previously it had seemed impossible. This optimistic outlook arose because they did not meet with serious resistance when they started their operations.

The second decade saw an encouraging growth in the Mission's activities, but this did not happen without difficulties. After this the real objections began to be made, first in Basrah by the Ottoman authorities, and secondly in the Gulf region by the local traditional religious leaders. Then came the first World War with all its effects and implications.

Along with the humane services, which were the Mission's means of reaching the people, evangelistic work was carried on by all the staff whether they were inside their establishments or outside; during their tours or in the Bazaars etc. At that time public opinion was not yet influenced by their view. For the missionaries, the critical period had just begun and they expected a good deal of trouble. Despite this they were always optimistic about the future, because they believed that such problems were natural and that they should persevere. This feeling gave the impression to them and to their Board at home that the region was ready to receive Christianity. The acceptance by the natives of their existence and activities stemmed from the missionaries' humanitarian services, which the local population sorely needed. But the missionaries interpreted the peoples' attitude towards them as the beginning of an acceptance of their ideas. The missionaries claimed that there was an indirect impact on the people's mind, that many believed in Christianity, but did not change their religion though fear of their governments and the domination of traditional Islamic customs and habits in life. In fact this

claim that there was government pressure against converts was exaggerated, even for the Basrah area, which was under the Ottoman authorities, and the area of Wahhabi influence in the Peninsula. For the areas along the Gulf from Kuwait to Muscat, the claim was simply untrue, because no harm came to these few who had been converted in Bahrain and Muscat.

After about a century of missionary work in that region, what can the researcher say? Medically, the missionaries did what they could to help the people at a time when they had no modern medical services, and the people greatly appreciated this. They established hospitals and dispensaries and introduced modern medical services for the first time to the region. Educationally, there was not much effect and they did not play any important part in developing the region, for the many reasons already mentioned in Chapter IV, the main one being that modern educational services had just begun to be established in the region when the Mission started to develop this kind of activity. Religiously, the Mission failed to achieve its aims of gaining converts and of Christianizing the region, despite all its efforts, which resulted in the establishing of many Churches there. This is clearly enough demonstrated in Chapter V.

It is worth noting that it is possible to say that European and American public opinion about Arabia and its people was informed partly by the missionaries. So if it was given wrong information or pushed towards an aggressive attitude, the missionaries were partly responsible for that. They gave their people an inadequate and biased account of the Moslems and their religion. The missionaries felt at that time, that such denigration of Islam was right since it encouraged their own people to support them. Also it showed that their religion was the only correct, legitimate and adequate

one for the whole world. This in fact caused the Mission to be in an embarrassing position when their own people discovered that much of what the missionaries had said about Arabia was not true; moreover when the results of their work for the period were reviewed and found to be hardly successful, their attitude was blamed, and it was concluded that it would be hard to trust information from such a source in the future.

The story of the missionary work in the region teaches several lessons. The missionaries discovered that it is hard to persuade the people to change their religion. They also learned that their old attitude was unfruitful, and hard to change to a more flexible one. This meant that they had to find new methods of dealing with these people, hence the idea of understanding and opening a dialogue with Moslems began. Moreover they also seem to have learned that times are changing and that they should rather work among their own people, who are often Christian only in name. No doubt the missionaries of the Arabian Mission were eminently qualified for their task, having a great interest in the region. They were men and women of spiritual integrity. They tried to understand the Arab mentality, language, manners and customs in order to achieve their aims. All this from a conviction that they came with the right message to destroy a false religion and to replace it with Christianity which they believed to be the only true one.

In fact everything goes to show that the evangelism so far undertaken in the region has been not effective. But it seems that this lesson has not been well learnt, and that the experience has not been fully absorbed by the missionaries, because when they gave up their work in one area - Kuwait for example - they were determined to continue it in another, despite the fact that the result of the

work was limited, because of difficulties facing the missionaries.

From the missionaries' point of view, the main obstacles that have faced them are:

1. That Christian teaching does not mean the same to a Moslem as it does to the Christian. The Missionaries have dealt with Moslems without taking their wholly different cultural background into consideration.
2. That in the thought of the Moslem, a change of religion is primarily a change of group-connection and group loyalty, because his religion offers him legislation which covers all that is important in his life. To overcome these obstacles Mr. Riggs suggested that,

- "1. Doctrinal questions need to be handled with extreme care, and the enquirer should be encouraged to study the New Testament.
2. We lovingly encourage secret believers to go forward in the sense of separating from the fellowship of their own people. Groups of followers of Jesus should not be asked to assume the name 'Christian' because of its associations in the Near East, and some spiritual equivalent of baptism should be devised
3. There is no essential reason why Islam might not, for its own strengthening assimilate Jesus Christ."¹

These ideas were challenged by Dr. S. Zwemer and Dr. Christy Wilson.

They argued that,

- "If we (the missionaries) are here to win the Muhammedan lands for Christ and have the faith that this can be accomplished, then such an end will no doubt require open confession and the establishment of an organised Church."²

This attitude of Dr. Zwemer and Dr. Wilson formed the attitude of early missionaries in Arabia, as Dr. Zwemer was the real leader of the Arabian Mission in its early stages. As regards the Arabian Gulf region this attitude no doubt played a part in the ultimate breakdown of the Arabian Mission's work.³ This organization - which is the case study of missionary work this thesis deals with - failed to achieve its aims and clearly for good reasons.

The Reasons for the Mission's Failure

1. The Difficulty of the Region

a. Geographical: The very hot climate during the long Summer, when the temperature reaches 48^o centigrade or a little higher, was one of the basic geographical obstacles which faced the missionaries. Moreover transport from place to place, using the old means in a huge region, posed difficulties.

b. Social: The tribal organisation with its particular habits and customs was difficult to penetrate and the people did not have an intellectual awareness of questions which the missionaries usually discussed with them.

c. Religious: Islamic feeling was strong among these people and they were encouraged to stand firm in their religion because they felt that they were close to the Holy places, and because of the effect of the Wahhabi movement at that time. Since the basic purpose of the missionaries in that region was religious, this point needs to be discussed in detail.

It is only natural to suppose that no movement can become widely diffused in any society where there is no need for it. Social, religious and political movements can only gain popularity if the conditions for success are there. This fact can explain a great deal of the failure of missionary work in Arabia. Actually what the missionaries failed to realize was the fact that this part of the world had no religious vacuum. Islam was at that time at its prime. In fact the 18th and 19th centuries witnessed many Islamic movements that were aimed at the revival of Islamic ideas and ideals. Moreover Islam at that period was not only a religion, but more importantly it was a political institution; in its name and for its sake vigorous movements played a great part in shaping the

Arabian Peninsula. The Wahhabi movement, for example controlled Central Arabia and at certain times extended to the surrounding areas. Then there was al-Ashraf who claimed to be the descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and who controlled al-Hijaz. Most importantly of all, the Turkish Empire at that time was - at least outwardly - Islamic in character. All these powers and movements were active in the region when the Arabian Mission started its operations. Through all this period Islam was a lively political as well as religious institution. Moreover Islam was the source of political leadership in Arabia. What the Missionaries failed to understand was that Islam was the one dominant and vigorous institution common to the whole region.

Another important fact was that Islam was not only a religion but a culture and a social institution. Islam dealt with tribal problems and needs, and provided a legal framework in terms of which tribal conflicts could be resolved. It provided a framework and laws to regulate Arabian Society, i.e. family structure, Zakat (Taxes) Community relations, government structure etc. Thus Islam was not an isolated phenomenon nor was it concerned only with theological aspects of life, rather, it filled a great vacuum for the people and provided the stimulus and leadership to unite the different tribes into a cohesive system.

Islam appealed to the mentality of the people in that area and they saw in it a powerful and purposeful institution that had helped Arabia through the generations to become an important region of the world. Moreover they believed that Muhammad was the last Messenger and Islam the last religion. The obvious basic characteristic of Islam and its active development is that Islam filled the religious vacuum of that region, and a competing religion could have no chance of spreading in the region. These facts can only be said to be demonstrated by the fact that the Arabian Mission has completely failed in its effort at conversion and in the geographical expansion that it hoped to achieve. Consequently Islam can be considered the chief reason for the failure of Christian Missionary work in the region.

II. The Political Factors

It may be unfortunate that the Arabian Mission started its operations in the same period that the Western powers were colonizing or in the process of absorbing this region. The Western powers and mainly Britain had to be the umbrella under which the Arabian Mission sought shelter. This is an inescapable fact which has been mentioned in Chapter VI. The relationship between them and Britain was a reciprocal one. The missionaries wanted recognition, protection and direct access to the representative of the Western power in that region, so that as their legal rights to stay where they were would be assured and so that they would be provided with introductions, transport, visas etc. In return the missionaries either knowingly or unknowingly provided the Western powers with first hand information about the region and its people, by means, for instance, of reports written by the Mission's leaders on the results of their trips.

Their first hand field reports the Western powers valued and used for their interest and advantage as explained in Chapter VI, and mentioned in Appendix II. So the Arabian Mission did give the impression in some way or another that it had political implications, which served to confirm the doubts and fear of the Islamic community there, which was in conflict with the western powers especially in the first half of this century.

The Arabian Mission has always concentrated its efforts on activities which would lead to conversions. Its role in local affairs was minimal; it never considered itself a part of the society nor concerned itself with the hopes and national aspirations of the people. These people and the Arabs in general wanted independence and self government, they wanted to bring about an end to their domination by the Western powers. The Arabian Mission never concerned itself with such ideals. It not only failed to involve itself with such important local issues, it was also actively involved with the imperial powers. Such an involvement was confirmed by many of the local leaders who came to believe that the Arabian Mission was nothing more than a Western institution. The author in his fieldwork made an effort to meet a large number of prominent citizens in most of the Gulf areas, to ask them this question: What were the political implications of the Arabian Mission? Most of them believed that the Mission served the interests of the Western powers in the region.⁴ These people are clear that the Mission's co-operation with those powers and neglect of the local nationalist feeling was among the reasons which led to its failure. What is very much criticised by many of the educated people of that part of the world is the way in which the Arabian Mission did not make its ideas clear about such

problems as these, although it was involved in politics. The Mission was supposed to be a religious and humanitarian institution, which should therefore have supported human rights and resisted the ill treatment of human beings. How then could they remain silent in the face of the gross neglect of the Palestine problem! and fail to support the local ambition for independence, instead of co-operating with the Western powers. Such opinions are common among the inhabitants of the region and it is clear that this lack of involvement of the Arabian Mission in the politics of the region was one of the main reasons for the Mission's failure.

Further, the political situation in the region was not a propitious one for the Mission. From the beginning of the Mission's operations there was the growing dispute between the British and Ottoman Empires, Then came the First World War. During the 1920's and 30's, Arab nationalism grew in opposition to the domination of the Western powers and with it the demand for independence. The Second World War came. At the end of the war the Palestine problem began and the exploitation of oil began to change the whole situation in the region and consequently to affect the Mission's activities. All these matters made it difficult for the Mission to act there. Those events came one after the other to interrupt and hinder the Mission's work. These political difficulties, together with the other problems ensured that the impact of the missionary work was weak and limited. Consequently from studying the experience of the Arabian Mission and other Missions in the Moslem lands some Christian leaders came to the conclusion that they should rethink their missionary methods in dealing with Moslems.

III. The Mission's own Difficulties

a. The Staff Problem

One of the Mission's problems was the staff. The missionaries

were few in number, when compared with the work the region needed. It is a land of a million square miles with a population of ten million, while the missionaries could be numbered in tens. In fact the work there was beyond their capacity. The reasons for this limitation were probably the inability of the Board to send more missionaries, the nature of the region, and its hot climate. Moreover there is the probability that some of the missionaries refused to go to that region because they were convinced that missionary activity there would not achieve valuable results, since it was the homeland of Islam.

b. The Knowledge of Arabic

The lack of knowledge of Arabic was in fact among the major reasons of the Mission's failure. This kind of work needs continuous discussion and persuasion, so no one can manage to do it without a very good knowledge of the natives' language. Knowing a few words is not enough, and lack of an adequate command of Arabic did not help the missionaries to present their message clearly. Moreover education, which was one of the Mission's methods, also demands a good knowledge of Arabic, but this was lacking, especially as the Mission did not employ many others, not even many Christians from other Arab countries, to help with this service.

c. The Financial Problem

The Mission's budget was made up from many sources. First of all support from its Board, then contributions from the field operations and finally the fees which it got from its medical and educational services, in addition to the profit on selling scriptures. Since the budget was not adequate for its extensive activities, it is not unusual to find the Mission frequently complaining of this problem. (See Appendix I)

d. Humane Services took up most of the Mission's efforts and time,⁵ so that the natives regarded them as qualified persons who had come to help them medically and educationally. And when these same missionaries tried to present this message, and talk, on religious questions, the natives did not pay great attention, but considered it a side issue.

e. The aggressive attitude of the missionaries especially the pioneers, towards Islam as a religion caused the Mission a great deal of trouble. This point is clear throughout the whole study. These are the major difficulties which led to the failure of missionary work in the region, but there remains the missionaries' own view of the difficulties which prevented their success. The Mission claimed:

a. That Moslem fanaticism was the main difficulty which faced them in that region.

b. That it was difficult in such areas to get protection for the converts. The missionaries believed that some of the natives were influenced by Christianity, but did not change their religion because of their fear of punishment.

c. That public ignorance was among the problems, because it was difficult to persuade the people and hold open discussion with them about Christianity. Moreover infiltrating into tribal life and winning over the nomads was very difficult.

d. That there was difficulty in securing the right men for the task, especially in this very hard field. This was, of course, the Board's responsibility.

e. That it was difficult to present their ideas directly and publicly in the street, and so the need to use indirect preaching, and then only in their own establishments, was a limiting factor. These are the reasons which together led to the failure of the Arabian Mission's work in the Arabian Gulf region.

Actually the question of the success or failure of the missionary work as a whole and in that region is a debatable issue at the present time. There are two views about this question. The first is that missionary work among non-Christians is its own justification even without visible result, on the grounds that the Church's function is sacrificial service. In this view the work was successful simply because it helped the people and introduced Christianity to them. The other view is that the missionary function is to convert, so that the Church is successful when it manages to convert as many people as possible to Christianity. The Reformed Church in the United States is now appraising the Arabian Mission's work and these two views have been expressed in the present discussion. The author discussed the question with representatives of both views when he met them in September 1976 in New York and New Brunswick in the United States (See Appendix I). And this question will be among the subjects of the next Reformed Church's Conference in November 1977. The first group based their conviction on the view of John Van Ess - one of the Mission's earlier leaders - who stated,

"Ours not to make reply, but to do and die
..... For Christ sent me not to baptize
but to preach." 6

Thus they considered the Mission's work successful simply by being done. This was confirmed by Rev. Edwin Luidens who stated,

"The question of success or failure is not
our job and it can not be known in a few
years and not even in a century." 7

Mrs. Evelyn MacNeill agreed with him when she stated,

"I had been a long time in Kuwait, and
when I was acting I did not look for
success and I am happy not to know about
the results of my work." 8

The other view is represented chiefly by Professor John Beardlee

who stated,

"The Christian presence in the Arab world did not become an evangelistic force ... The vision has not yet been achieved." 9

Rev. Dr. John E. Buteyn agreed with this view. In his opinion

"The main reason why the missionary work did not succeed in Arabia is that Muslims live in a strong Islamic Community, and also the approach of the missionaries should be better than it was." 10

Whatever views the Christian religious leaders hold, most of them agreed on the necessity of establishing a new relationship with Moslems, and this led to the recent development in evangelism, which called for dialogue with Moslems.

Recent Developments in Evangelism

Eighty five years of the Arabian Mission in Arabia has certainly had its impact on the missionary experience, at least in the Middle East. There are in fact many lessons learned and errors committed that have influenced and shaped the present and will shape the future nature of missionary work. One of the most important lessons that the experience of the Arabian Mission has provided consists in the fact that missionary work, in terms of converting people, has consistently failed to achieve its aims. The second lesson is that the basic reason for this failure was the opposition generated by the dominance of Islam in Arabia and its effective power to prevent Christian missionaries from having their way in that land. These two lessons have resulted in the need for new ideas, and most important of all, Christian leaders have come to realize that confrontation and direct missionary work are fruitless. Moreover they have realized that living with Islam rather than confronting it is likely to produce better results.*

* The writings of Kenneth Cragg are among the most significant of these that evidence the change of attitude on the part of Christian missionaries towards Islam in recent times.¹¹

The convictions and motives behind this new approach are of recent origin and the whole approach is at present in its embryonic stage. The dialogue between Moslems and Christians involves an attitude of rapprochement or a recognition of the fruitlessness of the confrontation between these two religions and the need for mutual understanding. This dialogue cannot be expected to result in any kind of religious compromise, but it is mainly grounded on the feeling by some religious leaders that they must arrive at that same kind of co-existence or state of 'detente'. The dialogue between Christians and Moslems is a recent development. One cannot trace its origin to a particular individual or date, but it has been adapted and supported by leading individuals and groups who have had the advantage of being more involved in recent missionary efforts in Moslem lands.

The centre of this movement can be located in a small group of leading young Christians and Moslems who met in Geneva in Switzerland in 1969. The idea in fact was born at Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham in January 1968 when a group of Christians and Moslems met to discuss areas in which dialogue between them could be implemented. Since that time the dialogue has started taking on an international character, and the British Council of Churches has committed itself to the dialogue and started to elaborate it with zeal, interest and great emphasis. Such interest has been strengthened by the new internal situation in this country where there are now about a million Moslems living in Britain. The need for understanding these people and their religion is important if co-existence is to thrive. Some members of the Reformed Church in the U.S.A. have also shown great interest in the dialogue with Moslems. This interest has been stimulated partly by the failure of the Arabian Mission in Arabian Gulf region.

The last few years have shown that this dialogue is gaining momentum at higher levels, not only among individuals, but also among nations and religious authorities. Instances of this are the many Christian-Islamic Conferences which have recently been held in many places, in Geneva in Switzerland 1969, in Lebanon 1972, in Spain in 1974 and in Libya in 1976 etc.¹³ The subjects which those conferences dealt with were various, and covered both important theological questions and recent problems facing the two communities. These conferences did not reach a significant level of co-operation or a plan for mutual relationship between the two sides. Their achievement is rather to be found in the continuation of the dialogue, of the attempt to understand each other and to find the way towards a new relationship between Christian and Moslems.

These developments show that the dialogue is needed,¹⁴ and it is noteworthy that in a such short time it has taken on an international character. However the stimulus which produced this dialogue is not new, it is to be found in the doubts, the fears and the questionable success of missionary work and the need for defusing religious confrontation. Dr. Pennings, the chief of the medical staff in the Arabian Mission at Bahrain has advocated that,

"It is time for Christians and Moslems to talk, not to argue."¹⁵

Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. has advocated the need for new methods in dealing with Moslems,

"The Arab World of our experience is a wakened one",¹⁶

and he concludes that,

"Islam has been called upon and is responding to the challenge to be the spiritual source of the people."¹⁷

Both Dr. Pennings and Rev. Scudder are missionaries whose experience has taught them the need for this dialogue. Such a discovery was the result of the criticism which was levelled against the earlier missionaries who did not seek to study and analyse Islam. They directed their total efforts to preaching the Gospel within an environment they did not understand. This fact has been stressed by Rev. Hooton who stated,

"We live in the age of comparative religion, and though the study of the religions of the world has hitherto formed too small a part of a missionary's training, the ideas of this science are very much in the air We are told that Christianity is not antagonistic to the other religions, but a fuller revelation of what the people instinctively groped after." 18

Motives for the Dialogue

Certainly the dialogue and its popularity could be interpreted as a new stage in the historical confrontation between the two communities. Neither group would like to abandon its claim to universality and cease to act within the other community, and each believes that its own faith is the legitimate one, consequently it is difficult for them to co-operate on common ground. The dialogue aims to discover meeting points for understanding. Bishop Kenneth Cragg stated,

"Our desire for communication with Moslems Must reckon with the fact that Islam itself is undergoing a process of redefinition The Church must be ready to think out and sustain in prayer and fellowship all the implications of the new status We must preach so as to expect an answer to the offer of Christ The legal difficulties tend to foster or excuse a certain spiritual lack of adventure in evangelism." 19

The motives behind the importance of the dialogue as an international issue are not the same for each community, and not the same even for each group within each community. Each community has its own motives for this new attempt and political factors bulk large.

The missionary thrust to remote parts of the world was to some extent part of the general expansion of western influence as has already been mentioned in Chapter I. And since this expansive phase has passed and many countries which had been influenced by imperial powers now have their independence, there is an absolute end of missionary work. But some Christian leaders are attempting to resist, to keep missionary work alive, and to devise new methods for this purpose. The idea of dialogue between Moslems and Christians has arisen as a result of such developments. The Christians find it their only alternative if they are to establish a new contact with the Moslem World and this entails Christianity co-existing with Islam and both finding common ground. James T. Addison realizes the importance for Christians of finding a way round the obstacles to missionary work,

"In the thought of the Moslem a change of religion is primarily a change of group-connection and group-loyalty We must try to find a way around these obstacles so that we shall not be in a position of attacking Islam frontally at its strongest points." 20

Some Christian and Moslem Scholars believe that both religions are now facing dangers that are harmful to both, the most important of all being the challenge of materialism created by modern civilization which is pushing the people rapidly towards secularisation. They fear that the influence of their religions among their own people has receded after the sweeping changes seen in modern times. And it is on this basis that some Christian and Moslem scholars are seeking common ground for co-operation in order to face this danger. For those Moslems who have been responding with a positive attitude to Christianity there are many motives. They believe that Moslems have always co-existed with Christian minorities in harmony. All through the Islamic expansion, the Church has been left independent with little interference. Therefore some

Moslems find that dialogue is an acceptable idea. Their second motive is political, to enlist Christian support for their cause. As far as Moslems are concerned these issues have been supported and some Moslem leaders have made their points clear. They believe that Christians should take a stand towards their national questions, like the Palestine problem and the independence from the western powers' influence.

Of course there are fears on both sides about this new attempt at dialogue. The Moslems have clearly stated that they do not want this dialogue to be a cover for missionary work; some Moslem leaders go as far as to doubt the sincerity of some Christian sources, and to insist that the success or failure of this idea depends mainly upon the willingness or otherwise to give up missionary work among Moslems.²¹ Some Moslems have pointed out that the Christian Missions always had their way made easy in the past because of the colonial powers which gave them help, and protection, and certainly their medical service too assisted their missionary work. Now these countries are independent and there is no place for missionary work there, and in addition some of these countries are rich enough to be able to afford modern services for their people. Thus the dialogue may be a new means by which Christian missionaries are attempting to get into the region. On the whole Moslems think that the dialogue must respect each religion and not interfere with the claim of either Christians or Moslems to gain converts from each other. The following are some samples of the natives' views on the question of dialogue:

Dr. M. Muhani stressed that,

"The dialogue between Christians and Moslems is necessary. In the field of ideals Islam and Christianity are very similar. If one looks at the main principles, they are similar. This discussion is necessary nowadays. Many people despite differences of religion and ethnical background are coming into contact and participating in new communities. For these people to live peacefully together the dialogue is necessary. There is a possibility of the dialogue being succeeded. The differences between Christians and Moslems will be seen as not very serious."²²

Mr. A. M. Muzafar put it this way,

"The idea of dialogue between Christians and Moslems is a good one. It arose at the right time, but it seems to me that the motivation behind it is vague, and that its aims are not yet clear. Consequently the chances of this attempt succeeding are very minimal. Supposing it does have some success, this undoubtedly only be limited. This is natural as there are points on which such discussion can lead to no agreement, and these will be broached once the main principles and issues of the two religions come to be considered."²³

Mr. A. Aziz Saud's concept is different. He stated that,

"The idea of a dialogue is an imperial manoeuvre. The imperial powers encouraged the missionaries in the 19th century not for religious purposes but to serve their own interests, and now they are trying other means by initiating discussion. The aim is to leave us struggling religiously, so that they can carry on their affairs in our lands. The attempt will not succeed in the long run."²⁴

Mr. H. al-Tammar stated that,

"Dialogue is needed, but in the first place it should be among the Moslems themselves and among the Christians. Some of the people who were involved in this attempt were emotional and not practical enough."²⁵

So these views do not agree on one stand towards this question, and indicate that there is not any definite conviction about its value, at least for them as Moslems.

Christians have their own fears too; they are afraid that this dialogue might involve them in political issues, mainly the Middle East crises with which so far they have had very little to do. Christian leadership in the West with its small influence over Western governments and its delicate relationship with other power groups and centres of influence is afraid that it might create more problems locally and loose

more ground than is justified by any advantage they will gain by a dialogue with Moslems. A very good example of that occurred in the religious conference in Libya in February 1976 where the Vatican delegation withdrew its support because of its political implications. But this is not the whole Christian attitude. Some of the Reformed Church members in the United States agreed that,

"It was a fact that the Church was silent about the Palestine problem and it should announce its opinion. This is a question among other important questions which will be discussed in the next Reformed Church Conference." 26

Problems Expected to Stand in the Way of Dialogue

So, the dialogue is still an issue for discussion, nothing is concrete and no basic grounds for it have yet materialized. The attempt faces huge problems of a political and religious nature.

These problems can be enumerated as follows:

I. There is the question of missionary work. Since this kind of work is linked with the Christian ethic and is among the Christian duties, it is difficult under any circumstances for Christians to exempt the Moslem lands from missionary effort.

II. The competition in the field of missionary work between Moslem and Christians, especially in Africa could create more problems for the dialogue. This was in the mind of the missionary pioneers of the 19th Century and those of the beginning of the 20th Century.

Samuel Zwemer and Arthur Brown stated,

"Those who know the conditions in West Africa, for example, say every effort should be made to forestall the entrance of Islam into the border-lands before this religion renders evangelization tenfold more difficult than it is among African pagans." 27

It does not seem that the competition is over in that part of the world, and nobody can expect an end to it since each religion makes

absolute claims, and each community holds to its religious principles.

III. The political situation is among the difficulties which are facing and will face the dialogue. There are embarrassing decisions to be taken by the Christian religious leaders about the recent political, problems especially those concerned with the Arab Moslems, whether to remain silent or to take a stand. If they remain silent the Arab Moslems will not be ready to deal with them. If they take clear attitude towards those questions, this could create more problems in their countries and among their people.

IV. The suspicion of the two sides about the motives and aims of the dialogue is and will be a problem, especially since the two communities have had a bitter historical relationship for a long time.

V. Fanatical people from among each community will put obstacles in the way of this new attempt.

VI. The nature of the two faiths.²⁸ They both hold to their claims of legitimacy and universality, so it is questionable to what extent the two religions will allow their followers to go in this new way.

VII. Outside pressure and circumstances, like the influence of modern civilization, and the growth of Communism in the world produces and will produce more difficulties for religious people in their activities. Those are in fact the main difficulties which are facing and will face the attempt at dialogue between Moslems and Christians. If there is to be any progress towards a new relationship between the two communities, these factors cannot be overlooked. Missionaries in fact are hoping that this idea will lead to positive results, but they should face the fact that misunderstanding still continues to put the idea in jeopardy. Progress depends upon the readiness of each side to understand the spiritual, cultural, political and social progress of the other. Furthermore it depends upon putting an end to aggressive attitudes towards each other.

At the present time the Christian community is discussing the matter of evangelism.²⁹ It is under debate, and a dispute has arisen among Christians about the usefulness of continuing the foreign Missions especially in Moslem lands. Missionary work has indeed met with strong objections ever since the Boxer rebellion. Lord Salisbury stated,

"After the Boxer* rising in China, at the beginning of this century missionaries were not popular at the Foreign Office."³⁰

After that rising, many of the Christian leaders in the foreign Missions starting rethinking evangelism abroad. Some of them came to the conclusion that such activities had failed, especially in the Moslem countries, and that there was no point in continuing them any longer. Even some of the present day missionaries have doubts about the future of missionary work. Mrs. R. Nykerk for example stated,

"Foreign missionaries as such may not be welcomed in the future for solely evangelistic purposes."³¹

On the other hand a strong move was made by other Christians to reject these views and they fought hard in order to keep the missionary work going (Christy Wilson and others). Both points of view hold that the great majority of people have a religion that is not good enough for anyone. Supporters of these views believe that any claim that the other religions are adequate can be made only by those who do not accept Christianity. They cannot accept that it is one of their duties to leave other people alone in practising their own religions without Christian missionary work among them.

*The 'Boxers' were members of a Chinese nationalist secret society. They were an anti-Foreign rising in China in 1900, following the occupation of Peking by an international force. The Boxers fought strongly against missionary work in their country.

They saw this as something impossible. Those who support the idea of giving up missionary work abroad were simply convinced that it had failed, especially in Moslem lands. But the objectors to this idea think that even so, there is no essential reason for giving up the attempt, although it might indicate a need for new methods. Moreover evangelism is linked with the Christian ethic as already been mentioned, and their duty is to act, not to wait for results. Missionaries conclude that they have been so far on the defensive, but that now they should move into the attack.³² This hard attitude is of course threatening the idea of dialogue between Moslems and Christians. It seems that the argument began between the missionaries and those people of other religions who objected to the conversion of some of their members, and then the argument was transferred to the Christian community itself and centred on the question as to whether missionary work is useful or not, or whether it requires new methods.

In conclusion it is clear that a dialogue between Moslems and Christians will not easily bring about a resolution of differences. The great religions will no doubt continue to exist side by side in the world. How they will attempt to deal with each other and on what ground it will be, nobody can definitely say. But it seems whatever the difficulties some Christians are determined to go ahead in the matter of dialogue. This matter for example is capturing the attention of many religious leaders in 'The Reformed Church' in the United States, in 'The British Council of Churches' and Selly Oak Colleges in Britain.

The Future of Evangelism in Arabia

Obviously nobody can say definitely what will happen in the future, but from a study of past and present experience of the Arabian

Mission one can foresee some possible developments. The definite limitation of the scale of missionaries' past operations among Moslems, especially in Arabia has to be recognised. In fact, one may go further and say that it is doubtful whether modern missionary activity can affect Moslems in Arabia, for the many reasons already mentioned. After nearly a century of missionary work in the Arabian Gulf region the religious impact was minimal, and in this respect the Missions are facing a dead end. This truth should be fully recognised. The whole state of their operations should be carefully examined, and it should be recognised as a fact that they cannot make Moslems in that region break with their religion. It is acknowledged that missionary activity in Arabia has diminished, especially since the local governments have pulled the carpet from under the missionaries' feet by developing educational and health services for their people.

The missionaries in general have advocated the view that in the future the chief aim of missionary work should be the raising up of leaders and workers among the native Christians themselves, and that this should be the task of the foreign missionary, rather than any direct evangelistic effort. Therefore they believe that the role of the foreign missionary is to prepare the native Christians for evangelical activity. This presupposes the need to gain converts and to trust them, and then to hand over the work to them, and this was not the case in most of the areas occupied by foreign missionaries. In the case of the Arabian Mission there was also difficulty in gaining converts who could take upon themselves this responsibility.

For the future the missionaries consider that direct evangelism is necessary at the beginning of their work. But the Arabian Mission's experience shows that such an attempt has not succeeded because it aroused a public reaction and strong objections, so its members are seeking new ways of proceeding and it could be that dialogue with Moslems will open

the way for their evangelistic work. They also consider that the Bible should in future be presented to non-Christians in a more attractive way, and this needs missionaries who will be able to do this. It may be that the presentation of the Bible in the past was not attractive to Moslems.

Here are some views given by missionaries who have been acting in the Arabian Gulf region, (See Appendix I) and by some of their native Moslem friends, on the future of the Arabian Mission there,

Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. stated that,

"The structure of old style evangelism has declined in recent years and will continue to be reconsidered and shaped in the light of the new shape of the World." ³³

He strongly criticised this style when he said that,

"The missionaries went to that region using a military language, to 'occupy' Arabia and to destroy Islam". ³⁴

Jacob Shamass put it this way,

"Evangelism in the region is running down, and will gradually stop." ³⁵

Mr. Husain Marafi stated,

"I do not think that there is any future for the missionary work in the region The finishing of their work soon is a natural thing I think the era of evangelism is over." ³⁶

These are examples of views which are all agreed on one fundamental point, that there is no hope for missionary work in the Arabian Gulf region. Hence the present missionaries and their friends are not as optimistic about the missionary work future there as the first generation of missionaries, when John Van Ess stated,

"I am more confident than ever before of the not indeed eventual but rather speedy victory of the Cross over the Crescent." ³⁷

Samuel Zwemer went further when he stated that,

"The promises for final victory of the Kingdom of God in Arabia are many, definite and glorious."³⁸

So, there are different views between the two generations of missionaries. However, some of the recent missionaries did not give up planning for their future in the region.

How then, do those missionaries view their future responsibility in that part of the world.

a. The dialogue between Christians and Moslems is very important and should be a way of dealing with Moslems in the future.

b. It is essential to obtain a complete command of the Arabic language. An elementary knowledge of Arabic is not enough for such work.

c. Friendships are the basic thing needed to break the fanaticism of the people, and to enable the missionaries to present their views easily.

d. The determination to stay and act, whatever the circumstances are, is the sure way to keep the work alive.

e. Criticism by the home base of the missionary work is necessary to develop the work.³⁹

f. They believe that what the local governments have offered to their people in the field of medical services is in the cities only, so the missionaries should transfer their services to the villages and to the nomads in the desert. These considerations are important from the missionaries' point of view for the future of missionary work. But it seems that it is too late to achieve these aims.

The author in fact has his own convictions about the future of the missionary work as a whole:

a. Missionary work is going to die out in the Moslem lands, if it

continues to use its traditional means. And if the idea of mutual dialogue and co-operation between Christians and Moslems succeeds, this would no doubt put great obstacles in the missionaries' way, even if they planned to use it as a new means of evangelization. This has already been discussed.

b. It is the missionaries' responsibility to advocate the view that in future the chief aim of evangelism should be the encouragement of the missionaries' own people to return to their religion, the conversion of nominal Christians. This should be the task of the Christian Missions, rather than evangelistic work among the followers of other religions. It is useless for the missionaries to persuade one person from another religion to accept Christianity, if in the meantime they lose so many at home. In this predicament it is better to turn missionary attention towards a new strategy, whose main object is persuading their own people to come back to their religion. If they want evangelism to be carried on among others because this duty is among their religious principles, the pagans should be the domain for such activity.

c. No doubt missionary work will be weak, not only because of its internal problems, but also because the religious feeling itself is going to be weak, because of the influence of modern civilization and materialism. Actually the religious movements, whether Christian or Moslem, needs a revival to oppose the wave of modern civilization, not by destroying its influence but by protecting their faiths from its negative effects. Most of the religious movements are carrying on with the traditional ideas and means in their activities. Time is running out and their societies should produce a religious mentality which is capable of coping with the rapid and complicated development of present day life.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VII

1. M.W., Vol. XXXIV, April 1944, No. 2, pp. 199-200.
2. Ibid., p.200.
3. Author's interview with Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., Kuwait, 15 Oct. 1974.
4. Author's interviews with the natives in the Gulf Region, Oct-Nov. 1974 and June-July 1977.
5. Betts Brenton, R., op.cit., p.107.
6. Van Ess, John, Personal Letters, Sermons and Addresses, Mss XM72, The Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A., pp. 103-6.
7. Author's interview with Rev. Edwin Luidens, N.Y., U.S.A., Sept. 1976.
8. Ibid., Interview with Mrs. Evelyn MacNeill.
9. John Beardslee, Professor of Church History, New Brunswick, the Theological Seminary, N.J., U.S.A., Introduction of Pioneers in the Arab World, op.cit., p.7.
10. Author's interview with Rev. Dr. John E. Buteyn, N.Y., U.S.A., Sept. 1976.
11. Cragg, K., The Call of the Minaret, op.cit., The Privilege of Man, London 1968, and Alive to God, London, N.Y., Toronto 1970, etc.
12. Samartha, J.S. (ed.) Dialogue between Men of Living Faiths, World Council of Churches, Geneva 1971.
13. Acil, A., The Clerical News Magazine, Cairo Dec. 1974, p.4.
See also Documents of the Christian-Islamic Seminar, Tripoli, Libya, Feb. 1976.
See also, Samartha, J.S., Christian-Moslem Dialogue, 1973 Geneva, Switzerland.
See also, Brown, David, A New Threshold, British Council of Churches, 1976, London.
14. Professor Samartha, op.cit., p.15. See also, Brown, D., op.cit., pp. 22-23.
15. Author's interview with Dr. Pennings, Bahrain, Nov. 1974.
16. Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., The Missionary in the Secular Institution, p.3., Paper, Muscat, 21, 1973.
17. Ibid., p.5.
18. Rev. Hooton, S.W., The Missionary Campaign, Edinburgh and London, 1912, pp. 36-7.
19. Cragg, K., The Call of the Minaret, op.cit., pp. 207, 349, 351.
20. Addison, T.J., op.cit., pp. 304-5.

21. Dr. Al-Faroqi, I., Islam and Christianity, paper presented to the Islamic-Christian Seminar, Tripoli, Libya Feb. 1976.
22. Author's interview with Dr. M. Muhani, Kuwait, July 1977.
23. Author's interview with Mr. A.M. Muzafar.
24. Author's interview with Mr. A. Aziz Saud.
25. Author's interview with Mr. H. al-Tammar.
26. Author's interviews with some of the Reformed Church Members, N.Y., U.S.A., Sept. 1976.
27. Zwemer, M.S. and Brown, A., The Nearer and Farther East, N.Y., 1908, p.118.
28. Smith, C.W., The World of Islam, op.cit., pp. 47-59 (ed.) Kritzeck, J.
29. The Times (Newspaper) Monday May 2, 1977, p.14.
30. Maclean, H.J., I.R.M., Vol. 8, 1912, London, p.395.
31. Author's interview with Mrs. R. Nykerk, Nov. 1974, Bahrain.
32. Maclean, H.J., op.cit., pp. 391-94.
33. Author's interview with Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., Kuwait, Nov. 1974.
34. Author's interview with Rev. Scudder, L. Jr., New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A., Sept. 1976.
35. Author's interview with Mr. Shammias Jacob, Kuwait, Nov. 1974.
36. Author's interview with Mr. Marafi Husain, Kuwait, Nov. 1974.
37. Van Ess John, Personal Letters, Sermons and Addresses, MSS XM72 V28, The Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A.
38. Zwemer, M.S., Arabia : the Cradle of Islam, op.cit., p.398.
39. Storm, H., op.cit., pp. 87, 92, 97, 99.

A P P E N D I C E S

The Arabian Mission's Plan

"We the undersigned desiring to engage in pioneer mission work in some Arabic-speaking country, and especially in behalf of Moslems and slaves, do at the outset recognize the following facts:

1. The great need and encouragement for this work at the present time.
2. The non-existence of such mission work under the supervision of our Board of Foreign Missions at the present time.
3. The fact that hitherto little has been done in the channels indicated.
4. The inability of our Board to inaugurate this work under its present status.

Therefore, that the object desired may be realized, we respectfully submit to the Board, and with their endorsement to the church at large, the following propositions:

1. The inauguration of this work at as early a time as possible.
2. The field to be Arabia, the upper Nile or any other field, subject to the statement of the preamble, that shall be deemed most advantageous, after due consideration.
3. The expenses of said mission to be met (a) by yearly subscriptions in amounts of from five to two hundred dollars; the subscribers of like amounts to constitute a syndicate with such organization as shall be deemed desirable; (b) by syndicates of such individuals, churches and organizations as shall undertake the support of individual missionaries or contribute to such specific objects as shall be required by the mission.
4. These syndicates shall be formed and the financial pledges made payable for a term of five years.

5. At the expiration of this period of five years the mission shall pass under the direct supervision of our Board as in the case of our other missions. Should the Board still be financially unable, syndicates shall be re-formed and pledges re-taken.
6. In the meantime the mission shall be generally under the care of the Board ... through whose hands its funds shall pass.
7. The undersigned request the approval of the Board to this undertaking in general, and particularly in the matter of soliciting subscriptions.

(Signed) J.G. LANSING,
JAS. CANTINE,
P.T. PHELPS,
S.M. ZWEMER."

Source: Zwemer, S., Arabia: The Cradle of Islam, N.Y. 1900, pp. 354-55.

The Arabian Mission's Constitution

- Article I. - The name of this organization shall be THE ARABIAN MISSION.
- Article II. - The object of the organization shall be to carry on the work of Missions in Arabia or Arabic-speaking lands.
- Article III. - The corporation shall consist of seven members - the original incorporators, and Rev. Dr. John G. Lansing, the founder of the Mission - subject to such provisions as are hereinafter contained.
- Article IV. - The Arabian Mission shall hold its annual meeting on the second monday in March, at which the officers for the year shall be chosen.
- Article V. - The officers shall be a President, and Secretary and Treasurer.
- Article VI. - The members of the corporation shall have regard, so far as may be, to the desires of the contributors.
- Article VII. - The corporation shall have authority to employ, either at home or abroad, such agencies as in the judgement of its members will best advance the aim of the Mission.
- Article VIII. - The corporation shall annually make a report of its operations and of the work of the Missionaries, together with a detailed account of the Treasurer, to all the contributors.
- Article IX. - The corporation shall meet quarterly, as it may itself agree on, and, when regularly convened, four members shall constitute a quorum. Special meetings may be held at the call of the officers, or at the request of any two members.
- Article X. - This Constitution may be amended or altered at any regular meeting by the votes of a majority of all the members of the Corporation, provided such change shall have been proposed in writing at a preceding regular meeting.

By-Laws

I. The duties of the President shall be the usual duties pertaining to that office. He shall also countersign all cheques drawn by the Treasurer.

II. The duties of the Secretary and Treasurer shall be the usual duties pertaining to such offices. He may be permitted to employ such clerical assistance as may be determined upon by the corporation.

III. The order of business at the meetings of the corporation shall be as follows:

1. Prayer
2. Calling of the Roll
3. Reading and Approbation of the Minutes
4. Statement of the Treasurer
5. Communications and Business presented by the Secretary
6. Reports of Committees
7. Miscellaneous Business
8. Adjournment with prayer

IV. The quarterly meetings shall be held on the second Mondays of June, September, December and March.

Source: Arabian Mission Minutes of Meetings, Vol. I (sheet attached)
Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A., 1890.

The Mission's Missionaries Names

- Rev. James Cantine, D.D. Appointed 1889
 Born at Stone Ridge, N.Y., C.E. Union College, 1883; New Brunswick Theological Seminary 1889; D.D. Union College, 1908, Acting Corresponding Secretary, Board of Foreign Missions, 1916; Honorary Trustee of the Arabian Mission, 1916 1925; Charter Member, United Mission in Mesopotamia, 1924. Died July 1, 1940.
- Mrs. Elizabeth De Free Cantine, R.N. Appointed 1902
 Born at Pella, Iowa; Butterworth Training School for Nurses, 1898
 Died August 30, 1927.
- Rev. Samuel Marinus Zwemer D.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S. Appointed 1890
 Born at Vriesland, Michigan; Hope College, A.B. 1887; New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1890; F.R.G.S. London, 1900; D.D. Hope College, 1904; Rutgers, 1919; L.L.D. Muskingum College, 1918; Secretary, Student Volunteer Movement, 1906-1910; Field Secretary, Board of Foreign Missions 1907-1910; Cairo, Theological Seminary of the Egyptian Mission of the United Presbyterian Church; Nile Mission Press, 1912-1930; Professor of History of Religion and Christian Missions, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, 1930-1938; Editor of "The Moslem World" 1911-1947; Honorary Secretary of the American Christian Literature for Moslems; Chairman of the World Dominion Movement in America. Died 1952.
- Mrs. Amy Elizabeth Wilkes Zwemer Appointed 1896
 Born at Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, England; studied Nursing at Prince Alfred Hospital, New South Wales; Training School for Deaconesses in Sydney, Australia; C.M.S. Baghdad, 1894-1896 (Church of England). Died January 25, 1937.
- Rev. Frederick Jacob Barny Appointed 1897
 Born at Basle, Switzerland; A.B. Rutgers, 1894; New Brunswick Theological Seminary, B.D. 1897; Princeton Theological Seminary, B.Th. 1918. Died 1951.
- Mrs. Margaret Rice Barny Appointed 1898
 Born at Poughkeepsie, New York (Episcopalian)
 Emeritus.
- Rev. James Enoch Moerdyk Appointed 1900
 Born at Drenthe, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1897; New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1900. Died 1941.
- Charles E. Riggs, M.D. Appointed 1892
 Born at New Orleans, La.; Recalled 1893.
- Rev. Peter John Zwemer Appointed 1892
 Born at South Holland, Mich.; A.B. Hope College, 1888; New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1892; died at New York, October 18, 1898.

- James Talmage Wyckoff, M.D. Appointed 1893
 Born at Queens, L.I.; M.D. Long Island College Hospital, Brooklyn;
 Retired 1891.
- Arthur King Bennett, M D. Appointed 1904
 Born at Watkins, N.Y.; M.D. University of Michigan, 1904;
 Retired 1917 (Episcopalian).
- Mrs. Jessie Vail Bennett Appointed 1904
 Born at Michigan City, Ind.; A.B. University of Michigan, 1903;
 died at Bahrain, January 21, 1906 (Methodist Episcopal).
- Mrs. Anna Christine Iverson Bennett Appointed 1909
 Born at Slagballe, Horsens Stift, Denmark; M.D. University of
 Michigan, 1907; died at Basrah, March 29, 1916 (Congregational).
- Mrs. Martha G. Vogel Appointed 1905
 Born at Dresden, Germany; Nurses' Training School, N.Y.;
 Retired 1914.
- Henry R. Lankford Worrall, M.D. Appointed 1895
 Born at New York City; A.B. Rutgers, 1884; M.D. Dartmouth
 Medical College, 1892; Retired 1917 (Methodist Episcopal).
- Mrs. Emma Hodge Worrall, M.D. Appointed 1901
 Born at Greenville, Pa.; M.D. Women's Medical College
 of New York; M.E. Mission, Baroda, India, 1896-1900; Retired
 1917 (Methodist Episcopal).
- Rev. John Van Ess, D.D., LL.D. Appointed 1902
 Born at North Holland, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1899;
 Princeton Theological Seminary, 1902; D.D. Central College,
 1918; LL.D. Hope College: Died April 26, 1949.
- Mrs. Dorothy Firman Van Ess Appointed 1909
 Born at Wakefield, Massachusetts; A.B. Mount Holyoke College
 1906; M.A. Wellesley, 1908; Acting General Secretary, Woman's
 Board of Foreign Missions, R.C.A., 1941-1943. (Congregational)
 Emeritus.
- Miss Jane A. Scardefield Appointed 1903
 Born at New York City; Union Mission Training Institute, 1903.
 Died 1952.
- Miss Fanny Lutton Appointed 1904
 Born at Sydney, Australia (Church of England). Died 1946.

- Rev. Dirk Dykstra Appointed 1906
 Born at Welsryp, Netherlands; A.B. Hope College 1906; Western Theological Seminary, 1914; D.D. Hope College. Died 1956.
- Mrs. Minnie Wilterdink Dykstra Appointed 1907
 Born at Holland, Michigan; Hope College. Died 1955.
- Charles Stanley Garland Mylrea, M.D. Appointed 1906
 Born at London, England; M.D. Medico Chirurgical College, Philadelphia, 1905; O.B.E. British Government, 1919; Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal, Government of India (British) (Church of England). Died January, 1952.
- Mrs. Bessie London Mylrea Appointed 1906
 Born at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Died 1942. (Presbyterian)
- Rev. Gerrit J. Pennings Appointed 1908
 Born at Orange City, Iowa; A.B. Hope College, 1905; Western Theological Seminary, 1908; D.D. Hope College. Emeritus.
- Mrs. Gertrud Schafheitlin Pennings Appointed 1912
 Born at Berlin, Germany; B.Sc. McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 1909. Died 1954. (Lutheran)
- Rev. Edwin E. Calverley, D.D., Ph.D. Appointed 1909
 Born at Philadelphia, Penn.; A.B. Princeton University, 1916 Princeton University, 1908; Princeton Theological Seminary 1909. Ph.D. Hartford Seminary, 1923; Instructor, Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1930; Professor of Arabic and Islamics, K.S.M.; Editor of the Moslem World (later called the Muslim World) 1947-1952; Arabic Consultant to Arabian American Oil Company, 1952-1957; visiting Professor at School of Oriental Studies of the American University at Cairo 1954-1956; Departmental (Comparative Religion) Editor of the Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, 1950-1955. Resigned, 1931. (Presbyterian)
- Mrs. Eleanor Taylor Calverley Appointed 1909
 Born at Woodslow, Penn.; M.D. Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, 1908; Lecturer at Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn; private medical practice. (Methodist Episcopal). Resigned 1931.
- Paul Wilberforce Harrison, M.D., D.Sc. Appointed 1909
 Born at Scribner, Nebraska; A.B. University of Nebraska, 1905; M.D. Johns Hopkins Medical School, 1909; Fellow American College of Surgeons, 1921; D.Sc. Hope College, 1923; Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal, Government of India (British) 1944; Hospital Staff, Berea College, Kentucky, 1949-1952; Memorial Home Community, Penney Farms, Florida, 1955. (Congregational) Emeritus.

- Mrs. Regina Rabbe Harrison, R.N. Appointed 1916
Born at Catonsville, Maryland; Union Protestant Infirmary Training School for Nurses, 1916. Died 1930. (Lutheran)
- Mrs. Ann Monteith Harrison Appointed 1917
Born in Martin, Michigan; A.B. Kalamazoo College, 1915. Emeritus
- Rev. Gerrit D. Van Peurseem, D.D. Appointed 1910
Born at Maurice, Iowa; A.B. Hope College, 1907; Princeton Theological Seminary, 1910; D.D. Hope College. Emeritus.
- Mrs. Josephine Spaeth Van Peurseem, R.N. Appointed 1910
Born at Fribourg, Switzerland; German Hospital, New York, Emeritus.
- Miss Sarah L. Hosmon, M.D. Appointed 1911
Born in Henderson Co., Kentucky; Medical Department, University of Illinois, 1911. Resigned, 1938.
- Miss Charlotte B. Kellien Appointed 1915
Born at Petrolia, Canada. (Presbyterian). Emeritus
- Rev. Henry A. Bilkert Appointed 1917
Born at Kalamazoo, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1914; Wells Theological Seminary, 1917. Died 1929.
- Miss Mary C. Van Pelt, R.N. Appointed 1917
Born at Hillsboro, Ohio; Norton Memorial Infirmary Training School for Nurses, Louisville, Kentucky, 1917; Gallaudet College for the Deaf, Washington, D.C., Resigned 1941. (Methodist Episcopal).
- Louis P. Dame, M.D. Appointed 1919
Born at Groningen, Netherlands; M.D. Medical College, University of Illinois, 1917. Resigned 1936. Died 1953.
- Mrs. Elizabeth Purdie Dame Appointed 1919
Born at Plano, Illinois; Chicago Normal College, 1908. Resigned 1936. (Congregational).
- Miss Ruth Jackson Appointed 1921
Born in New York City; A.B. Wells College, 1915. (Presbyterian).
- Miss Rachel Jackson
Born in New York City; A.B. Wells College, 1917. (Presbyterian).

- Miss Cornelia Dalenberg, R.N. Appointed 1921
 Born at South Holland, Illinois; Hope College; West Side Hospital Training School for Nurses, Chicago; Graduate work at Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, University of Chicago, University of Illinois, and Biblical Seminary, New York.
- Rev. Bernard Daniel Hakken Appointed 1922
 Born at Grand Rapids, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1920; Western Theological Seminary, 1922. Transferred to United Mission in Mesopotamia (now called United Mission in Iraq) in 1937.
- Mrs. Elda Van Putten Hakken Appointed 1922
 Born at Holland, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1918. Transferred to U.M.M. (now U.M.I.) in 1937.
- William J. Moerdyk, M.D. Appointed 1923
 Born at Muskegon, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1913; M.D. University of Michigan Medical College, 1920. College Physician at Hope College, 1948-1957. Resigned 1949.
- Mrs. Cornelia Leenhouts Moerdyk, R.N. Appointed 1923
 Born at Holland, Michigan; Evanston Hospital Nurses' Training, 1919. Resigned 1949.
- Rev. Garrett Edward De Jong Appointed 1926
 Born at Orange City, Iowa; A.B. Hope College, 1922; Western Theological Seminary, 1925; M.Th. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1932.
- Mrs. Everdene Kuyper De Jong Appointed 1926
 Born at Graafschap, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1923.
- Miss Swantina De Young (Mrs. W. Idris Jones) Appointed 1926
 Born at Chicago, Illinois; A.B. Hope College, 1923; married 1930 to Rev. W. Idris Jones of the Keith Falconer Mission, Aden and resigned from the Arabian Mission.
- W. Harold Storm, M.D. Appointed 1926
 Born Hope, New Jersey; University of Pennsylvania, 1922; University of Pennsylvania Medical School, 1925; Churchman's Business College; Episcopal Hospital, Philadelphia; Fellow American College of Surgeons; Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, Government of India (British).
- Victoria Foster Storm Appointed 1927
 Born in Glasgow, Scotland; Studied at Biblical Seminary, New York. Died 1931. (Presbyterian).

- Ida Paterson Storm, Ph.D., R.N. Appointed 1936
 Born in Belfast, Ireland; Randolph Macon Woman's College, 1919; M.A. University of Virginia, 1928; Ph.D. Cornell University, 1936; Educational evangelist in China, Southern Baptist Board, 1921-1928; R.N. Medical College of Virginia School of Nursing, 1945; Graduate work, Columbia University, 1941. (Southern Baptist).
- Esther I. Barny, M.D. (Mrs. Ames) Appointed 1927
 Born in Basrah, Iraq; New Jersey College for Women; Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, 1932. Resigned 1945. Consultant in the Associated Mission Medical Office, N.Y.
- Mary N. Tiffany, M.D. (Mrs. Walter Haenggi) Appointed 1927
 Born in Foster, Penn.; Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois; Rush Medical, Chicago. Resigned 1933. (Methodist).
- Rev. George Gosselink Short term 1922-25 Appointed 1929
 Born in Pella, Iowa; A.B. Central College, 1922; Princeton Theological Seminary; Western Theological Seminary.
- Mrs. Christina Scholten Gosselink Appointed 1929
 Born in Hospers, Iowa; A.B. Central College, 1924.
- William Wells Thoms, M.D. Appointed 1930
 Born in Garbutt, N.Y.; Hope College; Kalamazoo College; University of Michigan Medical School, 1928; Intern at Gorgas Memorial Hospital, Panama Canal Zone; Graduate study at University of Michigan Medical School and Postgraduate Hospital, N.Y.; Member of American Medical Association; Member of Persian Gulf Medical Association; Fellow of American College of surgeons.
- Mrs. Ethel Scudder Thoms Appointed 1931
 Born at Kodaikanal, South India; A.B. Oberlin College, 1926; graduate work at University of Michigan and Postgraduate Hospital, New York; short term appointment in the Arcot Mission South India, 1927-1930.
- Mrs. Mary Bruins Allison, M.D. Appointed 1934
 Born in Holland, Michigan; A.B. Central College, 1925; Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, 1932; University of Wisconsin Hospital; School of Missions, Hartford Conn.
- Lewis R. Scudder, M.D. Appointed 1937
 Born in Vellore, South India; Princeton University; Hope College; Rush Medical College; University of Chicago; Order of the British Empire, 1957.
- Mrs. Dorothy Bridger Scudder, R.N. Appointed 1937
 Born in Clare, Illinois; St. Luke's School of Nursing, Chicago. (Methodist Episcopal).

- Miss Ruth O. Crouse, M.D. Appointed 1939
 Born at Duncannon, Penn.; Findlay College, Ohio, 1934; Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania. Resigned 1946. (Churches of God in North America).
- Gerald H. Nykerk, M.D. Appointed 1940
 Born in Holland, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1934; Marquette University School of Medicine.
- Mrs. Rose Witteveen Nykerk Appointed 1940
 Born in Ottawa, Michigan; Holland High School.
- Rev. Edwin M. Luidens Appointed 1943
 Born in Zeeland, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1940; New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1943; M. Th. Princeton Theological Seminary; Graduate work, Princeton University; Chairman Radio Committee, East Christian Council.
- Mrs. Ruth Stegenga Luidens Appointed 1943
 Born in Grand Rapids, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1942; Graduate study at Princeton University and Theological Seminary.
- Rev. Jay R. Kapenga Appointed 1944
 Born in Holland, Michigan; A.B. Hope College; New Brunswick Theological Seminary.
- Mrs. Marjorie Underwood Kapenga Appointed 1947
 Born at Buffalo, New York; Cornell University, A.B. 1944; Short term in Community School, Teheran, Iran, under the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions 1944-1947.
- Miss Jeanette Boersma, R.N. Appointed 1944
 Born in Chicago, Illinois; Roseland Community Hospital, 1939; Reformed Bible Institute, Grand Rapids, three years; Rural Missions Workshop, Warren Wilson College; Biblical Seminary, New York.
- Maurice M. Heusinkveld, M.D. Appointed 1946
 Born in Spring Valley, Minnesota; Central College; University of Minnesota Medical School; Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School.
- Mrs. Elinor Cran Heusinkveld Appointed 1946
 Born in St. Paul, Minnesota; School of Nursing, University of Minnesota; Northwestern Bible Institute. (Lutheran).
- Miss Joan Olthoff, R.N. (Mrs. John Buckley) Appointed 1947
 Born in Thornton, Illinois; Moody Bible Institute, Chicago; West Suburban Training School for Nurses, Oak Park, Illinois; Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois. Resigned 1949.

- Rev. George Jacob Holler, Jr. Appointed short term,
1946, Career Missionary
1950.
- Born in Albany, New York; A.B. Rutgers University, 1946; New Brunswick Theological Seminary, B.D. 1951; Short term Basrah Boys' School, 1946-1949.
- Mrs. Louise Essenberg Holler, R.N. Appointed 1947
- Born at Banks, Michigan; Hope College, 1942; Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing, Chicago, 1945; Graduate work, University of Chicago.
- Mrs. Eunice Post Begg Appointed 1948
- Born in Bigelow, Minnesota; Northwestern Junior College College, Le Mars, Iowa; Hope College.
- Rev. Harvey Staal Appointed 1949
- Born at Grand Rapids, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1943; Western Theological Seminary, 1946; Pastorate at Ontario, N.Y., Classical Agent for Foreign Missions.
- Mrs. Hilda Vander Loon Staal Appointed 1949
- Born at Friesland, Netherlands; Grand Rapids Christian High School.
- Miss Alice Van Kempen (Mrs. John Wheatley) Appointed 1950
- Born in Albany, New York; Houghton College; Hope College; Kennedy School of Missions. Resigned 1952.
- Miss Christine A. Voss, R.N. Appointed 1949
- Born at Lynden, Washington; Butterworth Hospital of Nursing; Grand Rapids. City Isolation Hospital; Public Health Nursing; Army Nurse Corps 1943-45; Graduate study, Wheaton College, Calvin College; B.Sc. University of Michigan, 1948.
- Miss Ruth Grace Young Appointed 1949
- Born Grand Rapids, Michigan; Reformed Bible Institute, Grand Rapids. Resigned 1955.
- Wilbur G. Dekker Appointed 1950
- Born in Chicago, Illinois; Wilson Jr. College; B.S. Calvin College, 1950; American Society of Clinical Pathologists; Medical Technologist 1951, Butterworth Hospital, Grand Rapids.
- Mrs. Anna Mae Dekker Appointed 1950
- Born at Chicago, Illinois; Reformed Bible Institute, Grand Rapids.
- Rev. Donald Ross MacNeill Appointed 1950
- Born in Mineola, New York; A.B. Rutgers University, 1948; New Brunswick Theological Seminary; Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.

- Mrs. Evelyn Mead MacNeill Appointed 1950
 Born at Newark, New Jersey. Union Junior College; Kennedy School of Missions. (Episcopalian).
- Donald Taeke Bosch, M.D. Appointed 1950
 Born in Amoy, China; B.S. State University of Iowa, 1939; M.D. 1941; Graduate study St. Barnabas, Newark, N.J., and Bellevue Hospital, New York; Army service; first appointed to the Amoy Mission, in 1942.
- Mrs. Eloise Boynton Bosch Appointed 1950
 Born in Mohawk, New York; A.B. Hope College, 1941; Biblical Seminary, 1946.
- Bernard, J. Voss, M.D. Appointed Short term,
1951 Career 1952
 Born at Lynden, Washington; Northwestern Junior College; A.B. Calvin College, 1933; University of Wisconsin Medical School; University of Iowa Medical School, M.D. 1937. Resigned 1957.
- Mrs. Mae Jacobsma Voss Appointed Short term,
1951 Career 1952
 Born at Hospers, Iowa; Northwestern Junior College; University of Redlands; State Teachers College, Tempe, Arizona; Hope College; University of Utah; Bisla Bible Institute, Los Angeles. Resigned 1957.
- Miss Jeannette Veldman, R.N. Appointed to Arabian Mission, 1952.
 Born at Grand Rapids, Michigan; A.B. Hope College, 1926; Presbyterian School of Nursing, Chicago, 1929; Business College, Grand Rapids; Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn; School of Midwifery, Maternity Center Association, New York; Amoy Mission 1930-1931 (Service in the Arcot Mission, 1937-1938).
- Miss Anne Ruth De Young, R.N. Appointed to Arabia, 1952
 Born at Clymer Hill, New York; Berea College School of Nursing; A.B. Hope College; University of California Institute of Far Eastern Studies; Midwifery Course, New York City; Scudder Memorial Hospital, Ranipet, South India (Arcot Mission); Amoy Mission, Amoy China, 1946-1951.
- Miss Marianne Walvoord, R.N. (Mrs. Arthur Sundberg) Appointed 1952
 Born at Sheboygan Falls, Wisconsin; A.B. Central College; Johns Hopkins School of Nursing, Baltimore, Maryland. Resigned 1955.
- Miss Madeline Holmes Appointed 1952
 Born in Grand Rapids, Michigan; A.B. Maryville College, 1924; A.M. University of Michigan, 1928; Graduate study, Northwestern University.

- Rev. James W. Dunham Appointed 1952
 Born in New Brunswick, New Jersey; A.B. Central College, 1950; New Brunswick Theological Seminary; War service in U.S. Navy.
- Miss Lavina C. Hoogeveen Appointed 1953
 Born at Grand Rapids, Michigan; Calvin College; A.B. Hope College, 1952; Graduate work, University of Michigan.
- Bernard L. Draper, M.D. Appointed 1953
 Born in Nebo, Illinois; Hannibal, La Grange College 1948; A.B. Washington University, 1950; Wheaton College; University of Illinois College of Medicine. (Baptist).
- Mrs. Jacqueline Blaauw Draper Appointed 1953
 Born at Kalamazoo, Michigan; Hope College; Calvin College, B.S.; Wheaton College; R.N. West Suburban Hospital, Oak Park, Illinois
- Miss Allene C. Schmalzriedt, R.N. Appointed 1954
 Born at Union City, New Jersey; Hunter College; St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing; Biblical Seminary.
- Miss Nancy Anne Nienhuis Appointed 1956
 Born at Oak Harbor, Washington; A.B. Seattle Pacific College; Teaching Certificate; Biblical Seminary, New York, 1955-1956.
- Alfred G. Pennings, M.D. Appointed 1956
 Born Orange City, Iowa; Northwestern Junior College; A.B. Hope College, 1948; Northwestern University Medical School, Chicago, 1952; Short term service in the Arabian Mission, 1952-1955.
- Mrs. Margaret Schuppe Pennings Appointed Short Term, 1952
Career 1956
 Born at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; R.N. St. Agnes School of Nursing; Short term, Bahrain, 1952-1955.

Short Term Missionaries' Appointments

Short Term Nurses, Bahrain

Miss Henrietta Oudemool (Mrs. Rodstrom)	1934-1935
Miss Jennie Bast (Mrs. A.D. Bell)	1935-1936
Miss Roelphine Bakker (Mrs. Ernest Davies)	1940-1942
Miss Harriet Wanrooy	1944-1947
Miss Nellie Hekhuis	1947-1950
Miss Hazel Wood	1948-1951
Miss Margaret Schuppe (Mrs. Alfred Pennings)	1952-1955
Miss Marilyn Tanis	1955-1958

Short Term Nurses, Kuwait

Miss Madeline Tull	1938-1942
Miss Te Bina Boomgaarden	1956-
Miss Lucy M. Patterson, M.D.	1914
Miss Minnie C. Holzhauser, R.N.	1913-1916
Walter Norman Leak, M.D.	1922-1923
George Gosselink, A.B. Central College, 1922	1922-1925
Theodore Essebaggers, A.B. Hope College, 1926	1926-

Short Term Teachers, Basrah Boys' School

George Gosselink	1922-1925
Theodore Essebaggers	1926-1929
Raymond De Young	1929-1930
J. Coert Rylaarsdam	1930-1934
John W. Beardslee, III	1935-1938
John Van Ess, Jr.	1938-1941
Harry J. Almond	1943-1946
G. Jacob Holler, Jr.	1946-1949
John De Vries	1949-1952
Robert J. Block	1952-1955
Donald A. Maxam	1955-1958

Short Term Station Treasurer and Mission Accountant, Bahrain

Douglas Begg	1954-1958
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Note: Missionaries from 1958 until now are not recorded.

Source: Van Ess, D., History of the Arabian Mission, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A. (unpublished) pp. 81-90.

TRUSTEES OF THE ARABIAN MISSION

Thomas Russell, Esq., President	1889-1894
Rev. Professor John Gulian Lansing	1889-1894
Rev. David Waters, D.D., LL.D.	1889-1894
Rev. Adrian Zwemer	1889-1894
Rev. John Angell Davis	1889-1894
Rev. Edward Tanjore Corwin, D.D.	1889-1894
Rev. Professor John Preston Searle, D.D. Secretary-Treasurer 1890-1893.	1889-1894

(Rev. Frank Seymour Scudder, Secretary-Treasurer
1893-1894)

(NOTE. - A Committee of Advice, consisting of six members, was first formed, which conducted the affairs of the Mission until it was incorporated in March, 1891, and these with Dr. Corwin became the Charter Members of the Board of Trustees. When the Mission was adopted by the Reformed Church in America in 1894, members from its Board of Foreign Missions were elected in their place.)

Rev. Professor John Preston Searle, D.D. President 1894-95; Vice-President 1896-1922.	1894-1922
Rev. Talbot Wilson Chambers, D.D., T.S.D., LL.D.	1894-1895
Rev. Mancius Holmes Hutton, D.D. President 1895-1909.	1894-1909
Rev. Cornelius Low Wells, D.D. Recording Secretary 1897-1904	1894-1904
Rev. Lewis Francis, D.D.	1894-1921
Mr. John H. Harris	1894-1895, 1901
Mr. John C. Giffing	1894-1900
Rev. Donald Sage Mackay, D.D.	1896-1900
Mr. Francis Bacon	1896-1903

Rev. John Gerhardus Fagg, D.D. (President 1910-1917)	1901-1917
Mr. John Bingham	1902-1924
Mr. Eben Erskine Olcott	1904-1925
Rev. Joseph Henry Whitehead (Recording Secretary)	1905-1920
Rev. Edward Benton Coe, D.D., LL.D. (Chairman Executive Committee)	1910-1914
Rev. Thomas Hanna Mackenzie, D.D. (Chairman Executive Committee)	1914-1925
Rev. Henry Evertson Cobb, D.D. (President)	1917-1925
Rev. Edward G. Read, D.D.	1920-1923
Rev. William Bancroft Hill, D.D. (Vice-President)	1922-1925
Rev. Edward Dawson, D.D.	1923-1925
Rev. Edgar F. Romig	1923-1925
Mr. Frank R. Chambers	1924-1925
Mr. Herman Vanderwart	1925

Source: Mason and Barny, The History of the Arabian Mission, N.Y., 1926, pp. 248-49.

The Mission's Ministers

The missionaries who were in charge of the evangelistic work in the region over the whole period were as follows:

In Basrah: Rev. Henry Bilkert, Rev. D. Dykstra, Rev. G. J. Pennings, Rev. George Gosselink, Rev. Harry J. Almond, Rev. G.J. Holler, Rev. Donald MacNeill, and Rev. E.M. Luidens.

In Muscat and Muttrah: Rev. Peter Zwemer, Rev. & Mrs. Cantine, Rev. & Mrs. Barny, Miss Fanny Lutton, Rev. & Mrs. Van Peurseem, Rev. & Mrs. Pinnings, Miss Rena and Miss Ann Harrison, Rev. & Mrs. Dykstra, Miss Beth Thoms, Miss Jeanette Boersma, Rev. & Mrs. Kapengas, and Miss Eloise Bosch.

In Kuwait: Rev. E.E. Calverley, Rev. F.J. Barny, Rev. & Mrs. G. E. De Jong, Rev. Donald, Rev. G.J. Hollder, Rev. & Mrs. MacNeill, Mrs. Mylrea, Mrs. Pennings, Rev. Lewis Scudder and Rev. Yassif Abdul-Noor.

In Bahrain: Rev. & Mrs. Pennings, Rev. & Mrs Peurseem, Rev. & Mrs. De Jong, Rev. & Mrs. Luidens, Rev. & Mrs Almond, Rev. & Mrs. Staal, Rev. & Mrs. Dunhams and Mrs. Nykerk.

In Amarah: Rev. J.E. Moerdyk, Rev. E.E. Calverley, Rev. and Mrs. G.J. Pennings, Rev. & Mrs. Harvey Staal, the Misses Jackson, Rev. & Mrs. De Jong, and Rev. & Mrs. Hollers.

- Sources:
1. Mason and Barny, Ibid.
 2. Van Ess, D., op.cit., Appendices.
 3. **Field Work Report** .

STATISTICS

Comparison of Extent of Work by Decades

	1894	1904	1914	1924
Stations	3	3	5	5
Out-stations ... ..	..	3	3	..
Missionaries, Men, ordained	3	6	8	11
Missionaries, Men, not ordained	1	2	4	5
Associate Missionaries ... ..	..	6	9	14
Missionaries, Unmarried Women ... ..	..	2	4	10
Native Helpers, Men ... ..	..	18	33	15
Native Helpers, Women ... ..	..	3	11	7
* Churches ... ..	..	..	..	5
Communicants ... ..	..	..	..	19
Received on Confession ... ..	..	2	..	7
Boarding Schools, Boys' ... ..	..	..	1	1
Scholars ... ..	..	..	12	22
Sunday Schools ... ..	..	4	6	6
Scholars ... ..	..	42	90	88
Day Schools ... ..	..	1	7	10
Scholars ... ..	..	68	193	349
Hospitals and Dispensaries	2	4	5	4
Patients Treated	1,888	20,755	23,709	59,413
Native Contributions (Gold equivalent)	..	£214	£227	£1,600**

* Unorganized

** Figures of 1923

Source: Mason and Barny, The History of the Arabian Mission, N.Y., 1926, p.251.

The Mission's Recent Establishments in the Region

BAHRAIN:

American Mission Hospital
American Mission School
Bahrain Family Bookshop
The National Evangelical Church in Bahrain

KUWAIT:

Kuwait Family Bookshop
The National Evangelical Church in Kuwait

OMAN:

The Protestant Church in Oman
Oman Family Bookshop
American Mission Girls' School

Personnel working in the above institutions or seconded to government employ may meet together in the Arabian Mission Area Fellowships. These fellowships have no administrative function and serve principally as a means of spiritual contact. In Kuwait there is no such fellowship. In Bahrain and Oman these fellowships seem to fulfil a genuine need.

Source: Field Work Report •

MINUTES OF THE ARABIAN MISSION, CORRESPONDENCE 751, V. 1, 1892 35
 THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

The Treasr. was directed to transmit the Salaries of Rev. J. Cantini ^{\$200} - Rev. S. W. J. ^{\$200} - Dr. C. E. Riggs ^{\$200} and Kamil ^{\$60} from April 1st to July 1st, 1892 together with \$200 for expenses or (Total) Eight Hundred and Sixty Dollars in all. After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Cantini an adjournment was taken.

J. P. Peck, Secy.

June 13 - 1892 -

The Arabian Mission met this day at No. 142 Broadway, N.Y., and adjourned to meet June 27th at its same place.

J. P. Peck Secy.

June 27th, 1892 -

The Arabian Mission met this day according to adjournment at No. 142 Broadway, N.Y., Mr. Russell in the Chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. J. A. Davis. Members present: Mr. Russell, Rev. Dr. Matis and Lansing, Rev. Theodor Davis and Peck.

The President and Treasr. reported that they had remitted to Rev. James Cantini ^{\$200} on the field the salaries of Rev. J. Cantini, ^{\$200} Rev. S. W. J. ^{\$200} - Dr. C. E. Riggs ^{\$200} - Kamil ^{\$60} from July 1st 1892 to Oct. 1st 1892 together with \$100 for the expenses each or \$300 in all. This remittance was approved.

Note: The original copy of the Reformed Church Report on Dr. Reggs's problem.

II

It was resolved that the Missionaries should have an annual vacation of six weeks, and necessary travelling expenses in going to and returning from the place of vacation, but not living expenses.

It was resolved that an itemized Acct. of the Expenditures in the field would be sufficient for the Treas. there to transmit and that copies of bills rendered which ~~were~~ ^{should} not be required.

It was resolved that the Treas. on the field should pay only those bills approved by the vote of the Mission.

The Treas. in the field, Rev. J. Cantin was instructed to receive and account for monies coming from England, Bussate &c., in the way suggested by himself in his letter of Feb. 26, 1870.

Major General H. T. Haig was unanimously elected an Honorary member of the Terrestrial Mission.

Rev. P. J. Immen's salary after reaching the field was fixed at \$300 ^{per year} and from May 1870 until then at \$500 per year. The Treas. was instructed to pay \$50 to the Immen Acct of outfit or more if necessary.

Letters from the field were read.

In regard with C. E. Riggs it was resolved ^{upon the basis of a letter} that inasmuch as Dr. Riggs has stated on his own signature (May 11) that he did not believe in the divinity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, said statement harmonizing with

The communication received from the Mission
 Staff on the 17th
 reported that his appointment
 to the Vicaral Vicarary of the Archdiocese of
 the immediate cancellation of that effect upon
 the receipt of this notice from the Board of
 Administration
 and that Dr. Riggo be instructed
 to run all the property of the Mission
 which may be in his hands to the Mission
 Staff on the 17th
 and that the President, Secy &
 the Board should appoint a Committee
 to deal with all matters arising out of the can-
 cellation of Dr. Riggo's appointment, a frame a
 statement of facts, and take any other necessary
 action they may deem necessary in connection
 with this matter.

The Board's report action in reference
 to the appointment of a Vicaral Vicarary
 A letter was read from a Mr. Backler
 together with the ministerial reply of the
 Secy. The reply was approved.
 There copies of the minutes of
 last month -
 The Mission Staff was authorized
 to forward a book - has action resolution
 in reference to the request for a book
 copy and reference of the Secy.

Sept 19-1892

IV

The A.M. met this day at 11:30 at
442 Broadway N.Y., Mr. Russell in
the Chair - Prayer was offered by the
Rev. Dr. Lansing. The Minutes of Dec 11th
June 13 and June 27 were approved -
The report of Rev. James Cantini as
Treas on the field for the quarter
ending June 1st was read and approved
The death of the devoted helper
Amil-abd-el-Messiah, which took
place June 24th was reported in
and ordered ^{to be} noted on the min-
utes. A request from the Missions
to reduce their salaries from \$700 to
\$500 per year was declined for the
present. It was resolved that the
next meet Thursday Sept 29, 2 p.m., 442
Broadway to confer with Mr. P. J. Hornum with
reference to his sailing Oct. 5 - The
President and Treas were instructed to
omit salaries ^{of \$60} and House rent for 3 years
as estimated by the Mission - Adjourned
the prayer by Rev. J. P. Search

J. P. Search Secy -

Publications by members of the Mission

S.M. Zwemer

Arabia the Cradle of Islam
 Raymond Lull
 The Moslem Doctrine of God
 The Moslem Christ
 Islam, a Challenge to faith
 Mohammed or Christ
 Childhood in the Moslem World
 The Disintegration of Islam
 A Primer on Islam
 The Influence of Animism on Islam
 A Moslem Seeker after God
 The Law of Apostasy in Islam
 Across the World of Islam
 Studies in Popular Islam
 The Cross Above the Crescent
 Factual Survey of the Muslim World
 Heirs of the Prophets

Publishers and dates of these, together with a complete bibliography of Dr. Zwemer's books, will be found in Christy Wilson's biography of Dr. Zwemer, Apostle to Islam.

S.M. Zwemer and James Cantine

The Golden Milestone-Fleming H. Revell, 1938

John Van Ess

Spoken Arabic of Iraq - Oxford University Press, 1918
 Revised once, reprinted many times, last reprinting 1952.
 Practical Written Arabic - Oxford University Press, 1920
 Meet the Arab - John Day, 1943
 Living Issues - Privately printed, 1950
 Several Textbooks in Arabic.

Paul W. Harrison, M.D.

The Arab at Home - Thomas Crowell, 1924
 Doctor in Arabia - John Day, New York, 1940
 The Light that Lighteth Every Man-Expositions in the Gospel of St. John - Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1958.

Anne Monteith Harrison (Mrs. P.W. Harrison)

Pearls are Made-Friendship Press, two printings, latest 1958
 A Tool in his Hand-Friendship Press, 1958.

Edwin E. Calverley

Arabian Readers-Primers I and II, Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, India, 1920
 Reader, I., C.L.S. 1925
 Worship in Islam, a Translation with Introduction of al-Ghazzali's Ihya' Ulum al-Din, Book IV. CLS, India Madras, 1925. Second Edition, Luzac & Co., London
 American University at Cairo, Cairo, Egypt and New York.

Edwin E. Calverley (contd.)

Islam: An Introduction - Cairo, American University at Cairo and New York, 1958.

Also many articles in quarterlies and other journals.

Eleanor T. Calverley, M.D. (Mrs. E.E. Calverley)

How to be Healthy in Hot Climates - Thomas Y. Crowell, N.Y., 1949, 2nd Edition, 1953.

My Arabian Days and Nights - Thomas, Y. Crowell, N.Y. 1958.

W. Harold Storm, M.D.

Whither Arabia? - World Dominion Press, 1938.

Ida Paterson Storm (Mrs. W.H. Storm)

Highways in the Desert - Broadman Press, 1950.

Everdene De Jong (Mrs. G.J.)

Practical Spoken Arabic of the Arabian Gulf - Beirut, 1958.

Handbooks on Nursing Arts have been prepared in Arabic by Miss Cornelia Dalenberg, R.N., and Miss Jeannette Veldman, R.N.

Dr. Mylrea, S.,

Kuwait Before Oil, New Brunswick, Theological Seminary, N.J.U.S.A. (unpublished).

Van Ess, D.,

Pioneers in the Arab World, N.Y., 1972.

Publications about the Arabian Mission or individuals belonging to it.

History of the Arabian Mission, by Barny and Mason, B.F.M., 1926.

The Golden Milestone-Zwemer and Cantine, Fleming H. Revell, 1938.

Apostle to Islam, A Biography of Samuel M. Zwemer, by J. Christy Wilson. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan 1952.

Americans All Over, Jerome Beatty-John Day, N.Y., 1952.

Chapters on Van Ess and Harrison

New Voices Old Worlds - Paul Geren, Friendship Press, 1958.

Chapter on Van Ess

The History of the Arabian Mission, N.Y. 1958.

Quarterly Reports:

Number 1 through 40 (1902) - Field Reports

Number 41 through 215 (1902-1949) - Neglected Arabia

Number 216 on (1949-) - Arabia Calling

*There is a complete file of this publication in the office of the Board for the Christian World Mission, R.C.A.; another in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary library, New Brunswick, N.J.; there are two complete sets on the field.

- Sources:
1. Van Ess, D. The History of the Arabian Mission, N.Y. (Appendices)
 2. Barny and Mason, B.F.M., History of the Arabian Mission, N.Y., 1926. (Appendices).

I : IV The Mission's Finances

During the first half century of the Mission's career the Reform Church was completely responsible for financing the Mission's activities. The missionary was paid 300 dollars before leaving for the field as an outfitting grant. The salary for the missionary per year was 800 dollars.¹ The payment for the Mission was distributed as follows: Salaries, Mission Work, Travelling and home expenses.² During the first 25 years the Mission reported that the expense of the work was not more than 250,000 dollars.³ But this increased rapidly in the later years. This is of course in addition to the Mission's income from the field especially from its medical service. Information available about the Mission's finance in the second decade shows the increase in the amount spent every year as the following table shows:

<u>Years of work</u>	<u>Amount spent</u>
1902	\$ 10,762
1903	\$ 12,600
1904	\$ 13,300
1905	\$ 17,826.66
1906	\$ 17,572.14
1907	\$ 19,189.14
1908	\$ 19,511.70
1909	\$ 21,838.19
1910	\$ 30,822.46 ⁴

Source: 1. Arabian Mission Ministers of Meetings: Vol. 2, the theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A.

2. Ibid., Vol. 1, June 27, 1890, p.5.

3. Ibid., Vol. 2, 1897, p.6.

4. Ibid., Vol. 2, p.247.

INCOME OF THE ARABIAN MISSION BY DECADES

	<u>Syndicates</u>	<u>Other Sources</u>	<u>Special Objects (incl. Legacies)</u>	<u>Totals</u>
First Decade (1890-1899)	\$29,310.10	\$29,295.03	\$11,206.28	\$69,811.41
Second Decade (1900-1909)	67,257.89	109,685.68	41,406.60	218,350.17
Half Decade (1910-1914)	67,706.15	89,052.29	39,997.64	196,756.08
Third Decade (1915-1924)	179,162.80	367,964.76	171,199.50	718,327.06
Grand Totals	\$343,436.94 ^B	\$595,997.76	\$263,810.02	\$1,2-3,244.72

Note: These figures show the Income of the Mission for only three and a half decades of its operations.

Source: Mason and Barny, The History of the Arabian Mission 1926, N.Y., p.251.

Missionaries and others interviewed by the Author in his Fieldwork,Nov.-Dec. 1974 and Sept. 1976.I. During fieldwork in the Gulf Region Nov.-Dec. 1974 and June-July 1977.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Dr. R. Scudder | A chief Medical Officer in Kuwait 1969- |
| 2. Mrs. R. Scudder | An active missionary nurse in Kuwait 1939-1973. |
| 3. Rev. Lewis Scudder Jr. | Minister in charge of English services in the evangelical church in Kuwait. |
| 4. Rev. Yousif Abdul Noor | Minister in charge of Arabic services in the evangelical church in Kuwait. |
| 5. Mr. Jacob Shammās | An old Colporteur of the Mission in Kuwait. |
| 6. Mr. Sami Shammās | A recently converted native Christian member of the evangelical church in Kuwait and the son of Mr. Jacob Shammās |
| 7. Mr. Haydar Khalifa | A close friend of the Mission in Kuwait and an old native technician in the Mission Hospital there. |
| 8. Mr. Benjamin | An old Christian sick nurse in Kuwait who worked for a long time with the Mission. |
| 9. Mr. Husain Marafi | A friend of the Mission in Kuwait. |
| 10. Mrs. Rose Nykerk | The director of the Arabian Mission work in Bahrain and wife of Dr. G. Nykerk who worked in Kuwait and died there in 1964. |
| 11. Dr. A.G. Pennings | The chief medical officer in the Missions Hospital in Bahrain from 1967 until now, his father having been a <u>clergyman</u> in the region. |
| 13. Mrs. Khayria Hayder | A convert at Bahrain, aged 82. |
| 14. Mr. Yousif Hayder | The son of Mrs. Khayria and the director of the Mission's hospital at Bahrain. |
| 15. Mr. Ahmad H. Ibrahim | The first native student in the Mission's School in Bahrain, 1905 he is still alive, aged 83. |
| 16. Mr. Mubarek al-Khater | A moslem who wrote a short study of the Arabian Mission in Bahrain. |

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 17. Dr. Muhammad al-Muhani | Lecturer in the University of Kuwait |
| 18. Mr. Muhsin Muzafar | General Secretary of the Arab Social and Economic Institute in Kuwait |
| 19. Mr. Ali Husain Ali | Retired employer in Kuwait |
| 20. Mr. Muhammad al-Fuzan | Merchant in Kuwait |
| 21. Mr. Hamad al-Tammar | Employee in the Ministry of Information |
| 22. Mr. Abdul Aziz Saud | Teacher in the Ministry of Education, and ex-editor of al-Raa'd Magazine in Kuwait. |

Other people were interviewed also, but there was nothing new or important in their views.

In the United Kingdom

Jan. 1975

1. Rev. Harry Young

A missionary active for many years in the Gulf region and a member of Dr. Kennedy's Mission in Abu Dhabi. Its members originally belonged to the Arabian Mission and separated from it at the end of the 1950's

II. During fieldwork in the United States Sept. 1976.

The author met many members of the Reformed Church in the United States. Some of them had been missionaries in Arabia and were still active in Church work and others were members of the Church and of the academic staff of the Theological Seminary in New Brunswick. Their names and occupations were as follows:

1. Rev. Edwin Luidens

Secretary for Asia
Division of Overseas Ministries
(D.O.M.)
National Council of the Churches
of Christ in the U.S.A. (Nu)
475 Riverside Drive, New York,
10027.

Previously: Missionary in the Arabian Mission
in Basrah, Bahrain and Amarah,
Director of Radio Voice of the
Gospel, Beirut, Lebanon 1958
to 1964.

2. Mrs. Evelyn MacNeill

D.O.M. - N.C.C.
475 Riverside Drive, New York

Previously: Missionary wife of Rev. Donald
R. MacNeill, Stationed in
Kuwait during the 1950's.

3. Rev. Dr. John E. Buleyn

Secretary for World Ministries
General Programme Council
The Reformed Church in America
18th Floor, 475 Riverside Drive,
New York, N.Y. 10027.

He has exercised overall administrative control of the
Arabian Mission for the Reformed Church since the late 1950's.

4. Mr. Richard J. Butler

Secretary for Europe and the
Middle East, D.O.M., N.C.C.
475 Riverside Drive, New York
N.Y. 10027.

Previously: Church World Service and
Refugee Relief World Council of
Churches. Stationed in Jordan,
Beirut and Geneva.

5. Rev. Lewis R. Scudder, Jr. Pastor to the English Language
Congregation of the National
Evangelical Church in Kuwait,
P.O.Box 80, Safat, Kuwait.

Appointed missionary to Arabia
by the Reformed Church in
America 1966.
Language Study - Research
Student 1967-1971.
Present post - June 1973-7
1972 leave of Absence.

Meetings in New Brunswick, New Jersey Theological Seminary,
Sept. 1976.

Academic Staff:

1. Dr. David Wanders: Professor of pastoral care in the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick.
2. Dr. Ray Engelhardt: Has been Minister serving Churches in New York, has organized Churches in Kansas and Texas, had teaching experience in many colleges, a member of the American Theological Librarians Association and the Commission on the History of the Reformed Church in America.
3. Dr. Paul Fries: Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology, Theological Seminary, New Brunswick.
4. Dr. Hugh A. Koops: Professor of Church and Community, Theological Seminary, New Brunswick.
5. Dr. Charles Wissink: Assistant Professor of Christian Education, Theological Seminary, New Brunswick.
6. Dr. Earle Ellis: Professor of Biblical Studies, Theological Seminary, New Brunswick.
7. Dr. Norman E. Thomas: Theological Seminary, New Brunswick.
8. Dr. Virgil Rogers: Theological Seminary, New Brunswick.
9. Mrs. Ray Engelharat
10. Mr. and Mrs. Hilalto: Students in the Theological Seminary in New Brunswick, spent one year in Cairo, Fieldwork 1975-1976.
11. Mrs. Howard Hagemon.
12. Mrs. Jan Hoffman.
13. Rev. & Mrs. Lewis Scudder Jr. also attended this meeting.

APPENDIX II

REF. 708 R/15/1913
INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

Dated the 30th November 1910.

P.S.—In his last interview with the Shaikh Dr. Bennett found the Shaikh unwilling to be hurried into drawing up the sale-deed and he has therefore decided to remain another week in Kuwait for the purpose.

The Arabian Mission.
 Reformed Church in America.

Bahrain,
 18th November 1910

MY DEAR CAPTAIN SHAKESPEAR,

In answer to your letter to Dr. Bennett and the letter of Colonel Cox about the Arabian Mission's standing and agreement for the purchase of property at Kuwait, I am authorised to write as follows:—

The Arabian Mission in regular Annual Session at Bahrain on November 16th, 1910, passed this resolution.

"Resolved, that the Mission formally endorse the conditions imposed upon us by Colonel Cox, and that Dr. Bennett be authorised to communicate the fact officially to the proper authorities. That in copying these conditions and in signing them for the Mission the word 'Medical' be omitted."

I, therefore, respectfully ask you to receive Dr. Bennett for our Mission and to receive from him an official copy of the "undertaking" proposed by His Majesty's Government and duly signed by the present directors of the Mission. I also beg to advise you that a copy of this "Undertaking" duly signed has been filed with the Secretary of the Mission for future reference and advice concerning this matter, as asked by your Government.

I trust that after the receipt of this "Undertaking" you will acquaint the Shaikh of Kuwait of the consent of your Government to the permanent settlement of our Mission in Kuwait and to our leasing or purchasing property there.

JAS. E. MCERDYK.

D. DYKSTRA.

The Arabian Mission.
 Reformed Church in America.

Undertaking with the British Government.

Bahrain,

18th November 1910.

We the undersigned Directors in the Persian Gulf of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Arabia, recognizing the special position of the British Government at Kuwait, hereby undertake—in the event of our obtaining from Shaikh Mubarak, with British consent, a site in Kuwait on lease or purchase, for the permanent establishment of our Mission—that while it will always be our endeavour to carry on our work and arrange any little difficulties that may arise from time to time, with the Shaikh direct, should we find ourselves unable to adjust our differences in that manner we will refer them for the arbitration or good offices of the British representative alone, or, in his absence, of the British Resident in the Persian Gulf. The Kuwait establishment will be entirely independent of the branch of our Mission at Basrah and in no circumstances will we, directly or indirectly, seek the intervention of Turkish authorities, or of Consular officials accredited to Turkish territory.

JAS. E. MCERDYK.

D. DYKSTRA.

REF: JOR:

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R/15/5/313

2/15/11
Substituted for original draft

my 20/11

No. C-77, dated Kuwait, the 7th December 1910 (Confidential).

From—CAPTIAN W. H. I. SHAKESPEAR, I.A., Political Agent, Kuwait,
To—The Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, Bushire.

In continuation of my letter No. C-72, dated the 29th November 1910, I have the honour to report that Dr. Bennett of the American Reformed Church Mission succeeded yesterday in completing the purchase of a plot of ground from Shaikh Mubarak for a hospital and other buildings.

2. The original site has been obtained but a considerably smaller area than Dr. Bennett first endeavoured to secure. The plot is rectangular with a side of 200 "dharas" long on its seaward face and 170 "dharas" inland. The price paid is Rs. 3,700, computed in the usual Arab manner by lineal measure at Rs. 5 per "dhara." The actual area according to English standards works out to 1.756 acres. The sale-deeds beside defining the boundaries contain clauses that the Mission will recognise the Shaikh's authority in all matters or claims, that failing a solution of any difficulty in this manner the matter in dispute will be referred to the British Political Agent and that the Mission shall have no right to seek the intervention of the representatives of its own Government or of those of any other. The conditions are clear and so far as I can see leave no loop-hole for future difficulties.

3. Both parties requested that I should authenticate the deeds as witness and this has been done. Dr. Bennett also requested that a copy of the sale-deed, which the Mission holds as its title, might be retained in the Agency records, and with this request I have also complied.

REF ID: R/15/5/714 INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

Office Note of 6th September, 1938.

(Koweit's ruler)

His Highness⁷ informed me that a large number of the local people (about three hundred leading residents) have prepared a petition asking for the removal from the American Hospital of Dr. Mylrea, a British subject. They have already presented the petition to him, but I asked His Highness not to forward the petition to me (at least for the present) to which he agreed.

2. In about 1934, I believe, His Highness wrote to the Headquarters of the Mission in U.S.A. complaining about Dr. Mylrea, over some minor matter i.e. in connection with his abrupt reply to him over a request about electric fitting work to be done for the Viceroy's visit by a man at that moment in Mylrea's daily employ.

3. Earlier in 1938, when Dr. Thoms left, there was a petition made to him, so Thoms told me, asking for him to stay here instead Dr. Mylrea.

4. The complaints given in the petition against Mylrea I gathered from the Sheikh are mainly:-

- (a) a bitter and domineering manner
- (b) Age
- (c) Bad eyesight

5. I should like to avoid the matter coming to a head and shall speak to Dr. Harrison, whom the Sheikh today greatly praised to me.

6. Points I think to remember are (nowadays)

(a) Possibility of a definite propaganda campaign in Arab Newspapers (There has already been a certain amount) and thus commencement of

(b) Xenophobia, entirely non-existent hitherto here, and a pity to allow it to become expressed and so prejudice good work of thirty years by Mission with possibly evil effect upon other American and British residents.

REF:ZOR:R/15/5/214 INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL.

Political Agency,
Kuwait.

17th September 1956.

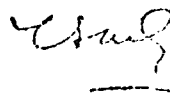
Dear Dr. Harrison,

This is to confirm our conversation on the 15th September in which I told you that His Highness the Ruler informed me that he had received a petition signed by a number of Kuwaitis appealing against the return here as Mission Doctor of Dr. Mylrea. I told you the reasons which were given.

2. His Highness touched upon the occasion some years ago when he himself had written to the Mission about Dr. Mylrea, and the petition to the Mission some few months ago, asking Dr. Mylrea to stay here instead of Dr. Mylrea.

3. I told you also that the Ruler said that he proposed to send to me the present petition, as Dr. Mylrea was a British Subject, but I asked him not to do so, and said that I felt sure that we could safely leave the matter with you, about whom, and the Mission in general, His Highness spoke at some length in great praise.

Yours sincerely,



REF: JOR: R/15/5/314

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عالم الكويت

من احمد لجابر الدميح حاكم الكويت، لعضرة حميد الشيم عالي الجاه الافخم المحب العزيز
بي ذكركم. ولتكل اجنت الدولة الهويه القيصريه الانكليزيه بالكويت دام محسوسا

بسم السلام والسؤال عن شريف خاطركم دهتم بخبر وسرور - بيد الورداد اخذت كتابكم
نمبر ٢١٣ ونهيت مراجعة سعادكم مع فخامة رئيس الخليج في بره شهر في شأن مراجع
مع سعادكم عن رغبة البعثه الأمريكيه بالكويت في ادراك قطعة ارض اخرى قريه من ملكهم
عنا ان ان لدي حكمة صاحب الجلاله البريطانيه ابي مانع لمنح البعثه المذكوره اجازة
وانه وصل لسعادكم الجواب ان لا مانع لمنح البعثه المذكوره اجازة لبيع القطع المذك
بناء عليه حسب اقتراح سعادكم اربطت وكيل لاجل قياس البقعة المشتريه كما اني اري ان
مساحة البقعة من شمال للجنوب ١٠٤ فوط والعرض من قباله للمشرق ٨٢
ليكون معلوم سعادكم هذا ودهتم مشكورين / ٢٠ ذ والتعدده ١٣٤٨

Translation of this please for record.

Note: This is a letter from the ruler of Kuwait to the British Agent in Kuwait - dated April 1950 - asking him for a permission to sell a piece of land to the Arabian mission.

جله

حاكم الكونيت
محمد بن عبد الله

صفحة
١٠٨٤
الجزء الثاني

السبب الذي ادى الى تحرير هذه الاعراف الشرعية لهوانه قد باع ابراهيم
 بن مشعل من حاملي هذا الكتاب بجمعة خيري بيت المر بكانين ولعمري ايضا قد اشترى
 منه ما هو ملكه و تحت تصرفه وهو الربع القبلي بقية حوطه الواقعة في حولة
 النفوذ بحد المبيع قبلة ملك المشر بن بجمعة خيري بيت المر بكانين والجار
 المر بكانين و شمالا بيت عبد الحسين بن ناصر الشراقي والجار لعبد المحسن
 و شرقا بيت عبد العزيز بن محمد السهلي والجار لعبد العزيز الاقدار الباري
 فهو المشر بن و جنوبا حوطه الفلاح والجار للفلاح بن محمد فدره و عدده الف
 و ثمانمائة و ثمان مائة من ارض المشر بن الى يد البائع ابراهيم الكوسر
 بجمعة بالوفاء والتمام قبضا براءة به ذمة المشر بن بجمعة خيري بيت المر بكانين
 براءة شرعية و من حين المبيع مرفوع الباشع يده عن المبيع و وضع المشر بن
 يدهم عليه فكان بيضا صحيا و شرعيا و شرعا مخررا عن عيها مطلقا على الإيجاب
 والقبول خاليا من الموانع الشرعية فبموجب ما ذكر من التبني و تسليم التثني
 و اقرار الباشع بقبضه من يد المشر بن بجمعة خيري بيت المر بكانين بالوفاء و تمام
 صام المشر بن القبلي بقية حوطه ابراهيم بن مشعل مالا و ملكا للمشر بن بجمعة
 خيري بيت المر بكانين من سائر اطلاقهم بغير قون فيها تصرف الاهل الاملاك في اولها
 و ذوي الحقوق في حقهم لا ينافرهم بها سائر ولا ينافرهم بها عما مر
 بوجهه ولا سبب من الاسباب و عليه جعل تحريرها في يوم الخميس الحادي عشر من شهر
 ذو القعدة سنة الف و ثمانمائة و ثمانين و ابراهيم بن محمد بن عبد الله
 و انكس خيرا بغير القصد

Certified this Twenty Third
 April 1901
 1901
 1901
 1901

Note: Translation of this Certificate is in the next page.

REF: TOR: R/15/5/3114INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

Political Agency, Kuwait.

Dated the 23rd April 1930.

C E R T I F I C A T E.

CERTIFIED that the two original deeds dated the 10th and 11th Dhil Qa'dah 1348 (equivalent to 11th and 12th April 1930) by Hajji Ibrahim bin Hish'al in which he sold to the American Missionary Society at Kuwait the enclosure bounded on the West by American Mission's property, on the North by Abdul Muhain bin Nasir al Khurafi's house, on the East by Abdul Aziz bin Muhammad as-Sahali's house and on the South by al-Falah's Hauthah and comprising of 104 (one hundred and four) feet from North to South and 82 (eightytwo) feet from West to East, was recorded at this British Political Agency on this the 23rd day of April 1930.

W.

Lieut-Col.,

Political Agent, Kuwait.



REF: IOR: R/15/5/313

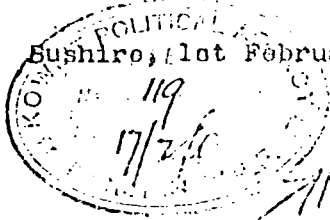
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British Residency and Consulate-General,

100 f
37



Bushiro, 1st February 1910.

34-17 1910

Dear Shakespear,

Your semi official letter of the 26th January regarding the American Missionary and Doctor. Our attitude with regard to Missions is, as you say, one of neutrality - as a rule benevolent neutrality - but we don't try and force them on an unwilling Sheikh.

If Sheikh Mubarek invites them it is his own look out, but when once the doctor is installed, no doubt others will follow, including probably Miss Miller whom the Sheikh turned out on a previous occasion.

Let us hope the Sheikh won't fall out with them later and want us to help him to turn them out, for we shall not be able to help him.

Once in they will be always with him like the poor. I presume the Sheikh realizes all these things.

Yours sincerely,

H. I. Shakespear, I.A.,
political agent,
KOWEIT.

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unfiled

No. 2380 (Confidential), dated Bushire, the 4th (received 12th) September 1910.

From—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL P. Z. COX, C.S.I., C.I.E., Political Resident in the Persian Gulf,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Simla.

In continuation of my telegram sent from Maskat on 15th August, I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Government of India, copies of two communications from the Political Agent, Koweit, on the same subject, namely, the desire of the American Dutch Reformed Church Mission in the Persian Gulf to extend their labours to Koweit.

(1) No. C-51, dated 3rd August 1910.

(2) No. C-53, dated 10th August 1910.

No. C-51 (Confidential), dated Kuwait, the 3rd August 1910.

From—CAPTAIN W. H. I. SHAKESPEAR, I.A., Political Agent, Kuwait,

To—The Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, Bushire.

With reference to my letter No. 196, dated the 27th April 1910, reporting the establishment of the American Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Kuwait, I have the honour to submit for consideration the following further developments.

2. Some days ago Dr. Bennett, who is in charge of the Mission in Kuwait, told me in confidence that he was endeavouring to negotiate with the Shaikh for the purchase of a plot of land to the west and clear of the town, on which, if it could be obtained at a reasonable figure, the Mission proposed to build a hospital and quarters for its members much on the lines of their station in Bahrain. He added that, as the Shaikh seemed dubious, he had explained the Mission had no ulterior political motive, its sole concern being to give general medical relief and so help the poor, whilst the members by their own lives set an example of godliness and upright living. He had found the house at present rented to be almost unbearable in the hot weather and far too small and ill-adapted to their medical and private needs, besides being inconveniently situated.

3. This morning the Shaikh himself broached the subject to me enquiring whether the British Government would have any objection. The Shaikh was very definite as to the extent of ground or the terms on which he would grant Dr. Bennett's request, being more concerned in obtaining our approval to the proposal. The site likely to be selected is a spot just clear of the town on the west and would be to the eastward of and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the limits of the Bandar Shweikh concession. The Shaikh's reason for enquiring is of course due to the prohibitory clauses on the subject of land acquisition by foreigners contained in the 1899 Agreement and the Bandar Shweikh Lease of 1907.

4. Shaikh Mubarak is I think anxious to fall in with Dr. Bennett's proposal, he is convinced no political complications are entailed, while he secures the advantages of independent and thoroughly efficient medical treatment for himself and household, not to mention a round sum of money for land which he is likely to receive from any of his own people.

5. From our own point of view, I venture to submit that so far from the objection being adverse to our interests, it will really help to strengthen our position in Kuwait and that in an absolutely unexceptionable manner. The Mission must in the circumstances remain under British protection and so in our prestige, it will have a civilizing influence generally, and the reports of its work gradually spreading among the wild tribes of the desert cannot fail to enhance the existing English reputation for charity, justice and good Government. For even well-educated Arabs can hardly differentiate between the British and American nations.

The Turkish Government can have no ground for complaint for the Shaikh has invited Dr. Bennett originally, and besides, the American Mission in Kuwait is officially recognized by the Porte, from whom it enjoys certain privileges. I do not anticipate in its permanent establishment the opening of any new door for further Turkish interference in Kuwait matters.

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Telegram P.

From Resident to Foreign,

Sent from Muscat, Dated 15th August 1910.

Kindly refer to text of our original engagement with Sheikh Mubarak.

A doctor of the American Mission in the Persian Gulf, Dr. Bennett, has been for some months in Kuwait cultivating friendship with the Sheikh and practising medicine. He has now induced the Sheikh to agree, subject to our concurrence, to grant a site for permanent habitation on lease or purchase. A letter to the effect that the Kuwait Mission will be quite independent of the Basrah Mission; that the Mission recognise special position of the British in Kuwait, has been written by Dr. Bennett; he also writes that he has no doubt that the Directors of the Mission will be prepared to give a written undertaking that in the event of disagreement with the Sheikh they will in no circumstances refer to the Turkish Authorities at Basrah but will at all times refer their difficulties for the arbitration and good offices of the British Agent.

These safeguards meet with the Sheikh's approval and if they are repeated by the head of the Mission the Political Agent and I are inclined to favour the advent of a doctor belonging to the Mission, but ^(British) perhaps Government would prefer to get a similar assurance from the Government of the United States in view of the recent difficulty at Muscat in a similar connection (re building site).

At the beginning of November next the Mission held a general meeting in Bahrain and Dr. Bennett is anxious to place before them views and stipulations of the British Authorities and draft of agreement with Sheikh, I therefore solicit an early reply.

Cox.

REF: JOR: R/15/2/11/32

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CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 42-3/3-0



POLITICAL AGENCY.

Bahrain, the 30th February 1917.

To,

The Deputy Political Resident,

BUSHIRE.

MEMORANDUM,

During the last year the following visits to places on the Mainland have been paid by members of the Arabian Mission at Bahrain:-

Dr. P. W. Harrison	Qatif	March 28th. to May 8th, 1917
Dr. Wm. P. W. Harrison) Rev. Mr. D. Dykstra)	Darin	May 27th to July 5th.
Dr. P. W. Harrison	Ums & Rivah	July 5th to August 14th.
Dr. P. W. Harrison) Rev. J. J. Jennings)	Qatif	December 28th to December 31st, 1917. 1918
Dr. P. W. Harrison	Abu Dhudi	February 14th, 1911 May.

(My view of the question of their touring about is that I should, of course, prefer to have no such irresponsible persons visiting the neighbourhood mainland but that, as we cannot expect to keep the Missionaries from doing so indefinitely, it is better to be frank about it and try to establish a precedent for our being consulted before any journey is made. I have a kind of informal understanding with Dr. Harrison that he will give me due regard of any proposal which in case I have any objection to it, while I will not stand in his way without some reason. I may mention that the question of higher authority has been referred to the visits to Qatif, Ums and Abu Dhudi.

I personally believe that Dr. Harrison's attitude towards Great Britain is quite friendly but I am sure that the attitude of some of the other Missionaries is

REF: JOR: R/15/2/1/32 INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

2

I have not is not friendly at heart and any individual whose feelings are in any way anti-British has great opportunities for mischief owing to the influence the Mission exercise through their hospital, school and, most difficult to discover or combat, the visits of the Lady Missionaries to the harems.

It appears that the Arabian Mission, in common I believe with other American Missions, has been informed by the United States Government that, if any one of their number causes trouble in connection with the war, the whole of that Mission will have to go (reported in my memorandum No. 772 of August 16th, 1917), which disposes of the matter for the period of the war.

I think that touring by the Political Agent to places visited by Missionaries would help to prevent their influence becoming inconveniently great, but to discourage any tendency to disseminate anti-British ideas after the war I venture to suggest that it might be feasible to come to some agreement with the United States Government to the effect that the Arabian Mission should be warned that Great Britain holds a special position in the Persian Gulf and that, if complaints are received from the British Government of Missionaries being guilty of conduct to the prejudice of British interests, they will be liable to removal.

I am inclined to think that the United States Government would listen to such a request with sympathy, as their attitude towards missionary work, though in the past distinctly cordial, is now, I understand, the reverse owing to their own unfortunate experiences in the Philippine Islands.

P. S. J. J.

Political Agent,

Political Agent. Baharak.

REF: IOR: R/15/5/314 INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

P. W. HARRISON, M.D.

AMERICAN MISSION
MUSCAT, ARABIA.

Dear Captain DeGoury:--

I am awfully sorry that I was not in when you and Dr. Greenway called. I appreciate your calling very much indeed.

I have run across nothing new in regard to Dr. Wyler. All the reactions that have gotten to me, would indicate that the opposition to him has died down, at least for the present, and that he will find a friendly reception when he arrives, and that later developments will depend on how he handles the situation, particularly as he begins work.

May I add my sincere appreciation of your own attitude and friendliness in all this. We owe the outcome to you, as we very well understand, and we shall all be hoping for an equally fortunate development of the matter, in the future.

Yours most sincerely,
P. W. Harrison

And with my sincere good wishes for you. I personally call the work you did and should P. W. Harrison

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Political

Fabroin, Apr. 27, 1918.

Dear Mr. Mon Gavini:--

Continuing our conversation, on the same subject, I want to report to you my arrival from Abu Dhubbi, where I have recently been the guest of Sheikh Hamadan of that place. I spent nearly a month in that town, not only treating Sheikh Hamadan himself for a chronic ailment, but also the townspeople, in considerable numbers. The sheikh himself was not markedly benefited but he was exceedingly grateful for the attention shown, and for the work among the people of the place. A considerable number of operations were performed ~~and all successful~~ *for the medical work.*

At the request of Sheikh Fasih of U el Gwein I spent some ten days there, primarily for the purpose of performing a slight operation upon the sheikh himself. This was a simple matter, and quite successful. During the ten days of the stay, the local people were treated both medically and surgically as opportunity offered, and they seemed to appreciate the service very much, indeed. As a part of this trip, I also spent two days in Ras el Khatim. This was at the personal solicitation of Sheikh Sultan the younger son of Sheikh Salim, who is hopelessly paralyzed, from an apoplectic stroke dating some three months back. The service rendered was little more than curative and diagnostic, but I was able also to repair the hare lip of the younger son Sheikh Sultan, a service which he appeared to greatly appreciate. The brevity of the stay made any considerable work among the people quite impossible. A few were seen however, and the utmost cordiality manifested everywhere.

The trip was terminated by a stay of a week to ten days in Dubai, at the invitation of Sheikh Saeed bin Maktoum. The people were exceedingly cordial, and it was possible to give the sheikh the medical advice he desired, and also to do a certain amount among the people. Much more might have been done, if the available stock of medicines had been adequate.

The need for medical services was everywhere extreme, and such services greatly appreciated. I was even asked by the emir of the leading men of Sharjah, whether a petition to the proper parties might secure the permanent establishment of medical work in that district.

As to the Political ~~the~~ situation it is obvious that by all odds the strongest sheikh in all that region is Hamadan of Abu Dhubbi. This is universally recognized by the Arabs themselves, and it is to be added, that not only is he the strongest in point of inherited power, but in his own personal qualities as a ruler, he is gone in a class by himself. He is sincerely and strongly loyal

REF: IOR: R/15/2/1/32

POLITICAL AGENCY

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

Bahrain, the 30th April 1916.

to the British Government, to the degree, indeed, that probably the strongest motive that could be brought to bear upon him, would be the possibility of some special recognition or decoration from that Government. Sheikh Rashid of Um el Qawa is a much less admirable type, though still a good Sheikh as Arab rulers go. He is a man of large wealth, and his principal interest appears to consist in preserving and increasing it. It is perhaps safe to say that the most effective motive in influencing him would lie in that direction. Sheikh Saad of Doha is a very affable, and democratic-mannered man, reckoned among the Arabs and correctly so, as a weak ruler, having very little ~~of any~~ comprehension of the world outside, and fearful of any increase of British power or influence in his territory. He is without doubt the weakest of the sheikhs that we met on the trip; and at the same time the least intelligent, and most prejudiced against all progress. The young Sheikh Mohammed of Ras el Khaima, who is assuming the duties that Salim, his father can no longer perform, promises exceedingly well. He is unusually intelligent, and apparently genuinely interested in the progress of the people under him.

On the surface nothing is met with but the most cordial loyalty to the British government. But it is not difficult to see that underneath, this loyalty is considerably tempered. In the first place the increase of British power is feared because it is felt that their ascendancy means the disappearance of slavery. This feeling however is pretty largely confined to the small upper class that are rich enough to own slaves. The ordinary Arab would be little disturbed by its disappearance, except as interested leaders might stir things up. There is also a wide-spread fear that the advent of the English would ~~begeth~~ result in women's freedom from the domination of men to a very dangerous degree. I was not able to satisfactorily investigate the origin of this surprising feeling.

On the other hand the people from the poorest to the richest have come to realize very keenly their economic dependence on the British power, and when the shortage of tonnage made it necessary to get Karachi rice, the German Kaiser was at once warmly greeted by all classes. There is perhaps no reason that makes the vigils of the steamers more when Oman has learned to go, and which realized more adequately its dependence on the Bombay markets both in selling pearls and in buying rice. It is not uncommon to say that as far as ~~concerns~~ self-interest is concerned the Oriental loyal, Oman is thoroughly loyal, and that the feeling about the slaves is a very small thing in comparison to this very thorough-going conviction of British power, and their own dependence upon it.

British prestige however suffers greatly because of the government's ^{reluctance} inaction in these parts, and it is not in so small a degree to him that the respect and admiration which ought to be the completion of their loyalty, are quite lacking. Whether true or not, he has succeeded in creating the impression that

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he is able to bring about almost anything he wishes, even the bombardment of an Arab town being no exception. Immunity from such a catastrophe is a purchasable commodity, as indeed are all other Governmental services, from the return of runaway slaves up. This is doubtless something of an exaggeration of the facts, but it is no exaggeration of the Arabs' mind on the matter, and it is to be noted that as the Arab notes, that the man in question is now enormously wealthy. The fear in which he is held is almost ludicrous. A sheikh does not so much as dare to invite in a foreign doctor without consulting him first, and on arrival they make haste to recommend an immediate visit to the Khan Bahadur. He has his agents scattered all over the district. There are said to be some sixteen of them all privately employed. I had not been in the Suba's majlis of Saeed bin Mogeem two hours before one of them came in to inquire my purposes and to recommend a visit to his employer. The Sheikh had spoken to me about it, even before that. Sheikh Mansur is apparently the only Sheikh in that district who has preserved more or less independence, and there is no great friendship lost between them.

May I close by mentioning that Major Trevor before he was invalided home procured Sheikh Saad of Dubai ^{a copy of} ^{translated into Arabic} ~~the~~ ^{could be sent him} regularly (At least so says Sheikh Saad) and he has been much disappointed not to receive them. If ^{the permission may be granted} ~~such a service~~ ^{is proper}, I would like to suggest that such a service would be considered a great favor by the Sheikhs of both Abu Dhabi and Dubai.

Trusting that the above will cover the ground that you indicated, I am,

Yours most sincerely,

P. W. Harrison.

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Political Agency
 Bahawalpur, the 29th April 1918

I am in receipt of your most interesting letter of 27th instant, giving details of your works at Debal; Abu Dubbi etc and also your observations of the general situation and mental attitude of the various Sheikhs in those districts.

It is gratifying to find that the good work done among them was successful and more so to know that it was appreciated.

I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Mr. Bill the Deputy Political Resident Lahore who I feel sure will appreciate it.

Thanking you for your trouble.


 Political Agent
 Bahawalpur

Br. P. B. D. D.

B A H A W A L P U R.

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POLITICAL AGENCY.

No. 407/

Bahrain, the 4th May 1913.

Confidential

(10)

To

The Chief Civil Commissioner,
 BAGDAD.
 The Deputy Political Resident,
 BUSHIRE.

MEMORANDUM.

I beg to submit for your information a copy of a letter from Dr. P. M. Harrison of the Arabian Mission, which I trust will be of interest, ^{and} in connection with which I venture to hope I may be permitted to make a few remarks.

On his return to Bahrain Dr. Harrison came to see me and in conversation more or less went over the same ground covered by his report.

From his statements I gathered that Sheikh Jassem of Abu Dhabi, appeared to be the most intelligent and progressively inclined Sheikh he came in contact with, and that ~~the~~ ^{she} was in also friendly towards us, at all events more so than most of the others.

When Doctor Harrison mentioned that the Sheikh of Dibai was opposed to a British representative being appointed in Dibai, I generally enquired whether in his opinion Sheikh Jassem would be equally opposed to such a step being taken in his Emirate, supposing it to be a good thing. Dr. Harrison replied that he did not know, but on the other hand he thought he might possibly be in favour of such a step. The chief arguments from the Arabian Mission in favour of such a step being taken in Dibai are as follows:

the government to have a representative on Trucial coast, and it appears to me that we might try and come to some arrangement with Sheikh Moudan and establish a Representative in his district. This would be the thin end of the wedge and later on it would be, I think, an easy matter to gradually extend our influence along that coast.

Another point in Mr. Harrison's report, which in my opinion calls for comment, is the strong desire for a medical man. I venture to submit that it might be another means of peaceful penetration, with a view to attaining the same object. If a British Medical Officer were sent there, he could no doubt gradually assume the powers of a Political officer.

It is with great trepidation that I venture ^{to} the above comments, as I fear I might be suggesting nothing, which has not already, how long ere this, been weighed in the balance and found wanting and I therefore beg to be excused for trespassing on your valuable time.



Political Agent, Bahrain.

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Copy of a letter dated the 23rd March 1909 from the American Vice and Deputy Consul, Muskat, to His Highness Sir Saiyid Faical bin Turki, G. C. I. E., Sultan of Muskat and Oman.

After Compliments. I have the honor to quote treaty concluded on September 21st, 1833. Article XI states that the citizens of the United States resorting to the ports of the Sultan for the purpose of trade shall have leave to land and reside in the said ports without paying any tax or imposition whatever for such liberty other than the general duties on imports which the most favored nation shall pay.

" From international law digest, Protection of missionaries-----
Missionaries sent out by religious communities in the United States to Mohammedan or pagan lands are entitled to all the protection which the law of nations allow this Government to extend to citizens to reside in foreign countries in the pursuit of their lawful avocation.

I have quoted these in reference to Doctor J. Thurn of the Arabian Mission who intends opening a Dispensary in Muskat. He has rented a house there and I request Your Highness to extend the same protection to him as mentioned above. Doctor Thurn is anxious to go to Muskat as soon as possible so he thinks any delay will cause serious inconvenience to him.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 41.

Bushire,

8/2/15. (1915)

My dear Keyes,

I am sending you officially a telegram I have just received from the Karachi Brigade with reference to the censoring of a letter to Harrison.

I must confess to a certain surprise, not that I know Harrison any more than slightly, but have heard a good deal about him, and never anything which has caused me to entertain the slightest suspicion that his views are anti-British.

After all this letter may possibly express certain sentiments which are not Bahrain Harrison's, although they emanate from his brother. Can you enlighten me? I should be very much obliged if you can.

There is another matter which interests me very much, and that is, have you any information with regard to stocks of arms which are said to exist in Qatar? Information has reached me from Makran that rifles have been landed there which are said to have come from Qatar where a fairly large supply still awaits shipment. Will you kindly give me your views on this?

I hope you have been keeping more fit lately and not had a return of your old trouble. How are people going now-a-days?

*Yours sincerely**E. C. Withers.**The Intelligence Officer, Persian Gulf, Bombay.*

*Replied officially re Harrison D.O. in Qatar letter
I was writing on this*

*JK**27/8/15*

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13

Copy of a letter dated the 10th Rabi-ul-Awal 1327
-----from
2nd April----- 1909

His Highness Sir Saiyid Faisal bin Turki, G. C. I. E., Sultan
of Muskat and Oman to the American Vice and Deputy Consul, Mus-
kat.

I have received your letter of March 23rd. I have understood
it. There is a treaty always between us. We are friends at all
times-- most sincere friends-- we are grafted with iron hoops
of friendship. We have a mutual understanding about permitting
others for trade and living here. I protect your subjects at
all times with the greatest care. They are very comfortably
and conveniently carrying on their business and for the clergy-
men who come to see the place we provide all comforts excepting
the Doctor who now wants to open a Hospital here. I cannot per-
mit him. I have already arranged for a physician at Mutrah to
work charitably and I do not think if any more is required there.

(S.O.P.N.)

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AMERICAN CONSULATE.

Muscat, Oman, April 3rd, 1906.

His Highness

Sir Syad Fayzal bin Syad Toorkey, G.S.I.E.

Sultan of Muscat & Oman.

MUSCAT.

After Compliments.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Highness' letter of yesterday's date and to thank Your Highness for acknowledging the rights and privileges of the American Citizens.

With reference to what Your Highness say about new doctor I have the honour to say that I most strongly object to any discrimination being made against American doctors and their rights in Your Highness' dominions.

I have the honour to be
Your Highness' most obedient Servant,

(Signed). MARSHALL HARRIS.

American Vice Consul General.

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١٣٢٧
 جلاله الملك فاضل حيدرآباد في رجب
 من سلطان مسقط وعمان

April 1909.

اما بعد فتعالى الله العرش العظيم في شهر ابريل ١٩٠٩ وقد فرغتم من
 ما ذكرتم من هذه الرخس فاعلم اني لا ابيح له ان يفتح مستشفى بمطرح
 فقد تقدمت اليه بجوابي فلم يقبل فاذا ينبغي له ان يرفع هذه المقدمه
 الى دولته لجمهوريتها الامريكانيه المحذاه وعماله منوها
 بخطاب يوافقها لانه لا يقبل مستشفيات
 بطرح وليس له تكرار السؤال فيما لا ارتضي بمادونه
 والدولته لجمهوريتها الامريكانيه لاجتهاد في بشؤون
 اولئك البادرين هذا ما لزم بيانه والسلام

١٣٢٧
 ١٣٢٧

Note: This letter from the Sultan of Muscat to the
 American Consul in Muscat shows his refusal
 to open a hospital at Matrah.

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(COPY.)

38

CONSULAR SERVICE, U.S.A.

Muscat, Oman, November 27th 1909.

To,

His Majesty

Muhyid Feyzul bin Turki,

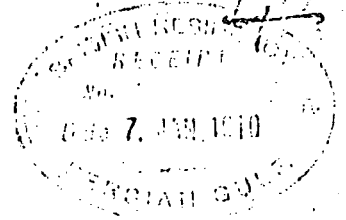
Sultan of Oman.

Majesty:

After Compliments. Y. H.'s note dated the 8th of Dhu'l Coda 1327 A.H. has been received and its contents carefully noted. I observe that Y. H. states that a doctor officially appointed by the American Government would be acceptable to him. Now there is nothing in our treaty⁽¹⁸⁵³⁾ authorizing any one to distinguish among American doctors and any division of them into acceptable and unacceptable classes is purely arbitrary. The possession of a certain right by one doctor implies the possession of the same right by all doctors, unless the law gives authority to discriminate. As Y. H. declares that one kind of American doctor is acceptable, I assume that he implies that American doctors in general are acceptable.

The point at issue then is not the right of American doctors to reside and practise in Oman, but the possible disturbance of the public peace arising from a missionary's meddling in religious matters. I feel justified in assuring Y. H. that the United States will not encourage their citizens in meddling, as they will not fail to support them in legitimate activities. I have never heard of our missionaries meddling. Should such a case occur it should be reported to the Consul who would be obliged to give the matter his most careful attention.

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No. 3103, dated Bushire, the 5th (received 14th) December 1909 (Confidential).

From—MAJOR A. P. TREVOR, First Assistant Resident, In charge of Residency,
 To—The Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

I have the honour to advert to the marginally cited letter from the
 No. 1257, dated the 23rd November 1909. Political Agent, Maskat, to the Political

Resident in the Persian Gulf (a copy of which has been sent to the Foreign Department direct) on the subject of the American Missionary Dispensary at Mutra.

2. Mr. Holland has discussed the question in detail, and it is unnecessary for me to say much. I agree with Mr. Holland that the whole question turns on whether a missionary can be considered a 'trader' within the meaning of the word as employed in Treaties. On the legal aspect of this I am not competent to express an opinion, but from a practical point of view I beg to say that, although the American missionaries at Bahrain and certain English missionaries regard themselves as traders, this Residency has never been able to regard them as such. It is of course impossible to convince the Sheikh of Bahrain (or Koweit) that a missionary whose principal aim in life is religion is on the same footing as a man who sells broadcloth for profit.

3. In view of the present attitude of the American Arabian Mission, it is interesting to read the views of the Board of the Mission as expressed in their letter * of 16th November 1909, which incidentally admits that the result of the advent of missionaries in a Muhammadan country is very different from that produced by the residence of simple traders.

* Vide sub-enclosure 2 to Foreign Department
 orderment No. 523-E.A., dated 2nd February
 1909.

No. 113. REF: R/15/3/6/6 INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY and RECORDS

(Copy).

Foreign Office to Mr. Bryce.

Foreign Office,

April 5th, 1910.

Sir,

With reference to your despatch No. 211 of September 11th last relative to the opening by the American "Arabian Mission" of a Dispensary at Mutra, near Muscat, I transmit to Your Excellency herewith a copy of a letter dated February 19th from the India Office forwarding copy of a despatch from the Government of India showing the course of the negotiations which have lately taken place between the Sultan and the recently appointed United States Consul with regard to this question.

Your Excellency will perceive that the United States Government base their demand for the recognition of the dispensary on the ground that they have always held that missionaries and traders in the sense in which that word is employed in treaties, while the Sultan maintains his objections to the enterprise of Dr. Thoms at Mutra.

An examination of the sources of information at the disposal of this office does not show that His Majesty's Government ever have ever held missionaries to be traders for treaty purposes and it does not appear to them that they properly belong to that category.

The objections, of the nature of which, Your Excellency is already aware, raised by the Sultan to Dr. Thoms' undertaking appear moreover to be reasonable and just from His Highness's point of view and it is desirable on general grounds that His Majesty's Government should uphold the authority of His Highness by supporting him in the attitude which he has adopted.

At the same time, the fact that His Majesty's Government have no grounds for official intervention in the matter called

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the question of taking steps on His Highness's behalf a delicate one.

In view of all the facts I am of opinion that an effort should be made to effect a friendly compromise between the Sultan and the United States Government on the lines laid down in the penultimate paragraph of the India Office letter but as the negotiations with regard to this question have hitherto been carried on by Your Excellency and the Secretary of State of the United States it seems preferable that the suggested verbal explanation should be made by you to him rather than as proposed by me to the United States Ambassador in London.

I have accordingly to request Your Excellency to make to Mr. Knox a verbal communication in the sense proposed by the India Office and to explain to him that His Majesty's Government are in the fullest sympathy with American Missionary enterprise at Muscat but that feeling that Dr. Thoms in opening a dispensary at Mutra in opposition to the Sultan's wishes is hindering rather than advancing that work, they have thought it right to approach the United States Government with regard to the question.

I am etc.

(sd) Omitted.

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Literature on the subject is limited, and little is known about this Mission's work in the Arabian Gulf region, because of the very few writers who have dealt with the subject, and those mainly the leaders of the Mission. The three Pioneers Cantine, Zwemer and Phelps were brief in the information they provided about their Mission, and the field which they were dealing with. Other leaders of the Mission like, Harrison, Mason, Barny and Van Ess gave some further details. Outside the Mission, writings about the Mission are very rare.

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