Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands

Nineteenth-century Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women: An Overview

Murre-van den Berg, H.L.

Citation
Murre-van den Berg, H. L. (2005). Nineteenth-century Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women: An Overview. In . Berg, Oxford/New York. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/7880

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License: Leiden University Non-exclusive license
Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/7880

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East

Two Hundred Years of History

Edited by

Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud

Oxford • New York

English edition
First published in 2005 by
Berg
Editorial offices:
First Floor, Angel Court, 81 St Clements Street, Oxford OX4 1AW, UK
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, USA

© Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud 2005

All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form
or by any means without the written permission of
Berg.

Berg is the imprint of Oxford International Publishers Ltd.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gender, religion and change in the Middle East : two hundred years of history / edited by Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud. — English ed.
p. cm. — (Cross-cultural perspectives on women,
ISSN 1068-8536 ; v. [26])
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-84520-199-X (pbk.) — ISBN 1-84520-198-1 (cloth)
1. Women—Middle East. 2. Women—Islamic countries. I. Okkenhaug, Inger Marie. II. Flaskerud, Ingvild. III. Series.

HQ1785.G46 2005
305.3'0956'0904—dc22

2004030703

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN-13 978 1 84520 198 2 (Cloth)
978 1 84520 199 9 (Paper)

ISBN-10 1 84520 198 1 (Cloth)
1 84520 199 X (Paper)

Typeset by JS Typesetting Ltd, Porthcawl, Mid Glamorgan
Printed in the United Kingdom by Biddles Ltd, King's Lynn.

www.bergpublishers.com

Contents

Introduction
Inger Marie Okkenhaug and *Ingvild Flaskerud* 1

1 Justice without Drama: Observations from Gaza City Sharia Court
Nahda Younis Shehada 13

2 From the Army of G-d to the Israeli Armed Forces: An Interaction between Two Cultural Models
Yohai Hakak 29

3 To Give the Boys Energy, Manliness, and Self-command in Temper: The Anglican Male Ideal and St. George's School in Jerusalem, *c.*1900–40
Inger Marie Okkenhaug 47

4 Women Students at the American University of Beirut from the 1920s to the 1940s
Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski 67

5 Women's Voluntary Social Welfare Organizations in Egypt
Beth Baron 85

6 Nineteenth-century Protestant Missions and Middle-Eastern Women: An Overview
Heleen Murre-van den Berg 103

7 The Paradox of the New Islamic Woman in Turkey
Jenny B. White 123

8 Visions of Mary in the Middle East: Gender and the Power of a Symbol
Willy Jansen 137

9 An Army of Women Learning Torah
Leah Shakdiel 155

10 Stones and Stories: Engaging with Gender and Complex Emergencies
Nefissa Naguib 175

11 Tradition and Change: Afghan Women in an Era of War and Displacement
Karin Ask 191

12 Vows, Mediumship and Gender: Women's Votive Meals in Iran
Azam Torab 207

Index 223

6

Nineteenth-century Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women: An Overview

Heleen Murre-van den Berg

Introduction

One of the most characteristic aspects of both Roman Catholic and Protestant mission work in the nineteenth century is the enormous amount of time, energy and money that was channeled into activities directed towards women. The missions in the Middle East were no exception to this rule. Although earlier Roman Catholic mission work in this part of the world did not ignore the women of the communities they worked with, work especially directed at women and girls was sparse compared to the nineteenth century (Heyberger 1994: 339, 470–4; Langlois 2001; Verdeuil 2001). For especially the latter decades of the nineteenth century, however, the sources suggest that activities organized for women and girls accounted for considerably more than half of the personnel and time available and that the number of females influenced by missionary activities must have been larger than the number of boys and men. In this chapter I intend to give an overview of the large variety of the work initiated by Protestant missionaries for women and girls between 1820 and 1914, coupled with a tentative assessment of the reception of these activities by the women of the Middle East.[1]

Although Protestant mission work in the Middle East in many respects was similar to mission work in other parts of the world, some of its characteristics were unique. These included the missionary activities among the ancient Christian communities of the Middle East, and the difficulties surrounding mission work among Muslims. These two issues influenced many of the choices made by the missionaries in the field. A third unique feature of these missions was the fact that they took place in a region that held a special position in the minds of the Protestants as the birthplace of Christ and Christianity.[2] The large variety of missionary groups in the Middle East as a whole, and in Palestine in particular, should be attributed to this special position of the "Bible Lands" in early nineteenth-century Protestantism. However, much as these beliefs influenced the choice of stations and the distribution of missionary funds by home administrators, the practical

issues in the Middle Eastern missions do not seem to have been much affected by it.

Historical outline

The two organizations that dominated Protestant mission work in the Middle East were the Church Missionary Society (CMS) based in London, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) based in Boston.[3] From 1815 onwards, these two organizations sent their missionaries to the region and continued to dominate the scene for the next hundred years.[4] The CMS was strong in Egypt, Palestine and Persia, the ABCFM in Persia, Lebanon and Turkey. In addition, the London Jews Society (LJS) supported work in Istanbul (1826) and Jerusalem (1833) (Gidney 1908; Tibawi 1961; Crombie 1991). From 1842 onwards, the Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Palestine cooperated with the LJS in working among Jews, and with the CMS in working among Eastern Christians. Probably the first missionary school for girls was established around 1824, when the wives of the ABCFM missionaries Goodell and Bird started a little school in Beirut (Tibawi 1966: 32).[5] In 1835 the first unmarried female teachers arrived (ABCFM), Rebecca Williams in Beirut and Betsey Tilden in Jerusalem (Tibawi 1966: 65–6, 74, 82–4, 86). In the 1840s, more female teachers followed, among them Fidelia Fiske in Iran, and the number of girls' schools continued to grow, especially in the ABCFM missions.

In the 1850s and early 1860s, the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses from Germany founded orphanages and schools for girls in Jerusalem (1851), Smyrna (1853) and Beirut (1861); besides these, hospitals were opened in Jerusalem (1851), Constantinople (1852), Alexandria (1857) and Cairo (1884) (Disselhoff 1886: 105–35). Next to these, other nursing projects were established, such as Miss Wordsworth Smith's The Palestine and Lebanon Nurses' Mission (Richter 1970 [1910]: 206). Over the century, the deaconesses' organization was to grow into one of the most important in connection with work among women. There were more organizations supporting women's work in the Middle East: the Female Education Society (FES) and the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (SPFEE), which initially had sent their (female) missionaries mainly to India, started to send missionaries to the Middle East, for instance working with the CMS in Nazareth, Palestine (Murray 2000: 66–90; see also Richter 1970: 244). The British Syrian Mission (also known as the Ladies' Association for Social and Religious Improvement of Syrian Females) started as a private initiative by Mrs. Elisabeth Bowen Thompson and Mrs. Augusta Mentor Mott in Syria (around 1860), and developed into a fully fledged girls' school system with thousands of pupils (Tibawi 1966: 156–7; Richter 1970: 203; Melman 1992: 178).

Other private initiatives were Caroline Cooper's schools for girls in Palestine of 1848 (Tibawi 1961: 150, 208; Melman 1992: 184ff.) and Mary Whately's "ragged schools" in Egypt of 1861 (Whately 1863a, 1863b; Cale 1984). In these years, other Protestant organizations also began work in the Middle East, such as the American Presbyterians in Egypt (Watson 1898; Richter 1970: 345–8), the Scottish Presbyterians in Palestine (Marten 2002), the Free Church of Scotland in Syria (Tibawi 1966: 155; Richter 1970: 205), the Society of Friends in Palestine (Richter 1910: 257) and the Lutherans and Anglicans in Urmia, Persia (Coakley 1992; Murre-van den Berg 1999; Joseph 2000). In 1870, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions took over ABCFM work in Syria and Persia (Brown 1936), and the Dutch started mission in work in Egypt (Vlieger 1892).[6] All these missions supported some form of female education, and most missions did additional work among women.

When in the 1870s and 1880s the work of unmarried female missionaries became both increasingly popular and widely acceptable,[7] work among the female half of the population increased even more, since most of these missionaries worked almost exclusively for women, as teachers, evangelists, doctors and nurses.[8] Another characteristic of mission work in these later years was the fact that some of the larger stations functioned almost as family businesses, being occupied by missionary families of several generations interconnected by marriage. In such groups women played important but often informal roles, with wives, daughters, sisters and nieces of the leading male missionaries taking responsibility for large parts of the work.[9]

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the characteristic population mix of the Middle East made for mission work that in some respects was significantly different from that in other parts of the world. Although the initial aim of the Protestant missions was to convert Muslims (and in some circles, Jews) to Christianity, it was the Eastern Christians who in the period up to 1870 attracted the largest number of missionaries. The most obvious reason for this was the fact that Muslim governments as well as local religious authorities made it rather difficult for Protestant missions to direct their activities towards the Muslim population, whereas mission activities among Christians were accepted by the governments and often initially welcomed by local Christian leaders. Partly as a response to this situation, and partly as a result of the evangelical rejection of "ritualistic," "hierarchical" and "nominal" Christianity (familiar elements from Roman Catholic Protestant polemics), the "reawaking" or "reformation" of the Eastern Christians was seen a necessary step towards the long-term goal of conversion of Muslims and Jews. It was only some of the smaller missions (like those of Mary Whately in Egypt and the LJS in Palestine) that consistently worked among Muslims or Jews, whereas most other missions worked among the Christian communities of the Middle East. From the 1870s onwards mission work among

Muslims again became the focus of the larger organizations, of the Presbyterians in Iran, the CMS in Iran and Egypt, and the new Arabia Mission of the American Dutch Reformed Church in southern Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula, all of which gave considerable attention to work among females (Al-Sayegh 1998; Doumato 1998; Francis-Dehqani 2000). Increasing numbers of female missionaries and work more and more aimed specifically at the women of the Middle East thus went hand in hand with increasing attention for the Muslim population.[10]

The Variety of Missionary Work

Protestant mission work in the nineteenth century consisted of a large variety of activities that were ultimately intended to induce Muslims, Christians and Jews to convert to the evangelical version of the Christian faith. At least six categories of mission work can be distinguished: formal or public preaching; informal preaching or teaching ("conversation"); caring for children of the local population; education; translating and printing; health care.[11] In addition to the conversionist aim, most if not all of the nineteenth-century missionaries were also committed to certain civilizational aims, which in their view belonged intrinsically to the evangelical lifestyle.[12] In particular the work for women was motivated by more or less explicit ideas about "evangelical motherhood," in which women were portrayed as the driving force behind the new Christian family.[13] These ideas were transmitted to the women and men of the Middle East through all aspects of missionary work, parallel to the conversionist aim.

Formal or Public Preaching

"Formal" or "public" preaching, despite being ABCFM administrator Rufus Anderson's preferred missionary method (Hutchison 1987; Harris 1999; Murre-van den Berg 2000), in practice was the least important missionary method in the Middle East. In most stations, missionaries had an opportunity to preach only in the context of the newly established Protestant congregations; in addition, female missionaries were excluded from public preaching or speaking in almost all mission stations. This suggests that the influence of such preaching was mostly restricted to a small circle of women and men who had converted to Protestantism or were at least sympathetic to the missionary message. Although the actual contents of missionary sermons have to my knowledge never been the subject of serious study, one might assume that a call for repentance and conversion on the one hand, and maintaining a Christian lifestyle on the other, constituted the main part of the message. To what extent male missionaries conveyed explicit messages about evangelical domesticity and the role of women and men to their congregations remains to be seen.

Informal Preaching or Teaching

Informal preaching or teaching, on the contrary, played a large part in the missions of the Middle East and was considered by most of the missionaries, male and female, to be the core of their mission work, even if it often took place in spare time between formal teaching, healing and writing. "Conversational preaching," as it was often called, was a particularly appropriate term for women's meetings in private homes (so-callled "harem visits") and informal gatherings of women in the countryside initiated by a missionary teacher or a local Bible woman. Especially in the later decades of the nineteenth century, this line of work was the strong point of the female missionaries, who, unlike their male co-workers, generally seem to have been less involved in organized activities such as literary work and preaching. In some cases, conversational preaching combined with strong personal relationships was another key method of fostering conversions, especially among the Christian population. A missionary teacher such as Fidelia Fiske in Urmia (Iran) used every opportunity to talk about the evangelical message with the girls in her seminary, and became famous for the large number of conversions among her pupils (Porterfield 1997: 68–86; Robert 1997: 109–15; Murre-van den Berg 2001). Among non-Christians, however, conversions were scarce. Elisabeth Anne McCaul Finn, the wife of the British Consul in Jerusalem between 1845 and 1863, was not formally a missionary but spent much of her time visiting the women of the Jewish community talking to them about Christianity – with hardly any conversions to show for it.[14] Later in the nineteenth century, female missionaries in Persia and Arabia saw "visiting" as the best opportunity to preach the Gospel to those Muslim women who lived largely secluded from the outside world. While they seem to have been received warmly by the local women, almost no conversions are reported. In general, therefore, the work was seen as preparatory, as a "means to conquer the deep-rooted antipathy, and superstitious fear of the Persian women, thus helping the missionaries to come into close relation with them, and bringing into their dull and dark lives some rays of new hope and heavenly light" (Richter 1970: 327). Although the missionaries tended to write more about their conversionist than their modernist agenda, it seems likely that they also used these homely contacts to convey the ideals of evangelical motherhood and domesticity to the women they encountered.[15]

Caring for Children of the Local Population

The raising of local children in missionary families, although not often described as a separate activity, formed an important part of missionary work all over the world. Initially, children were frequently brought to missionaries as a sign of trust, and soon the missionaries encouraged such temporary adoptions as a good opportunity to convey to these children the evangelical truths in all its aspects. A

few local children in missionary families often formed the nucleus of the small boarding schools that were established in the 1840s, like the girls boarding with the De Forest and Whiting families in Beirut and Abeih (Tibawi 1966: 115–16). It was in the 1850s and 1860s that the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses introduced girls' orphanages in which, although the conversionist and civilizational aims remained important, immediate relief from poverty and destitution formed the prime incentive, especially after the intercommunal wars in Lebanon in 1860 (Disselhoff 1886: 106–12, 122–30; Richter 1970: 202, 268).

Education

Formal teaching, from primary schools to college education, was the most visible aspect of missionary work directed towards girls and young women, and has received considerable attention in mission studies so far.[16] Many of the larger missionary organizations, especially the ABCFM, maintained a network of primary schools in the countryside surrounding the mission station. The CMS had a similar system in Palestine and Egypt. Not a few of these schools were coeducational and closely resembled earlier Christian and Muslim denominational schools in the region. In later years, these schools either became more closely linked to the missionary educational system (because graduates from the mission schools taught there) or were disbanded or completely taken over by local teachers. An interesting variant of such primary schools were Mary Whately's "ragged schools," which she established for poor Muslim girls in Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt. The "ragged school" was a concept derived from missionary work in British towns, aimed explicitly at the lower classes. In some ways more like the boarding schools in other missions, her day schools tried to inculcate concepts of cleanliness and domesticity in the girls, in addition to making them familiar with the Bible (Whately 1863a, 1863b; Richter 1970: 358).

It was the boarding schools in the mission stations that in many respects constituted the center of missionary educational work. These were the schools that had initially been set up by missionary wives in their own homes, but were subsequently taken over by single female teachers with a more or less formal training in teaching. In these boarding schools, girls learned to read and write (in the early years only a few of the girls had had any prior education), to be followed by a kind of secondary education including subjects such as geography, philosophy, history, moral philosophy, singing and sometimes English.[17] In addition, the girls were trained in a variety of domestic skills, including sewing and needlework. This was in line with the Mount Holyoke model, one of the first institutions for women's advanced education in the United States, where many female missionaries had been trained (Porterfield 1997). The first goal of these institutions was the conversion of the pupils, the second the formation of

a new generation of Protestant wives and mothers who would transmit the new religious and domestic values to the coming generation.[18] Despite the concern for the religious and intellectual training of the future Protestant elite, the schools also attracted girls from families less connected to the Protestant communities, so much so that in a few cases, like the Female Seminary in Constantinople in the early 1860s (Merguerian 1990–1) and the schools in Tripoli in 1873 (Tibawi 1966: 198), the ABCFM administrators felt compelled to force the missionaries to open up new schools especially for Protestant girls.

The Kaiserswerth Deaconesses introduced a different model of education. Theirs was aimed at providing girls from the lower classes, of all denominations, with a basic industrial training to enable them to provide financially for their families.[19] In this context needlework and domestic skills did not belong so much to the extras of the evangelical housewife, but rather were valued as important skills in the labor market: the girls were expected either to work as domestic helps in the households of the rich or to make money by sewing, embroidery or laundering.[20] In Jerusalem, where the Talitha-Kumi institute became well established, earlier projects to help Jewish and Christian women to provide a living had already been started by Finn, Cooper and the LJS (Melman 1992: 183–8; Okkenhaug 2002a: 14–19). In 1868, the Women's Board of Mission initiated a somewhat similar practical project when they funded a school in Constantinople that combined schooling for females with community outreach and medical care (Merguerian 1990–1: 121).

In the same period, still other types of missionary education began to develop, often in response to requests from local communities of both Protestants and Eastern Christians. The Syrian Protestant College (for boys, later to develop into the American University of Beirut) was one of such initiatives that provided higher education for students from all parts of the population, rather than concentrating on Protestant youth (Tibawi 1967). For girls, similar ventures were undertaken, such as the American College for Girls (later the Constantinople College for Girls), the Female College in Beirut (Fleischmann 2002) and the girls' department of the Euphrates College in Kharput, the first higher institution that in 1875 was coeducational in the sense that boys and girls were offered identical programs, although they were taught in separate buildings (Merguerian 1990–1: 121, 1992–3: 51). These schools then became attractive to other segments of the population, and Muslims, especially Muslim girls, started to return to the mission schools.[21] The mix of pupils from different communities, together with a growing international outlook in the Ottoman Empire, led the Constantinople College to adopt English (which had been temporarily banned from the ABCFM mission schools in 1862) rather than Armenian as the language of instruction (Merguerian 1990–1: 121). The schools established by the Anglican Bishop Blyth and his family in Jerusalem from 1887 onwards also succeeded in attracting a mixture of pupils from the

different groups in Palestine, not in the least because of their (rather unusual) non-proselytizing policy (Okkenhaug 2002a: 11). Even the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses, although thoroughly committed to the education of the lower classes, from 1862 onwards maintained a "Höhere Mädchenschule" in Lebanon intended for girls from the higher classes – with the explicit aim to generate surplus money from the school fees to be fed back into other projects (Disselhoff 1886: 128). In these types of schools, the conversionist aim faded more and more into the background – sometimes deliberately so (as in the case of the Blyth schools), sometimes without explicitly admitting it. Consequently, the modernizing aim of missionary education became a driving force of the schools, and to a large extent determined the curriculum and the informal teaching in and around the schools.

Translating and Printing

The missioniaries' activities in the area of printing and translating have sometimes been overrated, but they have undoubtedly contributed significantly (more so in the more remote regions than in the communities closer to the metropolises of the Middle East) to literacy in general and printing and publishing in particular.[22] Through their publications, the missionaries publicized the twin aims of the Western missions, and the titles in the missionary catalogues and contributions in missionary magazines display a peculiar mix of pious conversionist literature (usually translations of Anglo-Saxon evangelical books and tracts, but including some publications by missionaries or local converts) and publications extolling the accomplishments of Western culture (Kawerau 1958: 390–7). There is no doubt that women were included in the intended readership of the new publications as much as men.

Health Care

It was the extension of the health care system in the last decades of the nineteenth century, including a significant increase in female doctors and nurses, that became of great importance for Muslim women in the more remote regions of the Middle East. The missions in Persia (both in the cities and in the countryside), and especially those in southern Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula, made good use of these female agents, who were able to get in touch with women who until that time had had no contact with Westerners at all. Apart from benefiting from Western medical knowledge in regions where little medical expertise was present, these visits also provided the missionaries with ample opportunities to spread the Gospel. However, although the work was successful as regards the numbers of women treated in the hospitals and dispensaries, conversions to Christianity hardly ever took place.

Results of Mission Work

The most difficult question to answer is how all these activities influenced the women of the Middle East. Is it at all possible to weigh the disparate evidence and make conclusive judgments on such a varied and long-term undertaking as the Protestant missionary endeavor in the nineteenth century? It formed part of the growing Western influence in the Middle East in general and took place alongside rival Roman Catholic missions, whose modernizing agenda was not fundamentally different from that of the Protestants. Although it is therefore difficult to disentangle Protestant missionary work from the many other influences that stimulated women's awakening in the Middle East (Baron 1994), I would like to pay attention to a few areas where the missions' influences are clearly detectable.

The most obvious places to look for Protestant missionary influence are the communities of the converted. Although the Protestant communities were rather small, probably consisting of no more than about 30,000 members in all of the Middle East in 1908 (Richter 1970: 421), and most converts originally belonged to the Eastern Churches rather than to Islam or Judaism, the early converts are an important source for a better understanding of Protestant influence. Although it is somewhat risky to go by the few sources that have been explored so far, my own research on the early converts of Fidelia Fiske's Female Seminary in Urmia suggests that the first generations of female converts were attracted to the missionary message first and foremost because of its aspect of individual repentance and conversion (Murre-van den Berg 2001).[23] Evangelical conversion was a highly personal affair, nourished by close relationships with the missionary teacher and sustained by a continuing interaction with the teacher and others in the same circle. For women this aspect probably was more important than for men, because at least some of the women seemed to have perceived active participation in religion (and even partaking in "salvation") as a male privilege: "They used to dwell much on those words of Solomon, 'One man among a thousand I have found, but a woman among all these have I not found' but now they see their mistake, and that Christ died for women also" (Murre-van den Berg 2001: 41).[24] One might assume, therefore, that the active religious roles of the female missionaries might well have encouraged a further and more individual spiritual awakening and appropriation among women of the Eastern Churches.

The letters of Fiske's converts also indicate that conversion in the strict sense, that is accepting the evangelical version of Christianity, went hand in hand with a conversion to "evangelical modernity" (Van der Veer 1996; Makdisi 1997). The most striking example of such a modernizing influence is that of the young man Yuhannan, who wrote to Fiske that he did not want to marry the girl from

the mountains his parents had chosen for him, because "if I take one of these who are so wicked, ignorant, immodest and disorderly, they will embitter my life." He rather preferred a particular girl of the Female Seminary, who "can help me, and strengthen me, in the work of God." Yuhannan's preferred wife, Sarah, daughter of the priest Auraham, herself later referred to the virtues of the evangelical housewife as "visiting the sick," "propriety, politeness, and courtesy to every one," "cleanliness and good order in the house" being "outward signs of Christianity," as well as "*diligence in business, that we should not be dependent* on others for assistance, but on the might of our own hands" (Murre-van den Berg 2001: 43). These same letters also indicate that the missionaries' influence on these women went further than change of heart and daily lifestyles: many of these women, including Sarah, followed in Fiske's footsteps by becoming teachers and missionaries themselves (Anderson 1873, vol. 2: 307–11; Murre-van den Berg 2001: 39–40). Such women have played important but largely undocumented roles in the spread of evangelical modernity in the Middle East. All histories make references to converts that became teachers and missionaries themselves, such as Tibawi's work on Middle Eastern women who became teachers in mission schools (Tibawi 1966: 82, 163, 198, 209) and Disselhoff's on various former pupils who became deaconesses or taught in their schools (Disselhoff 1886: 111–12, 122, 126–7, 129). However, so far no systematic study on the lives and careers of these early converts has been carried out.

Yet, the modernizing influence of the missionaries extended beyond the converts to evangelical Protestantism. The mission schools, from primary schools up to the colleges, usually had no problems filling their classes, which reflects the almost immediate recognition by the people of the Middle East of the importance of education for girls. In fact, although Protestant missionaries in their home publications often refer to local opposition or initial lack of interest when starting girls' schools, in practice it seemed to have been relatively easy to acquire at least a few pupils to start with. I know of no single mission station where it proved impossible to establish a girls' school, and after a slow start more pupils were usually queuing up than the missionaries could accept. Later, opposition directed against the missionaries' message itself often led to the establishment of rival schools for boys and girls, rather than a return to earlier informal educational systems.[25] Although the influence of these schools on these generations of Christian, Jewish and Muslim girls cannot be easily measured, it is striking that many of the women who played crucial roles in the "women's awakening" in Egypt were educated at Syrian mission schools founded in the second half of the nineteenth century, both Protestant and Roman Catholic (Baron 1994: 16–26). This indicates that the schools not only produced a new female readership in the Middle East, but also stimulated women to write and publish themselves.[26]

Not only through these schools, but also through the missionary publications and perhaps also through "conversational preaching," the missions were one of the factors that stimulated Middle Eastern women to rethink their roles in family and society. Changes occurred in both areas: women were increasingly seen as "professional" and primary child-raisers, coinciding, however, with a growing acceptance of public roles for Middle Eastern women.[27] As noticed by others, the female missionaries themselves provided the examples for the ambiguous relationship between these two types of roles: some female missionaries remained single and found their destiny in their teaching or medical careers, others were already married, or married after some years of teaching or other professional occupations.[28] The same types of life-paths may be seen among the graduates of the mission schools.

Missionary education prepared some women for more than interesting professional careers. Especially in the new nationalist movements, whose rise was to a certain extent also connected with the missionary experiment, women rose to positions of leadership by conscious choice or by historical accident. An interesting example of such a career is Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun (1883–1975), who was born in to the leading family of the Assyrians in Kurdistan and was educated largely by an Anglican missionary, William Henry Browne. The combination of an aristocratic background and Anglican "imperial" education made her into the perfect leader of the Assyrian people after World War I had not only driven the Assyrians from their ancient homelands in Eastern Turkey, but also robbed them of most of their male leadership.[29]

A final question to be asked is to what extent the missionaries' spirituality influenced the religious life of the women of the Middle East. Did the women who did not convert take away with them something of the "Protestant" type of religious life? I came across the interesting example of Halidé Edib from Istanbul. Halidé, a woman from a wealthy and politically well-connected family in Istanbul, was a pupil of the Constantinople College for Girls in the 1890s. In her memoirs she reflects on her two periods in the college. Although she never felt tempted to convert,[30] she describes the college's influence on her spiritual development, on the one hand opening up "new vistas,"[31] and inciting deep religious emotions,[32] on the other showing the limits of Christianity.[33] She summarized her quest as follows: "I struggled to fit all the new outlook of life, acquired through my education in the college, into Islamic experience and belief" (Edib 1926: 192).[34] To what extent her experience is representative of her generation of Muslim students in the missionary colleges is difficult to say, but it seems not so different from the type of experiences expressed by later generations of students in the schools in Beirut and Jerusalem. In all these cases, the missionary message of evangelical conversion was explicitly rejected, but important aspects of the religious message, especially in connection with individual spiritual agency, were accepted and internalized.

Conclusion

This overview of Protestant missionary activities aimed at the women of the Middle East in many ways remains unsatisfactory. Despite the wealth of studies already available, an overview such as this confronts us with the fact that with respect to many of the organizations and many of their activities our knowledge is rather superficial. Although education in general has received a good deal of attention, the differences between the various types of missionary schools, and between schools supported by different missionary societies, have hardly been studied, whereas the contents of the important aspect of "conversational preaching" remain largely hidden from our sight. The ambiguous policy of raising local children in missionary families and orphanages has also hardly been studied so far. This is even truer when those who undertook these activities were the women of the Middle East themselves. Their contribution to these missionary activities has hardly been documented and analyzed. Despite all this, however, there can be no doubt that the Protestant missionary movement dedicated a large part of its resources to what it thought to be the uplifting of the women and girls of the Middle East, and there is also little doubt that in many instances these activities were received positively by the local population, mainly Eastern Christians, but also Jews and Muslims. Via spiritual empowerment on the one hand, and education and modernization on the other, the missionaries contributed to the awakening of the women of the Middle East in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and thus to the shift in gender relations that fundamentally changed the social and political structures of the Middle East.

Notes

1. Due to the great variety of missions featuring in this overview, I have limited myself to published materials, most of which consist of secondary studies from the twentieth century, although a number of published primary sources of the nineteenth century have been taken into account. For the difficulty of retrieving the voice of the women of the Middle East, see in particular Fleischmann (1998).
2. On Protestant "geopiety" in the nineteenth century, see Melman (1992) and Vogel (1993). On the characteristics of Middle Eastern missions in general, see Murre-van den Berg (2005).
3. Note that many of the smaller missions are not mentioned in the following overview. Some of these can be traced via Richter (1970 [1910]); other small (often private) missions have not made it to the official histories. Note too that Richter is somewhat hesitant about the American approach to female education: "So Americans are inclined

to extend to Oriental women, too, a fuller measure of educational advantages than seems desirable or proper to a German mind" (Richter 1970: 133).

4. The first CMS missionary was William Jowett at Malta; the first ABCFM missionaries were Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, who arrived in Syria in 1819. On the CMS and ABCFM, see the official histories by Anderson (1873), Stock (1899) and Strong (1910).
5. The early missionaries seem to have been largely unaware of the existing forms of female education in the Middle East, such as the *kuttabs* where Muslim boys and girls learned the Koran, some schools in the Christian communities, as well as some government-sponsored schools in Egypt (see Tucker 1999: 82–3). On the rather ambiguous aims and results of the Egyptian governmental "School of Midwives," established in 1832, see Fahmy (1998). On Constantinople, see Merguerian (1990–1: 107).
6. Vlieger (1892: 33) gives the impression that schooling for girls in the Dutch mission was rather different from that for boys. For the latter, elaborate and apparently high-level examinations are described, whereas a visit to the girls' school mentions needlework only. Although this can be due to the observer (a male German scholar), it seems very possible that the level and actual program of the boys' and girls' schools were quite different.
7. The CMS sent its first unmarried women missionaries as late as 1887, although single woman missionaries of the FES and SPEE often worked in CMS mission stations (Murray 2000: 72). The ABCFM sent its first single female missionaries in the 1830s, whereas the interdenominational Woman's Union Missionary Society Board was established in 1861 because American women disagreed with the policies of the main American mission boards. In 1868, the Woman's Board of Missions was founded, which supported ABCFM work only, among other things by sending single female missionaries (Robert 1997). For the number of female versus male missionaries in the Presbyterian Mission in Persia around 1908, see Richter (1970: 326): sixteen unmarried and twenty married females, in total, thirty-six women versus twenty-three men. On British female missionaries, see Semple (2003).
8. In this period hospitals with training facilities for doctors and nurses were introduced all over the Middle East, often with separate women's wings. An example is the hospital in Urmia (Iran) that was built in 1880 and to which a women's wing was added in 1890, headed by Dr. Emma T. Miller (Murre-van den Berg 1999: 70).
9. On the CMS Stuart family, see Murray (2000: 75–6); on the Anglican Blyth family in Jerusalem, see Okkenhaug (2002a: 9–11). Similar types of relationships probably existed among the Shedd and Cochran families in Urmia, and the Bliss, Jessup and Dodge families in Beirut (both ABCFM).
10. It is unlikely, however, that the two developments are directly linked. Some of the reasons for the shift to Islam are, first, the less antagonistic attitude of Muslim governments towards Western missionaries because of increasing Western influence in general and the British occupation of Egypt (1882) in particular, second, a growing awareness of the fact that both the awakening of the Eastern Christians and the new Protestant communities would not by itself attract Muslims to Christianity, third, the attractiveness of higher education and professional medical care (hospitals) for

Muslims, and fourth, the arrival of a new generation of evangelical missionaries who were not encumbered with attachments to the local Christians.

11. In general, the missions did not consider material support for the poorer parts of the population to be their immediate responsibility. Only under specific circumstances such as the massacres of 1860 in Lebanon, the Armenian massacres at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as during World War I, orphanages and income-generating projects were established to alleviate the suffering of the local population. On a smaller scale, however, similar projects were started when converts lost their regular income because of conversion to Protestantism.
12. Through the nineteenth century, the relationship between these two aims was subject to intense discussions. In ABCFM circles, the civilizational aims were seen as secondary to the conversionist aim for most of the nineteenth century, whereas towards the end of the nineteenth century the civilizational aspect became of equal importance: see Hutchison (1987) and Harris (1999). On similar discussions in British missions, see Stanley (2001).
13. Since the mid-1980s, there has been a large range of literature on this topic, discussing its limits and inner tensions; see Hill (1985), Porterfield (1997), Robert (1997), Fleischman (1998) and Okkenhaug (2003).
14. On Finn's activities in Jerusalem, which amounted to considerably more than just visiting, see Melman (1992: 179–90). See further Finn's fictional work based on her stay in Jerusalem (Finn 1866, 1869).
15. On this type of mission, see Doumato (1998: 332–3) and Francis-Dehqani (2000: 99, 111). For several descriptions of such visits, see Rice (1922: 80–3, 94, 97–8); the missionary Mary Bird is quoted reporting: "The Princess gave me no opportunity of talking about religion, but I hope prejudice is giving way" (Rice 1922: 97–8).
16. Education in general has always been the most easily quantifiable and describable element of mission history; early mission historians such as Anderson (1873), Richter (1970 [1910]) and Stock (1910) were eager to include relatively large amounts of materials on educational projects. Their works, together with the two studies by Tibawi (1961, 1966), remain invaluable, also for the field of female education. In studies concerned with mission and gender, education has understandably been a primary focus; see the studies mentioned in notes 7 and 13. In addition, see Merguerian (1990–1).
17. Despite the relatively large amount of studies on missionary education, it is rather difficult to assess the contents and level of the schooling offered in the various mission schools. On the curriculum in the Armenian schools, see Merguerian (1990–1: 111–12, 1992–3: 45). On the girls' school in Beirut, see Tibawi (1966: 125), on Fiske's school in Urmia, see Porterfield (1997: 70) and Robert (1997: 111–13).
18. Muslim girls had attended the boarding schools in the earliest phase, but left when the schools became more professional in the 1840s, compare, for example, Tibawi (1966: 82) on the school in Beirut.
19. It seems that the schools of the deaconesses attracted slightly more non-Christians than those of the Americans, but the numbers were small; compare Disselhoff (1886: 126) on the school in Beirut (date uncertain, towards 1880s): 31 Druse, 2 Muslim and 2 Jewish girls out of a total of 800 girls.

20. Compare also the discussion by Labode (1993: 126–44) on the importance of domestic training in Anglican missions in South Africa, different from both the Kaiserswerth model and the ABCFM model.
21. According to Tibawi (1966: 287), Muslims in Syria removed their children from the mission schools in the 1890s, partly because of the emerging Ottoman school system, and partly because the government strongly discouraged sending children to "foreign schools" (Edib 1926: 153). In Egypt, according to Baron (1994: 135–6), Muslim girls in mission schools were few around 1890, whereas around 1810, 30 percent of the female students were Muslim. This was a higher percentage than that of Muslim boys, probably due to better educational possibilities for boys outside the missionary schools. In 1909, the American College for Girls was opened in Cairo, with twenty-nine students, seventeen of whom were Muslims.
22. See an assessment of the missionary contribution to Arabic printing by Roper (1998), and for the Armenian situation see Merguerian (1998). Influence of missionaries on publishing and printing has been the most extensive among the Assyrians of north-western Iran: compare Murre-van den Berg (1999) and Kawerau (1958).
23. There are indications that part of the attraction of Catholicism in the earlier period was also related to the individualization of religion: "La distinction: conscience individuelle et comportement social du catholique" (Heyberger 1994: 511–22).
24. This is not to suggest that women did not participate in religion before the nineteenth century; however, it was in ways rather different from those introduced by the missionaries, compare Murre-van den Berg (2004).
25. Compare the establishment of Armenian schools in Istanbul (Anderson 1873, vol. 2, 231) and Coptic schools in Egypt (Baron 1994: 133). Compare also the somewhat exaggerated assessment of the influence of the missions on female education in the missionaries' own circles by Richter (1970):

    It was said at that time that there was not a girl in all Syria who could read and even educated Muhammadans asserted that one might as well try to teach a cat to read as a girl. The missionaries were thus the pioneers of female education. Looking to-day at the hundreds of girls' schools belonging to Muhammadans, Greeks, Maronites and Jews, which cover Syria from Aleppo to Jerusalem, we realize the change that has taken place in public opinion, a result of the example set by the missionaries. (Richter 1970: 191)

26. In the Neo-Aramaic missionary magazine of Urmia (*Zahrire d-Bahra*, "Rays of Light"), women are among the first local contributors (Murre-van den Berg 2001). Because many early publications were anonymous much more research is needed to assess both the local contributions in general and those of women in particular.
27. On these developments, see especially the discussions by Abu-Lughod (1998), Janjmabadi (1998) and Shakry (1998). These authors do not link these developments within the Islamic world to missionary influence per se, although Western influence in general is recognized as one of the factors.
28. On the ambiguous relationship between these two aspects, see Fleischmann (2002). See further Okkenhaug's chapter on the graduates of the Anglican girls' school St. George College in Jerusalem (2002a: 298–323), describing a slightly later period.

29. Her biography is still to be written; the best source so far is Coakley (1992). Her own work (Surma 1983 [c. 1920]) tells us little about herself. Compare also the reference in Stark (1951):

> So that they really have a very strong position, and they are being led by a remarkable woman, the Lady Surma, aunt of the young head of the nation who is a religious chieftain. She and her nephew are sitting up at a place called Amadia (old Roman fortress) in the north, and refusing all blandishments to come down. I think they have every chance of forcing people's hands so long as they make reasonable demands: on the other hand they seem to want quite unattainable things, such as a mountain kingdom of their own, when there are no uninhabited mountains to give them. [June 15 1932]. (Stark 1951: 265–6)

30. "and the Old Testament stories the teacher told us about David and his time sounded to me so like Battal Gazi stories that I did not associate them with anything religious" (Edib 1926: 149–50).
31. "Some of the already strong tendencies of my thought also now found new vistas into wider paths" (Edib 1926: 149–50).
32. "She [Miss Fensham] merely told the story of Christ's birth and his mission in the simplest possible language, just as she felt it herself, and it was like a marvelous spiritual flame which passed from her into one's heart, purifying and warming and arousing intense emotion" (Edib 1926: 194).
33.

> My contact with Christianity gave me a sense of its hard intolerance as a directing influence in the lives of its devotees, while the historical developments through which it has passed seemed to me almost contrary to the teaching conveyed by the life of Christ himself. Individuals excepted, Christianity set up barriers which shut out non-Christians from a possibility of ultimate bliss more than did any other religion. (Edib 1926: 192)

34. More of this type of influence is found in the later period; compare Fleischmann (2002) and Okkenhaug (2002b).

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (1998), "Feminist Longings and Postcolonial Conditions," in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Al-Sayegh, F. H.(1998), "American Women Missionaries in the Gulf: Agents for Cultural Change," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 9(3): 339–56.

Anderson, R. (1873), *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 2 vols, Boston, MA: Congregational Publishing Society.

Baron, B. (1994), *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press*, New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press.

Brown, A. J. (1936), *One Hundred Years, A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., With Some Accounts of Countries, Peoples and the Policies and Problems of Modern Missions*, New York: Fleming H. Revell.

Cale, P. S. (1984), "A British Missionary in Egypt: Mary Louise Whately," *Vitae Scholasticae, The Bulletin of Educational Biography*, 3: 131–43.

Coakley, J. F. (1992), *The Church of the East and the Church of England: A History of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Crombie, K. (1991), *For Love of Zion, Christian Witness and theRestoration of Israel*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Disselhoff, J. (1886), *Jubilate! Denkschrift zur Jubelfeir der Erneuerung des apostolischenDiakonissen-Amtes und der fünfzigjährigen Wirksamheit des Diakonissen-Mutterhauses zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein*, Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt.

Doumato, E. A. (1998), "Receiving the Promised Blessing: Missionary Reflections on 'Ishmael's (mostly Female) Descendants," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 9(3): 325–37.

Edib, H. (1926), *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, New York and London: Century Company.

Fahmy, K. (1998), "Women, Medicine, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Egypt," in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Finn, A. E.(1866), *Home in the Holy Land*, London and Edinburgh.

—— (1869), *A Third Year in Jerusalem: A Tale Illustrating Customs and Incidents of Modern Jerusalem*, London: James Nisbet.

Fleischmann, E. L. (1998), "'Our Moslem Sisters': Women of Greater Syria in the Eyes of American Protestant Missionary Women," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 9(3): 307–23.

—— (2002), "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 13(4): 411–26.

Francis-Dehqani, G. (2000), "CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884–1934," in K. Ward and B. Stanley (eds), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans and Cambridge: Curzon Press.

Gidney, W.T. (1908), *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, from 1809 to 1908*, London: London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.

Harris, P. W. (1999), *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heyberger, B. (1994), *Les Chrétiens du Proche-orient, au temps de la réforme catholique*, Rome: École Françaises de Rome.

Hill, P. R. (1985), *The World their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Hutchison, W. R. (1987), *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Janjmabadi, A. (1998), "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Joseph, J. (2000), *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East: Encounters with Western Christian Missions, Archaeologists, and Colonial Powers*, Leiden: Brill.

Kawerau, P. (1958), *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen: Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission unter den Nationalkirchen Westasiens*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Labode, M. (1993), "From Heathen Kraal to Christian Home: Anglican Mission Education and African Christian Girls, 1850–1900," in F. Bowie, D. Kirkwood and S. Ardener (eds), *Women and Missions: Past and Present Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, Providence, RI and Oxford: Berg.

Langlois, C. (2001), "Les Congrégations françaises en Terre sainte au XIXe siècle," in D. Trimbur and R. Aaronsohn (eds), *De Bonaparte à Balfour: La France, l'Europe occidentale et la Palestine, 1799–1917*, Paris: CNRS.

Makdise, U. (1997), "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *American Historical Review*, 102–3: 680–713.

Marten, M. (2002), "The Free Church of Scotland in 19th-century Lebanon," *Chronos, Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand*, 5: 51–106.

Melman, B. (1992), *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918. Sexuality, Religion and Work*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Merguerian, B. J. (1990–1), "The Beginnings of Secondary Education for Armenian Women: The Armenian Female Seminary in Constantinople," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, 5: 103–24.

—— (1992–3), "Saving Souls or Cultivating Minds? Missionary Crosby H. Wheeler in Kharpert," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, 6: 33–60.

—— (1998), "The ABCFM Press and the Development of the Western Armenian Language," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 9(1): 35–49.

Murray, J. (2000), "The Role of Women in the Church Missionary Society, 1799–1917," in K. Ward and B. Stanley (eds), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans and Cambridge: Curzon Press.

Murre-van den Berg, H. L. (1999), *From a Spoken to a Written Language: The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century*, Publication of the De Goeje Fund no. XXVIII, Leiden: Brill.

—— (2000), "Why Protestant Churches? The American Board and the Eastern Churches (1820–1870)," in P. N. Holtrop and H. McLeod (eds), *Missions and Missionaries*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press for the Ecclesiastical History Society.

—— (2001), "'Dear Mother of My soul': Fidelia Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth Century Iran," *Exchange*, 30(1): 33–48.

—— (2004), "Generous Devotion: Women in the Church of the East between 1550 and 1850," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 7(1), http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye.

—— (2005), "The Middle East: Western Missions and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, Volume 8, Chapter 26, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Okkenhaug, I. M. (2002a), *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavor and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888–1948*, Leiden: Brill.

—— (2002b), "'She Loves Books & Ideas, & Strides along in Low Shoes Like an Englishwoman': British Models and Graduates from the Anglican Girls' Secondary Schools in Palestine 1918–48," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 13(4): 461–79.

—— (2003), "Introduction to 'Gender and Nordic Missions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centurie'," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 28(2): 73–82.

Porterfield, A. (1997), *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rice, C. C. (1922), *Mary Bird in Persia*, 2nd edn, London: Church Missionary Society.

Richter, J. (1970 [1910]), *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, New York and Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson.

Robert, D. L. (1997), *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice*, Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.

Roper, G. (1998), "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822–1841," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 9(1): 50–68.

Semple, R. A. (2003), *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press.

Shakry, O. (1998), "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt," in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Stanley, B. (ed.) (2001), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Stark, F. (1951), *Beyond Euphrates: Autobiography: 1928–1933*, London: John Murray.

Stock, E. (1899), *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, its Men and its Work*, 3 vols, London: Church Missionary Society.

Strong, W. E. (1910), *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, Boston, MA: Pilgrim Press.

Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun (1983 [c.1920]), *Assyrian Church Customs and the Murder of Mar Shimun*, New York: Vehicle.

Tibawi, A. L. (1961), *British Interests in Palestine, 1800–1901*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—— (1966), *American Interests in Syria, 1800–1901*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—— (1967), "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," *Middle East Journal*, 21: 1–15 199–212.

Tucker, J. E. (1999), "Women in the Middle East and North Africa: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in G. Nashar and J. E. Tucker, *Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Restoring Women to History*, Bloomington, IN: and Indiana University Press.

Van der Veer, P. (1996), *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity*, London: Routledge.

Verdeuil, C. (2001), "Travailler à la renaissance de l'orient chrétien: Les missions latines en syrie (1830–1945)," *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 51: 267–316.

Vlieger, A. de (1892), *De Hollandsche Zending in Egypte*, Neerbosch: Vereeniging tot uitbreiding van het Evangelie in Egypte.

Vogel, L. I. (1993), *To See a Promised Land: Americans and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Watson, A. (1898), *The American Mission in Egypt, 1845 to 1896*, Pittsburgh, PA: United Presbyterian Board.

Whately, M. L. (1863a), *Ragged Life in Egypt*, London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

—— (1863b), *More about Ragged Life in Egypt*, London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.