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ISLAMIC NATIONALISM AND ITS EFFECT UPON PROTESTANT MISSION POLICY
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO EGYPT

By

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DEDICATION

To my mother

who first taught me to love Jesus Christ
because of her life hid with Him in God.

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INTRODUCTION

ISLAMIC NATIONALISM AND ITS EFFECT UPON PROTESTANT MISSION POLICY
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INTRODUCTION

A. The Subject Stated and Delimited

The latest chapter in the history of Islam might be termed the most significant in history. Influences which gradually penetrated Western civilization over a period of many generations producing great economic and political changes have revolutionized Islam within the past two decades.

It is the analysis of Edward J. Jurji that the inspiration for these innovations within Islam has been provided by a growing national consciousness which has expressed itself in varying degrees and manifestations throughout Islam according to the location, character, and political background of each particular group.¹ This pronounced nationalistic movement within contemporary Islam has basic implications which circumscribe the freedom of modern Christian missions. For this reason the attention of the Christian world is focused upon the Islamic East.

A powerful agent in the implantation of Western materialism within Islam which has since borne fruit in anti-foreign and anti-Christian impulses, is the missionary movement of the Protestant church.

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1. Edward J. Jurji: "Trends in Muslim Thought and Feeling, II," Islam at Mid-Century, Report of a Conference Held at Hartford Seminary Foundation, May 29-31, 1952, p. 324.

Nevertheless, the Islamic region which is the object of Protestant missions today is a new Islam concerting all its energies to perpetuate itself in an unfamiliar world and composed of nationalistic countries struggling to rid themselves of all foreign domination, including foreign religious elements.

The following appeared in the January, 1953 issue of The International Review of Missions: "The pressure of nationalism which colours reports from this region continues to form the principal background element of which the Christian church must take account."¹ Charles Ransom, in his recent article on "Missions in the Perspective of History," has written that "it is not surprising that the organized missionary enterprise should be living in a period of questioning and reconstruction."² It is clear from these statements that a new evaluation of Islam in terms of the contemporary situation is necessary as well as a re-thinking of Protestant mission policy.

In the following presentation, the general historical background of the nationalistic movement in Islam will be limited to the area frequently referred to as the "Middle East," including the Arab countries of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, as well as the non-Arab countries of Iran and Turkey. A review of the bases of Islamic culture and the impact of the West upon this area as a whole will be offered in preparation for closer study of the movement

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1. "A Survey of the Year 1952; The Near East and North Africa," The International Review of Missions, January, 1953, p. 27.
2. Charles Ransom: "Missions in the Perspective of History," The International Review of Missions, October, 1954, p. 387.

as it has manifested itself in the particular Islamic country of Egypt. The influence of Egyptian nationalism upon the Christian church in Egypt will then be studied and programs of Protestant Mission Societies now engaged in work among the Egyptians presented in order to discern more clearly the issues which now confront the Christian mission to Islam and the manner in which the unchanging mission must be discharged.

B. Plan of Procedure

Almost every week the world witnesses new upheaval in some part of the Islamic world. It is the purpose of the author to seek to illuminate the problems of the contemporary situation facing Protestant missions in Islam because of the nature of the nationalism manifested there.

The study by chapters will proceed as follows:

1. the bases of Islamic thought and culture will be examined briefly in order to lay the foundation for the subsequent erection of the Islamic theological structure into which Western ideas of value have penetrated in recent decades;
2. the historical background of Egyptian nationalism and of Protestant missionary effort in Egypt will be surveyed;
3. the influence of Egyptian nationalism upon the Christian Church in Egypt--and thus upon Protestant mission policy in relation to that country--will be determined as accurately as possible from reports and letters from personnel of missionary societies represented in Egypt, and present programs of these missions will be presented;
4. a summary of issues now confronting Protestant missions in

Egypt in the light of the religio-political context will be offered with adjustments in Protestant mission policy which these problems have necessitated.

C. Sources of Data

Sources of the material to be presented herein will be (1) selected secular and religious books dealing with the history and development of Islam, of Protestant missions in Egypt, and of the rise of Egyptian nationalism; (2) selected secular and religious periodicals containing information regarding the above subjects plus those dealing with contemporary manifestations of Egyptian nationalism and its influence upon Protestant missions; (3) secular and religious reports related to the problem; and (4) printed materials and letters from Protestant Mission groups and individual missionaries in Egypt.

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISM

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THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISM

A. Introduction

Islam is the latest of all the great world religions. The only religion to have clashed with Christianity and emerge the conquerer, it is a strong contender, with Buddhism and Christianity, for the religious leadership of mankind.

Islam may be regarded as presenting the most difficult mission problem of contemporary Christianity. Across the Asian and African continents, Christian missions confront an almost unsolved problem of evangelism as they seek to convert adherents to Islam, a religion which knows of Jesus' Christ, accepts His supernatural birth, and even recognizes Him as one of the greatest prophets of God of all time. For Islam, in its sacred book, the Koran, emphatically denies the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord and His Sonship to God the Father, and therefore prejudices its adherents against belief in the very truths which make Jesus the Christ, the Savior of the world.

About six hundred years after Jesus Christ walked among the villages of Palestine bringing to the world the Good News of God's redemption of men which is the basis of Christianity, in nearby Arabia the new religion which was to replace Christianity in many countries developed, incorporating within it some of the teachings of Christ and of Judaism. Muhammed, "The Praised," founder of the new religion, was a member of the Koraish tribe, born at Mecca, Arabia in 570 A.D. He

believed himself to be commissioned by God to preach judgment and repentance to his countrymen.

The opposition of prosperous and idolatrous Mecca soon drove Muhammed northward to Medina, Arabia, where his teachings were more sympathetically accepted and where ultimately he founded the new religion. At Medina the fundamentals of the faith were formulated and, most important of all, citizenship was made dependent upon faith rather than on family background. Thus fratricidal wars were justified and the period before his return to Mecca was marked with assassinations and furious battles. Muhammed's conquest of Mecca in 630 A.D. by armed forces established it as the center of pilgrimage and by 631 A.D. the Arabian peninsula was "Muhammedan."

H. E. Phillips has recorded that Muhammed suggested the use of the term "Islam," which means "submission [to the will of God]" or "complete acceptance of what has come down from Allah by the tongue of his beloved Muhammed (may God bless him and preserve him),"¹ as the distinctive name of the faith he promulgated. An adherent of Islam is usually designated by the corresponding Arabic adjective, "Muslim" (of which "Moslem" is a Western adaptation). Since the terms "Muhammedan" and "Muhammedanism," the more common designations of the religion by Westerners, would seem to imply worship of Muhammed, these terms are usually avoided by Muslims. In the following paper the terms "Islam" and "Muslim" will be used to identify the religion and its adherents, a practice found

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1. Quoted in the Appendix of H. E. Philips: Blessed Be Egypt My People, p. 137, as taken from the full catechism of Islam published in The Moslem World, October, 1945.

in most of the periodicals consulted by the author which deal with the subject to be studied.

In approaching a study of Islamic nationalism it would seem advantageous to discover insofar as is possible within the limits of a paper of this length, the habits of thought of the Muslim mind which provide the basis for his evaluation of new ideas.

Generalizing on this hypothesis, H. A. R. Gibb, eminent authority in the field of Islamic scholarship, has recorded, "No movement of thought takes place within a void," for, he continues, the impulses which affect it from without are "related in the mind of the subject to a habit of thought and a system of ideas which are already there."¹ Therefore, he concludes, "we cannot hope to follow with any understanding the modern movements in Islam unless we set them against an established background of Islamic ideas."²

With these general rules in mind it will be the purpose of the following chapter to present a brief analysis and definition of the basic attitudes of Islamic thought which, consciously or unconsciously, still form the basis for the contemporary Muslim's acceptance or rejection of ideas.

In order to accomplish this, the first section will present the three great roots of Islamic thought, namely, the Koran, Tradition, and concensus. The next section will outline the general evolution of Islamic theology, and the final section will trace the development of nationalism in this setting, indicating its recent manifestations.

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1. H. A. R. Gibb: Modern Trends in Islam, p. 1.
2. Ibid.

B. Roots of Islamic Thought

1. Koran.

Even as the core of Islam is religious, the basis of the religion is the Koran. Unlike the Bible, a collection of widely different books written through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit by many authors, Erich W. Bethmann writes that the Koran is a volume of the discourses of one man, Muhammed, the founder of the faith, during the last twenty years of his life.¹ Included within these discourses are ethical and religious teachings, commentaries on current events, rulings on social and legal matters, and arguments against his opponents. Muhammed himself believed all these utterances to be the directly inspired word of God and from the beginning the prophetic authority of Muhammed has

never been doubted, even on matters not included in the Koran. It is significant that the modernism which swept the West during the last century and resulted in the higher critical movement of Biblical scholarship has not had a similar result in Islam.²

What are the chief points of the teachings of Muhammed in his Koran? The catechism published in the October 1945 Moslem World gives the following as the five fundamentals or "pillars" of Islam:

1. the Creed: "La ilaha illa Allah: Muhammed rasul Ullah;" ("there is no God but Allah: Muhammed is the Apostle of Allah;")
2. the observance of (the times of) Prayer;
3. giving the prescribed alms;
4. fasting in the month of Ramadhan;
5. pilgrimage to the House (of Mecca) for him who is able to make it.³

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1. Erich W. Bethmann: Bridge to Islam, pp. 50-51.
2. Gibb, op. cit., p. 50. Professor Gibb further states: "The Koran itself has remained almost untouched by any breath of evolutionary criticism. Only a few Indian liberals and still fewer Arab socialists have yet ventured to question that it is the literally inspired Word of God and that its every statement is eternally true, right, and valid."
3. Philips, op. cit., p. 138 (Appendix).

and lists as the foundations of the true faith the following six basic principles: "Belief in God; Belief in His angels; Belief in His revealed books; Belief in His prophets; Belief in the last day; Belief in God's decree of good and evil."¹

a. Conception of God

Faith consists primarily in the public testimony of the oneness of Allah and the Apostleship of Muhammed His prophet. The strict monotheism of Islam is asserted in emphasis upon the omnipotence of God and His absolute free will. In contradiction to the Christian conception of God as Love--motivated by Love, Self-limited by Love in His dealings with mankind--the Muslim stress on the free will of God makes possible inconsistency and contradiction in God's actions toward men. Thus the Muslim is led to believe that God can and has abrogated His revelations to man, even in the Koran itself,² and initiates ideas of God which are inconceivable to the Christian mind.

The God (Allah) of the Koran is terrible and majestic, the Creator, Supreme Power, Judge, and Avenger of the world. Man must "always be on guard against Him" (such is the idiomatic meaning which runs through the Koran from cover to cover).³ Yet the believer is bidden to adore and praise Him.

There are many epithets and adjectives in the Koran which describe God as compassionate and merciful, but the emphasis upon God's sovereignty has resulted in great fatalism among the masses of Islam.⁴

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1. Ibid.

2. Sura 2:100.

3. H. A. R. Gibb: Mohammedanism, p. 56.

4. Bethmann, op. cit., p. 55.

Predestination, therefore, has been called by Dr. Samuel Zwemer, one of the greatest missionaries to the Muslims of history, "the keystone in the arch of Moslem faith."¹ Its philosophy of Islam, i.e., resignation or submission, permeates all aspects of life. What might be called an "ultra-Calvinism"² holds millions of believers helpless in its fatalism. Says Dr. Zwemer, in speaking of this tragic concept,

God wills both good and evil; there is no escaping from the caprice of His decree . . . Fatalism has paralyzed progress; hope perishes under the weight of this iron bondage; injustice and social decay are stoically accepted; no man bears the burden of another; and the deadening influence of this fatalism can be seen and felt in every Moslem land.³

b. Conception of Revelation.

A great paradox to the non-Muslim is the requirement of the Koran that Muslims believe in God's prophets and God's books, one of which is the "Injeel" or the New Testament of the prophet Jesus, and at the same time vehemently reject the New Testament and its claims of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ! This paradox is easily explained by the Muslim, who sees no difficulty in attributing inconsistency to God and who claims that the present "Injeel" of the Christians is not the same revelation that was "sent down" with the prophet Jesus by God. As the shaikh in the story, "An Israelite Indeed," says,

It is not the true Gospel. When the prophet Jesus (the prayers of God and His Peace be upon Him) went up to heaven He took the true Gospel with Him, and what the Christians call the Gospel is nothing

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1. Samuel M. Zwemer and Arthur J. Brown: The Nearer and Farther East, p. 23.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 23-24.

more than tradition, and even that is very much corrupted. Now . . . wash your hands and your mouths lest you be defiled by handling and reading this corrupted book of the Christians.¹

And so the Muslim is taught to hate the Injeel of the Christians and to believe that the Koran contains all the "true" teachings of the previous revelations sent down from heaven—among these the Gospel of Christ—and that the Koran replaces and supercedes all these.²

c. View of the Trinity.

Because of rejection of the New Testament revelation of Christ, Islam finds exceedingly revolting the claims of Christians concerning the Trinity of the Godhead. The fanatical monotheism of the Muslim, whose only conception of God, based on the teachings of the Koran, must needs be a fatalistic idea of an Arbitrary Force completely unlike man or anything else, causes him to view with dismay and repulsion the "trintheistic" beliefs of Christians. Most Muslims think Christians worship three gods: God, Jesus, and Mary.³

Although the Holy Spirit is mentioned in the Koran,⁴ the Muslim understands that the Holy Spirit is Gabriel, the Faithful Spirit (messenger) of God. When, therefore, Christians refer to the Holy Spirit, as they often do, as the third person of the Godhead, it is perfectly obnoxious and revolting to the ears of the Muslim believers. To them it means the placing of an angel, Gabriel, on the same level with God.

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1. From "An Israelite Indeed," biography of a young Muslim convert to Christianity, contained in Philips, op. cit., pp. 116-117.
2. Philips, op. cit., p. 120.
3. See post, p. 9.
4. Sura 16:104(102).

Similarly, the reaction of Muslims to the Christian claim that Jesus is the Son of God is that of horror and anger; Jesus is a familiar figure in the Koran and the idea of His association and equality with God is preposterous to a believer of Islam. The Koranic picture of Jesus is clear to the Muslim.

d. View of Jesus.

What does the Muslim think of when he hears the name of Jesus? The following quotations from the Koran will enable it to speak for itself. Concerning the birth of Jesus ('Isa) it says:

O Maryam, verily God brings good news to thee, a word from Him. His name shall be Messiah 'Isa, son of Maryam, illustrious in this world and in the next, and he will be one of those who are close to God (cherubs). And he shall speak to men alike when in the cradle and when grown up, and will be one of the righteous.

She said, O Lord, how shall I have a son, when man has not touched me? He said, So it will be; God will create what He will; when He decrees a thing, He says to it, Be, and it is.

And He will teach him the Book, and the Wisdom, and the Torah, and the Injeel, and he will be an Apostle to the Children of Israel.¹

and concerning his proclamations as an infant in the cradle:

And she came to her people with the babe, carrying him. They said, O Maryam, you have done a strange thing! O Sister of Aaron, your father was not a wicked man, nor was your mother unchaste.

And she pointed to him, and they said, How can we speak with one who is an infant in the cradle?

And he (the babe) said: Verily, I am the servant of God. He has given me the Book, and has made me a prophet.

. . . . And the peace of God was upon me the day I was born and will be the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised to life.

This is 'Isa, the son of Maryam. This is a statement of truth, about which they doubt (quarrel among themselves).²

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1. Sura 3:40-43(45-49).
2. Sura 19:24-35.

The Koran includes a time when God questions 'Isa (Jesus) about his teachings while He was on earth,

O 'Isa, son of Maryam, hast Thou said to mankind, Take me and my mother as two Gods besides God?

He said, Glory be unto Thee. It is not to me to say what I know is not the truth. If I had said it, Thou wouldest have known it. Thou knowest what is in me, but I do not know what is in Thee. Thou well knowest things unseen.

I did not say to them except that which Thou ordered me: Worship God, my Lord and your Lord.¹

which indicates to the Muslim that the idea of a Trinity in the Godhead is blasphemy.

An unexpected view of the Muslim is that of the second coming of Jesus shortly before the Day of Judgment. This is "a firm belief among Muslims,"² although only one verse in the Koran even vaguely has reference to His second coming. But around this verse which proclaims Him as "the knowledge of the last hour"³ has been built a whole eschatological structure in the traditions of Islam.

This, then, is a glimpse of the picture that flashes across a Muslim's mind every time the name of Jesus is mentioned. As one author has put it, "It is not altogether a bad picture, but, alas, how different from the one Christians have in their minds!"⁴ and he summarizes the Islamic view of Jesus Christ as

a highly exalted being, having entered this world in an exceptional and miraculous way, having been protected from the touch of Satan and endowed with powers not granted to other human beings, even

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1. Sura 5:116-118.
2. Bethmann, op. cit., p. 69.
3. Sura 43:59-61.
4. Bethmann, op. cit., p. 71.

prophets. After having fulfilled His prophetic mission, He was permitted to leave this world in a similar miraculous manner, in order to live in a quasi-angelic state until a time when He has to return to this earth to complete His tasks, and to die like other human beings. It is true, as the Qur'an (Koran) puts it . . . but it lacks all the essential elements which make Jesus the Christ, the Anointed of the Father, Immanuel, God with us, the Healer of our souls, the Savior; the Inborn of the Father, the Son of man, who brings us close to the heart of God.¹

e. Conception of Sin and Salvation.

True belief in Islam demands the giving of one's whole allegiance to God. Its opposite, considered the unpardonable sin, is the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any creature.

Thus it follows that sin and redemption are a pivotal part of this religion² (which makes the system religious rather than merely ethical or philosophical)³ even though it is a rigid predestinarian system.

But the conception of sin in the Koran is in no way similar to the Christian concept of sin. Sin as the falling away of mankind from God through disobedience, resulting in an alienation from God and total depravity of man, is unknown to the Muslim who conceives of sin as simply the things which Allah forbids.⁴ This latter conception breaks down because of the diversification possible in categorizing actions. Therefore, usually the only sin-consciousness a Muslim has is that of condemnation of anyone who departs from the strict monotheism of Islam.

Herein lies "the deepest gulf which separates Christianity from Islam."⁵ No deep conviction of sin in Islam and no awareness of

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 78.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 79.
5. Ibid., p. 80.

the need for reconciliation to God have made Islam almost impervious to the saving message of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

2. Tradition.

The Koran was not committed to writing during the lifetime of Muhammed. Most of his teachings existed in the minds of his followers and on bits of palm leaves and stones and other similar materials. After the death of Muhammed, however, early believers became concerned about the possibility of portions of the precious word being lost. Apprehension grew with the deaths of Muhammed's closest comrades and pupils, and collections of existing verses were begun.

The first Caliph (successor to Muhammed) ordered the collections made into book form. In later years discrepancies were discovered between the versions used by the three main centers of Islam to substantiate the particular theological emphasis of each center, and a resension was ordered by the third Caliph. This latter version abrogated all former versions and is the standard version of the Koran to the present day.

The science of Tradition ("Hadith") was inaugurated to set the standard by which the growing multitude of contradictory and doubtful teachings of Muhammed that flourished after his death could be judged. The first step in authenticating doubtful teachings was the requirement that the definite source be stated from which the traditional teaching originated; these sources were judged according to the proximity of the originator of the statement to Muhammed himself or his contemporaries.

By this method of sifting, the traditions which were judged as the most trustworthy were those whose chain of authorities went back

without interruption to a contemporary of Muhammed, less sound if the chain of sources is complete but contains a "weak" link, and least valid if serious doubts may be raised concerning it or if one of its transmitters is considered unreliable.

Traditions and legends grew with the years and, two hundred years after the death of Muhammed, men spent their lives sifting the false from the genuine.¹ As the new science of Tradition developed, the original aspect of Islam was changed. As Bethmann, in speaking of this significant change, has said,

The accent shifted to a great extent from the "Revelation of the Book" to the "Person of Muhammed." Muhammed was not any longer an accidental instrument in the hand of God to deliver a message of warning, but his person became the center of interest.²

Pre-existence and miraculous powers were ultimately attributed to Muhammed, and the belief among the masses of Islam has come to be that Muhammed is the helper of the faithful on earth and intercessor on the Day of Judgment that Christians believe Christ to be.

It is possible, through the study of the Hadiths, to trace the struggles of early Islam and the formation of sects.³ Thus Hadith scholarship is not confined to the determination of authentic teachings and practices of early Islam, but "it serves also as a mirror in which the growth and development of Islam as a way of life and of the larger Islamic community are most truly reflected."⁴

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1. Ibid., p. 43.

2. Ibid., p. 44.

3. Gibb: Mohammedanism, p. 86.

4. Ibid.

3. Concensus.

A third root of Islamic thought about religion is the principle of "concensus" ("ijma"), the expressed will of the community, as demonstrated by the gradual pressure of opinion over a length of time. This principle operates through the conscience of the people of Islam and is a principle both of toleration and authority, as the will of the community, seen in retrospect, accepts or rejects religious matters. This third infallible source of the faith finds its basis in the "conservative" outlook of Islamic society and exercises its power only in slow and imperceptible stages.

Islamic conservatives have always questioned the inclusion of concensus as an infallible source of faith because of its instrumentality in introducing "innovations" not included in the Koran or Tradition, but modernists have always "relied upon it to provide their eventual justification."¹

These, then, are the three foundations of the faith of Islam: the Koran, Tradition, and concensus. Professor Gibb has stated, "By their interaction not only the whole structure of doctrine has been built up but also the structure of the socioreligious institution and of religious thought itself."²

C. Development of Islamic Theology

1. Rejection of Hellenistic Speculative Philosophy.

There seems to have been an aversion to the thought-processes of rationalism by the Muslim mind. In the first centuries of Islam

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1. Gibb: Modern Trends in Islam, p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 12.

there was a struggle of intuitive thought and Hellenistic speculative philosophy to gain control of the trend of reasoning within the Islamic structure. Ultimately the rationalistic modes of thought were largely rejected.¹

This defeat of Hellenistic philosophy which exercised a determining influence upon Western civilization, "not only conditioned the formulation of the traditional Muslim theology but set a permanent stamp upon Islamic culture."² Throughout the centuries there seemed to be a distrust of abstract conceptions by the Muslim. This traditional mindset would seem to be at the base of the conflicts of more recent years, arising out of contact with modern Western thought which some orthodox Muslims are tempted to identify with the old Greek philosophies.³

2. Construction of a Theological System.

Theology has been defined as an attempt "to state the truths of religion (which are, so far, only intuitively known) in terms of the highest intellectual concepts of the time."⁴ The simple doctrines of God and man's relation to Him as presented in the Koran have been adequate for the masses of believers but intellectual Islam has incorporated outside elements in the effort to express its tenets in the highest intellectual concepts of the day.

The establishment of an orthodox theological system in Islam was a gradual process of many generations.

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1. Ibid., p. 7.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 19.
4. Ibid., p. 18.

In the cities of the Hijaz it tended to set in the moulds of the first generations of practical unspeculative piety; in Syria it began to be influenced by Hellenistic Christian thought; in Iraq it became infected with various Gnostic doctrines; amongst the unsettled Arab tribesmen of the borderlands it became an instrument of nomadic cupidity and love of plunder, sublimated into fanaticism; in certain districts of Persia it was adopted as the cloak of a modified dualism.¹

A major factor in the field of religious thought was expression of the "Arab idea" ("Araberthum"), the term used to identify the great moral influence of the Arabs. This influence was not necessarily in proportion to their political predominance.² The center of this Araberthum was Medina, home of Muhammed, seat of early Koranic and Tradition activities. Medina became the universal center of Islam from the very earliest times as seekers came from everywhere to hear the teachings of Muhammed from the lips of his own contemporaries.³ Political importance exalted the position of Medina in the Islamic empire and this center was able to remain pre-eminent amongst the lesser schools of Islamic theology throughout the Muslim world. Medina has become identified with "traditionalist" doctrine.

One early fanatical movement in Islam became an heretical sect known as the "Kharij" sect. The Kharijites, uncompromising idealists, broke away from orthodox Islam merely on a point of practice and were rejected by orthodox Islam.

The main schismatic sect which arose in early Islam utilized revolutionary tactics to achieve political ends. Shi'ism, as it was designated, gradually built up doctrinal bases for divergence from the

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1. Gibb: Mohammedanism, p. 107.
2. Ibid., p. 108.
3. Ibid., p. 109.

orthodox ("Sunni") believers based on an occult interpretation of the Koran. The Shi'a began as a political movement amongst the Arabs to perpetuate the house of Ali, son-in-law of Muhammed, in the Caliphate¹ but this movement soon became a cloak for the infiltration of oriental and Persian beliefs and has survived today in three principal groups: the Zaidis, in Yemen; the Imamis of Iran, Iraq, India and Syria; and the extreme Isma'ilis, found in India. Shi'ism has exercised a powerful influence upon orthodox Islam, primarily in veneration of the person of Muhammed.

3. Evolution of the Immanence-Transcendence Theological Conflict.

a. Mystical Reforms.

Professor Gibb has stated, "All religion asserts the otherness of God. But, at the same time, the worshipper is conscious of the nearness of God, of the impossibility of separating the idea of God from his own personal experience,"² and Islam is no exception. Although the transcendence of God is emphatically asserted again and again in the Koran, traces of His love and care are found in Muhammed's writings and

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1. Professor Philip K. Hitti in his book, *The Arabs: A Short History*, p. 61, explains that although the term means "succession to Mohammed," the Caliphate was not a religious office; it was succession to the sovereignty of the state. "The Caliph's relation to religion was merely that of a protector and guardian. He defended the faith just as any European emperor was supposed to, suppressed heresies, warred against unbelievers and extended the boundaries of 'the abode of Islam'--in the performance of all of which he employed the power of his secular arms. Not until the latter part of the eighteenth century did the notion prevail in Europe that the Moslem caliph was a laird or pope with spiritual jurisdiction over the followers of Mohammed throughout the world."
2. Gibb: *Modern Trends in Islam*, p. 17.

the immanence of God has been in constant opposition to the main doctrines of Islam from the beginning.

Conflict with Hellenizing influences within Islam caused a tendency toward overemphasis of the otherness of God among early orthodox theologians. As a result the orthodox "constructed their new logical fortress with such stubbornly transcendentalist materials that it turned into a vast cold monument, beneath which the element of personal religious experience seemed to be crushed out of existence."¹ But a mystical movement known as "Sufism" developed to restore the element of personal communion with God to the religious life of the people. Al-Ghazali, in the twelfth century, momentarily created a synthesis between the two extremes within Islam, but since his time there have been two distinct systems of theology in Islam--the transcendental and the immanent.²

The Sufi movement originated in the urban artisan classes and remained unofficial for centuries before it began to organize itself in institutional forms.³ These mystics were leaders in evangelical movements and it was mainly through their efforts that Muslim frontiers were steadily extended.⁴ By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries great mystical orders were founded and the entrance of orthodox Muslims into these orders tended to stabilize their extreme tendencies.

b. Puritanical Reforms.

With the Kharijite sect of early Islam, puritanism entered

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1. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
2. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
3. Gibb: Mohammedanism, p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 14.

the theological arena to purge it of extraneous elements, and has re-appeared throughout the centuries as an influential exponent of reform.

Contemporaneously with the expansion of the Sufi brotherhoods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a renewal of the activity of the puritanical and revolutionary aspects of Islamic reform. By the eighteenth century the Sufi movement seemed to be overbalancing the doctrinal; orthodoxy began to compromise with Sufism. Amid this weakening from within came the revitalizing shot of the Wahhabi reform.

Aligning himself with the house of Saud in Arabia, Muhammed Ibn Abd al-Wahhab sought to cleanse Islam of animism and pantheism. The results of this first Wahhabi movement which Hans Kohn describes as an attempt "to revive the original features of desert-Arab Islam" were far-reaching.¹ Inspired by a fanatical crusading spirit, the Wahhabis conquered both the sacred city of Shi'ite Islam (Kaabala) and the sacred city of Sunni Islam (Mecca) by 1802. Hans Kohn, authority on Middle Eastern affairs, has termed the short reign of these religious warriors over the whole of central Arabia until their defeat by Egyptian troops in 1818 "the first manifestation of a new Arab nationalism, though still in a strictly traditional and medieval garb."² As other countries fell under the influence of European powers, the example of revolt set by the Wahhabis was followed and precipitated protest movements in India, Lybia, Sudan and even into Nigeria and Summatra.³ Although its revolutionary aspects often obscured its revitalizing element, Wahhabism challenged the con-

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1. Hans Kohn: "Nationalism," Background of the Middle East, Ernest Jackh, ed., p. 146.

2. Ibid., p. 146.

3. Gibb: Modern Trends in Islam, pp. 26-27.

tamination of contemporary Islamic monotheism by pantheistic and animistic elements and had a salutary effect upon world Islam.¹

The scope of European influence upon Islam ever increased. The restatement of Islam's tenets in nationalistic terms by Jamal al-Din al Afghain (d.1897) effected internal as well as external reform. In a Pan-Islamic movement to strengthen the existing Muslim governments against European control, Jamal al-Din encouraged internal reform within these governments as he attacked the evils and compromises he found and exhorted Muslims to Koranic purity.

A reformer whose work was never fully accepted by either conservatives or modernists but whose influence remains today, was Muhammed Abduh, an Egyptian shaikh and pupil of Jamal al-Din. Dividing Abduh's program of reform into four main categories, (1) the purification of Islam from corrupting influences and practices, (2) the reformation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought, (3) the reformation of Islamic doctrine against European influences and Christian attacks, and (4) the reformation of Muslim higher education, Professor Gibb comments that had his teachings been more generally accepted, "he might have created a revolution in the thought and outlook of the Muslim world."²

Common opposition to European control and materialistic civilization, and to Christian missionary activity, has caused the transcendent and immanent tension within Islam to be somewhat relaxed. Although the conflict has been renewed, the need to remain united against Christendom as far as possible forces it into subordination.

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p. 29.

4. Rise of Modernism.

Erich Bethmann has described the development of the new concept of life now prevalent in the world of Islam as well as in the West.

Says Mr. Bethmann:

Beginning with the Renaissance in Italy, strengthened by the deep influence of the humanists like Erasmus and Reuchlin, helped by the basic concepts of Protestantism, but finally brought about by the eighteenth century natural philosophers in England such as Newton, Locke, and Hume, a new approach to life was discovered. . . . The sum total of this profound change in the thinking of man resulted in our modern industrial age and materialistic civilization.¹

This new pattern of thought permeated the Western culture by the eighteenth century and under many guises cut into the static civilization of Islam.

The beginning of the impact of the West upon Islam may be traced from the development of trans-oceanic navigation in the sixteenth century when trade agreements obliged local rulers in India to enter into the commercialization of the rest of the world and to involve themselves in European intrigue. W. Montgomery Watt has stated that following the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798, however, the economic, political and intellectual penetration of the Turkish and Persian Empires was well initiated and became rapid and extensive.² Superior military science, the phenomenal development of science and technology, and the beginnings of new national states in Europe increased the gap between the Middle East culture and that of the West. When Islam woke up amidst international communications and commerce and mass-production in the last century, it was as a vast empire engulfed in the industrial civilization of Europe and America.

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1. Bethmann, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

2. W. Montgomery Watt: "Forces Now Moulding Islam," Muslim World, July, 1953, p. 161.

One important result for Islam has been a shift in the economic sphere from dependence upon subsistence agriculture to dependence upon world markets for existence.¹ The introduction of mechanized industry, will doubtless cause dependence upon the West for replacements and further involve Islam in the materialism of the modern world.

A new social order is evolving as a result of the modern impact upon Islam. A Westernized or semi-Westernized middle class has arisen whose education has been almost wholly Western. This middle class, in turn, has been instrumental in the modernization of Islam. Preoccupation with religious schools may have been the cause for the lack of attention of Islamic leadership to illiteracy and to the general lack of education of the people. Until recently the problem of post-secondary education has been met primarily by foreign universities in Europe and Beirut rather than by al-Azhar, or other Islamic institutions.

5. Pressure of Secularism.

Through many avenues Westernism infiltrated the Islamic ranks. The adoption of the values of another civilization has created a new tension of dualism in Islam: secularism versus orthodoxy. Directly responsible for this situation is the literary renaissance launched by Christian missionaries in Syria and Egypt. In Syria, mission educational institutions were founded by American missionaries who realized that a system of education for the country, consonant with its Arab traditions and inheritance, was lacking. Most Protestant missions have adopted schools as a means of approach and have enjoyed countless blessings from them.²

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1. Ibid., p. 162.

2. Bethmann, op. cit., p. 181.

But the result has not always been progress towards evangelization of Muslims. Large institutions, especially those of higher learning, in outgrowing the old mission schools may provide hosts in which the germs of Western secularism may multiply. Dr. James T. Addison has lauded the American University of Beirut, formerly the Syrian Protestant College (though founded independently of the mission), and appreciates its contribution to the education of the whole Islamic East, but he has added,

When it comes to religion, however, the university is extremely cautious. Not only is no religious instruction required, but very little is offered, even to Christian students . . . The present ideal of the institution, which grows more secular every year, is that each student should remain in whatever religious status he may happen to be. The conversion of Moslem to Christianity would be as unexpected as it would be inconvenient.¹

And thus the dangers of Western secularism are enhanced by "Christian" institutions. The ferment of secularism, according to one author,

has created a fervent nationalism, eager to imitate Western methods and modes of life which are often based on a purely materialistic concept. The sobering influence of Christianity which makes Western life bearable in spite of its shortcomings is not transmitted to Muslims. This is true because this influence cannot be learned mentally; it must be experienced inwardly.²

It is the opinion of Professor Gibb that "the influence of secular education has done little to disturb at least the outward acceptance of the basic theological doctrines of Islam,"³ but if Egypt is an example, it is affecting the inward attitudes. The reformers' demand for government schools to replace foreign and Christian-founded schools in Egypt has resulted in the creation by the government of

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1. James T. Addison: The Christian Approach to the Moslem, p. 130.
2. Bethmann, op. cit., p. 181.
3. Gibb: Modern Trends in Islam, p. 49.

modern institutions of a Western type which are in competition with traditional schools and the rift between religious and secular education in Egypt has had far reaching consequences.¹ The demand for post-secondary education has resulted in the creation of two modern universities of a Western type which are in competition with the Islamic seat at al-Azhar.

Indigenous secularism of thought beneath an outward conformity to accepted tradition was already increasing when secularizing influences from the West began to penetrate the walls of the Islamic structure. The Ulema leaders of Islamic orthodoxy have remained seemingly unaffected by modern Western thought even as their early ancestors. Like their early fathers who rejected Greek philosophy centuries before, present leaders believe that the traditional interpretation of the Koran is adequate in any age and will overcome the new threat of secularism and materialism as it has weathered past storms. These religious leaders are probably indirectly responsible for the worldliness of the educated classes because of their weakening of the influence of the Sufi orders, which were combating secularism.²

6. Nationalism.

Hans Kohn has evaluated Arab nationalism as follows:

In the Hither East, nationalism is exercising the intellectual function that it exercised in Europe a hundred years ago. There nationalism stands approved in its original character as a struggle for freedom, the dawning consciousness of the national individuality as a creative force.³

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1. Ibid., p. 42.

2. Ibid., p. 51.

3. Hans Kohn: Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East, p. 50.

Professor Watt has described it as a "useful stick for beating the foreigner and compelling him to make concessions."¹

Secular or state nationalism appeared as a force in Egypt and Turkey at the turn of the century. Pan-Turanism, a union of all Turkish speaking peoples, was proposed by Turkish nationalists following their defeat of the vestiges of the Ottoman Empire. Since that time Turkey has rediscovered its pre-Islamic past, deposed Islam as the religion of the state, introduced modern law instead of Islamic law, and successfully attempted to establish the new secular state on the foundation of ancient Turkish traditions and of modern Western influences.

A similar political nationalism began in Persia where, under the influence of reform ideas of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1837-1897) and the Russian revolution, Persian nationalists asserted themselves and forced the adoption of a constitution. Emphasizing its connection with ancient Persian civilizations, Persia changed its name officially to Iran and made every effort "toward a strict centralization of government, the emancipation of women, and the modernization of economic life."²

One result of Persian nationalism has been a tendency to rely, for the much needed industrialization of the country, upon the country's own resources and to assert boldly the rights of a sovereign nation in attempting to rid itself of foreign dominations. By the expedient of refusing to give in, the Iranian cabinet succeeded in forcing Great Britain to leave the country and set off what the Christian Century has called a "Middle East chain reaction."³

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1. Watt, op. cit., p. 166.

2. Hans Kohn: "Nationalism," op. cit., p. 153.

3. The Christian Century, Vol. LXIII, No. 43, October 24, 1951, p. 1215.

In describing the contemporary Middle Eastern crisis, which is of grave significance to all the world, the editors of Christian Century magazine have postulated that

the tail of the British lion has been twisted by one country with impunity. It is a game others are rushing to play. Anger towards the West, stored up during the post-war years, bursts out in some new spot almost every day . . . What is happening now is that governments are taking carefully premeditated and calmly considered steps to put an immediate end to whatever direct or indirect controls Western nations exert within their borders. The Middle East is mobilizing to give colonialization its coup de grace.¹

The Iranians had scarcely acted to eject the British from their country when Egypt took steps to take full control of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Suez Canal Zone to the exclusion of any British rights. Iraq and Jordan, the more pro-British of all the Arab Islamic states, found themselves obliged to co-operate with the Arab League or be completely isolated from the rest of the Arab world. The Iraqi government asked the British government to revise the treaty which allows Britain to station airforce units in Iraq and the pro-British son of deceased King Abdullah of Jordan was defeated in his attempt to take the throne of Jordan. And so the chain reaction was started and continues to multiply in its effects to this day.

Pan-Arabism, or all-Arab nationalism, was an ideology which arose to combat the disintegrating influences of Pan-Turanism and other movements which were tending to destroy the unity of the Islamic world in the period which followed 1908. The Arab League was formed in 1944, consisting of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and found ample opportunity to show its strength in the Palestinian

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1. Ibid.

war of the late 1940's. But diversities between Arab-speaking nations and peoples hindered a unified offensive and the League failed to protect its people in Palestine from being displaced by the Zionists.

Excerpts from current periodicals illustrate the vitality of Pan-Arabism in the Near East even up to the time of this writing. In a review of events in this area the Middle Eastern Affairs quarterly for January 1954 states:

January 8: The premier of Iraq, Fadel el Jamali, proposes to the council [Arab League] that the eight member states take a bold step towards federation; he suggests that they unify their ministries of foreign affairs, war, education, finance and economy.¹

and the issue of Christian Century for January 20, 1954, included an editorial entitled "Our Arabian Ally Shows His Hand" which stated,

When Ibn Saud died, the press of the world was full of speculation concerning the purposes and qualities of his eldest son, who succeeded him as ruler of the oil-rich nation of Saudi Arabia. Now he has spoken and the world is appalled at what it discovers. On Sunday January 10 our papers reported that he demands the complete destruction of Israel, saying that its annihilation must be carried out even if ten million of its fifty million Arabs have to lay down their lives to accomplish this end.²

M. J. Steiner has indicated, however, that nationalism militates against Pan-Arabism.³ Recent history affirms the inability of Arab states which have achieved their own freedom to bring about the simplest kind of binding unity, and it is unlikely that a Pan-Arabic nationalism will yet evolve which will be a potent force in the affairs of the world.

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1. "Chronology," Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol. V, No. 2, February, 1954, p. 67.
2. "Egypt Learns from Sudan," The Christian Century, March 17, 1954, p. 323.
3. M. J. Steiner: Inside Pan-Arabia, p. 200.

Nationalism also is no respecter of countries, and asserts itself even against the lands which are the most violent centers of anti-Western nationalism. In the March 1954 deposition and restoration of General Naguib of Egypt this fact became evident to Egyptian leaders with abrupt clarity. The Christian Century editorializes as follows:

Following the reconciliation between General Naguib and the revolutionists . . . General Naguib, again president of Egypt, went to his native Sudan and immediately ran into trouble. Last fall this country on the Upper Nile voted for affiliation with Egypt, rather than for independence. The popularity of Naguib, who was born in the Sudan, has been credited with influencing the outcome. What would be more natural than that he should appear at Khartoum after his release to show the Sudanese that he was unharmed and to strengthen the bond between these two countries? But when he arrived the welcome he anticipated turned into a wild demonstration by tens of thousands of Sudanese crying for independence!¹

and concludes,

Naguib beat a prompt retreat . . . The episode should remind harrassed Egyptians that their own brand of colonialization makes demands upon the wielders of power which are inconsistent with their recent behavior. Just as Egypt has taken advantage of every sign of weakness in Britain, so the Sudanese are quick to sense indecision and division in Egypt.²

Nationalism even militates against Pan-Islamism, for its subtle infiltrations of agnosticism and the other evils of secularism tear at the very heart of Islamic unity and religious authority. The apparent strength and source of nationalism at this time in Islamic lands seems to lie within the Western-educated upper and middle classes. In the role of an instrument to drive out foreign elements of domination it has been supported by the lower classes. But this latter patriotism,

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1. "Egypt Learns from Sudan," loc. cit.

2. Ibid.

rather than being a secular nationalism, is Islamic; it is a sentiment of loyalty to the Islamic community.¹

It is the judgment of S. A. Morrison, as found in his report on "Missions and Government" to the Near East Christian Council,² that the policies of Muslim governments regarding foreign missions and national Christian churches is directly related to the tenor of international affairs. In analysing the components of the nationalistic fervor now sweeping over the Muslim world and resulting in deterioration of international relationships, he has cited three fundamental elements: the emergence of extreme nationalism, the resuscitation of a conservative type of Islam, and the appearance of revolutionary social and economic forces.³

The extreme nationalism manifested in Egypt and Iran, Mr. Morrison considers, is "symptomatic of the movement for independence from Western domination which has spread throughout the whole of Asia," but is caused in part by errors in Western policy since World War I in the Middle East area. Thus it finds expression in Iran and Egypt as "a general xenophobia" as well as particular hostility to British institutions.⁴

The revival of Islamic loyalty, in Mr. Morrison's opinion, is the result of "dissatisfaction" with the West. Such movements as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt are almost inevitable in the face of

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1. Watt, op. cit., p. 167.

2. S. A. Morrison: "Missions and Government," News Bulletin of the Near East Christian Council, July, 1952, p. 19.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

uncertainties such as those confronting that country today. The aim of this type of nationalistic group is to re-instate Islam as the dominant factor in national life and thus to maintain a norm for ethics, law, and social pattern.¹ Increased consideration by Muslim states has been given in recent months to the formation of an Islamic bloc, in which Pakistan might take the lead.

Revolutionary forces aiming at the overthrow of existing social and economic systems are a new factor in the situation, according to Mr. Morrison. Whether these forces have developed spontaneously as a protest against the injustice of present conditions or whether they have been initiated and fostered by Russian propaganda is uncertain, but there is no doubt of the threat involved.² Morrison believes that there has not been any appreciable anti-Christian bias thus far; yet, if developments in other parts of the world are any indication of the future, the threat of communism to the Christian Church in Egypt and the rest of the Middle East is real.³ Kenneth Cragg, writing on the subject, "The Intellectual Impact of Communism Upon Contemporary Islam," has stated,

The logic...which may be learned in contemplation of China is that Communism can undermine timorous negotiations by its own force and that it can only be countered by resolute and affirmative action...Resistance to it is precarious which is not rooted in an equal or greater relevance to the fears and burdens and yearnings of humanity.⁴

and has concluded that since the issues are equally present for Islam and Christianity in confrontation with communism, a fruitful relationship

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1. Ibid., p. 20.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Kenneth Cragg: "The Intellectual Impact of Communism Upon Contemporary Islam," The Middle East Journal, Spring, 1954, p. 130.

might result in which, by patience and frankness and humility, Christians could share with Muslims the hope in Christ.¹

It is the opinion of W. Montgomery Watt that nationalism is not so strong, nor is likely to play so considerable a part in the moulding of the future of the Islamic East, as a superficial view of the area might suggest. For he considers nationalism to have no deep roots in Islamic civilization.²

The cause of the attractiveness of nationalism in Islamic lands, says Prof. Watt, for the upper and middle classes which make up the most vocal element of society, lies not in intrinsic merit, but rather in utility as an instrument used by the Western nations themselves to reduce foreign political domination.³ Since the present Islamic nationalism is essentially negative, being anti-foreign in nature, as such it has an appeal for the masses. When support of the lower classes is needed, Prof. Watt indicates, "there is probably always a tendency...for secular nationalism to pass into 'Islamic nationalism,' that is, patriotism towards the Islamic community as a political entity."⁴

Islamic nationalism, therefore, is not necessarily a religious revival, but rather a secular spirit directed towards a community which has a religious basis. "It is probably the strongest force in the Islamic world today, and in the immediate future the only one capable

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1. Watt, op. cit., 168.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. Dr. William Wysham, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, also expressed this view in a conversation with the writer in August 1953.

of moving men to the reconstruction of society," reiterates Prof. Watt, but he adds that unless it becomes more religious and less secular, it will be incapable of meeting the needs of the age.¹

D. Summary

Islam may be regarded as presenting the most difficult mission problem of contemporary Christianity. In its sacred book, the Koran, Jesus Christ is recognized as a great prophet, but not as the crucified and risen Son of God and Lord of glory. Thus its adherents are prejudiced against belief in the very truths which would save their souls.

Islam, which means "submission to the will of God," is the name given by its founder, Muhammed, to the faith he promulgated. Included in the Koran, one of the infallible sources of faith, are the discourses of this man during the last twenty years of his life. These discourses were accepted by Muhammed himself to be the directly inspired work of God and as such are accepted by Muslim believers to be "eternally true, right, and valid." Contained in his writings is a strict assertion of the omnipotence and free will of God which has resulted in great and paralyzing fatalism among the masses of Islam. All previous revelations of God are purported to be abrogated by the revelation to Muhammed of God in the Koran; therefore, although Jesus Christ's life and teachings as revelations of God are taught in the Koran, the specific New Testament Gospel of Christianity with its claims of the divinity of Christ is rejected as not being the final nor true revelation of God.

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1. Watt, op. cit., p. 172.

The Christian view of the Trinity of the Godhead is repulsive to the Muslim who believes that Christians worship three gods: God, Jesus and Mary. Jesus is acknowledged to be an exalted being surrounded by miraculous events but nevertheless still a man who must die as other humans when He comes again to the earth. Sin as alienation from God is an almost non-existent conception and is applied only to those who depart from the strict monotheism of Islam. The deep lack of conviction of sin together with belief in a perverted view of Jesus Christ make the adherents of Islam almost impervious to the saving grace of the Gospel.

A second basis for Islamic thought and belief is a collection of traditions, the authenticity of which has been attested by various experts by means of a complicated science of sifting. As a result of these traditions which have increased through the centuries, pre-existence and miraculous powers have been attributed to Muhammed and the emphasis of the religion has changed from the revelation of the book to the person of the founder.

The third root of religious thought in Islam is the gradual pressure of opinion over a length of time which is termed the principle of "concensus." This infallible source of faith operates through the conscience of the people of Islam and expresses the will of the community as seen in retrospect.

Rationalistic modes of thought were largely rejected by Islam during the early centuries. This rejection has caused part of the conflict which has come about through contact with the secularizing influences of modern Western ideologies. A major factor in the develop-

ment of an Islamic theological system was the moral influence of the Arabs. Various schismatic movements arose throughout the centuries, the most important of which was Shi'-ism, which exercised a profound influence upon orthodox Islam in relation to the veneration of Muhammed.

Conflict with Hellenizing influences within Islam caused an over-emphasis of the transcendency of God among early theologians. A mystical movement known as "Sufism" appeared in the twelfth century to check this tendency. Puritanical reforms, among these the Wahhabi, have re-appeared throughout the centuries to purge Islam of evils and compromises.

Profound changes in thinking which caused the modern age of Western industrial and materialistic civilization, began to penetrate Islam with the invasion by Napoleon of Egypt in 1798. A new social order in which a Westernized or semi-Westernized middle class is a major innovation has evolved as a result of the impact of the West upon Islam. The secularism vs. orthodoxy tension of the West has been transplanted to Islam, to some extent increased by Christian mission schools. State nationalism emerged as a force in Turkey and Egypt and Persia at the turn of the present century. The eruption of nationalism in the Islamic East has been like "a chain reaction" and its effects are still spreading today. Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism, and Pan-Turanism are nationalistic movements which have arisen to preserve the unity of the Arab states, the Islamic world, and the Turkish domain, respectively. However, secular nationalism militates against all these larger ideologies, for its subtle influences tear at the heart of these unities.

The present strength of Islamic nationalism lies within the

Westernized educated classes. When supported by the lower classes the movement becomes an Islamic sentiment of loyalty to the community. The nationalistic movement in Islam is indicative of a desire for independence and has been expressed in general by anti-foreign as well as in particular by anti-British hostility. It has been caused to some extent, as well, by a genuine movement toward re-instating Islam as the dominant factor of society, and partially by revolutionary forces possibly fostered by communist propaganda. The present nationalism is useful primarily in gaining political independence; for this reason it may not play so important a part in the future as its present significance would seem to indicate.

Islamic nationalism is not necessarily a religious revival, but is rather a secular movement directed toward a community which has a religious basis. If the movement increases in religious emphasis it would become an even greater force in the contemporary Islamic world.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISM
AND PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN EGYPT

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISM AND PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN EGYPT

A. Introduction

Nationalism is spreading today. No continent has escaped its revolutionary spirit. Countries long host to Christian missions are undergoing basic changes and such changes, though sometimes swift, are deeply affecting Protestant mission policy. Many Asiatic countries formerly under Western control only a few years ago are now politically independent and broad areas of Africa are at present in the midst of nationalist upheaval.

A factor in contemporary Asiatic and African nationalism which is emerging in increasing importance in relation to Christian mission effort is the attitude of anti-Westernism. In speaking of this new "strong cultural resistance to the foreigner" which precludes the old receptiveness with which natives greeted the Gospel, Charles Ransom in his recent contribution, "Missions in the Perspective of History," states, "It is beyond question that the world into which the Christian Church is sent to fulfil its mission today is vastly different from that in which modern missions achieved their greatest triumphs."¹ W. Montgomery Watt, expanding this thought in his article, "Forces Now Moulding Islam" says,

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1. Ransom, op. cit., p. 386.

In view of the growth of Islamic nationalism and of anti-Western feeling it is likely that Western Christian missionary work may no longer be possible in the sense in which it has been understood in the last century.¹

Leonard Constantine, writing for The International Review of Missions, recently has defined the trend of world affairs in terms of emergency: "In China what we have always known as missionary work has come to an end, and the same experience may well come to the Church in other parts of Asia and Africa...How much time remains to us?"² Reports from many mission fields indicate that the era of foreign missions may be drawing to a close.

What then, of Christian missions to Muslim peoples, where nationalism is spreading rapidly from one sector to the next? What has been the effect of nationalism upon the growth and sustaining of Christian witness within Islam? What is the effort being made by Christendom to utilize the remaining time most effectively to convert the Muslim millions to Christ? It will be the purpose of the remaining chapters to seek to answer these questions.

The purpose of the following chapter is to trace the origins of Egyptian nationalism and the history of the Christian church in Egypt in order to provide the setting for the recent extreme manifestations of national consciousness in that country. Egypt has been chosen as the country to be particularly examined because of its outstanding position in modern Islam. It is the opinion of Halford L. Hoskins that nationalist attitudes in Egypt "are bound to be reflected to some extent

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1. Watt, op. cit., p. 172.
2. Leonard Constantine: "The Gospel to the Communists," The International Review of Missions, April, 1952, p. 202.

in the states closely associated with [it]...through the Arab League"¹ of which Egypt is generally acknowledged to be the leader. The presence of the seat of Sunni orthodoxy² in the great al-Azhar University contributes substantially to the prominence of Egypt in Islamic affairs. The character and manifestation of nationalism in Egypt is of consequence also because, unlike other states in the area including Saudi Arabia, it has been a recognized political entity for centuries; the other countries owe their "present form and territorial limits more to the political maneuverings of Western European powers than to natural political evolution or to any designs or efforts of... [their] own."³

B. Egyptian Nationalism

1. Origins in Pre-Islam

Conditioning factors to any civilization are the people and the geography of the land. Egypt occupies the lower end of a river valley which stretches across the world's greatest desert. It is the opinion of Dr. Ewing ^{M.} Bailey that elements of rich soil and water supply plus mild climate, from the beginning have made Egypt an agricultural country.⁴ Samuel Sharpe, in his account of the history of Egypt, states that relative physical isolation from the rest of the world for centuries fostered peaceful government and a high degree of civilization in the land of the Nile, antedating that of the Hebrews or the Greeks.⁵

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1. Halford L. Hoskins: The Middle East, p. 147.

2. Ante, p. 16.

3. Hoskins, op. cit., p. 148.

4. Ewing ^{M.} Bailey: May We Introduce Egypt, p. 4.

5. Samuel Sharpe: The History of Egypt, Sixth Edition, Vol. I, p. iv.

The secure foundations of the early Egyptian civilization seem to have produced a religion, according to Henri Frankfort, "rooted in a single basic conviction...that the universe is essentially static."¹ This conviction, Prof. Frankfort informs us, influenced the forms of state, society, literature, and art.² The systems of the Egyptian priests brought famed Greek scholars to the Delta, and visits from great men like Pythagoras, Plato, and others reveal "how ready Greece was to learn from Egypt."³

By the time of the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, the beginning of the Hebrew tradition, Egyptian civilization was unequalled in the world. Surpassing every country in wealth and power, Egypt was "foremost in all the arts of civilization, of commerce, and of agriculture."⁴ The massive architecture of the people of that age, erected 3000 years ago and still enduring, is evidence of the nation's early consciousness of greatness.⁵ As other nations grew up around the Mediterranean Sea, however, the physical barriers of protection for Egypt crumbled, and the narrow desert area to the north-east of Egypt was crossed. Via this small isthmus above the Suez Sea Egypt entered the wars and history of the world, and the area has been one of struggle ever since.

The following five hundred years were years of increasing corruption. Although the country retained its fabulous wealth its

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1. Henri Frankfort: Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. vii.
2. Ibid.
3. Sharpe, op. cit., p. vi.
4. Ibid., p. v.
5. Ibid.

power decayed and ultimately the land fell to foreign conquerors.

Under Greek rule Egypt became an independent kingdom of nearly the wealth and power formerly possessed under the native pharaohs. In the thriving center of world commerce and culture at Alexandria, the greatest library of the ages of Greece and Rome was established. There systems of chronology, mathematics, anatomy and other current sciences were first taught. Our present records of Greek writings and the earliest manuscripts of the Bible came to us from these Alexandrian copiers and librarians.¹ One historian has stated that "almost every art which flourishes under a settled form of government, either took its rise in Egypt or reached Europe through that country."²

Despite high intellectual attainments, moral degeneration took its toll in both Egypt and Greece, and the Roman Empire rose to replace Macedonian glory. From 48 B.C. until 640 A.D. Rome ruled Egypt; under Roman bonds misery abounded in the weakness of moral death, paganism, and rebellion. The introduction of Christianity into Egypt did not substantially alter the situation.³

2. Origins in Islam

The conquest of Egypt by the followers of Muhammed in 640 A.D. placed the country in the hands of new masters. The Egyptians surrendered to the plundering Arabs under the delusion that in placing themselves at the disposal of the Arabs they would free themselves of quarrels among the officials of church and civil affairs. Furthermore, they

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1. Ibid., p. vii.
2. Ibid., p. iii.
3. Intra., p. 42.

lacked the desire to fight to save themselves from a change of political masters.

The Egyptians were badly mistaken. Slavery to Islamic masters was far worse than bondage to Greece or Rome ever had been. Egypt subsequently became merely a part of the kingdom of Islam and its history emerges only as a portion of the history of the Arabs.¹ The Caliph in Medina, Arabia, gave orders to destroy the contents of the magnificent library at Alexandria. With the destruction of these records in bonfires at the public baths, the glory of nine hundred years of Greek domination faded abruptly. There remained no signs of the Roman conquest of Egypt after the Arab occupation.² Even the faint traces of the Egyptian religion and arts still remaining during Roman domination soon disappeared with the coming of the Arabs.³ Deep has been the lethargy into which Egypt, once the greatest of all nations, has fallen since the seventh century despite the previous hundreds of years of political and cultural importance.

The conquest of Egypt in 640 A.D. established a new heritage. The Arabization of the nation which had begun in the second century B.C. was augmented in the seventh century A.D. by the Islamization of the land. Arabic ultimately became the language and Islam the religion of the people of Egypt. The Egyptians, however, did not become roaming herdsmen nor members of tribes or clans like the Arabs of other Arab-Islamic countries. In this regard the Egyptians have kept the original identity of "fellaheen" or "tillers of the soil" to this day. In the

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1. Sharpe, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 380.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

main, however, Egypt became buried with other conquered nations in the oblivion of Islam. Preoccupation with the medieval Muslim culture which fostered self-containment and aversion to change within Islam caused Egypt to remain in relative obscurity from the world until modern times when the country became involved inadvertently with the affairs of the contemporary world.

The expansion of Islam continued for two and one half centuries to the very gates of Europe. During the centuries of Arab-Islamic domination Egypt became involved in the quarrels of the Empire. One such quarrel arose when Saljukian Turkish control of the Islamic world was challenged for two hundred years by a separate dynasty. This period is significant in the history of Egypt in that it marked a new epoch of Egyptian glory. The Fatimid dynasty, in opposition to the Turks, was the only major Shi'ite caliphate of history. By 909 A.D. this dynasty controlled all of North Africa and Egypt. During Fatimid domination for the first time since the days of the pharaohs "a completely sovereign power full of vitality and founded on a religious basis"¹ flourished in Egypt. Under it the city of Cairo reached a new height of splendor. But inward corruption in government, plus the precarious economy dependent upon an impoverished people harried by famine and plagues, caused the dynasty to be overthrown during the Crusades by the Sunni caliphate.

As is evidenced from a survey of the pre- and post-Crusades history of Islam, religiously it has absorbed many of its political conquerors. The awareness of this former capacity to absorb hostile governments has been cited by a contemporary author to be the "kernel

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1. Philip K. Hitti: The Arabs: A Short History, p. 174.

of modern Islam's discomforture."¹ For the set-back to Islam by modern Western imperialism has presented the problem of non-Muslim powers gaining great success in the present age; this success seems to have been permitted even to the detriment of the Islamization of the world.

C. The Christian Church in Egypt

1. The Establishment of the Early Christian Church in Egypt

As early as the Apostolic Age Christianity spread to Egypt.² Following the conversion of several learned Greek philosophers such as Justin and Athenagoras and others, Christianity was taught openly in Alexandria. From Lower Egypt the Gospel spread to Middle and Upper Egypt and adjacent provinces by the fourth century.

But Christianity never fully penetrated the nation.³ Before the Gospel was preached in Alexandria there were three religions existing: Greek philosophy, Egyptian mysticism, and Judaism. These religions were often mixed. Thus it is not surprising that when the gospel of Jesus was introduced into such an environment that the early converts to Christianity retained various patterns of thought learned in their pagan days, nor that Christianity took on a pagan or a Judaistic character among the converts in Egypt.

The Egyptian Christians have been called "the first and chief corrupters of Christianity."⁴ Some of the first converts in Egypt had been taught by the Apostles themselves, but among these early Fathers

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1. Wilfred Cantwell Smith: "Trends in Muslim Thought and Feeling, I," Islam at Mid-Century, Report of a Conference Held at Hartford Seminary Foundation, May 29-31, 1952, p. 322.
2. Philip Schaff: History of the Christian Church, Vol. II, p. 24.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. Sharpe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. ix.

the Gospel lost much of its purely moral nature and became fused with mysticism and philosophy.¹ Part of the subsequent aversion of the Egyptians to Christianity, therefore, is justified and may be traced to mystical rites and other paganism of the early converts.²

The great city of Alexandria was destined to become a center of Christianity. Founded according to tradition by the evangelist Mark, the church at Alexandria grew to include provinces along the Nile and to rival the see at Rome itself. A catechetical school was early established to prepare converts for baptism; however, in this city where the intellectual culture of Greece and the religious genius of Philo provided the background of the development of Christianity, the school soon became a center of learning similar to a theological seminary.³ A converted Stoic philosopher became the first head in 180 A.D. and was followed by Clement, Origen, and other great leaders until the school collapsed amidst the dissensions of the Alexandrian church at the close of the fourth century.

The peculiar theology which proceeded from Alexandria was a Christian form of the Jewish religion of Philo which aimed at the reconciliation of Christianity with philosophy but which refuted Gnosticism.⁴ The traditional Christian philosophy of Origen may as justly be considered the forerunner of the Arian heresy which Egypt gave to Christianity as it may be judged the basis for the orthodoxy which Athanasius of Egypt proclaimed.⁵

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1. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 168.
2. Ibid., p. 173.
3. Schaff, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 778.
4. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 779.
5. Ibid., p. 791.

A tendency of Egyptian Christianity which later spread over all of Christendom was that of monastic asceticism. The first Christian monks and hermits were Egyptians.¹ Some converts to the Gospel were former Egyptian priests. Theoretical basis for monasticism was afforded by the Alexandrian Fathers who kept the Platonic distinction between the "practical" and the "contemplative" life.²

2. The Rise and Decline of the Coptic Church in Egypt

By the fifth century racial and national differences among the Christians had deepened the separation between the Egyptians and the Melchite or Catholic Christians. The latter group were mainly Greeks identified with the Alexandrian Melchite Patriarch and associated with Byzantine imperialism.³ The Egyptians, or "Copts,"⁴ held the Monophysite⁵ doctrine concerning the person of Christ. The Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451 A.D. branded the doctrine as heresy. Persecution of the Copts followed to force them to join the Melchite Church.

The Copts, however, condemned the decision of the Council at Chalcedon. This period marks the beginning of the separate existence of the Coptic Church of Egypt. Struggle against the orthodox Church

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1. Ibid., p. 390.

2. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 155.

3. Bailey, op. cit., p. 22.

4. Dr. Schaff, in a footnote on p. 776 of Vol. III in his History of the Christian Church, derives the word "Copt" from the Greek αἰγυπτιος, "Guptos," rather than from the town Koptos, as is often given. He defines, on p. 776 of the same volume, the Coptic people in Egypt as those in nationality who are the "genuine descendants of the ancient Egyptians, though with an admixture of Greek and Arab blood."

5. Adherents of the Monophysite heresy held that there was but a single nature in Christ or that the human and divine in Him constituted but one composite nature.

became nearly as bitter as that which had existed between the Christians and their pagan persecutors centuries earlier.¹ The brief Persian occupation of Egypt just before the Arab conquest intensified persecution and caused the Copts to view the coming of the Muslims in 634 A.D. as a welcome change of masters.

The Coptic Church revived under the initially mild rule of the Arabs and its skilled people were widely employed in governmental positions left vacant by the withdrawing Byzantine officials. Many of the famed art forms, Kenneth S. Latourette tells us, were developed by these Coptic architects and artists.² But the Church permanently declined under Muslim rule and never has regained its original vitality nor numerical preponderance among the Egyptian population.

From the beginning of the Arab conquest of Egypt, Christians from both the Coptic and Melchite groups went over to the Muslim faith. A mass apostasy during the first years of occupation seems to be indicated by the more than fifty per cent drop in revenue derived from taxes forced upon professing Christians.³ More severe persecutions followed as the Arab rule continued and even bishops are recorded to have defected to the faith of the conquerors.⁴ Changes in dynastic rulers brought little improvement and sometimes worse persecution. Misconduct occurred among the clergy.

The internal war of sects continued unaffected by larger misfortunes. An attempt at reconciliation with Rome was made in 1440; further

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1. Bailey, op. cit., p. 23.

2. Kenneth S. Latourette: A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. II, p. 301.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

attempts by the Popes to gain the Coptic Church followed in succeeding centuries. Turkish conquest in 1517 and French occupation in 1798 had little effect upon the native Christians. Dr. Schaff has described the Coptic Christians as standing

as if enchanted, upon the same position they assumed in the fifth century...long since fallen into stagnation, ignorance, and superstition...isolated fragments of church history..coming to view amidst Mohammedan scenes.¹

Yet the Coptic Church has endured. Dr. Schaff, in acknowledging this fact, has said,

Providence has preserved them, like the Jews, and doubtless not without design, through storms of war and persecution, unchanged until the present time. Their very hatred of the orthodox Greek church makes them more accessible both to Protestant and Roman missions, and to the influences of Western Christianity and Western civilization.²

In commenting upon the persistence of the ancient churches of the Near East C. T. Bridgeman has stated in his article for the July, 1954 Bulletin of the Near East Christian Council,

We must remember...that, had there been no Christians already living in the Muslim countries, there would have been no missions today... It is not the Evangelical missions which have kept the people loyal to Christ through thirteen centuries of Islam, but the old faith of their ancestors. Whatever its defects, it had such strength.³

Of the present population of Egypt, only about eight per cent are not Muslim. The majority of these non-Muslims are Coptic nominal Christians, the racial descendants of the ancient Egyptians and the spiritual heirs of the once evangelistic Alexandrian church. Outward

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1. Schaff, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 773.

2. Ibid., pp. 773-774.

3. C. T. Bridgeman: "The Relationship Between the Evangelical Churches and the Ancient Churches of the Near East," News Bulletin of the Near East Christian Council, July, 1954, p. 10.

evidence of Coptic background has been retained in a cross tattooed on the wrist of the believer and the bearing of a Christian name. Even these indications of religion are often avoided by Copts, however, records Aubrey Whitehouse, missionary of the Egypt General Mission of London, to escape the disadvantages of being "Christian."¹

In regards to the contemporary Coptic Church in Egypt Mr. Whitehouse has written:

The majority of the rank and file of this group know nothing of the Christian faith and the leaders are little better. If the long-drawn-out early morning worship mass is attended on Sundays it is not with the idea of worship, but of obtaining, in some way, "baraka" (blessing)...These people are as dark and needy as the Muslims and, generally speaking, are open and willing to listen. Through the years of missionary witness in Egypt there has been an encouraging response from these, the real native Egyptians.²

3. The Introduction of Protestant Missions into Egypt

Early Christian missionary effort in Egypt, although originally intended to be carried on among the Muslims and Jews, was confined to the native Christians and Jews.³ The Protestant missionaries, or "Evangelicals," found the Muslims almost impossible to approach with the Gospel. Therefore, the foreigners conjectured that work among the Coptic Christian groups could provide a nucleus into which Muslims might be drawn.⁴ As schools were started for the Christians there was some success in attracting Muslim students.

Despite the unanimous desire of all the Protestant missionary

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1. Aubrey Whitehouse: "Are We Getting Anywhere?", Egypt General Mission News, October-December, 1952, p. 9.
2. Ibid.
3. Bridgeman, op. cit., p. 9.
4. Ibid.

agencies which entered the Near East to avoid schism within the Ancient Churches,¹ the struggle between the Coptic and Evangelical Churches in Egypt became bitter. In the beginning the foreign missionaries were welcomed by the native Coptic leaders as allies in the cause of Christ. They were permitted to preach in the established churches and to start schools. In a short while, however, the missionaries felt there was need to raise the level of local Christian life to make the Gospel message more attractive to the Muslims, who traditionally despised the followers of Christ among them.² Convinced that certain Coptic beliefs and practices were destructive of the purity of the Christian faith, the missionaries condemned them. This condemnation brought fear and opposition from the Egyptian church leaders. Subsequently, plans to reform the native church from within were abandoned and Evangelical congregations were established apart from the Coptic Church.

The Moravian Church founded the first foreign mission to Egypt in 1747. This early group was self-supporting and carried out a mission of good will, purposing to exert an evangelical influence within the Coptic Church. The mission was discontinued after 1783.

Protestant missionary endeavor was renewed in 1815 with the establishment of a printing press on Malta by the Church Missionary Society of England.³ After 1825 the work centered upon Egypt and Abyssinia, where literary and educational activities were introduced. The London Society for Promoting Christianity Among Jews began intermittent

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1. Pierce Beaver: "Historic Aspects of Church Relationships in the Near East," News Bulletin of the Near East Christian Council, July, 1954, p. 5.
2. Bridgeman, op. cit., p. 10.
3. Beaver, op. cit., p. 6.

effort about this time. The Church of Scotland also supported a mission for Jews in Alexandria for a period of time.

In 1854 the Associate Reformed Church of America set up a mission at Cairo. The method of evangelization which this church, now called the United Presbyterian Church, adopted, differed from that which the Church Missionary Society was utilizing. The latter, according to the historian Julius Richter, had purposely avoided the formation of separate congregations and had restricted itself to the spreading of the knowledge of the Gospel and to the winning of individual believers.¹ The results of the method of approach employed by the Church Missionary Society were not encouraging. Therefore, profiting by the experience of their predecessors, the Americans began at once to contact the Coptic laity without attempting to come to terms with the Coptic clergy.² They proposed to form Protestant congregations distinct from the native gatherings.

The American Mission established a foothold in Cairo and in Alexandria with difficulty. Under the favorable rule of the most progressive Coptic Patriarch, Cyril X, and the most sympathetic Egyptian Viceroy, Said Pasha, in the middle of the nineteenth century the mission grew. The crusade against Protestantism inaugurated by a later Coptic Patriarch during the time of the American Civil War was crushed by the British and American consulates, who gave their powerful support to the missionaries in upholding the hattı humayoun, or magna charta of religious

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1. Julius Richter: A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East, p. 345.

2. Ibid.

liberty in the Ottoman Empire.¹ The mission expanded through methods of itineration, colportage, educational work, and later, medical efforts.

Recent statistics place the membership of the indigenous Evangelical Church at 78,000.² Today there is more restraint in active proselytism from the Coptic Church than in earlier days of missionary activity and the Church grows through the increase of its own families.³ The largest Christian community associated with a mission is that of the United Presbyterian Church with 45,000 members.⁴ The Church of Scotland has congregations in Cairo and Alexandria. There are also Swiss and German Protestant churches as well as the American Assemblies of God, Church Missions to Jews, the Elim Missionary Society, the Friends' Service Council, the Hebrew Christian Testimony to Israel, the Anglican Church, and the Egypt General Mission, an interdenominational evangelical society working mostly amongst the Muslims in the Delta area, all maintaining missions in Egypt.⁵

Bishop Allen tells us that "in Egypt the divisions between the churches are still strict."⁶ For in the Middle East it is customary for people to think in terms of religious communities and to expect persons to remain members of the community to which they belong.⁷ However, there is fellowship between the Christian churches evidenced in various cooperative committees and worship services as well as in

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1. Bailey, op. cit., p. 35.

2. Geoffrey Allen: Egypt: What of the Church, p. 12.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

6. Ibid., p. 14.

7. Ibid.

agreement on principles of proselytism.¹

The Egypt Inter-Mission Council, a representation of seven missions, was formed in 1919 with the object of establishing "a means of reference and communication for the cooperating organizations in matters of common interest"² listed as: evangelistic, educational, medical, charitable, and philanthropic. In 1927, as a result of conferences sponsored by the Inter-Mission Council, the Near East Christian Council was set up to promote spiritual unity and to stimulate cooperation in certain types of work. This agency has proved to be effective in bringing a sense of unity to the Protestant forces in the Near East.³ Through the Near East Christian Council the Egypt Inter-Mission Council is affiliated with the International Missionary Council.

D. The Recent Eruption of Egyptian National Consciousness

1. In the Period Before 1918

Various foreign occupations and native uprisings and upheavals have marked the history of Egypt from the time of the Arab conquest until the present century. The last medieval dynasty of the Arab world, that of the Mamluks, cleared the Syro-Egyptian domain of the remnant of the Crusaders and spared Egypt the devastation of the Mongols of Hulagu and Timur. Thus the Nile country has had a continuity of culture and political institutions enjoyed by no other Muslim country.⁴ For almost three centuries, beginning in 1250 A.D., the Mamluk slave sultans ruled

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1. Ibid., p. 15.

2. Beaver, op. cit., p. 8.

3. Ibid., p. 9.

4. Hitti, op. cit., p. 195.

the turbulent Middle East and evidenced in Egypt an "extraordinary architectural and artistic productivity on a scale without parallel in Egyptian history since Ptolemaic and Pharaonic days."¹ With the victory of the non-Arab Ottoman Turks in 1517, however, the center of the empire shifted to Asia, and Cairo, formerly an imperial city, became only a provincial town.

The four centuries of Ottoman domination were centuries of eclipse for Arab lands.² Egypt remained under the bondage of Ottoman masters until the First World War when Great Britain severed the last ties. It is the opinion of George Antonius, outstanding contemporary Syrian author, that with the exceptions of the Wahhabi movement³ to purge Islam of impurities and the revolution led by Muhammed Ali, the uprisings of those four centuries never seriously threatened the Ottoman Empire nor had perceptible bearing upon the rise of nationalism.⁴ On the contrary, he believes, these upheavals were the achievements of ambitious men who blew "the trumpets of their local triumphs."⁵

Many authors consider the modern era of Egypt to have begun in 1798 when Napoleon invaded the Nile country.⁶ Along with his other equipment the French conqueror brought into Egypt an Arabic press which he had plundered from the Vatican. Soon after the French invasion Muhammed Ali, an ambitious Turkish officer, precipitated a series of events in which he successfully fought the French, the British, and his

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1. Ibid., p. 200.

2. Ibid., p. 207.

3. Ante, p. 16.

4. George Antonius: The Arab Awakening, p. 13.

5. Ibid., p. 20.

6. Hitti, op. cit., p. 211.

own sovereign, the sultan of Turkey. This great leader and founder of modern Egypt, dreaming of an Arab empire and recognizing the possibilities inherent in the new contact between the West and the Arab lands, opened the entire eastern Mediterranean area to the cultural influences of the West.¹ As undisputed ruler in Egypt he set up a powerful dynasty and laid the groundwork for a modernized society.² Public order was restored, highways became secure to all travelers, Bedouin tribes were won over to peaceful pursuits, genuine efforts were made to promote education and the study of medicine, and under an impoverishing system of taxation, great irrigation works were established. His successor, Abbas, hated foreigners more than the great Ali, but did not check the ever growing number of Europeans in his land.³ During his reign the first railway was built by British money, the first bank and telegraph concessions were given to Western powers, and the right to construct the Suez Canal was granted to France.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made Egypt the foremost target of European imperialism. Mismanagement of finances by Khedive Isma'il, the spendthrift grandson of Ali, involved the country more deeply than ever with Europe. A British and a French delegate were appointed to the cabinet of Egypt at that time in an attempt to set the inner affairs of the land in order. Although the financial burdens were lightened as a result, it was at the cost of political independence.⁴

The first sign of national awakening in Egypt probably occurred

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1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 211.
2. Steiner, op. cit., p. 125.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 126.

in the revolt of Ahmed Arabi Pasha in 1879 against the dynasty, the ruling classes, and foreign control.¹ The son of a fellah, Arabi became an officer in the Egyptian army. He keenly felt the inferior status given officers and soldiers of his background by the ruling classes and founded an organization of officers aimed at the deposition of the rulers of the land. Their slogan became "Egypt for the Egyptians."

Favorable response toward the movement was evoked from shaikhs and students of al-Azhar, the Muslim Theological College at Cairo. Jamal al-Din al Afghani, one of the shaikhs at the college, was the leader of the movement against the ruling class. Another eminent scholar, Muhammed Abdou, sought to check the spread of Western ideas by reforming Islam, and interpreted the Koran in conformity with the law of change.²

The first round was battled in 1879 when the dismissal of the Minister of War was demanded by Arabi and his men. In 1881 Arabi surrounded the palace of the Khedive³ with troops and called for the dismissal of the Cabinet, the election of a Legislative Assembly, and the strengthening of the army. The Khedive yielded and Arabi was made Minister of War in the first nationalist cabinet of Egypt.

Such nationalistic manifestations were direct offenses against Great Britain and France. The latter countries demanded the dismissal of the new cabinet and backed up their demands with a fleet off Alexandria. Arabi and his forces fought but lost to the British in the summer and

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p. 127.

3. The title "Khedive" was conferred by the Sultan of Turkey upon Isma'il Pasha, wastrel ruler of Egypt, when he agreed to pay an annual tribute of £720,000. Subsequently his successors bore the title.

fall of 1882.

Egyptian nationalistic fervor decreased after the defeat of Arabi's revolution and under the control of British advisers the Egyptian cabinets worked smoothly.¹ The competent leadership of Lord Cromer, who began to rule Egypt in 1883, brought the land economic stability, a greatly improved judicial system, and improved sanitary conditions.²

But the desire for freedom did not die. A new nationalistic force came into being, product of the spread of Western ideas and education.³ This force was centered in the urban intelligentsia who, though few in number at first and unsuccessful in fighting British control, nonetheless gained many supporters among the students of al-Azhar. Years passed before the fruits of this planting were witnessed, but restlessness increased in the land. Whereas the great majority of the people were only dimly conscious of the changes taking place around them, generations were passing through Western organized and directed schools and were entering into public life modeled after Western society and institutions.⁴ Dr. Gibb summarizes the modern awakening of Egypt as follows:

Slowly at first, but with increasing force and in ever-widening range, the national consciousness revived to serve as a rallying point and inspiration in the effort to avoid complete surrender to the spiritual and material forces of the West.⁵

When World War I broke out Lord Kitchener, strong High

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1. Steiner, op. cit., p. 129.

2. Ibid.

3. Ante, p. 21-23.

4. Gibb: "The Arabs," 36th in the Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, p. 5.

5. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Commissioner of Egypt from 1911-1914, was away from the Nile country. The Khedive was in Constantinople, plotting with the Sultan against the British. Aware of the immediate danger of Turkish attack upon the Suez Canal, the British acted quickly to dissolve the allegiance of Egypt to Turkey by declaring the country a protectorate.¹ The Khedive was deposed and the new Khedive was given the title of Sultan of Egypt to strengthen the break with Turkey.

During the First World War the presence of British troops in Egypt discouraged nationalistic demonstrations. No open hostility was encountered throughout the duration of the war.

2. In the Period Between 1918-1952

Upon the conclusion of World War I Egyptian nationalism erupted in new power, primarily due to the leadership of Sa'ad Zaghlul Pasha. Zaghlul was a "fellah of fellaheen," an uncompromising champion for Egypt's freedom. With the cessation of hostilities he began marshalling his followers into a political party called the "Wafd" Party. A delegation of this party on November 18, 1918 presented themselves to the British High Commissioner to demand full independence for their country. In the struggle which ensued Zaghlul and three of his associates were deported to Malta by the British, a step which stirred the country to rebellion and violent riot.² British military strength proved inadequate to curb the rebellion. The release of Zaghlul did not ease the tension.³ Ultimately the Egyptian General Assembly convened and declared the

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1. Ibid., p. 131.
2. Ibid., p. 132.
3. Ibid., p. 133.

protectorate illegal.

After long negotiations between leaders of the two countries, an agreement was reached whereby Great Britain was to recognize Egypt as an independent and constitutional monarchy but was to retain certain rights. Zaghlul, invited to London in 1920 and the main force behind the negotiations there, was summoned home by the Egyptian Prime Minister, who feared his power. More struggle eventuated in the second banishment of Zaghlul by the British, this time to the Seychelles.

A limited independence was offered to the Egyptian Sultan by the British in 1922 which established the country as a Kingdom and paved the way for further efforts toward freedom.¹ When Zaghlul was released in 1923 he successfully campaigned for election to the newly constituted Parliament and became Prime Minister. In this office he again visited London to negotiate complete independence but was denied his terms.

Upon the return of Zaghlul to Egypt the situation became tense. In 1924 a native student assassinated the Governor of Sudan, Sir Lee Stack. Harsh demands by the British caused Zaghlul to resign. A new cabinet was formed with upper class leaders in control and it was not until two years later that the Wafd party again came into eminence during new elections.

Realizing the stigma frequently placed upon the Wafdists who were being blamed for the assassination of Sir Stack, Zaghlul withdrew from public affairs. During this time of recession Zaghlul died on August 23, 1927. His death brought a mighty spontaneous demonstration

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1. Ibid., p. 134.

honoring him as Egypt's greatest son and champion for freedom. In recent years his people have built memorials to his name.

In 1935 Mussolini's troops marched into Ethiopia and unrest in Egypt increased. Riots and attacks on British personnel occurred in Cairo and Alexandria. Negotiations with Britain were resumed and finally concluded in 1936. On December 22, 1936 the Treaty of Alliance was ratified by the British Parliament.

Although according to this treaty certain military rights were granted to Britain, the occupation of the country which had lasted fifty-four years was terminated. The achievement of complete independence left the Wafd Party, organized for this purpose, rather without an aim and the opposition of the King further reduced its power. As one author has stated it, the Wafd Party subsequently "resembled all other political parties of the Arab speaking world in that it lacked a constructive plan for building up a freed society."¹

Since the King and his upper class associates controlled the greatest part of cultivated land in Egypt² there was little effort made by the government to improve the education or living of the fellaheen and laborers. Only ten per cent of the population profited by the Westernization of the land³ and the political leaders of Egypt seemed little perturbed over the state of affairs. Instead of dealing with internal problems Egypt concentrated upon international themes and sought to extend its influence to other Arab lands.⁴

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1. Ibid., p. 138.
2. Ibid., pp. 138-139.
3. Ibid., p. 140.
4. Ibid.

3. In the Period Since 1952

a. Under General Mohammed Naguib

On July 23, 1952 an amazing coup d'etat in Egypt startled the world. In a bloodless revolution the Egyptian Army led by General Mohammed Naguib expelled the constitutional monarchy. King Farouk was exiled.

Events preceding the coup might be summarized as centering about the mounting discontent of the Egyptian Army officers at the protection by the King's government of political profiteers responsible for the defeat of Egyptian forces in the war with Israel, and the worsening of Anglo-Egyptian relations and series of cabinet crises following the riots and arson of "Black Saturday" (January 26, 1952) in Cairo.¹

After Naguib's assumption of power there was an unsuccessful effort to purge corruption and achieve material reform by joint military and civil rule. However, the military group became impatient with the political parties and took complete control of the government. The "Revolutionary Command Council" or "junta," as it is often called, strengthened its rule by arrests and trials of opposing political leaders, especially those of the Communist, Muslim Brotherhood, and Wafd parties. A temporary constitution was ultimately proclaimed and on June 19, 1953 Egypt became a republic.

A new national anthem carrying the same title as the nation's slogan, "Unity, Discipline, and Work," was introduced during 1953 to

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1. Pieter K. Roest: A book review of L. Adam: Hoe Egypt onder militair bewind Kwan, appearing in The Middle East Journal, Spring, 1954, p. 216.

keep loyalty to country high.¹ In contrast to previous issues picturing royal personages, the Naguib regime printed several series of postage stamps honoring the fellah and the private soldier, reflecting the democratic emphasis of the new government.² Royal statues under construction at the time of the uprising were discontinued and figures of past national heroes substituted. Names of streets were changed to such titles as "Liberation Square." Even the two large secular universities of Egypt have had a change in titles: the institutions usually called Faud in Cairo and Farouk in Alexandria are now referred to as Cairo University and Alexandria University, respectively, by most Egyptians.³

President Naguib denounced "imperialistic" efforts to keep his country bound to an agricultural economy and announced that his regime would undertake "great projects to stamp out poverty" through industrialization.⁴ One major effort in this direction was the Agrarian Land Reform, initiated September 9, 1952 on a five year basis. According to the Reform distribution of 600,000 feddans (a feddan is 1.038 acres) to the landless fellaheen of Egypt is planned in a manner whereby the landowners will be adequately compensated for their loss of property.⁵ Thus the feudal system of land ownership which has prevailed in Egypt for centuries is being broken and for the first time the fellah is being enabled to receive the benefit himself of his own produce. Cooperative

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1. James Batal: "Notes on the New Egypt," Muslim World, July and October, 1954, p. 229.
2. Ibid., p. 235.
3. Ibid., p. 231.
4. "Developments of the Quarter: Comments and Chronology," The Middle East Journal, Spring, 1954, p. 189.
5. Batal, op. cit., p. 234.

societies similar to the New England town meetings are being set up to assist the fellah in his new ownership of land by teaching him modern agricultural methods and by helping him to meet his obligations.¹

Among the innovations of the new regime one of the most outstanding is the significant change in attitude toward religion.² In seeking unity the government has made many efforts to unite Muslims, Christians and Jews as equal citizens. Endeavoring to practice brotherhood whenever visiting provincial capitals, members of the Revolutionary Command Council have made it a policy to invite Coptic bishops to participate in patriotic meetings along with Muslim leaders.

Among the major problems facing the revolutionary government, the disputes with Britain over future policies concerning the Sudan and the Suez Canal were paramount.³ Also in need of resolution was the problem of the continuing tension with Israel as well as the determination of the role Egypt is to play in the Arab world and the position that country is to take in the Arab and Islamic blocs against the West. Agreement was reached with Great Britain on the Sudan issue by the new government of Egypt, resulting in the December, 1953 election of a legislative assembly by the Sudanese people.

Recent events have proved the new government in Egypt to be a military dictatorship, functioning through the Revolutionary Council.⁴

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1. Ibid., pp. 234-235.

2. Ibid., p. 227.

3. Press Department, Egyptian Embassy: Egypt in Two Years, a publication of the Press Department, Egyptian Embassy, Washington, D.C., (issued in conjunction with the second anniversary of the liberation of Egypt on July 23, 1952), p. 8, a quotation from an editorial appearing in the Washington Star, August 22, 1954.

4. Ibid., p. 9, quotation from an editorial appearing in the Washington Star, July 29, 1954.

As the President, Premier, and head of the Revolutionary Command Council of Egypt, General Naguib was the "symbol of a new order in an ancient, long misgoverned land."¹ He enjoyed immense popularity among the masses of Egypt. But even Naguib was powerless to oppose the decisions of the Council.

b. Under Colonel Gamal Abd^{el} Nasser

In February and March of 1954, General Naguib was deprived of his offices and confined to his home. Later he was reinstated to a nominal presidency and finally was appointed to the office of Premier once more.² The real ruler of Egypt emerged at this time. Lieutenant Colonel Gamal Abd^{el} Nasser, thirty-five year old army leader, had manipulated himself into the office of Premier and head of the Revolutionary Command Council during this unusual period of events and tested his popularity along with that of Naguib. At this time Colonel Nasser assured the Western powers that the changes in government leadership would not "swing the country away from the West."³

The restoration of Naguib to office was a temporary acknowledgement of Naguib's prestige, but his was only a figurehead position.⁴ Opportunity for the coup de grace came for Colonel Nasser in the week of November 15, 1954 when he learned from a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood that Naguib had prior knowledge of a recent plot to kill Nasser. General Naguib was thence unceremoniously visited by two Egyptian Army

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1. "Out Goes Naguib," Time, November 22, 1954, p. 34.
2. "Egypt and England," section from "Notes of the Quarter," Muslim World, July and October, 1954, p. 273.
3. "Developments of the Quarter: Comments and Chronology," The Middle East Journal, Spring, 1954, p. 190.
4. "Out Goes Naguib," loc. cit.

officers and presented with the message: "The Revolutionary Command Council has today relieved Mohammed Naguib." Naguib was banished to a house in the suburbs of Cairo and Colonel Nasser openly took the reins of government.

It is the opinion of S. A. Morrison, noted missionary to Islam, that with the alleviation of international tension, the situation regarding religious freedom in Muslim lands "will almost certainly show an immediate improvement."¹ Certainly the Anglo-Egyptian agreement by which British military forces are to evacuate the Suez Canal Zone is having a favorable impact upon Egypt's internal political situation.²

A recent development in Middle Eastern affairs related to the aspirations of Egypt toward leadership of the Arab world is the Turkish-Iraqi treaty of mutual defense against communism signed early in March, 1955. Since Turkey is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Iraq has become the first member of the Arab League to join the pro-Western chain of alliances.³ It is the conclusion of Time magazine commentators that "Iraq's bold step has all but finished the Arab League," and that Egypt is particularly anxious about the implications of this decision since that country "has long fancied itself the leader of the Arab world and wants to keep the Arab world uncommitted for now in the cold war"⁴ between the West and Communist Russia.

At the time of this writing the prospect of war between Egypt

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1. Morrison, op. cit., p. 23.

2. Press Department, Egyptian Embassy, loc. cit. Cf. "A Survey of the Year 1954--The Near and Middle East," The International Review of Missions, January, 1955, p. 35.

3. "Strength for the Northern Tier," Time, March 7, 1955, p. 38.

4. Ibid.

and Israel is increasingly menacing. Replying to armed attack and ambush by the Israelis upon Egyptian army personnel on March 2, 1955, Colonel Nasser has warned that Egypt is ready for a war with Israel if the latter country instigates it, for the present Egyptian Army "is not the army of yesterday."¹

In Colonel Nasser's recent book, "Falsafat al-Thawrah," the author expresses various views which are the basis for his domestic and foreign policy. It is the opinion of the editors of the publication, The Muslim World, that "not the least significant feature" of his book is the place he gives to Africa in relation to Egyptian Islam.² Continental nationalistic sympathies are evident in the emphasis of his regime upon the duty of Egyptians to champion the cause of African peoples. The Muslim World continues, "The regime has given clear indication of its alertness to issues throughout the whole continent and not the least in those vast areas adjacent to the Sudan," and alludes to the "tendency of some opinion in the Egyptian Council of the Revolution...to discourage 'Islamic Blocs' such as those proposed by Pakistan lest they be interpreted simply as counter to the Asian-African bloc envisaged by Pandit Nehru."³ The nationalistic objective of resisting "colonialism" is borne in mind in all contacts with Western nations that Egypt may not be suspected of compromising on this issue.⁴

In summarizing the tensions now existing in Egypt Bishop Allen

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1. Kenneth Love: "Egypt Cautions Israel on Force," The New York Times, March 4, 1955, p. 1.
2. "Africa in Egyptian Islam," section from "Notes of the Quarter," Muslim World, January, 1955, p. 96.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

has listed (1) the universal tension between belief in God and secularism which adversely affects Christian and Muslim communities alike;¹ (2) the Christian-Muslim² tension which manifests itself in rigid opposition to conversion from Islam to Christianity and is felt in legislative measures as well as local discrimination against Christians, despite the general policy of tolerance toward minority religious groups so long as they do not proselytize; (3) the Arab-Jewish tension which has been greatly aggravated by the recent war in Palestine; (4) the anti-foreign tension which, in the main, has been expressed in anti-British nationalism, but, at the same time, conversely in the apparent disregard of the rights of the Sudanese people to their own independence;³ (5) the economic tension arising from the desperate poverty of the masses which has been diverted partially into anti-foreign feeling; and (6) the communistic tension which is affecting the world.⁴

In enlarging upon the anti-foreign tension of Egypt Bishop Allen has made mention of the "curious element of time-lag about the nationalism of some of the smaller nations."⁵ Unlike the movement in the West toward union, he comments, which is based on the growing conviction that political safety and economic prosperity may depend upon the breaking down of political and economic barriers, the smaller nations are still struggling for independence.⁶ That this struggle for self-sufficiency must precede movement toward cooperation with other nations

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1. Ante, pp. 21-23.
2. Post, pp. 74-76.
3. Ante, p. 27.
4. Allen, op. cit., p. 3-9.
5. Ibid., p. 7.
6. Ibid.

is conceded by the bishop and he adds,

in Egypt, as elsewhere, the nationalistic temper is a very strong force, which must be understood and respected. It will affect church relationships, as it affects political relationships; once this mood is aroused, the Christian from another land will only be able to give help, if he has infinite¹ respect for the freedom and equality of those with whom he works.

E. Summary

A new factor in the evangelizing of native peoples in many parts of the world today is anti-foreign nationalism. In the Islamic Middle East this element is frequently expressed in anti-Westernism. Since Protestant missionary endeavor in this area is carried on primarily by representatives of Western nations, a re-thinking of mission policy has thus been necessitated.

Egyptian nationalism is derived in part from an awareness of the greatness of the early civilization along the Nile in ancient times. Before Hebrew and Greek tradition began Egypt surpassed all nations in power, wealth, and culture. Throughout the years of Macedonian conquest the city of Alexandria in Egypt was the center of learning of the world. By the time of the Roman occupation, however, the country had fallen into paganism, rebellion, and moral degeneracy.

Egyptian nationalism originates in part from loyalty to the Islamic heritage which was established in 640 A.D. During the centuries of Muslim domination the national identity of Egypt virtually disappeared. Arabic became the language and Islam the official religion of the people. The country was involved through the centuries in the quarrels of the

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1. Ibid.

Islamic Empire which almost without exception were turned into religious victories for Islam.

Christianity spread to Egypt as early as the Apostolic Age and to adjacent provinces by the fourth century. However, due to the mystical and philosophical environment which existed there prior to the preaching of the Gospel, Christianity never fully penetrated the land and was often degenerated into heresies and fused with paganisms and other religious and philosophical elements. The great city of Alexandria became a center of Christian learning and produced a peculiar theology which influenced the Christian world for centuries. Arianism, Athanasianism, and monasticism are all derived from Egyptian Christianity.

Following the decision of the Council at Chalcedon in 451 A.D., however, which ruled against the monophysite doctrine, the Egyptian or Coptic Church began separate existence from the orthodox Church. Ecclesiastical persecution tortured the Coptic Church prior to the Muslim conquest of Egypt, but it was not until Muslim rule that the Church lost its vitality and almost completely declined. The Coptic Church has never compromised on the original issues of separation and has been characterized as being stagnant, superstitious, and ignorant; nevertheless, it has endured centuries of persecution and remains today the largest Christian element of Egyptian population.

The failure of early missionary effort among Egyptian Muslims caused attention to be directed to the Copts as possible converts and as a point of contact with the Muslims. The welcome extended to Protestant missionaries by Coptic leaders later turned to fear and

opposition following the condemnation by the former group of doctrine and practices of the Ancient Church of Egypt. The Moravian Church, the Church Missionary Society, the London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews, and the Church of Scotland were among the early missionary groups in Egypt. The United Presbyterian Church of North America began work in 1854 to form congregations apart from the established church and greatly expanded through methods of itineration, colportage, education and medical efforts. Other denominational and interdenominational groups now maintain missions in Egypt. The Egypt Inter-Mission Council and the Near East Christian Council were set up during the present century to promote spiritual unity and cooperative work among the various missionary organizations.

Egypt has had a continuity in culture and political institutions which no other Muslim land has had despite periodic occupations and native uprisings. It is generally agreed that the Napoleonic invasion and the foundation of the dynasty of Muhammed Ali in Egypt were the beginnings of the cultural penetration of the West. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made Egypt the target of European imperialism and misrule by the Egyptian Khedive and plunged the land into political subservience to Britain and France.

The first sign of national awakening in Egypt probably occurred in the revolt of Arabi Pasha in 1879 under the banner, "Egypt for the Egyptians." Ecclesiastical support was gained through sympathetic leadership of shaihs and students of al-Azhar University in Cairo. A new nationalistic force came into being near the turn of the twentieth century focused in the urban Western-educated intelligentsia. But the

outbreak of World War I brought quick action by the British to protect interests in Egypt and the presence of foreign troops discouraged nationalistic demonstrations until the armistice.

Zaglul Pasha led a movement for independence which began in 1918 and ultimately resulted in the discontinuance of the protectorate established by Great Britain at the beginning of World War I. Pasha's country honored him at his death as Egypt's greatest son and champion of freedom. On December 22, 1936 the Treaty of Alliance signed with Egypt was ratified by the British Parliament and fifty-four years of British occupation were terminated.

The famous bloodless revolution led by General Muhammed Naguib on July 23, 1952 deposed the monarch and set up a military "junta" or council to rule the country. On June 19, 1953 Egypt officially became a republic. Of the many reforms inaugurated by General Naguib's government, one of the most significant was the new attitude toward religion caused by desire for unity of all Egyptians whether Christian, Muslim or Jewish. Solution of some of the major problems confronting the government at its inception has been found and applied by its leaders who form a military dictatorship. General Naguib has now been deprived of his offices and replaced by Lieutenant Colonel Gamal Nasser who, however, has not changed the governmental policy toward the West and the Christian Church.

Religious freedom in Muslim lands is directly related to the tenor of international affairs. Egypt is still maneuvering for leadership of the Arab world and at present may be on the verge of war with Israel. In his recent book Colonel Nasser states clearly his

domestic and foreign policy which includes championship of the cause of African nationalism and continuance of the objective of resisting "colonialization." Tensions now affecting Egyptian national and international affairs and thus influencing the status of Protestant Missions and the National Christian Church are the orthodoxy-secularism tension; the Christian-Muslim tension; the Arab-Jewish tension; the anti-foreign tension; economic tension; and the communistic tension now present in most of the world.

Nationalism in Egypt is at this point a struggle for self-sufficiency and as such must be understood and respected by Christian missionary enterprise.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISM
UPON PROTESTANT MISSION POLICY IN EGYPT

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A. Introduction

Professor Nahib Amin Faris has termed the present period in the history of the Arab Muslim world "one of the most critical."¹ He elaborates upon this premise as follows:

It is in a state of transition, moving from medieval to modern times, with all the fundamental changes in values which that implies. Whereas values in the Middle Ages were predicated upon individual salvation and this life as transitory...modern man draws his values from the life of the individual... [and] thinks this life is worthy of enjoyment.²

Accompanying this shift in standards of evaluation has come an increased hostility toward foreign missionary work. According to S. A. Morrison, "reports from a number of countries in the Near and Middle East indicate that during the past years difficulties have increased for both foreign missionaries and national churches."³

Against this background of stress in the contemporary scene stands the changeless mission of the Christian Church. Although the Christian witness is discharged within history, it reaches beyond

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1. Nahib Amin Faris: "The Arabs and Their History," The Middle East Journal, Spring, 1954, p. 157.
2. Ibid.
3. Morrison, op. cit., p. 19. Mr. Morrison states in a personal letter to the writer, March 23, 1955, that "Protestant mission work is, by and large, facing greater difficulties today than...10 or 20 years ago," and continues to say, that "When there is international tension, inevitably both the foreign mission and the National Church are subjected to restrictions."

history to the end of the age.¹ For God's provision in Christ Jesus to meet the unaltered need of man is the eternal fact of Calvary and it shall remain so until the final day when God shall "gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth."²

But the Gospel is communicated by the vehicle of a given culture.³ Therefore, when the cultural setting changes new methods of communication must be found. Delegates from the Muslim world to the International Missionary Council held at Willingen during July, 1952 shared the realization of those present that the closing doors to missions are underlining the need to make radical changes in policy and practice in order to face the new day in which we live.⁴

The first step in this portion of the study will be to discover the actual restrictions upon Protestant evangelistic witness in Egypt the nationalistic movement in that country has occasioned, as well as any benefits the church may have derived from the recent growth of national consciousness. The next concern will be to determine the program adjustments the Protestant missionary groups have made to meet the present changes and to prepare for future alterations in Egyptian governmental policy regarding the Christian church.

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1. Ransom, op. cit., p. 382.

2. Ephesians 1:10.

3. Ransom, op. cit., p. 388.

4. "Willingen 1952," News Bulletin of the Near East Christian Council, October, 1952, p. 7.

B. Beneficial Results of Islamic Nationalism
for the Christian Church in Egypt

In the effort to substantiate the claim of the new Egyptian government that all citizens, Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike, are united in the nationalistic movement, the government has "seriously endeavored to prevent the...movement from following anti-Christian lines,"¹ reports S. A. Morrison. In fact the vigorous protests from the Copts which came following the burning of a Coptic Church in Suez early in January, 1952, led to the relaxation of certain of the conditions regarding the granting of permits to build Christian churches.²

Prior to the autumn of 1952 the Egyptian government accepted a proposal submitted by the Committee of Liason between the communities that a joint committee representing the committee of Public Education and foreign schools be set up to consider questions of common concern to both groups, including the difficult question of religious teaching. However, this move was adversely affected by the deterioration of relations with Great Britain and has been termed by Mr. Morrison an illustration of the influence which increasing tension in international affairs has upon the local situation.³

Dr. E. E. Grice, Associate Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, writes that the Egyptian government

has recently adopted a course of Bible studies made out by priests and ministers of the Christian faith. This course will be taught to

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1. Morrison, op. cit., p. 21.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 22.

Christian children in the public schools of Egypt by teachers hired by the government where there are Christian teachers capable of doing the teaching. Where there are not, we have reason to hope that ministers and priests will be allowed to enter the schools to do this sort of teaching.¹

Perhaps the most beneficial result of nationalism has been, as Dr. Grice states it, that this movement is "a great impetus toward hastening the day of realization of the ideal" of nationalizing the work on the field.² In the survey of year 1954 made by The International Review of Missions the following commentary is included: "The responsibility of the missionary throughout the Near and Middle East becomes more clearly every day that of accelerating the promotion of national leadership and of strengthening the roots of the indigenous Church."³ Thus the building of a strong indigenous Church remains the central purpose of the Christian missions program.⁴

C. Restriction of the Christian Mission in Egypt as a Result of Islamic Nationalism

During the period of the intensification of nationalism which has followed the first World War, Dr. Latourette points out that there have been no revolutionary changes in the situation of the Christian churches in Egypt.⁵ "In the first flush of the new access of patriotism," he says, "Moslems and Copts tended to forget their differences and to fraternize."⁶ However, that stage passed quickly and the traditional

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1. E. E. Grice, in a letter to the writer, March 29, 1954.

2. Ibid.

3. "A Survey of the Year 1954---The Near and Middle East," The International Review of Missions, January, 1955, p. 38.

4. Ibid., p. 36.

5. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 256.

6. Ibid., p. 257.

frictions were re-established. Furthermore, Islam was strengthened, Dr. Latourette reports, though not to any overwhelming extent, for the weakening of religious belief among Muslims because of secularizing influences from the West "did not reduce their fierce loyalty to Islam as national and Arab."¹

Specifically, the government has restricted the Christian witness by various laws. In 1933 a government regulation was passed making primary education compulsory, with instruction in Islam a requirement. However, no provision was given whereby the children hereditarily Christian could be taught Christianity. Subsequently, another law was passed permitting children to receive instruction in the religion of the parents or guardians which enabled Christian students to hear the Gospel. But non-Christian children were thus prohibited from hearing the Good News of Christ.

Government inspection of all education, whether the school follows the government course or not, has restricted the freedom of mission schools. Also, the insistence that a child be prepared at school to pass examinations on his religion as set by the government in order to be promoted to a higher grade has made it difficult for some Christian schools to accept Muslim pupils. The government has taken the position that Christian schools are obligated to teach Islam, especially if the school receives government aid.

The Ministry of Education has endeavored to compel all schools which accept Muslim pupils to provide a separate place of prayer for

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1. Ibid.

these children. In fact, in general the government assumes guardianship of Muslim pupils and, in effect, does not leave the choice of religious education to the parents.

Reference to an action on the part of the Egyptian government in 1936 which prohibits the granting of visas to representatives of mission societies not already operating on the field prior to that year was made by Paul H. Walker, Executive Secretary for the Foreign Missions Board of the Church of God, in a letter to the writer.¹ Thus missionaries from Christian organizations new to Egypt are forbidden to enter the country.

A ruling has been made requiring all British doctors and nurses to obtain a permit from the Egyptian government in order to practice medical work in Egypt; however, this law has not been carried out completely, according to Rosalie Edmiston, United States Secretary for the Egypt General Mission.² Dr. Grice of the United Presbyterian Church reports that open preaching in bazaars and streets is forbidden by law in Egypt today and adds that this was not the case twenty-five or thirty years ago.³

D. Adjustments in Protestant Mission Policy Occasioned by Manifestations of Islamic Nationalism

(1.) A major development in the mission program of churches in Egypt during the recent years of increasing nationalism has been that of the trend toward indigenous churches.

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1. Paul H. Walker, in a letter to the writer, April 1, 1954.
2. Rosalie Edmiston, in a letter to the writer, April 3, 1954.
3. Grice, in the letter previously cited.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church has for many years, declares Dr. E. E. Grice, urged all missions to move forward toward nationalizing of all missionary work, including medical, educational, and evangelistic effort.¹ Dr. Ewing Bailey has recorded that the purpose of the United Presbyterian Mission, the largest foreign mission in Egypt, is "to work itself out of a job as rapidly as possible." He continues,

To that end its policies and all of its activities are directed... [in order that] if circumstances, political or otherwise, should compel foreign missionaries to leave now or in the near future, the Evangelical Church would live and grow, and continue to render its testimony to the saving power of God among men in Egypt.²

"We feel that the future success of our work in Egypt depends to a great extent on preparing young men for the ministry among their own people," writes Mrs. George Carmichael for G. H. Carmichael, Field Secretary for the Near East of the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God.³ Lester A. Crose, Secretary for the Missionary Board of the Church of God, has stated: "We as well as all missions, are working hard to develop an indigenous church at the earliest possible moment."⁴ The Egypt General Mission has been training native workers through the years and has at present native pastors, nurses, colporteurs, and all kinds of mission helpers "who can carry on" in the absence of foreign missionary supervision.⁵ Some of these native leaders have started Bible classes of their own.⁶

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1. Ibid.
2. Bailey, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
3. Mrs. George Carmichael, in a letter to the writer, April 7, 1954.
4. Lester A. Crose, in a letter to the writer, April 20, 1954.
5. Edmiston, in the letter previously cited.
6. Ibid.

(2.) The responsibility of churches and church members to be witnessing Christians is being reiterated in conferences and councils. The Nile Mission Press News, in describing the contemporary situation in Egypt, cites the native church as the center of interest¹ and indicates that the manner of reaching others in these difficult times is a problem unconsciously being met by the church itself:

Its 'grass roots' have their beginning with the first converts. Two are sufficient to gather together in His name. All will agree that the 'ecclesia' must be a natural development as the little group of Christians is united in Bible study, prayer and praise. As the study progresses, the Holy Spirit takes the Word and teaches the value of corporate worship, the need for a place in which to have it, the Scriptural method of giving their offerings, and the preparation and sending out of such ones as the Holy Spirit may choose from their own group, to bring in those around them.²

Included in the reports of the Egypt General Mission News in the October-December, 1952 issue is the following statement:

Among the most encouraging features of these unusual times has been the proving of the work done in past years, and seeing how much Christian witness has been maintained in the absence of missionaries. Both in readiness to continue running mission stations with no missionaries there and in witnessing in secular work, our Egyptian fellow-workers have shown themselves to be relying directly upon their Lord.³

The article further points out that Christians not associated with the Mission or in the employ of the Mission were "witnessing." In another article of the same issue the effective evangelization of lay people in the Coptic Church, young persons in the Evangelical Church, and interdenominational groups working with the established churches was praised as being magnificent, unpublicized work for Christ⁴ not often

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1. Nile Mission Press News, November-December, 1954, p. 12.

2. Ibid.

3. Egypt General Mission News, October-December, 1952, p. 17.

4. Ibid., p. 11.

cited in usual descriptions of the rather "encysted" Coptic Church and the lack of individual outreach of members of the younger churches. For lay groups have been holding camps and summer schools to keep young Christians from going over to Islam, there is interest in non-Christians manifested by groups in the Evangelical churches,¹ and there has been outstanding work by an increasing number of individuals giving much time to the proclamation and instruction of the Christian Gospel. Dr. Bailey has mentioned a land owner of some means in Middle Egypt who spends three days a week doing his business affairs and the other four conducting revival services in villages and churches, and adds that "in the past few years hundreds of men and women have found a new life in Christ through his ministry."² It is the conclusion of the Egypt General Mission News that "if it were possible to know of all the effort that is put forth each week in Cairo and its suburbs alone by lay witnesses, it would be impossible to be pessimistic concerning the future of the work of God in this land."³

(3.) Oecumenical contacts have been fostered. A. J. Slater, superintendent of the Standard Church of America Missions work, in a letter to the writer, made reference to the fact that his mission depends "entirely upon the decisions of the General Council of Church Missions--which...is the representative body of the majority of Christian Missions in Egypt--as to what course to pursue in any given situation" in which the Egyptian government is concerned.⁴

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1. Ibid.
2. Bailey, op. cit., p. 54.
3. Egypt General Mission News, October-December, 1952, p. 12.
4. A. J. Slater, in a letter to the writer, March 30, 1954.

The International Review of Missions publication, in January, 1955 called attention to the fact that few organizations have followed through on the missions and unity challenge of the Willingen meeting of the International Missionary Council with such persistence as has the Near East Christian Council¹ which has its headquarters in Cairo. Regional and local conferences and public meetings on the subject have been arranged, weeks of witness have been held, and church leaders have been asked to promote the subject of missions and unity in Arab church magazines.²

(4.) Emphasis is being placed on literacy campaigns and the production and distribution of Christian literature. The Nile Mission Press reports that the compulsory education of elementary age children is changing the type of reader in Egypt from what the average was a half-century ago.³ Koranic schools are being replaced by more secular government schools; therefore, the style of the Christian literature is being changed to meet the new mind-set of the people. Political conditions have changed the planning of Christian literature programs, for censorship must now be taken into consideration. Yet the need is unchanged, and "still few Christians have any knowledge of how to reach" the vast majority of Egyptians who are Muslims.⁴

Dr. Bailey writes concerning the American Mission in Egypt that a missionary was released from other assignments to the literature

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1. "A Survey of the Year 1954--The Near and Middle East," The International Review of Missions, January, 1955, p. 38.
2. Ibid.
3. Whitehouse: "The Reading Public in Egypt," Nile Mission Press News, September-October, 1954, p. 10.
4. Ibid., p. 11.

committee in order that the use of literature might be stimulated over all the church, especially among the pastors.¹ Missions and church organizations sponsored the visit by Dr. Frank Laubach recently to Egypt that his skill and experience in teaching might be made available to the many who want to learn to read. Following his visit the Inter-Mission Committee has been endeavoring to continue the campaign in Egypt that all men might learn to read and that "thereby the Christian Church might come to know its Bible better."²

(5.) Since freedom to witness to the saving grace of God in Jesus Christ has not been denied to mission hospitals, careful attention is being given to the work of chaplains in the hospitals and to the follow-up of patients after their return home. The law which was proposed to the Egyptian Parliament a few years ago to restrict the preaching of religion to places specifically set aside for worship was not passed; consequently, the hospitals are still central in the evangelizing of the people. C. S. Milford of the Church Missionary Society of London, in a letter to the writer, states that his society has "continued to give Christian teaching in...hospitals, particularly to the very large numbers of patients suffering from hookworm and bilharzia who are treated in special wards of...[the] Old Cairo Hospital."³ He adds that to his knowledge there has been no interference with the Christian ministry to the sick in the hospitals, nor with the Christian teaching being given in Welfares for mothers and babies in Cairo and in an

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1. Bailey, op. cit., p. 53.

2. Ibid.

3. C. S. Milford, in a letter to the writer, April 28, 1954.

out-lying village.¹ The American Mission has pioneered in the training of nurses upon a high professional basis in two of its hospitals.² Following the riots of 1952, when the Egypt General Mission had to re-organize part of its work, a new medical clinic was successfully opened in Upper Egypt.³

In summarizing the major developments of Protestant Mission programs in Egypt during the eruption of nationalism that is frequently manifesting itself there, S. A. Morrison has summarized the adjustments to governmental restriction as having taken the following forms:

- a) An endeavor to strengthen the national Churches; b) The encouragement of indigenous leadership; c) The devolution of authority to nationals; d) Consideration of the possibility of transferring ownership of property from the foreign mission to the national Church; e) Efforts to demonstrate that Christianity is not a foreign religion but is at one and the same time ecumenical and indigenous; f) Exhibiting Christianity in action where restrictions are imposed on preaching; g) Friendliness to such nationalist tendencies as do not involve a compromise of principle.⁴

E. Basis for Future Program of Protestant Missions in Egypt

Due to the spread of nationalism which is causing reconsideration of the nature of Christian missionary activity, the Protestant churches supporting work in Egypt have had to be willing to make radical changes. In attempting to plan a program for the future The International Review of Missions has predicated that "the Church 'at home,' in the Western lands, will have to rethink its whole attitude towards the world of Islam"⁵ in order to purpose correctly. This rethinking

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- 1. Ibid.
- 2. Bailey, loc. cit.
- 3. Edmiston, in the letter previously cited.
- 4. S. A. Morrison, in a letter to the writer, March 23, 1955.
- 5. The International Review of Missions, April, 1954, p. 148.

is necessary not only in regards to mission strategy

but in the sense that the seemingly diminishing possibilities challenge us not to less, but to greater, concern with the riddle which the emergence and continuing existence of Islam represents in the context of the history of the Christian Church.¹

Prayer is primary in the building of future Christian program in Egypt. "Our warfare can never be exclusively carnal," says a missionary to Egypt, "if we are to be able to pull down the strongholds arrayed against us."² After the Belbeis riots of 1952 a newly arrived missionary remarked concerning the Egypt General Mission that

during those subsequent days and weeks one learned the secret of their spiritual power through periods of united Prayer and Bible Study, and the true nature of missionary work became evident in a way that might never have been seen apart from the troubles. Administration and organization were, and are, good, but they cannot stand for a moment in the face of spiritual attacks.³

An editorial in one of the Egyptian mission quarterlies during the same period of tension urged soul-searching prayer among the missionaries for fresh supplies from the Lord to pass on to the hungry hearts of Egypt that the Bread of Life be not offered "with an emaciated hand, but rather, with a living glow...the Savior's more abundant life."⁴ The conclusion of The International Review of Missions report on Islam in April, 1954 issue is as follows:

The least that can be said is that, in addition to rethinking and remodelling our work, genuine and special intercession for the Muslim world, and for the Christians and churches living in that world, is a first essential.⁵

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1. Ibid.
2. Whitehouse: "The Opening Over," Egypt General Mission News, October-December, 1952, p. 16.
3. Ibid.
4. "Reopening-Rebuilding-Restoring," editorial appearing in the October-December, 1952 issue of the Egypt General Mission News, p. 2.
5. The International Review of Missions, April, 1954, p. 148.

Orthodox churches must break loose from their traditional hostilities and join "in an oecumenical encounter," the same report continues to say, "to concentrate on spiritual revival and on witness and service to the community at large."¹ C. T. Bridgeman, in his contribution, "The Relationship Between the Evangelical Churches and the Ancient Churches of the Near East," suggests the following as means to create a new attitude toward this problem: (1.) there should be a recognized acceptance by the Evangelicals of the fact that the older churches were not only the first Christian churches in the field, but also remain the main Christian churches today; (2.) it should also be recognized that the older churches cannot be broken up: "They have withstood disruptive efforts on the part of the Roman Catholics and Evangelicals for more than a century and still hold the preponderance among the Christians;" (3.) evangelical Christians should get to know Eastern Church leaders; (4.) evangelicals should encourage the development of new clergy among the ancient churches; (5.) every opportunity of every kind should be given for Christians of all kinds to be brought together; (6.) ultimate reunion of the older churches and the new Evangelical ones should be the aim of work in these regards; (7.) consideration should be given to recognizing the Roman Catholic and Uniat Churches as being more than nominally Christian institutions, for they are brethren in Christ and stand fundamentally as representatives of Christianity in the presence of Islam.² Mr. Bridgeman concludes his suggestions by saying, "we shall never get very far in evangelizing the Muslims until

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1. Ibid.

2. Bridgeman, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

we first rally all of our forces in a common fellowship of love."¹

In speaking of the relationship of the Evangelical Churches and the non-affiliated missions groups Mr. Bridgeman has the following to say: since the Evangelical Churches are accused of being in need of reformation and the same group criticizes the non-affiliated groups as being divisive and negative in emphasis, (1.) there is need for self-examination and confession among the Evangelicals; (2.) speaking against the non-affiliated groups should be avoided; (3.) there should be rejoicing and praise over points of agreement; (4.) there should be fraternization whenever possible between missions and churches; (5.) correction of error and strengthening of weak points is in order; (6.) and common ground that all may stand against Islam should be sought.²

A policy generally accepted regarding the missionary obligation of the Church in Egypt is the giving of increasing responsibility to the indigenous church. Delegates to the Willingen Conference carefully defined the indigenous church, however, as being "not just self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating" and warned against "making self-sufficiency and autonomy...isolated ends in themselves."³ The emphasis must be on the essence of the church as a worshipping, witnessing, suffering and expectant community, the Conference concluded.⁴ The Nile Mission Press corroborated this view in the article, "Adam, Where Art Thou?":

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1. Ibid., p. 13.

2. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

3. "Willingen 1952," op. cit., p. 6.

4. Ibid.

One often wonders if, all too often, we missionaries have lacked in faith in not proclaiming with more zeal the truth that suffering for Christ is the normal life for the Christian, and brings the preserving pilgrim to the Heavenly City to reign with Him Who gave His all that we might live and reign with Him eternally.¹

According to Mr. Bridgeman, Western missions have tended to pauperize the native churches and rob them of their initiative by taking over educational and medical work, often in competition with each other.² With the fate of mission institutions in China still fresh in the minds of Christians everywhere, preparation for the withdrawal of foreign missionary support of institutions is motivation for encouraging as much local initiative as possible. "This means learning to trust our fellow Christians to use the funds wisely," cautions Mr. Bridgeman, and he adds, "but the alternative is their continual pauperization, and perhaps the outbreak of anti-Christian persecution."³

Anti-Western nationalism has underlined the necessity to guard against promoting Christian churches imitative of foreign institutions and customs. S. A. Morrison reports that a series of proposals to transfer the property of foreign missions to national churches has been offered recently⁴ to remove suspicion directed against nationals caused by their close associations with Western Christians. There is not agreement on this policy, however, for some missionary leaders question whether a transfer of these dimensions would be to the best interests either of missionary work or the churches themselves.⁵

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1. "Adam, Where Art Thou?" Nile Mission Press News, November-December, 1954, p. 12.
2. Bridgeman, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
3. Ibid., p. 13.
4. Morrison, op. cit., p. 23.
5. Ibid.

The foreign missionary cannot disassociate himself from his cultural, ideological and social background.¹ However, because of awareness on the part of the people concerning the difference in motivations of Christian missionaries and of the official governments of the West, missionary work has not been "completely swept away in the present anti-Western and nationalist currents."²

"Methods of adjusting to restrictions have to be made from week to week as the Lord leads," states the American Secretary for the Egypt General Mission, "because conditions change so rapidly in Egypt."³ There has been conformity to Egyptian governmental demands whenever such action does not jeopardize the actual teaching of the Gospel. Mission schools have conformed to the law of not compelling Muslims to listen to Christian teaching but do not undertake to give instruction in Islam. Christian environment and atmosphere are believed to have indirect effect upon Muslim students who do not hear the actual Gospel, but some schools have refused to accept them because of the restrictions upon Christian teaching.

To adjust to the governmental insistence that all children pass examinations on their religion to be promoted to the next grade, mission schools have expressed willingness to allow Muslim children to be excused in order that they may be taught on released time elsewhere. Mission authorities have also refused to provide a place for Muslim prayer in Christian schools, but have offered to dismiss Muslim children

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1. John S. Badeau: "The Missionary in the Near East," The International Review of Missions, October, 1954, p. 400.
2. Ibid., p. 402.
3. Edmiston, in the letter previously cited.

on Fridays so that they may attend Noon-day prayers at a mosque. In summarizing the policy thus far utilized concerning restrictions upon the Christian church by the Church Missionary Society C. S. Milford has stated:

We have taken the line that the parents of Moslem children in our schools should take the responsibility of providing Islamic instruction. So far we have been successful in this...and have not been obliged to give Moslem instruction.¹

The Egypt General Mission closed most of its schools for one year when freedom to teach the Gospel to Muslims was denied. Upon request that the schools be opened again the Mission has been able to give Bible lessons after the close of the other classes and has allowed Muslim children to leave if they wish.²

As part of its future policy the Egypt General Mission plans to foster the healthy spirit of aggressive Christian witness already manifested in some of the Coptic and Evangelical groups³ by encouraging and helping national Christians to get the vision of their Muslim neighbors as being the "other sheep" in need of the same Good Shepherd, Jesus Christ, as themselves, by giving them the benefit of their past experience, and by co-operating with them in reaching out to yet untouched areas.⁴

F. Summary

Accompanying the shift in standards of evaluation which has

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1. Milford, in the letter previously cited.
2. Edmiston, in the letter previously cited.
3. Whitehouse, op. cit., p. 114.
4. Ibid.

occurred in Islam following the intrusion of Western ideas and culture in modern times, has come an increasing hostility towards foreigners and thus toward foreign missionary enterprise. But circumstances do not change the eternal mission of the Gospel and the new obstacles confronting Christian evangelism of Egypt merely increase the challenge to rethink and reorganize mission work while there is still opportunity to remain in the land.

The nationalistic movement in Egypt has had some beneficial results for the spread of the Gospel due to the Egyptian governmental desire to unite all groups in the building of a better country. Egyptian leaders have tried to keep the nationalistic movement from becoming anti-Christian. Restrictions concerning the granting of permits to build Christian churches have been lessened and a Bible study course has been adopted for use in public schools in Egypt. The movement has greatly accelerated the promotion of national Christian leadership and the strengthening of the roots of the indigenous church by Protestant missions.

The weakening of religious belief among Muslims in recent times caused by secularizing influences from the West has not decreased their fierce loyalty to Islam as national and Arab. Restriction of Christian education and worship has resulted as well as the denial of certain freedoms of missionary personnel. These restrictions have fostered the policy among Protestant missionary organizations of directing activities toward the day when foreign missions must be withdrawn from the land completely and is effecting changes in all types of missionary work, including medical, educational and evangelistic effort.

The responsibility of churches and church members to be witnessing Christians, actively proclaiming the Gospel to fellow Egyptians, is being emphasized. Oecumenical contacts are being encouraged and literacy campaigns and the distribution of Christian literature are being stimulated. Prayerful advantage is being taken of the still unrestricted opportunity to teach the Gospel in Christian hospitals.

In developing future policy Protestant missions in Egypt are conscious of the element of prayer as a prerequisite to all endeavor. A true oecumenical encounter in which spiritual revival and active witness and service to the community at large are fruits of a common fellowship of love, is also known to be essential to effective evangelization of Muslims and other non-Christians.

Increasing responsibility will continue to be given to the indigenous church, with the emphasis on worship, witness, suffering and expectancy as the true nature of the Church of Christ. This will involve change in the tendency of Protestant missionary organizations to pauperize the native church and rob it of initiative by sponsorship and leadership of medical and educational work. It will also involve careful contact with the national church that the members may escape the stigmatism of being too closely associated with foreigners.

Conformity whenever possible to Egyptian regulations will be practiced. However, the responsibility of teaching Islam and of encouraging Islamic worship in the Christian schools and institutions will not be accepted.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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This study was an investigation of Islamic nationalism with special emphasis on its manifestation in Egypt with the purpose of discovering its influence on Protestant mission policy. The procedure used was first to consider the religio-political context of the movement in general to reveal the nature of Islamic nationalism by an examination of the roots of Islamic thought and the development of Islamic theology. Next the historical background of the growth of Egyptian national consciousness and of Protestant missionary effort in Egypt was surveyed to provide the setting for the exposition in the third chapter of the specific issues confronting the Christian Church in Egypt due to manifestations of Islamic nationalism in that country. Lastly the changes in mission programs made by the various Protestant missionary organizations to adjust to alterations in Egyptian governmental policy toward the Christian Church which have been occasioned by the recent spread of nationalism were investigated. In view of the findings thus discovered the bases for future Protestant missionary endeavor in Egypt were set forth.

In Chapter I by investigation of the three main foundations of Islamic thought and theology it was discovered that Islam teaches strict monotheism with an often fatalistic emphasis on the sovereignty of God. Lack of conviction of sin among Muslim believers with the consequent alienation from God which sin brings has left adherents of

Islam unaware of man's need of a Savior; the perverted view of Jesus Christ contained in the writings of Muhammed, the founder of Islam, has caused blindness to the revelation of God in His Son who is the Savior. Thus the millions of Muslim believers present an almost insurmountable obstacle in the Christian evangelization of the world.

Conflict with Hellenistic modes of thought caused an over-emphasis on the transcendence of God by early Islamic theologians; ultimate rejection of rationalistic bases of thinking led to later confusion in regard to the modern industrial and materialistic civilizations of the West which threatened to engulf Islam by the turn of the present century. Various movements have arisen through the centuries to purge Islam of evils and compromises and to counteract the tendency toward undue emphasis on the otherness of God, but the community of Islam was unprepared for the penetration of the germs of secularism and modernism of other parts of the world which occurred during recent decades.

Secular nationalism has been a result of the impact of these ideologies upon the Islamic world and has often been expressed in anti-foreign feeling. Nationalism in Islam is directed toward a community which has a religious basis. Thus Islamic nationalism is not necessarily a religious revival but would increase in effectiveness as a force in modern affairs if the religious emphasis were intensified.

Anti-foreign nationalism has frequently taken the form of anti-Westernism in the Muslim world. Since Protestant missionary endeavor in this area is primarily carried on by representatives of Western nations, a re-organization of mission policy concerning Islamic

lands has been necessitated.

In Chapter II a study of the manifestation of nationalism in a specific Islamic country was undertaken to clarify the issues which confront Protestant missions today. Egypt was selected as the particular country on which to focus attention because of its outstanding position of leadership in the Islamic world today, its continuity of political background, and the extreme nature of the nationalism manifested there.

Egyptian nationalism is rooted in the pre-Islamic, Christian, and Islamic civilizations which were consecutively imposed upon the land of the Nile. Contemporary Coptic Christianity is the remnant of a once virile Church in Egypt which, however, was subjected to intense persecutions. Modern Protestant missionary effort is concerned largely with the nominal Coptic Church of Egypt.

National awakening in Egypt probably initially emerged in 1879 when Arabi Pasha led a revolt against the government. Zaglul Pasha successfully began a movement for the independence of Egypt after the close of World War I which culminated in the discontinuance of the British protectorate and the Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain in 1936. The famous bloodless revolution of General Naguib and the Egyptian Army in 1952 deposed the monarch and set up a republic. The present head of the Egyptian government, Lieutenant Colonel Nasser, rules the nation with certain other young Egyptian Army officers in a kind of dictatorship. Since religious freedom in Islamic lands is directly related to the state of international affairs it is to the advantage of Christian missionary effort in Egypt and the entire area that the present nationalistic movement be understood and respected.

Chapter III disclosed that in general Islamic nationalism with its anti-foreign hostility has resulted in increasing difficulty for Protestant missionary work in Egypt. Accompanying the upsurge of nationalistic consciousness in that country since World War I has been a weakening of religious belief among Muslims. However, this has not resulted in a deterioration of loyalty to Islam as Arab and national; on the contrary, Islam has been slightly strengthened in recent decades. There have been beneficial as well as restrictive consequences of Islamic nationalism for the Christian Church in Egypt. Probably most beneficial to the Christian Church has been the acceleration of the promotion of national Christian leadership and the strengthening of the roots of the indigenous Church by Protestant missionary groups in anticipation of the day when all foreign institutions will be forced to pass off the scene. Also, Egyptian governmental leaders have tried to keep the nationalistic movement from becoming anti-Christian in an effort to unite all Egyptians in reforming the nation.

Restrictions of Christian evangelization have generally taken the form of hinderance of Christian instruction in mission institutions as well as of preaching and worship outside of these places. At times also there has been the denial of individual freedoms of missionary personnel. Adjustments have usually resulted in conformity to Egyptian governmental demands except in cases in which such action would involve a compromise of Christian principle.

From this study it may be concluded that since nationalism is a major force in Islamic world affairs today immeasurably influencing Christian missions and causing a note of urgency to pervade all foreign

missionary effort among Muslims, a complete re-organization of the Protestant missions program in Islamic lands has been necessitated.

Islamic nationalism is not necessarily a religious revival but is rather a secular movement similar to the nationalism manifested in European and American countries. Few signs have appeared to date of a religious revival of Islam, for there is little sincere Islamic worship among members of the upper classes, the most vocal element in national affairs today. Islamic sentiments, however, have been introduced into the political situation to sway the local classes when motivations of anti-foreign feeling have failed. So long as religious Islam remains merely a tool to keep the masses in subjection to the aims of the minority, a genuine revival seems improbable.

It is likely that since secular nationalism has no deep rootage in Islamic civilization it may be a passing force in molding the future for Islam and incapable of solving the problems of the modern age. If, on the other hand, the religious aspects of Islam are strengthened, prospects of the movement implementing permanent changes in Islamic affairs are increased.

The re-organization of Protestant missions to Islam has centered in a shift toward the strengthening of the foundations of the indigenous Church with major emphasis on the training of competent leadership. The necessity of imparting to the indigenous Church a thorough comprehension of the need and importance of a self-supported and self-propagated ministry as part of the missionary vision of the New Testament has also been recognized in the efforts to build up the Christian Church in Islamic lands. In any Christian advance in the

Islamic East the Christians of that region must be the main instruments; foreign Christians can only serve in a secondary way with the possibility of complete withdrawal from the area constantly present.

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