

Arabic Antimissionary Treatises: Muslim Responses to Christian Evangelism in the Modern Middle East

Heather J. Sharkey

In the late twentieth century several Muslim Arab thinkers published treatises that labeled Christian missionary activities in the Middle East as part of a Western imperial crusade against Islam. Together, the polemical works of this nature constitute a distinct Arabic genre characterized by its antimissionary, anti-imperial, postcolonial tone.

Despite variations in the social profiles, ideologies, and national origins of their authors, these Arabic treatises share important features. They assert close and enduring historical connections between a triad of *tabshir*, *isti'mar*, and *ishtiraq*—that is, Christian evangelism, Western imperialism, and Orientalist scholarship on Islam and Muslims. They discuss Christian evangelical methods for the sake of either resisting or imitating them. Most have an activist strain, urging Arab readers to “wake up” and rally to action by blocking Christian evangelical inroads and Western cultural influences, pursuing global Islamic mission (*da'wa*, literally a “call” or “invitation”), or rigorously supporting the values of Arab Islamic culture. Some of the more recent works are deeply xenophobic and insist that Christians and Muslims remain enemies and rivals, locked in a battle for global mastery and survival.

Why did this Arabic genre flourish so markedly in the second half of the twentieth century? And why did the Muslim authors of these works portray Christian evangelism as such a grave threat to Islam and Muslims, condemning even the social services that early twentieth-century missionaries provided to develop modern schools, ameliorate public health, extend mass literacy, and so on? The vehemence of these authors is all the more striking if one considers, first, that European and American missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gained few Muslim converts (enjoying far greater success in conversion, by contrast, among indigenous Middle Eastern Christians) and, second, that in the mid-twentieth century newly independent Middle Eastern governments suppressed most missionary activities (for example, by “nationalizing” or appropriating many mission-affiliated schools and universities and by barring missionaries from teaching Christianity to Muslim students). Viewed in this light, the authors’ insistence that there is a continuing foreign Christian threat may seem highly questionable.

Nevertheless, a look at more than twenty Arabic antimissionary treatises suggests provisional answers to the questions posed above about the genre’s popular appeal and its sources of anger or anguish. In short, these works may have struck a chord by acknowledging the humiliation that Western dominance has entailed in the modern Arab world, where Britain and France imposed forms of colonial control in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and where, in the second half of the twentieth century, the United States and the Soviet Union repeatedly intervened. Their authors accuse missionaries, as bearers of a Western Christian message, of striking a deep blow at Muslim Arab notions of communal and religious identity, authority, and pride.

Imperialism and Modern Christian Mission

To appreciate the causes for Arab Muslim distress in the face of modern Western imperialism, one must bear in mind that the early Islamic state was once a major imperial power in its own right. By the time Muhammad died in Arabia in A.D. 632, the earliest Muslims had consolidated their hold over the Arabian Peninsula and were poised to expand by conquest into the territories of the Byzantine and Sassanian (Persian) Empires. In the decades that followed, Arab Muslim armies enjoyed spectacular military success—by 711 they controlled a swath of territory extending from what is now Gibraltar and Morocco to the fringes of India and Uzbekistan. Muslim rulers in the growing Islamic empire drew upon guidelines from the Qur’an and from the practices of Muhammad and his early successors to devise the following policies toward the Christians and Jews who lived within their domains: as “People of the Book,” endowed with holy scriptures that recognized the one God, Christians and Jews were allowed to practice their religions freely as long as they acknowledged a subservient status. As *dhimmis* (protected peoples under social contract), Christians and Jews were obliged to pay a special poll tax (*jizya*) and to heed certain restrictions. For example, they could not disturb public tranquility with church bells, and they could not repair places of worship without Islamic state permission. Moreover, in compliance, first, with Islamic doctrine (which maintained that Muhammad had been the last in a long line of prophets, including Jesus, and that the Qur’an’s message superseded Judaism and Christianity) and, second, with the codes set by early Islamic jurists (who interpreted the Qur’an and the *hadith*, or traditions about Muhammad and his companions, in order to interpret Islamic law), the Islamic state allowed conversion into Islam but forbade conversion out of it. Those who were born Muslim or became Muslim had to stay Muslim, or else—if they tried to leave the fold and failed to recant—face a final sanction of death.¹

For centuries, under a succession of Islamic dynasties that ruled parts of the Middle East, these general principles toward non-Muslims and conversion prevailed. In the Ottoman Empire (the last of the great Islamic world empires, which for a time ruled the Arab world from what is now Algeria to Iraq as well as Turkey and much of southeastern Europe), matters started to change only in the nineteenth century, as Western economic, cultural, and political influence grew, and as Western ideas about nationalism, citizenship, and social equality challenged traditional notions about the social roles and rights of non-Muslims (as well as of Muslim women and non-elites). Educated Ottoman elites embraced many of these Western ideas. In two famous edicts issued in 1839 and 1856 (later rejected by a pro-Islamic sultan), the Ottoman state even proclaimed religious and social equality for all Ottoman subjects, Muslims, Christians, and Jews.

Among Muslim leaders and intellectuals, the growing pace and intensity of Western intervention became a cause for mounting concern as the nineteenth century ended. In 1798 Napoleon had conquered and briefly held Egypt; in 1830 French forces had invaded Algeria and stayed. In the next several decades, European colonialism gained more ground as Britain and France (and

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International Bulletin of Missionary Research

Established 1950 by R. Pierce Beaver as Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library. Named Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research in 1977. Renamed INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH in 1981. Published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by

Overseas Ministries Study Center

490 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511, U.S.A.

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For subscription orders and changes of address visit www.OMSC.org or write *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, P.O. Box 3000, Denville, NJ 07834-3000. Address correspondence concerning subscriptions and missing issues to: Circulation Coordinator, IBMR@OMSC.org. Periodicals postage paid at New Haven, CT. Single Copy Price: \$8.00. Subscription rate worldwide: one year (4 issues) \$27.00. Foreign subscribers must pay in U.S. funds drawn on a U.S. bank, Visa, MasterCard, or International Money Order. Airmail delivery \$16 per year extra. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, P.O. Box 3000, Denville, New Jersey 07834-3000.

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Italy, in Libya) invaded, occupied, annexed, or imposed protectorates over Arab territories, or signed treaties with local potentates to secure trading monopolies and diplomatic control. In this manner, by the eve of World War I all of North Africa plus Aden and the Gulf states had fallen under European rule. The process continued after World War I, when France and Britain dismantled the Ottoman Empire, which had sided with Germany during the war. In the Arabic-speaking, former Ottoman territories of the Fertile Crescent, France and Britain imposed new internal boundaries and claimed control (through League of Nations-approved "mandates") over what is now known as Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Israel, and the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza. The British decision in 1918 to support the establishment of a Jewish homeland in the Palestine mandate, a territory inhabited by an overwhelming Arab (Muslim and Christian) majority, had dramatic long-term consequences for the Middle East and its peoples. To this day, most Arabs look upon the foundation of Israel in 1948 and the dispersion of the territory's Arabic-speaking majority (those who became known as the Palestinians) as one of the greatest injustices perpetrated by the Western imperial powers in the modern era.

Missionaries fit into this story of imperialism because they benefited directly from the expansion of Western influence in the Middle East. American and British Protestant missionaries arrived in what is now Lebanon in the early 1820s and moved into Asia Minor, the Fertile Crescent, and North Africa in subsequent decades.² As Westerners in Ottoman domains, they enjoyed access to a set of special legal rights and exemptions, known as the Capitulations, which afforded something akin to diplomatic immunity; they also enjoyed the protection of their countries' consuls, who used political and economic leverage to defend missionary co-nationalists.³ These privileges became especially valuable in the late nineteenth century, when Anglo-American Protestants, buoyed by enthusiasm for the idea of rapid worldwide evangelization, moved away from their early focus on Eastern Christians to emphasize work among Muslims. Thus, under the aegis of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western imperialism, missionaries were able to do what had once been unthinkable in Islamic state domains: to attempt openly to convert Muslims to Christianity. Missionaries' ability to evangelize violated the centuries-long status quo by which Muslim rulers had tolerated the presence of Christians as long as they recognized and respected Islamic hegemony. Missionary evangelism also served as a stark reminder of the political and military impotence of the Islamic world in the face of Western imperialism.

The task of Muslim conversion was far from easy, despite the committed efforts of Christian evangelists, largely because missionaries enjoyed freedoms that local Muslims lacked. That is, prospective Muslim converts faced stiff social sanctions from families and communities, including assault and kidnapping; the prospect of disinheritance, divorce, and ostracism; even the possibility of death ("honor killing"). Missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lamented that these threats deterred most Muslims from Christian conversion. Contrary to missionaries' hopes, therefore, conversion out of Islam never became a mass movement, even in the first quarter of the twentieth century, when the social, political, and economic climate of colonialism was most conducive to Christian evangelism.

By the 1920s, as anticolonial nationalist movements grew stronger in countries like Egypt, and as Muslim Arabs deplored the ways in which the European powers had dismembered the Ottoman Empire, Islamic movements took root. In 1928 an

Egyptian schoolteacher named Hasan al-Banna founded an organization called the Muslim Brotherhood, which was to have a transformative effect on global Islamic activism (for example, by eventually spawning groups like the militant Palestinian Hamas). One of the early concerns of the Muslim Brotherhood was to counteract Christian missionary activities in Egypt. Banna and his associates achieved their goal, in part, by replicating Christian evangelism in the form of Islamic *da'wa* and by establishing missionary-style social service networks (schools, clinics, sports clubs) as a method of public outreach. Banna also called for the stricter assertion of Islamic laws and mores: only by being better

Their polemic was bolstered by research in the missionaries' own writings.

Muslims and by returning to the rigors of early Islam, he argued, could modern Islamic societies recover the strength to stand up to Western imperialism.⁴ These ideas about reconciling tradition and modernity while applying Islam to government and social behavior are at the core of what social scientists today call Islamism and the Islamist movement.

Banna and his peers founded the Muslim Brotherhood at a time when the Egyptian Arabic press was printing sensational accounts about Christian missionaries, repeatedly alleging that missionaries had kidnapped, brainwashed, or abused Muslim schoolchildren in order to convert them.⁵ The authors of postcolonial antimissionary treatises frequently allude to these alleged atrocities (which they accept as fact) to make a point about missionary wiles and perfidy.

Yet in the view of several of these authors, the worst, most dangerous, and most chronically debilitating aspect of Christian evangelism for Islamic society was not the loss of a few Muslims through conversion to Christianity, however reprehensible this may have seemed to them, but rather missionaries' denigration or defamation (*tashwih*) of Islam and their promotion of Western culture. The authors repeatedly stress the ways in which missionaries and Westerners at large planted doubts in the minds of Muslims—and particularly in the minds of children—about the capacity of Islamic society for social progress, development, and relevance in the modern world. Informing their views is an acute awareness that the Islamic world had fallen on hard times. Centuries before, the Islamic empire had enjoyed a golden age of technological and scientific sophistication, military strength, and cultural dynamism. But in the twentieth century the West was dominant, and the Muslim world from Morocco to Indonesia had fallen under its thrall.

"Evangelism and Imperialism in the Arab World"

The pathbreaking book in the genre of Arabic antimissionary writings was *al-Tabshir wa'l-isti'mar fi al-bilad al-'arabiyya* (Evangelism and Imperialism in the Arab World), published in Beirut in 1953. Its authors were Mustafa Khalidi, a former professor of obstetrics at the American University of Beirut and the head of the Lebanese national school of nursing, and 'Umar Farrukh, a specialist in early Islamic history, classical Arabic poetry, and Sufism. Their book on evangelism was so popular that at least six subsequent Arabic editions appeared over the next thirty years; it was also translated into Russian (1961), Persian (1968), and

Turkish (1968 and 1991).⁶ It went on to influence Arabic writers whose ideologies ranged across the spectrum from secular Arab socialism to militant Islamism; it shaped the ideas of polemicists and academics alike.⁷

Khalidi and Farrukh argued that Christian missionaries were the most powerful and dangerous agents of Western imperialism and that missionary institutions (schools, hospitals, bookstores, etc.) were tools for the Western assertion of political and economic hegemony (*saytara*) over the Middle East. They maintained that religious motives were secondary or even a cover for missionaries who, as products of the materialistic West, were likely to worship steel, gold, and oil more than God. They described missionaries as latter-day Crusaders, "distinguished by their intense animosity toward Arab Muslims, and by their apparent animosity toward the people of different Christian sects as well."⁸ They applied these arguments to Protestants and Catholics and to American, British, French, and Italian missionary groups; they even applied them to the Soviets, whose leaders, they claimed, promoted missionary activities in the Middle East despite their regime's official atheism. Khalidi and Farrukh concluded their book by asserting that Western Christian evangelism still threatened Eastern peoples with cultural destruction.

Four main factors explain the impact and appeal of Khalidi and Farrukh's book. First, it had a clear and transportable thesis—the idea that missionaries were culturally pernicious agents of Western imperialism who endangered Arabic-Islamic culture. Second, it drew upon a wide array of English- and French-language missionary sources, including nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographies, reports, journals, and conference proceedings. This use of sources gave the book academic heft and appealed especially to Arab readers who did not know European languages. Third, it took what one might call an ideologically centrist or inclusive position that allowed for multiple readings. Even Arab Christians could theoretically relate to its ideas, given that the authors dedicated the book equally to Muslim and Christian Arab youths (thereby signaling that their opposition to Western imperialism and evangelism did not extend to Christianity or to all Christians). Finally, the book made its debut at an important historical moment in the Middle East, when the region was in the throes of decolonization, when the cold war and Arab-Israeli conflict loomed large, and when the political mood was right for critical reappraisals of colonialism.

Khalidi and Farrukh's arguments resonated with Arab readers because they were familiar. Since the 1920s Muslim nationalists and Islamist activists in Egypt—the cultural and intellectual capital of the Arab world—had been excoriating Christian missionaries as colonial agents. Khalidi and Farrukh addressed these long-standing grievances, bolstered their polemic with research grounded in the missionaries' own writings, and cast them into a book that went on to inspire other Muslim Arab writers to elaborate on antimissionary, anti-imperialist themes.

Recurring Charges Against the Missionaries

Arabic antimissionary treatises share the assumption that Christian evangelism and Western imperialism have been inextricably linked in the modern era, and that the Christianity promoted by foreign missionaries was a Western cultural product. According to this view, missionaries sought not only to turn Muslims into Christians but also to import alien values that would acculturate Muslims to Western ways—for example, by dulling religion with secularism or promoting unfettered interaction between men and women. To accentuate the Westernness of missionary

Christianity, and to preserve, remember, or idealize the harmonious coexistence that had traditionally characterized relations between Muslims and indigenous Christians, one author suggests that the religion of the missionaries should be called *salibiyya*, “Crusaderism,” rather than *masihiyya*, Christianity.⁹ Still other authors signal their disdain for foreign missionaries and their local supporters by using the vaguely derogatory term *nasara* rather than *masihiyyun* for Christians, and *munassirin* (“Christianizers”) rather than *mubashshirin* (spreaders of [God’s] news to humankind) for Christian missionaries.

Crusader themes figure strongly in these treatises. A standard refrain is that nineteenth- and twentieth-century Christian missionaries were direct heirs of the Crusaders who rampaged the eastern Mediterranean zones of the Islamic world from the late eleventh through the mid-thirteenth centuries. Having failed to defeat the Islamic world militarily, the argument goes, Christians switched tactics and turned toward evangelism, aiming instead to achieve political goals through the conquest of souls.¹⁰ Antimissionary writers argue, too, that as a series of Christian culture wars against Islam, the Crusades continued into the late twentieth century under various guises. They point to the growth of evangelical radio networks and broadcasting media, beamed to Muslim Middle Eastern audiences from countries like Cyprus. Several censure international schools, whether church-affiliated or nonsectarian, as centers of missionary-style Westernization and of what one could perhaps call Islamic deculturation.¹¹ One secular leftist (Arab nationalist) writer claims that the CIA included many missionary operatives who were trained in the art of inciting discord. Meanwhile, the more extreme Islamist authors accuse foreign nongovernment organizations, including charities like Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders), of having missionary connections; one author even condemns the United Nations as a “Crusader Jewish organization” and the World Health Organization as a front for Christian evangelism.¹² A couple of Islamists also express contempt for Western-initiated human rights initiatives for freedom of religion and conscience, regarding them as part of a long-standing missionary plot to undo Islam by enshrining rights for Christian proselytism and Muslim out-conversion. One even claims that missionaries have encouraged family planning programs to limit the growth of Muslim populations.

Several antimissionary writers accuse missionaries of having tried to undermine the Arabic language—a language that they identify as the cornerstone of Arab identity and as the God-chosen medium for the Qur’an. Reflecting a view widely shared among Arab Muslims of diverse political and religious orientations, these authors object, in particular, to the way in which some early twentieth-century missionaries developed printed materials for educational purposes by using simplified Arabic colloquials (that is, local spoken dialects) in lieu of the high literary language (*al-fusha*) that educated Arabs have historically employed as the vehicle for formal Arabic reading and writing.¹³ They describe missionary efforts to cultivate locally variant dialects for publishing purposes as part of a colonial ruse to divide the Arab peoples, in this case by constructing communications barriers among them.¹⁴

Antimissionary writers also assert that missionaries fomented sectarian tensions and kindled Muslim-Christian strife. This argument is neither new nor controversial: academic historians, Middle Eastern Christians, and even missiologists and missionaries have agreed that missionaries in certain contexts (for example, in Lebanon and Sudan) exacerbated local ethnic or communal tensions, while allowing their own national and denomi-

national distinctions to produce rivalries between missions.¹⁵ Others have also acknowledged that local Christians sometimes enjoyed professional, economic, or educational privileges through their missionary connections—privileges that may have stoked Muslim resentments in the long run.¹⁶ Yet, rather than seeing the divisive influences of missionaries as the result of inadvertent or unconscious behaviors, the writers of antimissionary treatises assume ill-intent and accuse missionaries of pursuing a colonial agenda of divide and rule.

Many authors of antimissionary treatises also accuse missionaries of having been complicit in the establishment of Israel and in the uprooting of Palestinians—developments that these authors regard as grievous historical wrongdoings. They suggest that missionaries gave strong moral support to Zionists as they worked to establish a Jewish homeland in what had been, before 1918, an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Arguments

Writers of antimissionary treatises assume ill-intent and a colonial agenda.

on this score are vague and assume congruity between twentieth-century missionary attitudes and British and American government policies. (Note, however, that mission archives do not support this reading—records show, for example, that American Presbyterian missionaries in Egypt were harsh critics of U.S. government policies toward Israel after 1948, policies that in their view ignored the plight of the Palestinians.)¹⁷ In some cases antimissionary writers also imply a connection between the original Christian Crusader wars and the creation of modern Israel—two enterprises that, in their view, wrested Jerusalem from Muslim rule and created colonial enclaves in the Holy Land.

Finally, antimissionary writers charge missionaries with promoting Orientalism (*ishtiraq*)—a set of pernicious stereotypes, often propagated through the medium of Western scholarship, that portray Muslims and Arabs as backward, irrational, and perverted. Like evangelism, they suggest, Orientalism aimed to achieve a spiritual-cum-political conquest by shaking the confidence of Arab Muslims and thereby facilitating Western control.¹⁸

Conclusion: Trends of the 1980s and 1990s

In the twenty-five years that followed the publication of Khalidi and Farrukh’s book, Arabic antimissionary treatises intermittently appeared. Judging from American research library acquisitions, however, the genre experienced an upsurge in the 1980s and 1990s among Islamists who displayed a stridently anti-Christian—and not merely antimissionary—tone. Whereas Khalidi and Farrukh in mid-century had restricted their criticism to foreign missionaries and Western Christianity, members of this Islamist cadre now showed a greater readiness to criticize Middle Eastern Christians, such as the Egyptian Copts, by suggesting that they had become arrogant and had forgotten their proper place as *dhimmi*s—tolerated, protected, but socially subordinate peoples living at the sufferance of Islamic states. The most xenophobic writing came from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states (the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Qatar), where writers issued policy suggestions. Xenophobes urged

governments in the region, for example, to close or crack down on Christian churches (which served foreigners and could therefore function as centers for spying), curtail international schools, impose heavier censorship on Western media imports, and, as far as possible, bar the hiring of non-Muslim workers (notably, South Indian and Filipino Christians), who might try to engage in covert evangelism. Muslims must not wait, warned one writer, until upstart Christians rang church bells in their midst or subjected Muslims to humiliations like the *jizya*, the poll-tax once levied on Christians and Jews.

The anti-Christian sentiment of these writers was an outgrowth of their anti-Westernism. Their rejection of the West, which they presented as dehumanized, soulless, materialistic, and morally corrupt, amounted to what some observers now call "Occidentalism"—a pattern of pernicious stereotyping which is the inverse of the Orientalism that antimissionary writers have condemned so harshly.¹⁹

In the 1980s and 1990s these anti-Christian Islamist writers prescribed cultural disengagement and isolation from non-Muslims and from Western global culture at large. By dwelling on conflict and on omnipresent Christian threats, and by invoking a persistent language of battle and siege, they produced narrative jihads that asserted an inevitable war of civilizations between the Islamic world and the West. Constrained by this worldview, these writers were not candidates for interfaith dialogue. Reeling from the psychic blow of imperialism, suffering from a profound lack of cultural confidence, and unable to discuss modern Muslim-Christian, East-West encounters in terms of anything other than conflict and power drives, these writers approached Western Christianity with a deep and abiding mistrust. In some ways, their hatred was rooted in fear that they might lose themselves to the West through a subtle cultural transformation that could prey upon their doubts and perhaps even "convert" them unawares.

Notes

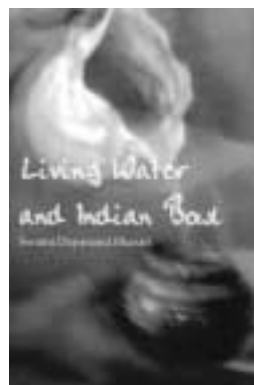
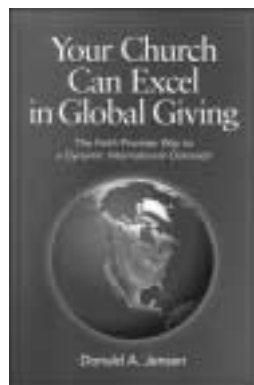
1. One scholar summarizes Islam's stance towards apostasy (*ridda*) and the apostate (*murtadd*) thus: "in the Qur'an, the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only, but in Tradition [*hadith*], the Prophet is said to have prescribed the death penalty as punishment for apostasy." The jurists are unanimous that death is the penalty for apostasy but differ over "whether the apostate should be given an opportunity to repent." E. van Donzel, *Islamic Desk Reference* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 36. An important new work on these issues in early Islamic history is Yohanan Friedmann, *Tolerance and Coercion in Islam: Interfaith Relations in the Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003); note that he discusses apostasy in pp. 121–59. See also C. Cahen, "Dhimma," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 2:227–31.
2. Valuable surveys of Anglo-American missionary history in the Middle East and its connections to Western imperialism include A. L. Tibawi's two works *British Interests in Palestine, 1800–1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961) and *American Interests in Syria, 1800–1901: A Study of Educational, Literary, and Religious Work* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), and Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1971).
3. See Linda T. Darling, "Capitulations," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), 1:257–60.
4. The classic history in English of the Muslim Brotherhood is Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969; reissued with a foreword by John O. Voll in 1993).
5. An English-language article on these events (which views missionaries in a critical light) is B. L. Carter, "On Spreading the Gospel to Egyptians Sitting in Darkness: The Political Problem of Missionaries in Egypt in the 1930s," *Middle Eastern Studies* 20 (1984): 18–36.
6. One can locate these editions and translations in the RLIN or WorldCat databases, which cover the holdings of American research libraries.
7. An example of an Arabic academic study of this kind is a work on nineteenth-century French colonial missions in Algeria by Khadija Biqtash, *al-Haraka al-tabshiriyya al-faransiyya fi al-Jaza'ir, 1830–1871* (The French Evangelical Movement in Algeria, 1830–1871) (Algiers: Matba'at Dahlab, 1992). Some of her words sound like a direct quotation from Khalidi and Farrukh; she asserts in her introduction, "There is no doubt that the real and primary motive . . . of evangelism is the termination of non-Christian religions in order to effect the subjugation [*isti'bad*] of their followers. Indeed, the battle between evangelists and non-Christian religions is not a battle of religion, but rather a battle in the path of political and economic domination" (p. 5). This book appears to have originated in a university dissertation.
8. Mustafa Khalidi and 'Umar Farrukh, *al-Tabshir wa'l-isti'mar fi al-bilad al-'arabiyya* (Evangelism and Imperialism in the Arab World), 2d ed. (Beirut: n.p., 1957), p. 36.
9. Muhammad al-Sayyid al-Julaynd, *al-Ishtiraq wa'l-tabshir: Qira'a tarikhiyya mawji'a* (Orientalism and Evangelism: A Concise Historical Reading) (Cairo: Dar Qiba', 1999), p. 8.
10. In fact, by emphasizing the Crusader dimensions of the modern evangelical movement, these Muslim authors are to some extent echoing sentiments voiced by early twentieth-century Anglo-American Protestant missionaries, many of whom called themselves modern Crusaders or described their mission as a crusade for social progress. Heather J. Sharkey, "A New Crusade or an Old One?" *ISIM Newsletter* (Leiden: International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World), no. 12 (June 2003): 48–49, available online through the publications link at <http://www.isim.nl>.
11. Located in Cairo, Khartoum, Abu Dhabi, and other major Middle Eastern cities, such schools cater to foreign expatriates and to local Muslim and non-Muslim elites.
12. This particular author, whose rhetoric places him on the extreme Islamist fringe, also made what appears to be an allusion to the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City; he wrote that the "Christianizers . . . made a great mistake because Islam is a tall building which no one can destroy." Mustafa Fawzi 'Abd al-Latif Ghazal, *al-Hiyal wa'l-Asalib al-Munharrafa fi al-da'wa ila al-tabshir* (Ruses and Corrupt Methods in the Call to Evangelism) (n.p.: Matabi' al-Majmu'a al-I'lamiyya, [late 1990s]).
13. Missionaries had two goals in devising Arabic colloquial publications—to build rudimentary literacy among rural-dwellers and the urban lower classes (i.e., those who had not had the privilege of extended academic educations), and in some cases to provide translations of the Bible in the vernacular (in this case, in the Arabic language that people actually spoke, as opposed to the lofty *fusha* of scholars).
14. A recent anthropological study discussing attitudes toward the Arabic language is Niloofar Haeri, *Sacred Language, Ordinary People: Dilemmas of Culture and Politics in Egypt* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). See also Heather J. Sharkey, "Christian Missionaries and Colloquial Arabic Printing," forthcoming in the *Journal of Semitic Studies* (special issue of papers from the Conference on the History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Cultures of the Middle East, held in Mainz, Germany, September 2002).
15. Examples abound. See, for example, Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2000); Habib Badr, "The Protestant Evangelical Community in the Middle East: Impact on Cultural and Societal Developments," *International Review of Mission* 89 (2001): 60–69; and Lillian Passmore Sanderson and Neville Sanderson, *Education, Religion, and Politics in Southern Sudan, 1899–1964* (London: Ithaca Press, 1981). An eloquent discussion of



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- the problematic influence of nationalism on foreign missions appears in Nathan D. Showalter, *The End of a Crusade: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and the Great War*, ATLA Monograph Series no. 44 (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1998).
16. Regarding Egypt, for example, see Saad Eddin Ibrahim et al., *The Copts of Egypt* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1996).
17. Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia), UPCNA RG 209-4-20: Helen J. Martin Papers, Martin to Kelsey, Cairo, July 20, 1948; Martin to Reed, Cairo, May 22, 1948; E. E. Elder to President Truman, May 21, 1948.
18. Some writers identify particular missionary-scholars who doubled as Orientalists, frequently naming, for example, Samuel M. Zwemer, W. H. T. Gairdner, and Kenneth Cragg. The ideas of Edward W. Said, whose academic treatise *Orientalism* (published in English in 1978 and issued in Arabic translation in 1981) considered Western portrayals of the East as functioning in the service of empire, may have influenced many antimissionary writers, though they do not necessarily cite his work in their bibliographies.
19. See Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: Penguin, 2004). These authors define Occidentalism as the “dehumanizing picture of the West painted by its enemies” which reduces the West “to a mass of soulless, decadent, money-grubbing, rootless, faithless, unfeeling parasites” (pp. 5, 10).
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