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**The Church Missionary Society in the Middle East:
A Case Study of Egypt from 1936 to 1959.**

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Dedication

To the Memory of my Parents

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To Allah the Almighty who brings with every difficulty a relief all praise and glory are due.

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List of Abbreviations

1. - CMS : Church Missionary Society.
2. - SPG: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
3. - SPCK: Society for Propagation Christian Knowledge.
4. - IMC: International Missionary Council.
5. - WCC: World Council of Churches.
6. - LBG: Local Governing Body.
7. - PC: Parent Committee. Or GC: General Committee
8. - NECC: Near East Christian Council.
9. - NCC: Native Christian Council.
10. - EGM: Egypt General Mission.
11. - BCMS: Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society.
12. - SPM: Sudan Pioneer Mission.
13. - NAM: North Africa Mission.
14. - CHM: Canadian Holiness Mission

15. - OCBS: Old Cairo Boys School.
16. - OCGS: Old Cairo Girls School.
17. - OCH: Old Cairo Hospital
18. - OPD: Out-Patient Department
19. - OCMM: Old Cairo Medical Mission
20. - MMM: Manouf Medical Mission
21. - MAA: Medical Mission Auxiliary.
22. - Medical Missionary Auxiliary Fund.
23. - MBS: Menouf Boys School.
24. - MGS: Menouf Girls School.
25. - BFO: British Foreign Office
26. - PMO: Professional Medical Office.

Anglican Glossary

1. - Anglican: A member of the Church of England or other Anglican Church.
2. - Anglican Communion: Global family of Anglican Churches whose links include their relationship to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
3. - Archbishop: Leading bishop with authority for a province. There are two provinces and therefore two Archbishops in England: Canterbury and York.
4. - Archdeacon: A senior member of the clergy responsible for an area called archdeaconry. They share the pastoral care of the clergy and do much practical, legal and administrative work.
5. - Archdeaconry: As area of a diocese for which an archdeacon is responsible.
6. - Area Bishop: Full-time assistant bishop in a diocese- takes their full title from a place in the diocese. Also known as Suffragan Bishop.
7. - Baptism: The sacrament by which people of all ages are welcomed into the Church. A sign of cleansing and rebirth, the person being baptized is sprinkled or immersed in water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

8. - Bishop: A senior ordained person who has oversight of clergy and lay people in a diocese.
9. - Bible women: Protestant missionary women from the western world became increasingly interested in mission and trained themselves as educators, doctors, nurses and other professionals to join in the mission work.
10. - Cathedral: Principle building of a diocese, staffed by a dean (or provost) and chapter, where the diocesan bishop has his cathedra ('seat' or 'throne').
11. - Catechist: A teacher; lay or ordained, who provides instruction in the Christian faith. Catechists are licensed to prepare persons for Baptism, Confirmation, Reception
12. - Chaplain: A chaplain is a minister, priest or a lay representative attached to a secular institution such as a hospital, prison, military unit, school, business, police department, fire department, university, or private chapel.
13. - Church Communicant: A church member entitled to receive Communion.
14. - Clergy: A general name for all ordained ministers.
15. - Communion: a- The sacramental sharing of bread and wine by the faithful, following the example given in the Last Supper of Christ with his disciples; b- A service in which Holy Communion is received.
16. - Confirmation: A service in which a person who has been baptized affirms their faith and receives prayer as the bishop lays hands on them.

17. - Congregation: A group of Christians who gather for prayer and worship.
18. - Council: In the Christian Church, a meeting of bishops and other leaders to consider and rule on questions of doctrine, administration, discipline, and other matters.
19. - *Diakonia*: A diakonia was originally an establishment built near a church building for the care of the poor and distribution of the church's charity in medieval Rome. The term is derived from Greek and it is used in the Bible with different meanings. Sometimes, it refers to the specific kind to help any people in need. At other times, it means to serve the tables, and still others, refers to the distribution of financial resources.
20. - Deacon: An ordained person who preaches and assists with the sacraments and pastoral care.
21. - Denomination: A recognized religious group that has their own beliefs but belong to the same wider religion. i.e. Anglicans, Protestants and Catholics are separate denominations of the Christian faith.
22. - Diocesan Bishop: The bishop in charge of a diocese.
23. - Diocese: Main administrative and pastoral area in the Church of England. -often roughly coincides with local county boundaries. There are 42 dioceses in Britain.
24. - Discipleship: A commitment to following Jesus day by day.
25. - Ecumenism: Relations with other churches, aiming at deeper unity.

26. - Epiphany: A Christian holy day in January (traditionally 6 January in Western Christianity) that celebrates the revelation of the baby Jesus to the world.
27. - Episcopal Church: The Church of England follows an Episcopalian form of government. It is divided into two provinces: Canterbury and York. Provinces are separated into dioceses, which are headed by bishops and include parishes.
28. - Eucharist: An ancient name (from the Greek word for 'thanksgiving') widely used today for the service that is otherwise known as the Holy Communion, the Lord's Supper or Mass.
29. - Evensong: A service of psalms, readings and prayers in the evening (also called Evening Prayer).
30. - General Synod: The 'Parliament' of the Church of England. The General Synod usually meets twice a year to debate and discuss matters of interest and to consider and approve amendments to the Church legislation.
31. - Great Commission: The instruction of the resurrected Jesus Christ to his disciples to spread the Gospel to all the nations of the world.
32. - Hymn: The praise of God in song, sung at a church service.
33. - Kingdom: One of the key elements of the teachings of Jesus in the New Testament.
34. - Lay: All people in the church often used for those who are not ordained.

35. - Liturgy: The public worship of the Church.
36. - Minister: A person with responsibility for the work of the church in worship, mission and pastoral care.
37. - Ministry: A general term for the work of the church in worship, mission and pastoral care.
38. - Missiology: the investigation into the obligation of the message and mission of the Church and its nature. It is a multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural area of study that incorporates theology, anthropology, history, comparative religions, Christian apologetics and interdenominational relations. Recently, the term was changed into intercultural theology.
39. - Mission: Action to help the world become more like the place God intended it be, and share the good news of Jesus.
40. - *Missio Dei*: is a Latin theological term that can be translated as “Mission of God”
41. - Mission Society: Organisations set up to help the Church in its task of mission at home and overseas.
42. - Ordination: Ceremony where people become deacons, priests or bishops.
43. - Parish: The smallest pastoral area within the Church of England. A parish usually has one main church building.
44. - Parochial: of or relating to a church parish.

45. - Pentecost: The seventh day after Easter, marking the end of Easter season and commemorating the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Church.
46. - Priest: An ordained person, who preaches, celebrates the sacraments and provides pastoral care.
47. - Proselytism: to induce someone to convert to one's faith.
48. - Reader: A person authorized by a bishop for ministry including leading public worship.
49. - Service: An act of public worship.
50. - Synod: An assembly of clergy and non-clergy church members to discuss and debate church matters. They can meet as a deanery, a diocese or a General Synod.
51. - Vicar: A clergy person responsible for a parish and the cure of souls there.
52. - World Council of Churches: The WCC is a fellowship of 350 member churches who together represent more than half a billion Christians around the world.

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Abstract

This research investigates the Church Missionary Society Mission's work in Egypt from 1936 to 1959. It explores the CMS Mission's Christian design for Egypt and the means it used to achieve the goals. The rationale behind the choice of these two dates i.e. 1936 and 1959 was to throw light on the CMS missionary activities in Egypt in post-colonial era; an era that marked Egypt's independence after the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936 to 1959 as a closing date for the research which signaled the period of the CMS release of its archive records until that date which the CMS put at the service of researchers in the year 2000. The choice of Egypt as a case study relates to its importance as a Middle Eastern country past and present. This importance is boosted by its being a historically biblical land with a Coptic minority and an established Coptic Church. Egypt acquired further prominence with the Suez Canal which gave it a strategic importance; British mercantilism was attracted by Egypt's cotton during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, the significance of Egypt to Western Christianity arose from the fact that the country allowed on its territories foreigners from different nationalities. The cultural and religious diversity witnessed by Egypt had its effect on both the History of Egypt and that of Christian missions. For these and other reasons, Egypt was an exceptional country for mission work.

The study defines its purposes which aim, first, at unveiling the nature and mediums of the CMS Egypt Mission's work in Egypt in the perspective of evangelising Muslims. Second, it investigates the nature of the relationship of the CMS Egypt Mission with the British Embassy and the British Foreign Office in the context of an independent Egypt. Third, it explored the nature of Muslim response to the CMS Egypt Mission during the period of study. The research relied heavily on the CMS Archive materials culled from the Adam Matthew Digital Archive.

The thesis considered the Church Missionary Society's activities over a century; starting from the date of its foundation in 1797 to 1899 as a sustainable background for the study of the CMS missionary activities in Egypt from 1936 to 1959. The historical sketching revealed about the Evangelical missionary zeal of the Society and about the CMS' interest in Mission to Muslims which arose as a result of an alarming feeling of anxiety that the Society developed in relation to its neglect and lack of interest in the evangelization of Muslims.

The study examined the CMS educational work in the light of different thematic points of crucial and inherent relationship to the issue of CMS Educational work in Egypt like the Egypt's political setting between 1936-1959, which served as a background against which the CMS Egypt Mission operated its Educational Mission. The research also examined the CMS medical work for the period between 1936-1959. It scrutinised the activity of both the Old Cairo Medical Mission and that of the Menouf Medical Mission.

The investigation furthered the exploration of the CMS Egypt Mission' work through the mediums of literature and Church activities followed by the Mission's finance and ended with an examination on the nature of the Muslim response to the Mission's work throughout the period under study. This study is a multi-faceted research. It investigated the different mediums and methods of approach that the CMS Egypt Mission used to evangelise Muslim Egyptians.

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Introduction

The present study investigates the Church Missionary Society's Mission work in Egypt as a Middle-Eastern country from 1936 to 1959. It explores the CMS Mission's Christian design for Egypt and the means it used to achieve the goals. The rationale behind the choice of these two dates i.e. 1936 and 1959 is to throw light on the CMS missionary activities in Egypt in post-colonial era; the era which marked Egypt's independence after the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936. The date 1959 stands as a closing date for the research which signals the period of the CMS release of its archive records that were put at the service of researchers starting from the beginning of the year 2000.

The choice of Egypt as a case study relates to its importance as a Middle Eastern country past and present. This importance is boosted by its being a historically biblical land with a Coptic minority and an established Coptic Church that stimulated the interest of Western Christianity in many ways and for many a reason. Besides this Christian past, Egypt acquired further prominence with the Suez Canal which gave it a strategic importance; Egypt's production of cotton attracted British mercantilism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, the significance of Egypt to Western Christianity arose from the fact that the country allowed on its territories

foreigners from different nationalities. The cultural and religious diversity witnessed by Egypt had its effect on both the History of Egypt and that of Christian missions. For these and other reasons, Egypt was an ideal country for mission work.

The study defines its purposes which aim, first, at unveiling the nature of the CMS Egypt Mission's work in Egypt and the methods used to fulfill the strategies. Second, it investigates the nature of the relationship of the CMS Egypt Mission with the British Foreign Office in the context of an independent Egypt. The main research question is: What characterized their relationship in the twentieth century? Third, it is to explore the nature of Muslim response to the CMS Egypt Mission during the period of study. Mission history is stepping to the field of general historical study and is becoming an integral part of it. Numerous scholarly researches both in the Muslim and Western world demonstrate a deep and keen interest in the work of western missionary societies. Yet, the first half of the twentieth century; marked by a movement of independence, is characterized by a lack of research and investigation on the CMS mission history and its policy during independence era.

The present study is a case study of the work of the CMS in Egypt between 1936 and 1959. The CMS Egypt's Mission investigates the nature of the relationship between the CMS and the British Foreign Office in the context of an independent Egypt.

The study does also concern itself with examining the nature of Muslim response to the CMS work in Egypt. Egypt's political context is con-

sidered for its bearing on missionary work in general and that of the CMS in particular. The consideration of Egypt's political situation between 1936-1959 provides the important political setting against which the CMS Egypt Mission operated its Mission in Egypt which leads to questioning the extent to which could the CMS operate its mission in the first half of the twentieth century. Protestant missionary work in Egypt was the object of substantial research during the nineteenth century. Research on the CMS work in the twentieth century has received scant attention; Mikhail Akhdari's thesis (1952) is noteworthy. He referred to the educational Protestant missionary societies combined together in their missionary work in Egypt. He focuses on the United Prebyterian Mission, the Egypt General Mission, the CMS and others. However, his study is not exhaustive in terms of the individual mission he dealt with save for the American Presbyterian Mission, and his approach to the theme of mission work was from the perspective of Christian Unity and partnership.

The Church Missionary Society initiated its work in Egypt in the nineteenth century. Paul Sedra's thesis "*From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers, and Education in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*" (2011) examines the CMS educational activities within the perspective of colonial context and among the Copts. Twentieth century interest in CMS mission history is approached by Reverend Matthew Rhode's "*Anglican Mission: Egypt A Case Study.*" considers the Mission in relation to the wider Church and Imperialism. As for Catriona Laing's paper: "The Power of the Printed Word: Constance Padwick's model for 20th century Anglican mission to the Muslim world" (2010) investigates the CMS work through literature. No doubt, all these works are valuable, but none of them covers the CMS Egypt

Mission's activities through the mediums of education, medical, church and Literature activities during the crucial period between the independence of Egypt and the CMS opening of its Archive until the period of 1959 that the CMS opened for researchers in the year 2000.

The CMS archive is held in different places in the UK. The repositories include Cadbury Research Library, at Birmingham University, and the Adam Matthew Publications Digital Archive in London. This work relies extensively on the CMS Archive. The CMS Archive total digital copies consulted for this research amount to six-thousands and three-hundred and seven (6307) copies. Three-thousand and four-hundred and thirty-four (3434) documents relate to the Central Archive. Three-hundred and sixtyand eight (368) documents relate to the Annual Reports and two-thousand and five-hundred and five (2505) documents relate to "*The CMS Outlook*".

The CMS archives and collections are published online by the Adam Matthew Digital <http://www.amdigital.co.uk/> but are accessed only through application. The Adam Matthew Digital Publications are the main source used in this research. Information about the different aspects of the CMS diverse missionary activities for the period between 1936 and 1959 were culled from this source. Though, not as comprehensive and exhaustive as the archive held at Cadbury Research Library at Birmingham, still a substantial number of data of the CMS archive are made available and have made this research possible. The Adam Matthew's digitized records are taken from different libraries and archive institutions like the University of Birmingham at the Cadbury Research Library which holds extensive information about the CMS work at home and at the different Mission Stations it established

over the world. Among the publications which form an integral part of the Church Missionary Society Archive and Key Books on the CMS are the following:

- Eugene Stock, 'The history of the Church Missionary Society, its environment, its men and its work' in four volumes, London: CMS, 1899-1916. The index in volume 3 covers all four volumes.

- Charles Hole, 'The early history of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East to the end of A. D. 1814', London: CMS, 1896.

- The Centenary Volume of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1799-1899', London: CMS, 1902.

- Gordon Hewitt, 'The problems of success: a history of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942' in 2 volumes, London: published for the CMS by SCM Press, 1971-1977 (CMS book collection)

The first limitation to the study is concerned with the Adam Matthew Digital archive itself. The online version contains many examples of archive copies that are, unfortunately, blurry. These constituted, eventually, an impediment in getting the appropriate information. The outcome was skipping these pages altogether which could have been a real plus in examination and argumentation. The second limitation relates to the absence of many biographies on individual CMS missionaries, namely, that of the Mission Secretary SA Morrison and other CMS workers. These were often referred to in the corpus of the thesis as 'a member of the CMS Egypt Mission'. Third, the Adam Matthew Digital archive either does not have or does not display the full CMS Archive as is the case with the Cadbury Research Library at Birmingham University. Another important limitation was the CMS Archive's

closure on the archive files of Muslim converts and their names for what it considers security measure. The impact of this closure stood as a barrier in evaluating the CMS work in terms of conversions. Nevertheless, while the Adam Matthew gives opportunity for online users through a prior application to use the Archive, the Cadbury Research Library allows it only for its internal users. This does not, however, mean that Cadbury Research Library does not welcome researchers. I, personally, received a letter of invitation to visit the Library, but conditions went without allowing it.

This thesis adopts the qualitative research method which is concerned with the examination of past event in view of deducing conclusion regarding the topic under research. The historical method, in this study, explores the history of the Church Missionary Society in the Middle-East: A Case Study of Egypt from 1936 to 1959. The method adopted for this research is both chronological and thematic. It relies on observation; it states and defines the scope of the problem and the sources selected; primary and secondary sources were approached through critical examination. The eventual step was concerned with the organization and presentation of facts through analysis and interpretation of the data. The primary sources used in this study relate to letters, minutes, Annual Reports, CMS Central Archive, published and unpublished documents, periodicals and books. They all give substantial descriptions of the history of the CMS work in Egypt between 1936 and 1959. Secondary sources were an informative and complementary source used in the form of theses, encyclopedias, books, articles and so on. All data used in the writing of this thesis was carefully analyzed through the historical method of Criticism of Data which involves internal and external criticism. External Criticism consisted in identifying the au-

thenticity of the sources used in this research, notably; the sources were used from an official online accredited archive source which is the Adam Matthew Digital Archive. The Internal Criticism was used through an examination of the document itself in terms of consistency and accuracy. In this context, it must be stated that many of the Archive documents used in this research were, unfortunately, blurry and others with omissions with an effect that led to skipping some of the information they contained.

The archive sources were rudimentary to this research, namely for chapter two which deals with the CMS educational work. Chapter three considers the CMS medical mission and chapter four considers the literature and Church activities along with finance and Muslim response to the CMS Egypt Mission work for the period between 1936 and 1959. The three chapters are preceded by chapter one which serves as the background that explores the historic framework for the foundation of the Society and its propagation throughout the continents and its establishment to missionary stations all over the world.

Thus this thesis adopts the following structure; it falls into four chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter one sets the objective of considering the Church Missionary Society's activities over a century; starting from the date of its foundation in 1797 to 1899 as a sustainable background for the study of the CMS missionary activities in Egypt from 1936 to 1959. The historical overview of the CMS in its worldwide missionary stations since its formation sheds light on the Evangelical missionary zeal of the Society. After the frail beginning, the CMS went through a period of development and consolidation leading to its consideration as the most important missionary

society that emerged within the Church of England. Before reaching that stage of the foundation of the CMS, the chapter gives an introduction about the state of the Anglican Church starting from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries to highlight on the causes that led to the emergence of the Religious Revival that led, eventually, to the foundation of the CMS. Nevertheless, the Chapter opens with a description and definition of the schools of thought in and out of the Church of England and the eventual emergence of a new terminology relating to Churchmanship within the Church of England. Both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics played an important role in the Revival of Religion in Britain and both of them interacted in the field of Missions. The chapter ends with an overview to the Church Missionary Society's early efforts of Missions to Muslims in the Middle-East. This interest arose as a result of an alarming feeling of anxiety that the Society developed in relation to its neglect and lack of interest in the evangelization of Muslims. The activities of the CMS are considered in relation to the "Mediterranean Mission" which highlights the early beginning of the CMS Mission in Egypt. This historical sketching provides a primary knowledge for the understanding of the CMS mission in the twentieth century, and, eventually, it constitutes the contextual background for chapter two which invites to questioning: what were the CMS' fields of work in Egypt, its policies and the results it achieved among Muslim Egyptians?

The second chapter examines the CMS educational work. Nevertheless, the consideration of the CMS educational activities are preceded by shedding light on different thematic points of crucial and inherent relationship to the issue of CMS Educational work in Egypt. First, the administrative structure of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) both at Headquarters

in London and in Egypt is considered. The administration is important in investigating about who were the policymakers in the CMS Egypt Mission. The two Mission General Secretaries who held the post at Salisbury between 1936- 1959, namely, Wilson Cash and Max Warren stood as the active parts in the CMS policy along with the General Committee. The chapter considers, also, Egypt's political setting between 1936-1959. The political background against which the CMS Egypt Mission operated its Educational Mission aims at investigating about the nature of the relationship between the CMS and the British Government. The Chapter does also highlight the role played by the Missions and Government Committee, of the International Missionary Council (IMC), on the issue of missionary education. It is only at this point that the CMS educational work for the period 1936-1959 is investigated; preceded by a retrospect on active Missionary societies in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century followed by the CMS Egypt earlier educational efforts. The chapter lays emphasis on the nature of interaction of the CMS Mission with the British Government and it ends with an opening to chapter Three which questions: What was the scope of activity of the CMS Egypt Medical Mission and how far was it instrumental as an evangelizing agency?

Chapter three examines the CMS medical work for the period between 1936-1959. It scrutinises the activity of the Old Cairo Medical Mission and that of the Menouf Medical Mission. During the period under study, the CMS continued its management to the Old Cairo Hospital, established by Dr Harpur in 1899, and it established other medical institutions. This chapter tracks all the CMS missionary work and the policy followed in view of converting Muslim Egyptians. The problems encountered by the CMS medical work are highlighted and an evaluation of the CMS medical work is

provided. The chapter sheds light on the motive behind the institution of Western Christianity to medical missions. A statement on the Christian perspective on the concept of healing followed by the influence of the Old Cairo Hospital and the CMS Medical Mission's determination to rebuild the OCH by its Jubilee in 1939 are analysed. The chapter lays special emphasis on the Old Cairo Medical Mission in 1940 and its shift in policy regarding the Hospital's turning itself into rural areas. The chapter examines the efforts of the Old Cairo Hospital at raising the standard of the nurses' training to prepare them for State registration and get the Egyptian Government Recognition. The chapter also sheds light on the Old Cairo Hospital's related departments and their evangelistic nature along with the staffing problems it encountered. Besides the Old Cairo Hospital, the chapter considers the CMS Egypt Mission's clinics and dispensaries at Cairo and other Egypt's villages like Shubra Zanga, Ghamaza and Cairo Clinic. The chapter considers also the difficulties encountered by the CMS Medical Mission between 1939 and 1959 for the realization of the rebuilding of the Cairo Harpur Memorial Hospital, the different crises it went through and the Egyptian Government's new laws that continued to bear upon missionary work.

The chapter highlights, also, the Medical out-branching work of the Old Cairo Hospital and the Rural Construction. It looks at the CMS Egypt Medical Mission's policy of out-branching of its medical activities from the Old Cairo Hospital as a centre of management of rural missionary activities. Emphasis is placed on the CMS medical institutions and centers like the Baby Welfare, the Little Girls' Club, the Nursery School, the Old Cairo Welfare Centre, Kirdasa Welfare Centre, Home Visiting, the Ragged Sunday School, in addition to the Rural Construction and the policy behind it.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the Menouf Medical Mission (MMM) from 1936 to 1959. The endeavours for the rebuilding of the Menouf Hospital are sketched along with the typical illnesses it specialized in and its source of income. Reference is also made to the building of the Menouf Men's Hospital and plans for the re-building of the Menouf Hospital in 1952. After the building of the hospital, the chapter highlights the serious staffing difficulties it encountered. The chapter examines further the CMS medical candidates and the conditions for their recruitment, and furthers on the CMS Egypt Medical Mission's Finance and Administration. Changes in the CMS Administration after 1945 are highlighted and the chapter ends with a statement of the government's position towards medical work.

Chapter four falls into four sections. It furthers the exploration of the CMS Egypt's Mission work through the mediums of literature and Church activity. The second section of the chapter sketches the history of the foundation of the Diocese of Egypt and Sudan and the building the All Saints' Cathedral on the Nile River. The Church's activity throughout the period under study aimed at reviving the Coptic Church as a means to what they consider the key to the problem for the evangelization of Muslims. Section three of the chapter deals with the CMS Egypt Mission and how it went about financing its work. The fourth section of the chapter examines the nature of the Muslim response to the CMS Egypt's work throughout the period under study.

This study is a multi-faceted research. It investigates the different mediums and methods of approach that the CMS used in order to evange-

lise Muslim Egyptians. The consideration of the CMS work in the fields of education, medical mission, literature and Church activity will reveal much about the nature and work of the CMS Egypt Mission and its policy.

The research makes it one of its essential objectives to shed light on the nature of the relationship of the CMS Egypt Mission with the British Foreign Office in the context of an independent Egypt. The end of the research and investigation leads to the inevitable question: what was the nature of Muslim Response?

Chapter One

The Church of England:

Official Recipient

of Missionary Societies

Chapter 1

Church of England: Official Recipient of Missionary Societies

1.1 The Church of England and the Birth of Missionary Societies.

This Chapter sets the intention of considering the Church Missionary Society's activities over a century; starting from the date of its foundation in 1797 to 1899 as a background for the study of the CMS missionary activities in Egypt from 1936 to 1959.

The historical overview of the CMS in its worldwide missionary stations since its formation shed light on the Evangelical missionary zeal of the Society which may, indeed, be considered as the right arm of the Church of England. The frail beginning of the Society was quickly overcome,

and it went through a period of development and consolidation leading to its consideration as the most important missionary societies that emerged within the Church of England; notably, after the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). In addition to the consideration of the large Mission stations that the Society established in the three Continents, this chapter highlights the means and the policy that led to such achievements.

Before reaching the stage of the foundation of the CMS, an introduction to the State of the Anglican Church is considered, starting from the Seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries are highlighted to show, on the one hand, the causes that led to the emergence of the Religious Revival that led, eventually, to the foundation of the CMS. On the other hand, to highlight that the centuries mentioned above, recorded a scant, or no valuable effort of Missions to the Heathens and Muslims. The two reasons seem to have been among the primary motives for the foundation of the CMS. Nevertheless, the Chapter opens with a description and definition of the schools of thought, in and out of the Church of England and the eventual emergence of a new terminology interpreted by the Established Church as “Comprehensiveness” and by their critics as “weird Anglicanism”.

The chapter closes with an introduction of the Church Missionary Society’s early efforts of Missions to Muslims in the Middle-East. This interest arose as a result of an alarming feeling of anxiety that the Society developed concerning its neglect and lack of interest in the evangelization of Muslims. The activities of the CMS are considered in connection to some countries, namely, the Constantinople Mission, the Palestine Mission and the CMS Mission in Egypt, which the Society included all in what is called

the “Mediterranean Mission”. This will provide basic knowledge for the understanding of the CMS Egypt Mission in the twentieth century, and, eventually, it will constitute the background of our research in the Second Chapter.

1.1.1 Schools of Thought in and out the Church of England: A Nineteenth-Century Perspective

The schools of thought that characterized nineteenth-century Church of England gave rise to a new terminology, such as, High church, Low Church and Broad church which became peculiarly characteristic of the Established Church. Nevertheless, the trends within the Church of England constituted only one facet of the condition of the Church. The reason was that other schools of thought outside the Church of England, referred to as Nonconformist and Dissenters, also existed. The latter gave an overall picture of the galaxy of the schools of thought that characterized nineteenth-century Anglican Church.

This preliminary sets two aims. First, it will provide a background for the understanding the nature of the Church of England on the eve of the sending of one of its most important missionary societies; namely, the Church Missionary Society. Second, it will shed light on the new terminology that emerged as a result of the schools of thought in and outside the Anglican Church. The explanation of the new terminology will, also, prove valuable for a clear understanding whenever this terminology is used within the corpus of this chapter.

a- Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics

Churchmanship was a status given to the adherents of the Anglican Church. However, because of the theological differences between the members of the Established Church, Churchmanship gave rise to terminology that distinguished its members due to a difference in theological background. The dominant schools of thought within the Church of England were the Evangelicals and the Anglo-Catholics. The difference between these two parties requires some elucidation. First, it is important to mention, that both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics played an important role in the Revival of Religion in Britain. Second, both of them interacted with the other in the field of Missions. Third, the emergence of the terminology concerning Churchmanship requires elucidation.

The term *churchman* was used about the members of the Anglican Church as opposed to those who were labelled dissenters. However, Alan Peter Beckman observed in his PhD thesis, entitled “A Clash of Churchmanship”, that the term Churchmanship was used to distinguish the different trends that formed the comprehensive Anglican Church. In his dissertation, Beckman used the term to refer to distinctive understandings of both doctrine and practice of both the Evangelicals and the Anglo-Catholics.¹

The Oxford Movement came to be known by the Tractarians and Anglo-Catholic. Nevertheless, Tractarians were more synonymous with the Movement’s dissemination of its ideas through the “Tracts”. The Movement started in 1833 with the priest, theologian and poet John Keble’s (1792-1866) Sermon on National Apostasy that he preached at Oxford, on July 14, 1833, and it was followed by the Vicar John Henry Newman’s con-

version to Catholicism in 1845. It was, however, acknowledged that the movement had a manifest influence on both the doctrine and the liturgical practice of the Church of England during the Victorian era.²

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Church of England embraced a range of different forms of churchmanship. As an established Church, it was more acquiescent to members outside its establishment. The well-known historian of the Christian Church, Stephen Neill, identified seven categories of churchmanship in the Church of England by the mid-nineteenth century. Still, many others existed that could be identified with none of the existing trends, i.e., High Church, Low Church and Broad Church.³ In this chapter, we will shed light on the definitions for the broad movements, or denominations which, though within the Church of England, they were set apart because of their theological convictions.

b-High Church, Low Church and Broad Church

The term 'High Church' in the mid-nineteenth century was described as follows:

*“The high churchman of that time was marked by a rigid orthodoxy, strict rubrical adherence to the prayer book, belief in the supremacy of Scripture and opposition to reform. Whilst maintaining the Protestantism of the Church of England, he also stressed its catholicity, through a commitment to the ancient creeds and the historic episcopate, thereby upholding a form of apostolic succession...High churchmen tended to make a clear distinction between the sacred and the secular, with the clergy set apart from the laity in terms of their role and authority.”*⁴

Beckman points to the term “Low Church” as being used, at first, pejoratively and its development as the reverse or opposite to “High Church. Its main thesis lied in seeking an extensive liberalization, in other words, greater comprehensiveness within the established Church of England. Its use in the nineteenth century was synonymous with “Evangelical”. Among all the trends within the Anglican Church, the Evangelicals fell into different factions that it became awkward to provide a clear definition. Nevertheless, five principles were emphasised in describing them:

1. The full supremacy of Holy Scripture in terms of faith and practice.
2. The acknowledgement of the doctrine of human sinfulness and corruption of humanity.
3. The depth and magnitude of the work of Jesus Christ.
4. The pre-eminence of the inward work of the Holy Spirit.
5. The significance of the outward and visible work of the Holy Spirit.⁵

Another definition was suggested; it was one that encompassed Calvinist and Armenian Evangelicals, it emphasized the following:

1. The strong adherence of an Evangelical Anglican to the Protestantism of the national Church, the Articles of Religion and the Prayer Book.
2. The authority of the Bible in matters of faith and conduct
3. The doctrine of justification with an emphasis on good works.
4. An appreciation of a personal relationship with God through Christ, not to sacramental grace but rather to a conversion experience.

5. The description of the Church's primary task in terms of home and foreign evangelism.⁶

It was this trend of Evangelicals that was associated with the Clapham Sect whose members included Henry Thornton (1729-1790), an early advocate of the Evangelical Movement, William Wilberforce (1759 -833) a politician and philanthropist, Hannah More (1745-1833), writer and philanthropist, and others, in connection with the abolition of the slavery Movement and the Cambridge clergyman.⁷

The term "Broad Church" which describes today's "Liberals" found its origins in the early eighteenth century when the evangelical movement called for reform towards a more liberal and comprehensive Church. They came to be branded as "low church" in contrast to "high church". In the nineteenth century "low church" as a term was used to refer to Evangelicals. The term "broad" also referred to "Latitudinarians" who were a category of Evangelicals who sought to widen the scope of opinion and allow for greater latitude in church matters.⁸ Beckman remarks:

*"In England, these streams of churchmanship co-existed in a comprehensive state Church with protection for differences in churchmanship offered, and limitations defined, by the law courts."*⁹

c- The Dissenters

The term Dissenters found its inception in the Puritanism of the sixteenth Century which contended government for constitutional and religious reasons:

*“The Puritans wanted to reform the Church of England from within, returning it to biblical principles and not monarchical decrees. In an era when one’s faith was an outward sign of one’s political and social attitude, the Dissenters were driven from the Anglican Church”*¹⁰

As a result of the Dissenters’ refusal to take the oath of loyalty to King Charles II during the Restoration (1650), their rights were denied. They were banned from all public and political offices. They were required from the English authorities to renounce the irreligious belief and take Communion in the Church of England as an established Church. The enactment of the 1662 Act of Uniformity was a strenuous period in their history with an outcome of about two thousand ministers in England with a label of Nonconformists was under the obligation to leave their parishes. ¹¹

“Dissenters”, “Nonconformists” and “Separatists” came to be used interchangeably to point to those Protestant denominations which established themselves outside the Anglican Church in nineteenth-century England. Twenty per-cent of the population of Great Britain was estimated to belong to Free Churches by the mid-nineteenth. Among those referred to as Dissenters were the Methodists, the Quakers, the Independents, the Congregationalists, the Baptists and the Unitarians.¹²

The strong links that the Nonconformists knitted with the Liberal party also called Broad Churchmen intensified and widened the strife and discord within the Church of England. However, the distinctive culture they developed became a focal point of interest in nineteenth-century England and Wales, but it faded with the advent of the twentieth century.¹³

On the theological side, the Dissenters' emphasis on the authority of the Scriptures underlined that their basic principle on authority was to be sought outside the symbiosis of Church and State, thus, subjecting their matters to either individual or congregational spheres, and they considered that religious and political issues were the two facets of a coin, and could not, therefore be separated.¹⁴

The brothers Robert (1764-1842) and James Haldane (1768-1851) from Edinburgh, left the established Church and became the founders of the Congregationalist denomination. They were involved in the creation of several societies which culminated in the foundation of the non-confessional Continental Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge over Europe.¹⁵

Despite the minority of Dissenters in England, their influence spread considerably to the British Isles and around the world for their upholding of individual liberties and their distinct concept of community. But the most important fact about Dissenters was that they were among the pioneers of the missionary movement and played a significant role in its development.¹⁶: About the Dissenters, Thomas H. Bruckart argues:

“The critical nature of the Dissenters served to spawn allied social movements of the period. On the eve of the American Revolution, Dissenters were agitating for the abolishment of all hindrances in church and government disqualifying them from full British citizenship”¹⁷

The range of churchmanship that characterized the Church of England was to impact the brand of Anglicanism discharged to the colonies. This version was, inevitably, to be influenced by the respective missionary

society's schools of thought. A noteworthy instance was one that occurred in a missionary station at the Cape which was founded on Evangelical lines, however, the appointment of the first bishop of evangelical missionary societies were all banished to be replaced by Anglo-Catholic in collaboration with High -Church SPG churchmen. This showed how much the doctrinal issues were influential and affected the missionary activities of the societies in their respective fields of work.¹⁸

1.1.2 Circumstances Leading to the Birth of Missionary Societies.

a- Overview of English Missions in the Seventeenth Century.

This overview serves to highlight the absence of Missions to the Heathens and Muslims; a major cause that led to the foundation of the Church Missionary Society in the eighteenth century. Missionary activities in the seventeenth century were carried through two English prominent missionary societies; the Society for the propagation of the Gospel (SPG) (1701) to which was added in "Foreign Parts" as a suggestion to Great Britain's colonies. The second was the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) which was also committed to working among the Empire's Colonies. The Charter defined their intents as being:

*"The spiritual benefit of our loving subjects that were in danger of falling into atheism, infidelity, popish superstition, and idolatry."*¹⁹

Early in their work, the two societies directed an effort at reaching both the Red Indians and the slaves in the American Colonies. However,

as Eugene Stock, the historian of the CMS; pointed out, the heathen and Muslims at that time were outside the British Empire's sphere of control.²⁰ It was on the account of this drawback concerning the Danish Mission to India, which was not within the prerogatives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) to evangelize in India, but rather those of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK); the reason being that the territory, at that time, did not belong to England.²¹ Eight years after its foundation, the SPG started showing empathy to the Danish Mission through its contribution with a donation amounting to Twenty Pounds from some of its adherents; this contribution was often recalled as 'the first English contribution of England to the evangelization of India'²²

The main British Colonies on the American Continent were the United States, the West Indies, and Canada. The SPG missionary operations were chiefly concentrated on these places and the society were reported to have carried an effective mission among the settlers. The work was welcomed both by the Indian settlers and the slaves. John Wesley; the eventual Revivalist, was in the list among the SPG clergymen who went to Georgia in 1736.²³ The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (1709), founded in Scotland, directed its missionary work primarily to home missions in the Highlands. It also supported, with a grant, the Presbyterian colonists of New York and New Jersey.²⁴

b- Religious Conditions in the Eighteenth Century.

The missionary spirit in the eighteenth century was losing vitality, and it could rarely be found any trace or interest for the evangelization of the

world.²⁵ Apart from a response to the Deist's attacks on Christianity by the philosopher and theologian Josef Butler (1692-1752), the theologian William Paley (1743-1805) and the writer, Bishop and ecclesiastical scholar William Warburton (1698-1779).²⁶ The condition of life as a whole was described by the Scottish Presbyterian writer and Reverend Wardlaw (1779-1853), as follows:

1. A deterioration of the religious life of the clergy and their collapsing in worldliness.
2. Churches were deserted.
3. The loss of enthusiasm among the Dissenting Churches.
4. The total absence of interest in missions to the heathens.
5. The shameless and licentious character of Society.²⁷

c- The Religious Revival in Nineteenth-Century England.

The French Revolution (1789) and its subsequent chain of wars affected the history of the Church of England during the early years of the nineteenth century. The war with France drained the resources of the country and could not allow for an activity of the Church. Nevertheless, a new sense of awakening began to simmer:

“The Abuses which had been allowed to go on for nearly a century without a remonstrance began then, at any rate, to be recognized as abuses, though, of course, it took some time to apply any effectual remedy to them.”²⁸

An array of factors was to bring about the Revival in Britain. First, there were the discoveries and the inventions that had a significant impact on the industrialization of Britain. The latter led to a tremendous social and economic change epitomizing in the emergence of a new class of entrepreneurs which was also accompanied by the development of commercial enterprise. While all this was happening in Britain, the religious awakening was at its start, it was speculated that the Industrial Revolution was to be a rampart for the diffusion of Christianity around the world.²⁹ During this period, Wesley came to form a society with his Oxford peers. Soon, however: he went on a journey to Georgia and after his return, his thought was imbued with new religious awareness that led, him two years later, to organize his open air-preaching, which he practised for over than five decades.³⁰

The nineteenth-century had also noted the reemergence of the High Church party, which existed well before the rise of the Oxford Movement. Historically, in 1689, their refusal to take the Oath of allegiance to the King made them acquire the title of Non-Jurors. Before the nineteenth century, they began to surface again. The author John H G. Verton described them in his book as follows:

“None supported the established constitution more ably and consistently than the High Churchmen. They were better equipped for the task than any other party. Valuing deeply the science of theology, they studied it more thoroughly and systematically than any other class did. Indeed, strange as it may sound to some, I venture to think that the majority of competent divines in the early part of this century were what we

*should now call distinctly High Churchmen.”*³¹

The reasons why they came to prevail were attributed to their belief in their cause and their simplicity in stating it.³² The Evangelicals also played a major role in the Religious Revival and that of the Church of England in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Their spirituality posed them as the strongest party in the Church of England.³³

With the dawn of the nineteenth century the architects of the Evangelical Revival or the “The first generation of Evangelicals” as they were also called, were being replaced by the ‘Second Generation.’ In this context, it would be pertinent to mention their names in a nutshell because they were the ones who originated the movement. On the top of the list were Henry Venn (1796-1873), Joseph Milner (1744-1797), William Romaine (1714-1795), John Thornton (1720-1790), John Berridge (1716-1793), and John Wesley (1703-1791), whom all died in the eighteenth century save for William Cowper, who lived to witness the beginning of the nineteenth. The first and the second generation of evangelicals were deeply revered for their work.³⁴

The Second Generation of Evangelicals was that identified with the Clapham Sect which founded the Church Missionary Society. The Clapham Sect was also called the Claphamites. Its members were: William Wilberforce (1758-1833), John Thornton (1760-1815), Teignmouth (1751-1834), Stephen, Macaulay(1768-1838), and Henry Venn (1796-1873); the son of John Venn.³⁵ Because the Church Missionary Society was founded by the Clapham Sect, it will be necessary to consider the members of the Sect to throw light on their activities in the nineteenth century. First, William Wilberforce was consid-

ered as the central figure of the group for his elocution which made him “*a most mighty engine for the spread of Evangelicalism.*”³⁶ The most striking aspects of Wilberforce Evangelicalism were his adherence to the anti-Calvinistic rite while the Evangelicals were Calvinists. Furthermore, when the Evangelicals stood in opposition to High churchmen; Roman Catholics within the Church of England, Wilberforce, as a member of Parliament defended the Roman Catholic Emancipation. These positions did not, however, frustrate the Evangelical party from being tied to this man who was considered *par excellence* the leading layman of the Evangelical party.³⁷ The second member of the Clapham Sect was Zachary Macaulay whose efforts were much associated with the foundation of the CMS and the design for the establishment of Sierra Leone as a British Colony. He was among the ardent of the anti-slave movement, and one of the main contributors to the foundation of the Bible Society. Third, Lord John Shore Teignmouth (1751-1834), was also a member of Clapham. He was elected first President of the Bible Society. As a former Governor-General of India, his services were appreciated and beneficial to the Claphamites, concerning their desire for the evangelization of India. “*His Indian experience stood him in good stead when that object was violently attacked.*”³⁸ Fourth, Granville Sharp (1735-1813), who was not among the Clapham Sect, but he supported Evangelical views. Sharp used to meet with the Evangelicals in the basic interest he shared with them on the issue of the abolition of the Slave Trade, and he conducted the first meeting for the foundation of the Bible Society.³⁹ At this juncture, it would important to consider the role played by these Evangelicals and others, including the members of the Eclectic Society and the Dissenters, notably, the Quakers in the abolition of slavery in England.

d- The Evangelicals and the Anti-Slavery Movement.

The purchase of slaves in England was made legal by the act of Parliament of 1562 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. The Kingdom's naval commander, Sir John Hawkins, sailed to Sierra Leone. There he seized three hundred slaves; he carried them to Haiti and sold them.⁴⁰ In 1771, about one hundred and ninety-two slave-ships left England in the direction of Africa, they had under their possession forty-seven thousands and one-hundred and forty-six(47,146) of slaves. Before 1786, the number of slaves imported into British Colonies exceeded two million. About the presence of slaves in British culture, Eugene Stock remarked:

*“Slaves formed an important part of the property of well-to-do families in England. Most people of consideration had estates in the West Indies, and thence they brought Negroes home as domestic servants.”*⁴¹

Among the Dissenters who took part in the Anti-Slave Campaign were the Quakers who were described as:

*“Wizards at networking and their superbly worded petitions to Parliament sent shivers down the spines of many of the members of the West India lobby.”*⁴²

In the early eighteenth century, slave uprisings erupted in both Barbados (Antilles) and Montego Bay (Jamaica) and were crushed with some difficulty. In Montego Bay, for instance, the slave rebellion was a major one. It was led by Samuel Sharpe; a chief deacon of the Baptist chapel in Montego Bay who instigated his followers by telling them that the King of England had enjoined their freedom while others denied it from them. The news of

the rebellion disconcerted the Parliament. Accordingly, the British Crown was apprehensive of more, eventual, revolts in the West Indies if slavery was not abolished.⁴³

On the other hand, the High Churchmen or the Anglo-Catholics had been less numerous compared to the days of the Non-Jurors. Yet, a group of Catholics under the name of the “Clapton Sect,” began to surface. Their beliefs and practices counter opposed those of the Clapham Sect. Eugene Stock argued about them saying:

*“The union of Church and State, with the State practically ruling the Church, was their ideal; one may say their idol ‘Our happy Establishment was their favourite phrase.”*⁴⁴

Around this period Captain Cook’s publication of his voyages in the Pacific shed light on the prevalence of heathenism in the region. William Carey and his publication *to Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (1789)* was also zooming on the state of religion in the different countries of the World and the success of their former undertakings. In 1784, the Baptist Churches started a monthly missionary prayer-meeting at Northampton shire, and in 1786 the Eclectic Society of Evangelical Churchmen put the subject of foreign missions under discussion.⁴⁵

e - The Birth of Missionary Societies.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Religious Revival had led to the formation of missionary societies. First among these societies were: the Baptist society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), and the Church Missionary Society (1700). The Baptist Missionary Society (1792)

was founded in response to the appeals of William Carey. The London Missionary Society appeared in 1795 and was founded on an undenominational basis. At this period, several clergymen of the Church of England entered in co-operation with some Independent and Presbyterian ministers.⁴⁶ The London Missionary Society led to the formation of the Edinburgh Missionary Society, afterwards known as the Scottish Missionary Society in 1796 and of the Glasgow Missionary Society (1826).⁴⁷ In 1799 the Religious Tract Society came into being and was followed by the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). As for the Methodists, their society was not founded until 1817. The rapid and successive formation of missionary societies was an outcome of the Religious Revival that took place in Britain. Their increase was regarded by suspicion. A lawyer and member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland argued on the subject of foreign missions as follows:

*“Observe, sir, they are affiliated; they have a common object, they correspond with each other, they look for assistance from foreign countries, in the very language of many of the seditious societies. Above all, it is to be marked they have a common fund. As to these missionary societies, I do aver that it is to be apprehended that their funds may be-nay, certainly will be-turned against the Constitution.”*⁴⁸

It is also to be noted that apathy and hostility prevailed among the majority of the religious leaders of the Church of England towards the members of the Eclectic Society. A noteworthy example is that of the British politician Charles Grant's (1746-1823) suggestion of his plan in 1786 for the establishment by the East India Company of a mission in Bengal where districts would be divided into eight, with each under the care of a clergyman.

The latter's function would consist mainly in setting up schools, superintending catechists, and establishing churches. The result was that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, "*poured cold water on Grant's Scheme*"⁴⁹

1.2 The Foundation of the Church Missionary Society (1799)

The Church Missionary Society's foundation was traced to the members of the Eclectic Society (1783), who met in the vestry of St. John's Chapel; Bedford Row. Between 1786 and 1796, they discussed questions relating to their missionary obligations. The members of the Eclectic Society were motivated by the idea of the propagation of the Gospel to the Bengal. The design was that of Charles Grant (1746-1823), George Udny (d.1830), and David Brown (1763-1812); it was sent from India to William Wilberforce and Charles Simeon (1759-1836) in 1787.⁵⁰

A member of the Eclectic Society, namely, Charles Simeon formulated the question in 1796 about the method of starting a Mission to the Heathen within the frame of the Established Church. In 1799, John Venn pondered the methods that could be, eventually, used to promote the Christian message among the Heathen. On the same occasion, John Venn laid down the following principles:

- 1- *“Follow God’s leading and look for success only from the Spirit.*
2. *Under God, all will depend on the type of man sent forth.*
3. *Begin on a small scale.*
4. *Put money in the second place, not the first.*
5. *The Mission should be founded on the Church principle, not the High Church principle. thus differentiating it from the London Missionary Society on the one hand, and the S.P.G. on the other, though it was not intended to come into collision with either.”*
6. *That it is a duty highly incumbent upon every Christian to endeavour to propagate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen.*
7. *“That as it appears from the printed Reports of the Societies for Propagating the Gospel and for Promoting Christian Knowledge that those respectable societies confine their work to the British Plantations in America and to the West Indies, there seems to be still wanting in the Established Church a society for sending missionaries to the Continent of Africa, or the other parts of the heathen world.”*
8. *“That the persons present at this meeting do form themselves into a Society for that purpose, and that the following rules be adopted.”*

9. *“That a Deputation be sent from this Society to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan, the Bishop of London as Diocesan, and the Bishop of Durham as Chairman of the Mission Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with a copy of the Rules of the Society, and a respectful letter.”*⁵¹
10. *By 1812, the name of “Church Missionary Society” was officially adopted as the name of the Society, its laws were drafted and it was decided that the twenty-four elected members of the Committee should be laymen and that all subscribing clergymen should be members of the Committee. Henry Martin (1781- 1812) was CMS’s first English corresponding candidate. As a chaplain of the East India Company, his work in India and Persia was described as one of the most valuable labours in the history of the CMS.”*⁵²

The pioneering work of the CMS went through a multitude of challenges that ranged between indifference to opposition. The first decade in the Society’s history was marked by the sending of only a few missionaries. Their number amounted to six, but, eventually, it increased rapidly. One of the basic characteristics in the work of the CMS at the *debut* of its enterprise was the lay character of its worker.⁵³ The Church Missionary Society’s beginning of missionary activity was described as follows:

*“It had been feeble and gave no promise of that great subsequent development which has at length won for it undisputed and universal recognition as the greatest of British Protestant missionary organizations.”*⁵⁴

The members of the Society had to wait sixteen months after they found the Society to receive the acquiescence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and for four years before its candidates could be sent on missionary service.⁵⁵ Among the difficulties encountered by the CMS during its early work was the ordination for its Priests. Two of the Society's workers needed to be ordained, but at this early stage, *"the bishops had not yet smiled for ordination upon the new Society at all."* Even the approach through personal friends did not solve the issue of ordination the reason being that the candidates worked outside their own dioceses.⁵⁶

1.2.1 The CMS' Indebtedness to the Basel Seminary's Missionaries

The CMS Committee was emphatic in its acknowledgement to German Lutherans of the Basel Seminary. The number of CMS missionaries in the first fifteen years was twenty- four among which seventeen were Germans. Among the seven Englishmen, only three could be ordained. An important member among them was William Jowett, the first University graduate on the CMS registers, and the first missionary to Muslims.⁵⁷ The CMS's voluntary status, which it boasted about, led to hostility among members of the Established Church that went on for many years. Nevertheless:

"It was one of Henry Venn's achievements to overcome that suspicion and persuade the Church of England to value the society as playing a vital element in the missionary task within the established church." ⁵⁸

Kevin Ward argued that Venn's paradigm incited the encouragement of the CMS contribution to a worldwide Anglicanism. The widespread per-

ception was that working within the spreading worldwide Anglicanism would fortify the 'sense of identity' to the emerging Society and would be regarded as a praiseworthy initiative. Ward writes:

*“The idea of a global Anglican communion owed much of its vigour to the new sense of catholicity inculcated by the Oxford movement”.*⁵⁹

The emergence of the Anglican Communion was, in fact, due to the expansion of the Church of England which went in parallel with that of the British Empire in the nineteenth century. It is observed that this period marked a disquieting absence for providing pastoral care in the colonies. The remedy, as pointed out, came from the military and colonial establishment rather than from the Church.⁶⁰

The Church Missionary Society's work spread to large and notable areas around the world. For the success and the maintaining of its missions, a policy was adopted touching to the different spheres of missionary activity. The policy was conducted, through successive CMS secretaries, during the centenary of the Society's history from 1799 to 1899. Henry Venn and Joseph Pratt stood as the noteworthy figures in the centenary history of the Society. In the formative years of the Society, the founders were clear and vocal about how their vision of mission orientation would be. Though it was stated that the Society's work would rely on Evangelical principles, the founders of the Society were also emphatic about undertaking their missionary work *“on more strictly ecclesiastical lines.”*⁶¹

1.2.2 The Church Missionary Society's Euthanasia Policy

The slow beginning of the CMS, due to the early circumstances surrounding it, was, eventually, to go through a period of great flourishing that it became unanimously recognized as the outstanding society among all British Protestant missionary organizations.⁶² This development was attributed to Henry Venn's Euthanasia policy adopted by the CMS, which philosophy stated the following:

*“A Native Church, with Native bishops and clergy and synods and canons and formularies, independent of the Church of England, though an integral part of the Anglican Communion.”*⁶³

The Euthanasia policy did not yield immediate results due to the complicated problems involved in achieving that missionary principle. Nevertheless, Euthanasia was considered as the most important work of the CMS for achieving its goals.⁶⁴ Euthanasia might have been slow in achieving the goals, but it was a “slow but sure” policy because, by the CMS Centenary, many of the churches in Africa and India achieved Euthanasia. This policy, while, de-paternalizing the missions, they were kept tied to the CMS and the Anglican Church through the umbilical cord of the Anglican Communion and Anglicanism.

In 1825, on January 31, the CMS established an important Institution at Islington (London) intended for the preparation of Missionaries to be sent overseas. The Institute trained six-hundred and forty-eight (648) candidates. Even University graduates went through Islington before they were sent to the mission field. The educational standard of the Institute was improved in 1868 and the curriculum was extended.⁶⁵

1.2.3 The Contributors in the work of Evangelization

A contribution to the supply of missionaries came from The British Empire's colonies. The Editorial Secretary of the CMS; Eugene Stock, was in a delegation that the Society sent to Australia for inviting Colonial Church population to partake in the task of the evangelization of the world by sending out their missionaries and supporting them. The result was the reinstatement of the New South Wales Association and the formation of two others; one for Victoria (Australia) and another for New Zealand. A Constitution was formulated allowing them for the selection of male and female candidates to be sent on the CMS missionary stations. The local committee of the selection of candidates was selective of only those who upheld CMS vision and conviction. In 1895 a similar Association was formed in Canada. These four Associations were responsible for sending out twenty-two men and twenty-nine women to the Society's fields before the Centenary⁶⁶

The CMS Committee refused the sending of women missionaries to mission fields overseas on the ground of their celibacy; offers were not made until 1885. The matter was evoked at two meetings and it was resolved not to send unmarried women save for those who went in company with their brothers or went to visit them. By 1886, the Society had enrolled one-hundred and three (103) women between unmarried and widows. The Annual Report for 1886-87 showed that twenty-two women were working on its staff, with a majority being widows or daughters of missionaries. From 1887 to 1899 the number raised to four-hundred and forty-one (441) women in the Society's lists.⁶⁷ The CMS Missions were helped by the ladies of the Society for Promoting Female Education becoming, later, part of the CMS.

The CMS published extensively for the sake of missions. Following is a list of its publication during the one-hundred years of its foundation. The small *Monthly Paper issued in 1828* was enlarged in 1830 and became the *Church Mis-*

sionary Record. In 1838 *the Church Missionary Gleaner* was started by Charles Hodgson and was sold four pennies in 1841. The next year, 1842, *the Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor*, was distributed freely at first, but later was at a charge of one halfpenny. *The Quarterly* (1856); was used for free distribution among Sunday-school subscribers. In 1849, the first number of *the Church Missionary Intelligencer* had appeared, consisting of twenty-four pages. *The Church Missionary Gleaner* was discontinued in 1870 but revived again in January 1874. The first edition of *the Church Missionary Atlas* appeared in 1857, containing sixteen pages and thirteen small maps. It was on the eighth edition, and it reached two-hundred and fifty (250) pages. *The Juvenile Instructor* became *the Children's World* in 1891. "Awake" a monthly paper for working people, appeared in 1891. *The Church Missionary Hymn Book* was prepared especially for the Centenary celebration. Two books dealing with the Society's history appeared shortly before the close of the Hundred Years-first *the Early History of the CMS* by the Rev. C.H; and then *One Hundred Years of the C M S*, a short history of the Society, issued in anticipation of the larger work, *History of the C M S*, both by the Society's Editorial Secretary Eugene Stock.⁶⁸

1.2.4 The Church Missionary Society's Strategies for Raising Funds

As early as 1813, the CMS began its organized efforts for raising funds. A body of notable clergymen went to the different English counties and towns to preach sermons, and deliver addresses and meetings. The evangelical clergymen involved in the CMS administration, Josiah Pratt (1768-1844), Basil Woodd (1760-1831), an evangelical Hymn-writer, William Goode (1801-1868), one of the evangelical leaders, Edward Burn (1762-1837), Methodist preacher and writer, Henry Budd (1812-1875), the first American ordained Anglican priest, Legh Richmond (1772-1827), an Anglican clergy, Melville Horne (1827-1898) Archdeacon of Stafford,

William Marsh, (1775-1864), an Anglican priest and theological writer, Daniel Wilson (1778-1858), a bishop who served as a missionary in Calcutta; were among those who journeyed for such a task, which was often deemed arduous as it often exposed them to opposition and criticism.⁶⁹

Also, about this time local Associations began to mushroom throughout the country at a large scale. In 1828 the Society appointed a Visiting Secretary, and in 1835 the title of "Association Secretaries" was in use; whereby the whole country was divided among four Association Secretaries. In 1860, Honorary District Secretaries, clergymen or laymen were appointed by the CMS, to be represented in one or more rural deaneries. The first County Union was formed in 1852 at Norfolk, and the Loan Department was begun in 1881.⁷⁰

The first Lay Workers' Union surfaced in London in 1881; and the First Ladies' Union in Norfolk in 1883. The Younger Clergy Union and the Ladies' CM Union for London were formed in 1885, as well as the Lay Workers' Union. In 1886, Meetings were held in 170 English towns. The Gleaners' Union was organized in 1899 with branching out that reached nine-hundred and twenty-four (924) and enrollment which achieved 122,189 members.⁷¹

In 1891 a Medical Auxiliary Committee was formed to raise additional funds to provide appliances and drugs for the CMS Medical Missions which were rapidly proliferating. In 1894 a Women's Department was created to assist women's work, both in the Mission fields and at home; of which Miss G. A. Gollock was appointed Lady Secretary.⁷²

The years from 1867 to 1872 were financially strenuous and tough for the CMS. During this period, Islington candidates needed ordination but were retained for lack of funds. In 1874, the Society's receipt of one-hundred and ninety-six

thousand 196,000 £helped in the removal of the deficit. The year 1877 was also characterized by another deficit which led to the adoption of further reductions whereby some Missions were relinquished, and grants for others were reduced. The number of trained students went down from eighty to forty and missionaries were sent only for filling vacancies.⁷³ The years between 1880 and 1887 were marked by an increase in the Society's expenditure. Notably, in 1887, the Society resolved to send out all its candidates on mission work. The result was an increase in the missionary personnel between 1887 and 1899 with an expenditure that jumped from 208,563 to 325,223.⁷⁴

In 1862 the Sierra Leone Church became an independent church and contributed in the support of its pastors, churches, and schools. Occasionally, it received financial assistance from the CMS. In 1876 the Sierra Leone Church Missionary Society was established and took over the activity for spreading of the Missions established by the CMS in the Bullom and Quiah countries (Liberia).⁷⁵

In 1841, the Colonial Bishopricks Fund (1841-48) was established and it contributed tremendously in expanding the Anglican Episcopate over the world. In 1841, two Bishopricks were founded; the Bishopric of New Zealand and the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem.⁷⁶

Before considering the CMS Mission Stations, it is significant to note that they were rivalled by the Roman Catholic missions. The nineteenth-century witnessed a great and noteworthy activity in Roman Catholic Roman Missions. Voluntary societies founded at Lyons in 1822 under the authority of the Popes had been energetic in their missionary work. The dynamism of the French Catholic missions and their influence had an impact on Protestant Missions. In 1839, the CMS Report noticed:

“ The direct and undisguised hostility to Protestant Missions which Rome was showing in India, in New Zealand, in the Levant and Abyssinia, and among the Red Indians.” ⁷⁷

By the mid-nineteenth century, the SPG and the CMS had become the prominent missionary societies of the Church of England. By that time the CMS: *“won for itself a recognition which in the first forty years of the century it did not enjoy.”* ⁷⁸

1.3 The Church Missionary Society’s Stations around the World

The Church Missionary Society’s Missions around the world are considered over the three continents; Africa, Asia and America. An overview of each CMS Mission is provided with the results achieved during its One Hundred Years of its Missionary work.

1.3.1 CMS Stations in Africa

The CMS’ work was recorded among the Zulus in South Africa; it came in response to an appeal that the British Royal Navy Officer; Captain Allen Gardiner (1794-1851) made to the CMS in 1836. When the CMS missionaries reached Cape Town, a Church Missionary Association was founded during the life of Gardiner. Abyssinia and Shoa in Ethiopia were also CMS missionary stations. John Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881), a CMS German missionary, was bound to leave Ethiopia. In 1844, he reached Mombasa and opened a settlement for the liberated slave and named it Frere Town.⁷⁹

The CMS opened its next station at Uganda in 1875. The King of Uganda; Mtesa (1838- 1884), was desirous to receive teachers. The CMS Committee re-

sponded to the demand in 1879 by sending seven missionaries. Nevertheless, they encountered difficulties concerning French Roman Catholic priests who reached Uganda in the same year. The Mission was described as prosperous, save for the activity of translation which was vigorously prosecuted. The first five converts were baptized in 1882. After the death of King Mtesa, his son Mwanga (1866-1901) expressed animosity to the CMS mission and in 1885, three converts were burned to death. In 1886, the escalation of ill will led to the arrest of a large number of Christians and the burning alive of thirty-two others. In 1888, the king fled to the Victoria from an apprehension of his subjects' opposition. The ruler, who gained the position of authority after him, in the same year, resorted to the expulsion of all Christians in the country.⁸⁰

Three years before the Centenary of the CMS, notably, in 1895, the country recorded three-hundred and twenty-one (321) churches. The natives built these churches with their efforts and at their expenses. The churches capacity of the reception was fifty-thousand 50,000 worshippers and in 1884 James Hannington (1845-1885) was consecrated the first bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa.⁸¹ In 1899, the result of the CMS work in East-Africa achieved the following:

*“The European staff-in East Africa and Uganda in 1899 consisted of thirty-three ordained men, twenty-six laymen (including three doctors), and twenty-seven women missionaries, twenty-four African clergymen (of whom twenty-one were in Uganda), 1,548 other native workers (1,472 in Uganda), 26,619 adherents (23,166 in Uganda), 6,192 communicants (5,317 in Uganda), thirty six schools (nine in Uganda), and 12,788 scholars (11,359 in Uganda).”*⁸²

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a large number of freed slaves settled in Sierra Leone, like Samuel Ayaji Crowther (1809-1891), who had been carried away as a slave from the Yoruba country. A large number of them converted

to Christianity and gave themselves to trade activities. In 1844 Crowther with the company of Henry Townsend (1815-1886), the Anglican missionary in Nigeria managed to open several missionary stations by 1893. In 1857, Samuel Crowther started the Niger Mission and was successful in his work. The Mission was run; exclusively, by Africans until 1890. In 1864, June 29, Crowther has consecrated Bishop of the Niger Territories in Canterbury Cathedral and he died in 1891. Hardship was one of the challenges that marked all the West Africa missions, still, they were regarded as promising.⁸³ By 1899; the CMS Centenary, the CMS achieved the following:

“The Europeans numbered fifty; namely, eighteen ordained, eleven lay, and twenty- three unmarried ladies. There were sixty-one native clergy and 299 male and female native evangelists and teachers; over 30,000 adherents and 11,600 communicants; 134 schools and 8,850 scholars. More than one hundred African clergymen have been ordained on the West Coast, some of whom became Government chaplains.”⁸⁴

1.3.2 CMS Stations in Oceania

New Zealand was the next station, after West Africa, where the CMS inaugurated missionary activity. In 1809, the Society sent two Englishmen in response to Samuel Marsden’s petition for mechanics to civilize the Maoris. By 1829, missionary work reaped the baptisms of five children; four of them being the children of an aggressive native chief. The fifth child was the son of William Williams (1859-1892) who became Bishop of Waiapu (New-Zealand) by the time the CMS’ celebration of its Centenary. In 1840, New Zealand became a British Colony, and in 1842 George Augustus Selwyn (1809-1878) was ordained its first Bishop. The CMS Mission in New Zealand underwent trial and difficulties, notably, for the Christian Maoris. The arrival of the French Roman missionaries gave rise to a

growing discontent against the English. This led to a war resulting in the death of a CMS missionary in 1868. This year witnessed also the emergence of the Hau Hau movement, a mixture of Heathenism and Romanism. The difficulty of continuing work led the CMS to place the Mission under a CMS Board in 1883 and the Society's grants to the work ceased by 1902.⁸⁴⁸⁵

Between 1830 and 1842, the CMS maintained a Mission to the Aborigines in Australia and was considered as the first evangelizing efforts in the region. In 1828, a CMS auxiliary was formed and Reverend Samuel Marsden (1765-1838) was appointed President and Governor. Their work targeted the Aborigines, but the Mission was abandoned due to the unsettled differences with the New South Wales Government.⁸⁶

1.3.3 CMS Stations in Asia

For twenty years, from 1793, the East India Company (1600) was a stumbling block to any missionary effort in its territories. William Carey (1761-1834); a British Baptist minister, began his work at Serampore under Danis's Charter in 1813; accordingly, the door was opened to missionaries. The CMS established a Corresponding Committee (1807) in Calcutta, where it sponsored the translation of the Bible and sent out readers; among whom were Abdul Masih, the converted name of the Indian Pfander. The latter was Henry martin's convert and the first reader to be engaged by the CMS. Pfander (1803-1865), was baptized in 1811 and started a mission at Agra in 1813.⁸⁷

Charles T.E. Rhenius (1790-1838) and J C Schnarre (1791-1820) were the leading Lutheran German missionaries that the CMS sent to India; their missionary post was at Madras in 1814. The first two English missionaries; notably, clergymen who started work as representatives of the CMS; one of them initiated work in Travancore in 1816. Between 1814 and 1840, one hundred missionaries

were actively working in India. Between 1840 and the Centenary, the number of workers rose to six-hundred and two (602). The CMS Mission in Calcutta was educational. It opened the first Mission school at Kidderpore (1816) and the first girls' school in 1822.⁸⁸

The CMS missionary effort in India launched an extensive educational activity that gave primacy to pastoral care, the education of the converts' children in Day and Boarding schools, in addition to evangelistic efforts seeking conversion. Primary, High Schools and Colleges counted more than fifty thousand learners receiving Christian education by the time of the CMS Centenary.⁸⁹

After the Indian Mutiny (1857-1858), Henry Venn started the implementation of his Euthanasia policy which was directed towards the inculcation of Church organization among the Native Christians of the Indian Missions, with a view of organizing churches that would be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending. Procedures for the fulfilment of this policy were adopted through a step by step method in the sixties of the nineteenth century in South India. In 1869 the Committee observed with appreciation that out of fifty native clergymen in the South India Missionary posts; including Madras, Telugu country, Tinnevely, and Travancore; forty-two were pastors working under Henry Venn's policy.⁹⁰

Punjab and the North-West Provinces recorded, each, a Native Church Council in 1877 followed by Bengal and Western India; respectively, in 1880. In the same year (1880) the Madras Church Council assumed the CMS work in Madras that was directed towards both heathen and native Christians and the CMS maintained control over its Mission to Muslims."⁹¹

Women's evangelization in India was the work of two missionary societies; namely the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (1880) and the Zenana

Bible and Medical Mission. The CMS collaborated with sending women to help in the missionary work; nevertheless, their activity was not regular. By the CMS Centenary, the CMS women missionaries, on its list for India, numbered thirty-nine unmarried ladies.⁹²

The CMS was involved extensively in the establishment of the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1814. Two dioceses were also established in 1835; the diocese of Madras and that of Bombay. They were followed by the institution of the diocese of Lahore in 1877 and the Bishoprics of Travancore and Cochin in 1879.⁹³

“By 1899 there were 170 ordained missionaries, thirty-eight lay (including fourteen with medical qualifications), and thirty-nine unmarried ladies on the European staff. The native clergy numbered 142 male and female native catechists, Bible-women, and teachers, 3,906; adherents, 133,749; communicants, 33,804; schools, 1,270; and scholars, 50,047. ??and The Society?s annual expenditure on its Indian Missions in the nineties exceeded one hundred thousand pounds” ⁹⁴

Ceylon (Sri-Lanka) became part of the British Dominion in 1796. On that premise, it called the attention of the CMS founders and was mentioned in the first CMS Annual Report. Nevertheless, missionary work could not start until 1814. Later, in the forties, educational work was initiated among the Tamils at the Jaffna peninsula in 1841, developing eventually, to the St. John’s College. The Kandy Collegiate School did also develop into Trinity College, ⁹⁵ By the centenary of the CMS, the results of the Society’s work were described as follows:

“In 1899 the European missionaries numbered forty-one, ordained and twenty-two lay missionaries, unmarried women nineteen; and the native workers 642, of whom seventeen were in orders. The adherents were 9,664, communicants 3,507, schools 283, and scholars

16,297. The European staff . . . numbered, forty-four ordained men (including two with medical diplomas), twenty-four laymen (including ten doctors), and sixty-nine unmarried women. The native staff numbered twenty-six ordained men and 354 lay workers. The adherents were 24,800 (20,760 being in Fuh-Kien, communicants 5,856, schools 249, and scholars 5,200.”⁹⁶

Japan witnessed a revolution that lasted for ten years and ended in 1878 with the Treaty of Yedo, which resulted in the opening of several Japanese ports. In the same year, the CMS had received a donation to initiate a missionary activity in Japan. A mission was, eventually started by Rev. George Ensor at Nagasaki in 1869. Before leaving Japan in 1873, his work achieved baptisms of some converts. Between 1873 and 1875 several missionary posts were opened in Japan, including those of Osaka, Tokyo, and Hakodate.⁹⁷

In 1887 the Japanese Christians worked in connection with the three Protestant Episcopal Missions; the American Episcopal Church, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the CMS. Each society sent a delegation to meet at Osaka and under the joint Presidency of Bishops Williams (1829-1910) and Bishop Edward Bickersteth (1850-1897), they assembled into a Nippon Seiko-Kwai; the Japan Church. A Constitution and Canons were elaborated and issued, and, eventually, the English Prayer-book and the Thirty-Nine Articles were adopted.⁹⁸ By the CMS Centenary, The Society achieved the following:

”There were then 1,300 Christians belonging to it. In 1895 they had increased to over 6,200. In 1899 the CMS European staff consisted of twenty-seven ordained men, four laymen (one of them a doctor), and forty-two unmarried women. The Japanese clergy on the Society’s list numbered thirteen; other male and female workers, 130; adherents, 4,828; communicants, 1, 9 16; schools, sixteen; and

scholars, 419."⁹⁹

1.3.4 CMS Stations in America

Despite the two centuries of English colonization, England had no Bishops in the American colonies. The charge was, nevertheless, attributed not to the Church but to the State which created hurdles. The Church of England, as an Established Church, had curtailed power and was thoroughly supervised by the State. It was only until 1786, with the Revival Movement that spread over Britain and the formation of missionary societies that the British Government, after a long time, authorised the Archbishop of Canterbury to sanctify and officiate a bishop for foreign parts. Stock argued that it was the separation of the United States from Great Britain that forced the Government to action.¹⁰⁰ The first Bishop was Charles Inglis (1734-1816), he was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia (Canada) in 1787. In 1793, the Holy See of Quebec was instituted; to which Jacob Mountain was appointed Bishop.¹⁰¹

In 1820, the CMS contributed a modest grant to educate some of the Red Indian children in the North West of Canada. The task was entrusted to the CMS missionary Rev. John West (1778-1845); the first minister of the Hudson's Bay Company (1670), who began his work that year in the Red River Settlement (now Winnipeg) in 1822. In 1831 an Indian agricultural settlement was formed in the north of Red River Settlement. Other bases were created in 1840. Cumberland House was placed under the Indian convert, Henry Bud.

In 1851 work was begun on the coast of Hudson's Bay. In 1849 the diocese of Rupert's Land was established. At the consecration of the first Bishop, the number of clergymen was limited to five. The first Indian clergymen; Henry Budd was ordained by Bishop David Anderson in 1850 and by 1899 the CMS had:

*“Forty-seven ordained and four lay missionaries in these dioceses; there were fifteen Indian clergymen, and ninety lay-workers, male and female; the adherents numbered 12,369, and the communicants 2,433, and there were 1,910 scholars at sixty-eight Mission-schools.”*¹⁰²

The CMS sent its first missionary to the West Indies in 1826; the Society had, however, supported the building of schools for the Blacks Negroes earlier. The CMS’ extension of missionary operations came in 1813 from William Dawes, a former governor of Sierra Leone and, eventually, a member of the CMS Committee.

He received CMS students who were under training for missionary work in his home. William Dawes chose to live on the island of Antigua, and profess as an honorary lay catechist for the Blacks. In 1820 more than two-thousands 2,000 children were given instruction. In 1818, the CMS had started work among the Mosquito Indians of British Honduras, but the work’ evaluation was that it was not carried on effectively. ¹⁰³

In 1838, Demerara (Jamaica) and Trinidad (Caribbean) recorded thirteen ordained missionaries, twenty-three English catechists and schoolmasters, the adherents reached eight- thousands and schools numbered seventy, the scholars’ number was six-thousands 6,000. The financial situation of the CMS between 1839-41 led to the progressive retraction of the staff, and a school in Jamaica was transferred to the Trustees of the Lady Mico Charity.¹⁰⁴

In 1856, Captain J.C. Prevost called the CMS attention to the spiritual destitution of the Indians of the Pacific coast of British North America. The CMS sent a schoolmaster; William Duncan in 1857. Among the hardships he confronted was the risk of losing his life. The year 1862, recorded the first baptism. Duncan and some of the proficient and competent Indians migrated from Fort Simpson

to Metlakatla and formed a Christian industrial settlement. W. Ridley, a former CMS missionary in India, was appointed the first bishop in 1899.¹⁰⁵

“The European staff numbered nine ordained men (including the Bishop), three laymen (two being medical missionaries), and eight unmarried women. There were nineteen male and female native lay agents, 1,265 adherents, 282 communicants, twelve schools, and 447 scholars.”¹⁰⁶

1.4 CMS Educational and Medical Institutions Established in Mission Fields during the Centenary

The one hundred years of the CMS work in its different Mission Stations around the world led to the establishment of educational institutions, the foundation of hospitals, the formation of Dioceses and Bishoprics. These were the salient results achieved by the CMS which will be highlighted as follows.

1.4.1 CMS Educational and Medical Institutions in India

India held a central position in the overall Missions of the CMS. The results of the CMS missionary activities achieved the following: A Divinity School at Lahore was established in 1870 by the Rev. T. Valpy French (1825-1891), who became first Bishop of Lahore. This School evolved, later, to a college, and was influential in that it catered for the formation of almost all the CMS Native Clergymen and Catechists of Punjab, besides, to candidates of the S.P.G. Another college was established at Peshawar; it took the name of Sir Herbert who was a commissioner

when the CMS started its Mission.¹⁰⁷

In Bombay, the Robert Money School was founded in 1836, and Sharanpur; a Christian village, was founded in 1854 by the Rev. W. S. Price where industrial teaching was undertaken. The Mission established a Divinity School at Poona and two Normal Schools; one at Nasik and the other at Aurangabad. At Madras, a Divinity School was established. Its activity ran for ten years, between 1837 and 1847, then it was closed, and it was not to be revived until 1884 by the Rev. H. D. Goldsmith. Harris High School was established to educate Muslim youths. In the Telugu, the Masulipatam College was founded in 1843. Its founder was Robert Noble whose name was given to the College. The College provided teaching up to the BA level. Another institution was established at Masulipatam; named Preparandi Institution, in addition to the Sharkey Memorial School for girls, which began in 1847. High schools were established at Ellore and Bezwada and Boarding-schools for boys and girls at Dummagudem.¹⁰⁸

The main educational institutions established by the CMS Mission at Tinnevely; the Tinnevely Town College was designed for Hindu boys. In 1860 another college was established for girls at Palamcotta. This college was established in memory of Miss Sarah Tucker (d.1857). A High Schools was also established at Palamcotta. A Theological and Preparandi Institution at Palamcotta was founded at Mengnanapuram. At Travancore, the Cambridge Nicholson Institution for training Mission Agents was also established.¹⁰⁹

The CMS policy in Ceylon was one that gave priority to education as a means of evangelization. A Trinity College at Kandy was opened by Rev. J. Ireland Jones in 1857 which targeted sons of the Kandyan chiefs. At Colombo, Boarding-schools for boys and girls, and a High School for girls were established. Other Boarding schools for girls at Baddegama and Kegalle were also founded.

At Cotta, the CMS founded an English School for boy and a Boarding-school for girls. On the Jaffna Peninsula, at Chundicully, the St. John's' College and a High School for girls were founded. At Copay there was a Training Institution and a primary Girls School at Nellore.¹¹⁰

1.4.2 CMS Educational and Medical Institutions in China

China was closed for many years to missionary activity, new circumstances led to the starting of missionary work. The CMS missionary activity was divided according to three Chinese geographical spheres. At the Island of Hong Kong, the CMS established a Preparandi class, Anglo-Chinese School, and Girls' Boarding-school. At Pakhoi, the Society founded a Mission Hospital to which was annexed a Leper Asylum. The CMS also founded a Theological College at Fuh-chow in 1878 by Rev. R. W. Stewart in addition to boarding schools for boys and girls; and a Women's Training School. Mission Hospitals were founded at Fuh-ning, Hing-Hwa, and Hok-Chiang. They also built a Leper Asylums at Lo-ngwong, Ku-cheng, and Kien-ning; along with schools for the blind at Ku-cheng and Lieng-kong.¹¹¹

The CMS founded a Training College at Ningpo (China) by the Rev. J. C. Hoare in 1877. At Shanghai, an Anglo-Chinese School was established. There were Mission Hospitals at Hang-chow, Ningpo, and at T'aichow. A Leper Asylum and an Opium Refuge were annexed to the Hang-chow Hospital. The CMS founded a dispensary run by a qualified Medical Missionary at Miencheo.¹¹²

1.4.3 CMS Educational and Medical Institutions in Japan

Like China, Japan was also closed to missionary activities. Nevertheless, when the CMS initiated work in Japan, its start was feeble, but the work devel-

oped thanks to its educationally-oriented policy. The CMS educational activity was concentrated mainly in Osaka; where a Divinity School was opened in 1884. Boarding schools were also established for boys, the Bishop Poole Memorial Girls' School, and a Bible-women's Home. Hostels at Tokyo were provided for students male and female. At Hakodate, the CMS had a theological Class, a Preparandi Institution, an Ainu Training School, and a Mission Hospital.¹¹³

1.5 The CMS Religious Establishments in Mission Fields

1.5.1 CMS Religious Establishments in Africa

The Diocese of Sierra Leone was founded in 1852, chiefly at the prompting of the CMS, notably, at the instigation and the many efforts of Henry Venn. The Colonial Bishops Fund received an endowment which, initially, included all the British Colonies on the West Coast of Sierra Leone. Bishops Ingham (1851-1926) and Bishop Taylor Smith (1860-1938) received funding partly from the CMS, and partly from a Government grant for chaplaincy duties.¹¹⁴

The CMS Mission formed a diocese in 1864 which took the name of the Niger Territories, which boundaries were undemarcated. The British Colonies on the coast remained within the diocese of Sierra Leone. In 1893, however, when Bishop Hill succeeded to the See; Lagos and the Gold Coast Colonies became under his supervision, and the name of the diocese was changed to "Western Equatorial Africa" by Archbishop Benson. It was to the CMS that the diocese owed its formation. The Bishop and Assistant-Bishops received the support of the Church Missionary Society.¹¹⁵

The development of the CMS Missions in East Africa resulted in their planning for Episcopal supervision that started, eventually, in 1880. The plan crystallized in 1884 and in 1897 a decision was taken for the division of the diocese into two: the portion falling within Uganda Protectorate took the name of the Diocese of Uganda, and the remaining portion became the Diocese of Mombasa. The Rev. W. G. Peel was officiated to the Diocese of Mombasa in 1899 and both Bishoprics were supported by the CMS.¹¹⁶ Alfred Robert Tucker (1849-1914) was the first Bishop to enter Uganda in 1890. After the division of Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1897, Bishop Tucker was elected to the Diocese of Uganda in the same year.¹¹⁷

1.5.2 CMS Religious Establishments in Palestine

The Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem was established in 1841 by the English and German governments. Its history calls attention because the bishopric was under the authority of both Governments. Germany promised to provide an annual grant and Britain had to raise a similar sum through endowments for that purpose. The Jerusalem Bishopric Act was issued and legalized allowing for a Bishop of the Church of England for territory outside the British Empire. This Act opened the door ever since for the appointment of Bishops in other missionary districts. The German donation was withdrawn in 1881. On the death of Bishop Barclay (1887), the Bishopric was revived on new principles by Archbishop Benson. It was agreed that during the term of the Bishop's appointment; an annual grant had to be supplied by both the CMS and the London Jews Society to supplement the endowment.¹¹⁸

1.5.3 CMS Religious Establishments in India

The CMS played a crucial role in obtaining the Episcopate for India. In 1813, the Bishopric was established by Act of Parliament. It was to the See of Calcutta

that the first bishop was consecrated. Initially, the diocese comprised all India, Ceylon, and Australia. Australia was created, eventually, as a separate bishopric in 1836. As for India, itself, it was divided and subdivided.¹¹⁹ A Diocese was founded in Lucknow in 1893 with an officiated by a CMS missionary. The Diocese was limited in boundaries and there were Provinces in the North-West which in 1813 which were not in British territory. Accordingly, they were excluded from the Diocese of Calcutta, as defined by the Act of Parliament of that year. Later, it was decided that the whole of the North-West Provinces were committed to the new bishopric (Calcutta).¹²⁰

The Bishopric of Lahore received an endowment raised as a memorial to Bishop Milman of Calcutta, the S.P.G., S.P.C.K., and Colonial Bishoprics Fund contributed extensively. In 1877 the diocese was separated from those of Calcutta and Bombay and included the Punjab, Kashmir and the Province of Sind which was formerly attached to the diocese of Bombay.¹²¹ With the East India Company's Charter Act of 1833, there was provision for the establishment of two new bishoprics in India, namely, for Madras and Bombay, with an appointed Bishop for Bombay in 1837; that was Archdeacon Carr. The diocese initially, included Bombay and the Sind were excluded in 1877 to form the new diocese of Lahore.¹²² The Bishopric of Madras was founded by the Charter Act of 1833 and its first bishop was appointed in 1835.¹²³

- **Map of the Middle- East**



Source: https://www.edmaps.com/html/middle_east.html

1.6 The Church Missionary Society's Work in the Middle-East

This section of the chapter forms the background for the study of the CMS mission in Egypt. The CMS mission to the Muslim world was possible thanks to the establishment of the Mediterranean Mission. The Mission extended its work to Palestine, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan. The Church Missionary Society's interest in starting a mission in the Near-East began by Claudius Buchanan (1766- 1815) who called the attention of the Society to the region in 1811. In 1815, William Jowett (1785-1855,) first English clergyman with University certification was sent by the CMS to start a Mediterranean Mission. However, at this early stage, the CMS instruction focused mainly on an enquiry about the state of the religion of the Oriental Christians and their churches. About this early mission, Eugene Stock; Secretary and historian of the CMS argued:

“The original Mission to the Oriental Churches, begun in 1815, was undertaken, not merely for their benefit, but with the object, through them, of reaching the “Mohammedans. The enlightenment of corrupted Churches was not in itself the natural work of the Society: otherwise, why not go to Italy and Spain. But in “the East” Christians and Moslems were mingled; and if the former could be stirred up to evangelize the latter, great work would be done.” ¹²⁴

The CMS approaches the Oriental churches were deemed a rudimentary step towards starting a Mission to Muslims. The CMS Mission to Muslims through the Mediterranean Mission started by the sending of missionaries to Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. The missionaries were welcomed by its Patriarchs and Bishops and their work led to the establishment of a printing press at Malta which led; accordingly, to the distribution of Bibles, tracts and school-books. However, the wars that erupted in Greece in 1821 and the aftereffect situation put an

end to that early active missionary work in the Turkish Empire. The mission lasted from 1819 to 1821 and the missionaries returned to their country.¹²⁵

1.6.1 The Mediterranean Mission

The CMS' early efforts to reach the Muslims in the Near East were through the Constantinople Mission in 1854, which managed to reap some converts. At that time the SPG was also active in Turkey. The new converts were employed to work by the CMS and the SPG. After the Crimean War (1853-1856), two German missionaries, Sigismund Koelle (1820-1902); a former active missionary in West Africa, and Pfander or Abdel Masih from India joined Turkey for evangelistic work. Their efforts led to several conversions, but eight years later, the Mission was suppressed by the Sultan.¹²⁶

In Palestine, the CMS work resulted in the ordination of three pastors by 1874; namely, Seraphim Boutaji, Michael Kawar who had received Anglican orders from Bishop Gobat (1799-1879), and Chalil Jamal . The newly ordained pastors belonged to the Greek Catholics; a small community which dissented from the Greek to the Roman Church.¹²⁷ In 1862, the CMS was invited to start work at Nazareth and Jerusalem. As a result, a special fund for the erection of a church began to be raised. When the Church was built Bishop Gobat was appointed for service in October 1871.¹²⁸

Bishop Gobat's work generated various Mission stations in Palestine. He established a mission station at Nablus and Salt across the Jordan. His prominent work, however, focused on schools and education. When he arrived in Palestine as Bishop in 1847, schools were inexistent. In the same year, Gobat opened the first Christian school enrolled by nine children at that time. In 1872 the number of schools rose to twenty-five. The schools were attended by one thousand children who came from different religions and confessions. Gobat was also successful in

establishing his Diocesan Boarding-school at Jerusalem. By the end of his life, he handed over all his missions to the CMS. The first transferred station was Salt in 1873.¹²⁹

The transfer of Gobat's other Mission stations was not accomplished for it was linked to another event in 1875 which was of significant importance and impact on the CMS missionary work among Muslims. Missions to Muslims constituted one of the special interests to General Lake. He realized that several of the missionaries engaged in Missions to Muslims happened to be present in England. He seized the opportunity to arrange a two-days Conference on the subject of "Missions to Muslims". The Conference was entitled "The Mohammedan Conference" and was held at the CMS House in October 1875. By adopting the theme of the Conference it was emphasized that the term Muslims pertained not on only the Muslims of the Levant, but also those of Africa and India who were also to be included. Some speakers contributed to this Conference among them: Bishop Gobat, Canon Tristram, Koelle, Zeller, and many others. The Conference expressed a common concern and anxiety as to their universal neglect of Mission the Muslims.¹³⁰ The outcome of the conference was the preparation and submission of General plans for extended work in most of the fields representing the CMS, There was a resolute determination to invest efforts: *"to carry the General Gospel to the powerful Mohammedan nations, Mandigoes, Fulahs, ."*¹³¹

In Palestine, Gobat's Nablus Mission, his Diocesan School at Jerusalem, his schools at Ramleh, in addition to some schools for the Druzes, was started temporarily in the Hauran by the Rev. Parry and were to be taken over. Whereas, other stations like Jaffa and Acca, they were to be started. The principle work aimed at developing plans for better results. In 1897, the First Lambeth Conference declared that the work of Foreign Missions: *"at present stands in the first rank of all the tasks we have to fulfil."*¹³²

1.6.2 The Church Missionary Society's Work in Egypt during the Centenary

In 1825, the CMS sent five missionaries to Egypt who were Germans from the Basel Seminary, Samuel Gobat was among them. They first landed at Alexandria and gave themselves to the task of learning the Arabic language. When Gobat and one of the missionaries went to Abyssinia, the three others inspected the state of Coptic schools and churches. Their evangelistic activity consisted of distributing sections of the Bible which were in the process of translation by William Jowett. The ultimate aim of this group of missionaries was to bring Muslims to Christianity, but they knew how Muslims were resistant and opposed to their preaching.¹³³ The relationship between the CMS missionaries and members of the native churches was described as follows:

“The patriarch at that time welcomed them and expressed the hope that the Society would open a Seminary for Copts seeking clerical orders” ¹³⁴

When the Seminary was established, it was enrolled by twenty-five pupils. The missionaries changed its name to:

“The Coptic Institute for the Training of Clerical Orders’ in the hope that the Coptic clergy would contribute to the reform of the Coptic Church.” ¹³⁵

Despite the Coptic Church enthusiasm’s an appreciation of the CMS missionaries’ educational work, John Leider; Head of the Mission, expressed his discontentment as follow::

“The Institution does not answer the important object for which it was opened. to educate young men for the amelioration of the Coptic priesthood”. ¹³⁶

Not late after, the Institute was closed and Leider argued:

“I now see clearly that it could not be otherwise; for how was it possible that a youth whose mind has become enlightened by an education found in that word of God should or could not even enter into the service of such a deeply fallen church” ¹³⁷

In 1862 The CMS decided to stop its mission in Egypt for the lack of funds. And the school was reopened during the British occupation to Egypt. The CMS Annual Report highlighted the clear distinction between the missionary effort deployed from 1882; the British occupation to Egypt and the CMS work in the first half of the nineteenth century:

*“More than half a century ago the Society had an Egyptian Mission, a branch of its great enterprise, for the enlightenment and revival of eastern churches. That enterprise, which at first promised well, did not prove successful although a number of the Coptic clergy and one Bishop were trained in the Church Mission Society Seminary at Cairo. The Society’s object now is quite different. The Copts are but a fraction of the Egyptian people. Ninety-five per cent are believed to be Moslems, and it is to them that the committee would direct their efforts.”*¹³⁸

Rev F.A, Klein, a missionary who served in Palestine; Arabic scholar, went to Cairo in 1882. He held services in Miss Whately’s School, and he began a mission to Muslims. In 1888, F.J. Harper, a medical doctor, went to Cairo from Arabia and initiated a medical work at Old Cairo 1889. Rev Thornton and Rev Gairdner, were among the earlier prominent missionaries in Cairo. Their work adopted

different methods for reaching Muslims.¹³⁹ For instance, they founded schools at Cairo and Halwan, and, they published the weekly paper, "*Orient and Occident*" which was in Arabic, and it was intended to reach thousands of Moslems readers. Evangelistic meetings were also held but tended always to end in disagreement and controversy. Colporteurs or special workers were used for the distribution of Christian literature which included the Bible and other books.¹⁴⁰

The years 1891 and 1892 were marked by an increase in the CMS Mission's staff. CMS women workers began to arrive in Egypt. However, the death of General Gordon at Khartoum in 1884 urged the Society to start a Gordon Memorial Mission to the Soudan for which a fund started to be raised. ¹⁴¹

To conclude, at its centenary, the CMS was equipped with missionary workers all around the world, it managed its finances for coping with its overseas work, it established churches, dioceses, educational, medical institutions. It managed to supervise its Missions, elaborate a policy, found churches and reap converts.

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Chapter Two

The CMS Educational Work in Egypt: 1936-1959

Map of Egypt



Source : <https://www.nationsonline.org/maps/egypt-administrative-map.jpg>

Chapter 2

The CMS Educational Work in Egypt: 1936-1959

Before examining the CMS educational work, this chapter will shed light on different thematic points of crucial and inherent relationship to the issue of CMS Educational work in Egypt. First, we will consider the administrative structure of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) both at Headquarters in London and Egypt. The administration will reveal about who were the policymakers in the CMS Egypt Mission. Second, the two Mission General Secretaries who held the post at Salisbury between 1936- 1959, namely, Wilson Cash and Max Warren stood as the active parts in the CMS policy along with the General Committee, will also, be examined. Third, the consideration of Egypt's political situation between 1936-1959 will provide the political setting against which the CMS Egypt Mission operated its Educational Mission. Fourth, the role played by the Missions and Government Committee, of the International Missionary Council (IMC), on the issue of missionary education will be examined. Fifth, the CMS educational work for the period 1936-1959 will also be investigated; preceded by a retrospect on Missionary societies active in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century followed by the CMS Egypt earlier educational efforts. Sixth, the chapter will

shed light on the inextricably-synergetic interaction of the CMS Mission with the British Government. The chapter will end with an opening to chapter three where the CMS medical evangelistic activities will be searched.

2.1 The CMS Administrative Structure

At the top of the CMS administrative structure was the President who was generally chosen from among eminent laymen. His post was regarded as a long-term office service which involved massive work, notably, at the appointment of a new senior Secretary.¹ The General Committee and the full-time Secretaries represented the two main constituents of the government of the CMS. In the early twentieth century, the General Committee, as described by Eugene Stock was the chief authority in the administration of the Society. Its membership ranged between two thousand and three thousand members, with an approximate attendance of about sixty persons of whom twenty-four were appointed from laymen and of the Committee members who were clergymen supporting and adhering to the CMS. The attendance at the General Committee led to the appointment of one of the members to the following four sub-committees which were reorganized and renamed in 1916. By “Parent Committee”, it was meant the General Committee and the Foreign Committee as joined Committees or separate ones. Members of the Foreign Committee included “ *bankers, merchants, barristers, solicitors, doctors, engineers, military officers and private gentlemen.*”² “ *The General Committee was ultimately responsible for CMS policy*”³

The Correspondence Committee became Foreign Committee, the Funds and Home Organisation took the name of Home Organisation. As for the Finance and Patronage Committees, they retained their names. Prominent among these Committees was the “ Foreign Committee”; with a membership of one hundred of whom the half members attend the meetings.⁴ For the examination of emerging

issues, the CMS resorted always to the establishment of a new committee labelled 'Special Committee' to deal with the new issue and settle the problems.⁵ The key figures in the administration of the CMS were Secretaries, and they were likened to a Standing Committee.⁶ Before changing into CMS General Secretary in 1922, this position was known as the senior Honorary Clerical Secretary. Though the CMS constitution did not refer to such a post, it emerged gradually and the officeholder after 1922 was to take the title of General Secretary. Despite the fact of the appointment of a layman with the title 'General Secretary, it was, nevertheless, commonly perceived that the General Secretary should be from among the clerics.⁷

*“ The CMS advocated that the General Secretary should have a greater leadership role. When Cash came to office he did so with the understanding that the emphasis would in future be very much on ‘primus’, and his position was further strengthened by the 1932 CMS Commission. This approach was continued under Warren, and indeed the recommendation was made in 1947 that the General Secretary be given the status of chief executive officer of the Society with responsibility for supervising the work of the Society as a whole including that of the House, a return to a model similar to that at the time of Venn.”*⁸

CMS missions were divided into three territorial groups; each of which was headed by a Secretary. Group Secretaries had a thorough knowledge of each Mission station; including, its history, its development and policy and they could represent their views and needs to the Committee.

*“ There is little doubt that throughout the period the administration and direction of the CMS were firmly in the hands of the Secretaries. Their power was legitimized through the various committees and the General Committee in particular.”*⁹

The Mission Secretary played the pivotal function of an intermediary in the relationship between the Local Governing Body (LGB), the Parent Committee (PC), or General Committee and the missionaries. The CMS was meticulous about recruiting Mission Secretaries with administrative skills, ability and width of the prospect to face emerging problems and solve them. A Mission Secretary had to be from the rank of the clergy and university degrees were not a necessity, nevertheless, the situation changed in 1918, whereby, the majority of CMS Mission Secretaries were holders of either Oxford or Cambridge degrees.¹⁰

The Mission Secretary was the administrative secretary of the Local Governing Body (LGB). His knowledge of the whole Mission was culled from his visitations. He was responsible for communicating, with the (LGB), the decisions to the missionaries. Similarly, he stood between the Parent Committee (PC), the (LGB) and Mission: ' He represented the PC to the Mission and the Mission to the PC'. On the powers of the Mission Secretary, It was argued:

*“ His powers went beyond being merely the secretary of the LGB or acting for the PC in personal matters affecting missionaries- ‘he is expected to exercise powers that are the powers of the PC’ He was responsible for accurately communicating decisions made by the LGB to the PC, but was also expected to give his own independent opinion on issues raised, even to the extent of advising against LGB decisions.”*¹¹

On the extended function of the Mission Secretary, it was further argued that:

*“The Mission Secretary is also expected to represent the PC the Society generally in relations with many important people, sometimes outside the CMS circle; for instance, ecclesiastical authorities, representatives of other Missions, and Government authorities.”*¹²

All relationships between PC, LGB, missionaries, other Missions and higher ecclesiastical authorities were mediated through the Mission Secretary.¹³ In the nineteenth century, the Local Governing Body (LGB) was used to mean the Corresponding Committee in those Missions where this typical committee existed; the Finance, the Executive or other Committee, representing the Parent Committee.¹⁴

Another Committee active in the Mission was the Literature Committee. From its commencement, the Literature Committee was prominent for its activity. It acted as a coordinating agency for all literature activities in the entirety of the Muslim world. Constance Padwick was head of the Committee. On the achievements of the Literature Committee, it was pointed out:

*“A tremendous amount of work has been done and very substantial results obtained in the way of gathering up the very best material available and putting it at the disposal of literature groups all over the world.”*¹⁵

An equally important Committee which acted always in agreement with the Mission was the Missions and Governments Committee. This Committee's main function was to keep the various missionary societies and the International Missionary Council notified about governmental difficulties *vis à vis* missionary activities, notably, the educational ones. In Egypt, for instance, members of the Committee were instrumental in maintaining the rights of the Missions to pursue their work unhampered.¹⁶

The CMS Egypt Mission had also a Committee on Evangelism. Its principle work focused on the study of the methods of approach for the evangelization of non-Christians, including Muslims through the new insights it reaped from the different missionary conferences throughout the world. The Committee consid-

ered also the Jerusalem Conference in 1928 and the multitude of suggestions and strategies it could offer for the future. The Committee “...has also acted as a medium of exchange for information between the various missions.”¹⁷ As for the Educational Committee, it was active in recording the different government attitude toward private education.¹⁸ Concerning the Standing Committee, it met to consider all matters on a specified subject or issue for finding a solution to them. Later, in 1946, a Committee of Liaison was created to protect Christian minorities in Egypt. But, it was also instrumental for the interchange of thought on issues of common interest and concern to the various communities.¹⁹

As for the Councils that played an important role in the life of the CMS Egypt Mission was the International Missionary Council, the Near East Christian Council (NECC) and the Native Church Council (NCC). One of the most important duties of the International Missionary Council (IMC) was to be watchful on the free progress of the missions’ evangelistic activities. If problems rose, the IMC acted immediately, where possible, in removing obstacles which hindered their work.²⁰

The Near East Christian Council (NECC) aimed, from the outset, at the promotion of co-operation between all the missionary societies in countries of Northern Africa, Egypt, Abyssinia and Western Asia such as Turkey, the Balkans, Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Arabia. The common interest of all the missionaries working in these countries was the setting of evangelism to Muslims as a top priority. The Native Church Council (NCC) referred to a system of Church councils that developed in each Mission including that of Egypt.²¹

2.2 The CMS General Secretaries: 1936-1959

As the CMS policy was largely shaped by the General Committee and the General Secretary, it will be of paramount importance to shed light on the General Secretaries of the CMS over the period 1936 and 1959. These secretaries were, namely, William Wilson Cash and Max Warren. Both of them worked as missionaries among Muslims; the former in Egypt and the latter in Northern Nigeria.

2.2.1 CMS Policy under William Wilson Cash: (1926- 1941)

William Wilson Cash was born on 12th June in Manchester and studied at Cambridge. He married in 1906 and was the father of three children; a son and two daughters. He died on the 18th of July 1955. He went for mission work in Egypt in 1902 with the Egypt General Mission (EGM). He learned and became fluent in Arabic. In Egypt, he worked with different missionary societies and in 1909 he joined the CMS for work. He was ordained deacon in 1910 and a year later he became a priest. In 1920 he was appointed the CMS Secretary for the Egypt, Palestine and Northern Sudan Missions. He became the CMS Home Secretary in 1923, and was eventually, appointed General Secretary of the CMS in 1926 where he held the post until being made Bishop of Worcester in 1941.²² Cash was the author of fifteen books, two of them focusing on Islam: *The Expansion of Islam-An Arab Religion in the Non- Arab World*, (1928), Edinburgh House Press, London, and *Christianity and Islam: Their Contacts and Cultures Down the Centuries*, (1937), SCM, London. He also wrote *The Missionary Church* (1939); this book was considered Cash's most important missiological work for its connection to the writings that proliferated after the Tambaram Conference (1938).²³

“ This book looked critically at the history and contemporary situation of missionary activity, and sought to lay out a framework

*for the future.”*²⁴

Cash's commitment to evangelistic work started in Egypt where he gave himself to the activity of direct evangelism, and he believed that the opportunities were abundant: “*Wherever I found Dr Harpur was Known I had abundant openings for the Gospel.*”²⁵ He perceived evangelism as a task for the individual Christian and the whole Church. Seeing evangelism more than a task for the Church but rather as a duty “*at times he went so far as to call it the 'primary duty' of the Church.*”²⁶ Cash spoke about the urgency of evangelism in Egypt saying:

*“Our greatest need in these dark Egyptian villages is a band of devoted and thoroughly trained native catechists who will go everywhere preaching the Word.”*²⁷

Cash's interest in Islam was translated through his writings. The Bishop of Egypt and the Sudan Llewellyn H. Gwynne wrote in the preface of *The Moslem World in Revolution*, (1926) the following:

*“He is always fair to Islam, whose good points as well as inherent weaknesses he recognizes fully. Both the author of the book and the writer of this Foreword is proud to reckon amongst their friends Moslems who talk most naturally with them about their religion.”*²⁸

As Cash was involved in a dialogue with Muslims, he described one of the events that he experienced as follows:

*“I soon found myself in an atmosphere where the controversy was eliminated and where Christians and Moslems embarked upon a common quest for God, where they shared spiritual experiences and lived only for a fuller realization communion. The issue was clarified in my mind as I realized that I could frankly recognize the sincerity of the quest by my Moslem friends.”*²⁹

Cash's perception of the Church was described as the most outstanding aspect of his theology.⁷ He was influenced by the evangelical Anglicanism prevailing in those days. He was neither too conservative nor too liberal. He regarded in the Church the foundation of Mission and its centre:

*“ In theory Missions should never need to be diocesanized. They should be based on their inception upon such Church principles as would secure that the Mission was a Mission of the Church. It may be argued that this is not the CMS method. This may be so, but the fact remains that where Church and Mission have had separate organizations there has been a multiplying of machinery, a duplicating of committees and it has more often than not taken from the Church all initiative for extension and all interest in missionary work.”*³⁰

In this respect, it was argued that Cash's perception of the Church contrasted with that of his successor Max Warren who was emphatic about the importance of Missionary Societies *“ as representing initiative, flexibility and spontaneity within the Church.”*³¹ Concerning Cash's perception of the Church Kenneth Farrimond argued:

“ Where Cash got this view of the Church from is not clear. Something made him leave the non-denominational Mission in Egypt and deliberately join a Missionary Society linked with the Anglican Church, and accept ordination, but his reasons are not recorded. Perhaps his commitment to the Church dates from that time and Islam may have been an influence. He was clearly impressed by the regular devotion of Muslims and this could have affected his thinking about the Church. Another factor from his missionary days was his friendship with Waddy, who would have introduced him to a more Catholic view of the Church. However, Cash's view of the Church

contrasts with a conventional High Church view in that he did not have a particularly high view of the episcopacy. Indeed he was always careful to state that diocesanization was not simply handing over to the authority of the bishop; Cash believed that the key difference between the CMS and the SPG in terms of relation to overseas dioceses was that 'the CMS seeks rather act through the bishop and council, then through the bishop alone.' ³²

During the period of his office, he championed the idea of Mission as being the centre of the Church activity. This view was dominant after the Second World War and was much associated with the Tambaram Conference and the Church-centered mission'. This view of the Church is regarded as almost synonymous with the concept of *Missio Dei* (i.e., *God is the source and starting point of Mission*). Cash was anticipating the idea that the Church's mission was first and foremost that of God as emphasized in the Willengen Conference (1952).³³ Cash served for fifteen years as General Secretary of the CMS, he played a leading role in the office between 1936 and 1941.

" He believed in the preservation of the evangelical tradition as such, and in the maintenance of the distinctively CMS influences in all the numerous overseas dioceses and institutions where it operated; but he believed also in active cooperation with other more catholic traditions. His was thus a unifying policy, and in the event, it strengthened evangelical influence." ³⁴

Cash's office was dominated by a lack of funds. The 1930s recorded considerable falls in income for missionary societies across the world and in Egypt. Regardless of the causes of economic problems, different strategies were used to meet these problems.³⁵ In addition to the financial conditions, the situation of the evangelicals when Cash was appointed to the post of General Secretary was not strong. The state of affairs was marked by a change, notably, in the 1930s, and

Stephen Neill spoke about Anglican evangelicalism moving beyond the old liberal-conservative division, into a less confrontational mode.³⁶

The CMS took an active part in missionary conferences and consultations across the world at various times. It formed an integral part of the network of missionary societies around the world of confessions other than Anglicanism. Among the conferences held during Cash's office, notably between 1936 and 1941 was the Madras Conference in 1938, where the CMS was deeply involved.³⁷ The CMS received the status of a 'recognised missionary society' at the request of the National Assembly of the Church of England in December 1921. Nevertheless, it was argued:

“ What this recognition meant was unclear. Cash described the situation before 1921 as the CMS having a completely independent position in regard to the Church on its official side. This relationship with the Church of England was not new, but previously there had been no formal and institutional connection.” ³⁸

It seems that the state of affairs had to do with the suspicion of Anglican societies about the Missionary Council. The slogan “ The Church-its own Missionary Society” constituted a threat that endangered the actual existence of missionary societies. The idea that was put forward was that the Church itself should be a missionary society, therefore, there was no need for having separate organisations like the CMS.³⁹ On the problems facing the CMS, it was argued:

“ The problem facing the CMS in the early 1930s was that the MC wanted a greater say in the missionary activities of the Church. It also wanted to play a larger financial role through central fundraising.” ⁴⁰

The Diocesanisation was a policy adopted by the CMS before and after Cash's holding of office. On the concept of Diocesanisation, it was observed:

“ However, throughout the period there was a constant tension between the policy of diocesanisation and the desire to ensure that [evangelical principles] would continue to function within the Churches founded by the CMS.” ⁴¹

It is pointed out that at the beginning of his office, Cash was not in favour of indigenous bishops, save for India. This was attributed to his work in Egypt, *where the Mission was too underdeveloped to think of appointing native bishops.*⁴² Cash’s perception of diocesanisation was synonymous with the assimilation of the mission organisation in the field by the diocesan organisation. It is observed that this perception corresponded to the “ *Looking Forward Report’s* definition of diocesanisation which emphasized the idea of:

“ Transferring initiative and control from the mission organization in its various fields to that of the dioceses acting through their synods or councils.” ⁴³

In 1941, Cash’s leaving speech emphasized the necessity of the policy of diocesanisation, He wrote saying:

“ My visits abroad and my many contacts with our missionaries have convinced me that the CMS must develop its policy of diocesanization. No paper safeguards will protect the evangelical tradition and some sacrifices by the CMS have had to be made for the sake of the unity of the Church being built overseas.” ⁴⁴

As an evangelical missionary Society, the CMS lived in connection with the Anglican Church which encompassed different Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics; each with its respective doctrinal beliefs. The evangelicals and the BCMS (the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society) which split from the CMS adhere to the Church of England despite the doctrinal controversies that keep them aloof or separate them from the Anglo-Catholics.⁴⁵ The CMS policy under Cash was appraised as follows:

*“ The CMS itself became a vehicle of white domination over the churches it had helped to found. But then again, under the more recent leadership of Max Warren and John Taylor, the society had begun one more to work out a definite mission of reparation, this time perhaps for some of the sins and failures of Western missions in the first half of the twentieth century.”*⁴⁶

Cash’s policy of diocesanisation by 1942 had spread to all the CMS missionary stations save for Africa and the Middle East, the CMS had ended the mission-agency control of almost all the Churches it had helped to found.⁴⁷ By the 1950s the CMS thought moved towards the conviction that the churches should aspire to ‘interdependence’ not ‘independence’. Max Warren referred to ‘interdependence’ and pointed out that at the Whitby conference (1947), where it was named ‘Partnership’.⁴⁸ In this respect, it was argued:

*“ Bosch says that between the Tambaram Conference in 1938 and the Willingen Conference in 1952, there had been an almost imperceptible shift from an emphasis on a church-centred mission to a mission-centred church.”*⁴⁹

Cash was described as a rooted evangelical with a strong belief in the missionary and evangelistic character which made him stand on equal footing with Max Warren and others.⁵⁰ Although there is a conviction among observers that Cash was surpassed by his successor Max Warren⁵¹, Cash’s strong point was his ability to cope with people from very different churchmanships. In this respect, it was remarked:

*“ He had the courage and patience needed to hold both conservative and liberal evangelicals within CMS and to expound a policy that would interpret the essential principles for which the CMS stands and keep the Society in the mainstream of the Church’s life.”*⁵²

2.2.2 CMS Policy under Max Warren (1942-1963)

Max Alexander Cunningham Warren (1904-1977) was a clergyman, writer, and missionary statesman. He received his education at Jesus College, Cambridge and graduated with a BA in 1926 and an MA in 1931. In 1927, he went to work among Muslims in Northern Nigeria. He was ordained deacon in 1932 and priest in 1933. In 1936 he became vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge and Secretary of the Cambridge Pastorate between 1936 and 1942. He then served as General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society between 1942 and 1963. He became Canon and Sub-Dean of Westminster in 1963. Warren travelled widely, particularly to Africa and Asia. He was frequently invited to give lectures and to speak at conferences.⁵³

Max Warren's appointment came in the period of war-time insecurity. WWII led to subsequent changes that affected both the political climate in Egypt and the Church. Max Warren was described as the forward-looking and forward-thinking missionary for the twentieth century as Henry Venn had been for the nineteenth century. His role consisted of formulating and preparing the CMS to play its role in a 'post-war and post- Empire Britain. He surrounded himself with a strong team at headquarters.

Like Cash, he had served as a missionary to Muslims in Kenya. He travelled all over the world, visiting all the CMS missions, he attended international conferences in North America and elsewhere, he stood as the CMS representative throughout all his office and, above all, he interpreted the relationship of the mission to the Church overseas and at home.⁵⁴ Warren was also a historian; he won a history scholarship to Jesus College, Cambridge in 1922 and became Lightfoot Ecclesiastical History Scholar in 1926:

“ The bent of his mind was strongly historical although at home with the abstract ideas of the theologian, and well able to deploy them

*with effect, he had a mind for detail and the concrete and he read very widely in historical studies.”*⁵⁵

His access to the archives of the CMS and his knowledge of the major nineteenth century missionary leader; Henry Venn, and his papers, added amplitude to his concerns.⁵⁶

*“ But his distinctive ideas were drawn from the Bible and this meant that he saw God in control of all history. Any division of sacred from secular, or of church history from political history, he deplored God was in the whole. Central to all history stood the figure of Jesus, his life, death and resurrection ”*⁵⁷

Warren wrote extensively and contributed articles to the monthly CMS *News-Letter*. He authored thirty books and wrote many articles. His autobiography and biography were the focus of researchers' interest.⁵⁸ Writing about the worth and importance of the history of Christian mission he argued:

*“ Only a right attitude to the past provides me with any possibility whatever of a right attitude to the future not that we treat the past as sacred but our judgments will be passed with due humility for we will remember that we are ourselves in history and that God is at work today. I believe that history matters tremendously and that we must take the past as seriously as I hope the future will take us.”*⁵⁹

He became general secretary of the CMS in 1942 and held the post for twenty-one years. He wrote about Christian mission, he delivered speeches and had regular contacts with overseas missionaries. He was regarded as:

“ A leader in the theology of mission, as well as in the policies and organization of a great missionary society, he occupies an

*unparalleled position in the history of overseas missions from Britain in the twentieth century.”*⁶⁰

In his first address to the General Committee of the CMS in 1942, as newly appointed General Secretary, he said:

*“ I stand before you unashamedly proud of the word “evangelical”, a word all too frequently qualified by adjectives which seem to detract from its pristine beauty and strength’. We determined to resist any temptation to hyphenate the word “evangelical”. We believe that word can stand on its own merits and enshrining a great tradition within Anglicanism and wide enough to embrace theologically conservative and liberal elements.”*⁶¹

Warren’s policy was geared towards renewing the vision and vitality of the CMS staff surrounding him at headquarters, by a staff in which he instilled a commitment to evangelism. His writings recalled the history of the CMS in the purpose of God and were a means of encouragement for all missionaries.⁶² In 1944, he attended the Jubilee meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in Chicago where he established contacts with American missionary leaders. The changing world order had an impact on the thought of Warren who:

*“ He saw, how vitally important the contribution of America within the total missionary enterprise was going to be in the postwar world. The old concept of empire was on its way out, and yet that was the context within which so much of Anglican missionary activity had been carried on. Within the new world order, it was supremely desirable that cooperation among the missionary societies and many of those were American-based should be fostered in every possible way. Questions of the denomination were secondary. The all-important matter was to promote intelligent interchange within the common task of world evangelization.”*⁶³

Nevertheless, it was difficult for this new vision to be adopted by the Church of England for the simple reason that the desire to plant Anglicanism within the British Commonwealth and the colonies were deeply rooted in the thought of the Church. Warren's loyalty to his Church, his Lord and his gospel was viewed in a much wider context than that of the limited vision of Anglicanism. Accordingly, he made friends from outside the Anglican circles. In 1947 onwards, Warren made frequent visits to America. He also visited different countries and he was cautious about keeping a travel diary where he recorded all matters of concern to him and the Mission of the Church. After assuming his position as the CMS General Secretary, he initiated a monthly News- Letter, through which he kept readers informed about the developments in the CMS missionary stations.⁶⁴ Through this medium of communication, Warren aspired at informing Christians of the new realities facing Christian missions. In this context, it was observed:

*“ He was convinced that it was necessary for people at large to become aware of the realities of the world situation. It was not enough for the News-Letter to record statistics of conversions or stories of the successful establishment of new Christian institutions. Rather, it was of the first importance that those concerned with the missionary enterprise should come to realize what great changes were taking place in the world, the emergent problems of race, the burgeoning of nationalistic aspirations, the decline of European influence, the resurgence of non-Christian faiths, in short, the wholly new context within which the missionary enterprise must be carried on.”*⁶⁵

Eventually, CMS supporters came to realize that they were living in a changing world, accordingly, issues were carefully planned and considered in the light of the changing circumstance that impinged on the mission of the Church. Warren was deeply convinced that none could survive avoiding the social, eco-

conomic, cultural and religious influences and he translated his convictions through his writings.

Among Warren's distinctive interests was the consideration he gave to the recruitment and training of missionaries and he shared this awareness with the leadership in the American Mission. After he retired from the Secretariat of the CMS, he wrote two books; his autobiography, entitled *Crowded Canvas* and, and *I Believe in the Great Commission*. The two books culled the total of his experience and understanding the Christian mission which was regarded as his legacy to the future generations.⁶⁶

On missionary policy, he was assertive of his notion of "voluntary principle." The notion engaged him in two events. The first related to the Church of England after the WWI; whereby emerged a strong movement calling for independence from to the state. Therefore, the Church Assembly, the church's "parliament," and the sectional committees met and the outcome was the establishment of a Missionary Council of the Assembly. Its purpose was to keep in touch with the varying activities of the missionary societies within the Church of England.⁶⁷ Missionary societies and the CMS kept surviving as a vital part of the life of the Church of England. The second encounter took place in Ghana, where the International Missionary Council (IMC) in December 1957- January 1958 met with the eventual possibility for IMC to become a division or department of the World Council of Churches (WCC). While this was deemed desirable, Max Warren, however:

"was not convinced. Again he saw the danger of the damping down, if not of the extinguishing, of the voluntary principle. But again he feared that the great and free fellowship of missionary societies within the IMC could easily lose its drive and enthusiasm if regarded simply as a department of the WCC. He was too well aware

of the history of officialdom and institutionalism and believed that the proposal as presented at Ghana was premature and could lead to the withdrawal of certain valued societies that had hitherto been glad to be associated with the IMC.” ⁶⁸

In the late 1950s, he was influenced by the reading of Kenneth Cragg's. *The Call of the Minaret* (1956). Questions were raised as to whether God was at work among Muslims and within the Christian community and what could this signify concerning the communication of the Gospel's message. Christian missionaries played a striking role in the evangelization of Muslims. They learned Arabic and reached a state of proficiency in its acquisition, nevertheless, Warren raised the pertinent question about whether:

“has there been a sufficient willingness to enter into the actual world-view of the Muslim, his outlook on God, humankind, and the world, and to discern signs of the divine presence in areas hitherto regarded as pagan.” ⁶⁹

Despite the resignation of Warren from his post as the CMS General Secretary in 1963, he kept an unflagging concern for Missiology.⁷⁰

2.3 Egypt's Political Situation and its Impact on the CMS Mission: 1936-1959

Before dealing with the CMS missionary activity in Egypt, it is of a paramount importance to set the CMS Egypt Mission in its political context for the period 1936-1959, to highlight the impending historical events against which the CMS operated its Mission, and to which it sought to find solutions by seeking British interference. The British occupation to Egypt in 1882 led to the rise of the nationalist movement which aimed at securing the independence of Egypt. The Wafd

Party played a valuable and enduring role in the process of liberating Egypt under the leadership of Saad Zaghloul:

“ They presented themselves to General Sir Reginald Wingate, the High Commissioner in Egypt, and told him that the party’s main goal was the immediate termination of the British occupation. British intransigence led to the revolution of 1919 and Zaghloul was exiled to Malta for a short period.” ⁷¹

The British protectorate over Egypt was a heavy strike to the Wafd. Britain had been making repetitive promises for Egypt’s self-rule. Accordingly:

“ British policymakers such as Milner believed that it would be unwise to defy the Wafdists who had gained popular support by resisting formal British rule.” ⁷²

In 1922 Britain ended the Protectorate and Egypt was granted nominal independence. It, however, retained control of finance and foreign affairs and stationed its military troops to secure the Suez Canal Zone and to secure its interests. During the partial independence of Egypt in 1922 and under King Fouad’s rule (1917-1930s), the Wafd became a political party with ninety per cent of the seats in the First Chamber in 1927.⁷³ Mustafa Nahas Pasha became the leader of the Wafd Party (1927-1952). The King discharged him from his function as Prime Minister in 1928 and resorted to the suspension of the 1923 constitution. Nevertheless, the elections held in 1936 brought the Wafd again to power, and a Regency Council ruled on behalf of the new King Farouk. The Wafd government expressed its discontentment on the limited government autonomy and responded with violence.

The Wafd and nationalists from other parties formed a united front and sent a delegation to England to negotiate the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936.

This background in the political history of Egypt led to the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. As a result, Egypt acquired autonomy, and Britain retained the Suez Canal Zone.⁷⁴

*“ Earlier attempts at treaties had failed for a variety of reasons, but by then Egyptian politicians were willing to make concessions they had turned down earlier because they now feared a world war.”*⁷⁵

The Treaty ended the occupation, however, the British troops were to remain stationed in the Canal Zone. Another outcome of the Treaty was the British support to Egypt in its attempt to join the League of Nations as an independent country:

*“ The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, bringing a formal end to the British occupation, was signed in London on August 26, 1936, and ratified on December 22, when it came into effect. An official signing took place in Zaafarana Palace in Cairo by grandees including Anthony Eden, Ramsay Macdonald and Lord Halifax for the UK and Nahas Pasha, Ali Maher, Muhammad Mahmoud and Boutros Ghali for Egypt. The ratification was signed by Eden and Nahas only.”*⁷⁶

The Committee on “ Missions and Government” of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, set up by Morrison, had among its duties to negotiate with the Egyptian Government, the British Embassy and the British Foreign Office via the International Missionary Council for the securing of religious liberty at Montreux and Geneva.⁷⁷ As the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (1936) did not refer to Christian minorities and Religious Liberty, it raised *inquietude* among Christian workers in Egypt. About this context Morrison argued:

“ It will be some time yet before any clear estimate can be made of the advantage and disadvantages which the new Anglo-Egyptian

*Treaty may bring to the work of Christian missions in Egypt..
Early in the negotiations, it appeared that there was no hope of
securing the insertion in the Treaty of any safeguards for minorities;
but interviews with Sir Miles Lampson (the British High
Commissioner in Egypt), the British Foreign Office, and the States
Department at Washington lend encouragement to the hope that
provisions similar to those inserted in the Treaty covering Iraq's
admission to the League of Nations, will be demanded when Egypt
submits to Geneva her application for membership of that body.”⁷⁸
(marked Not for Publication)*

Morrison reported that he had discerned that the Egyptian Government had denied giving any further assurance regarding religious liberty at Geneva at the time of Egypt's admission to membership of the League of Nations. He pointed out that: “ *The problem of Religious Liberty has long been a thorny one in the Near East*”⁷⁹ Later, negotiations at Montreux in May 1937 were seen by Morrison as beneficial for missionaries in their abolition to capitulations and in their putting to a deadline to the life of mixed tribunals. However, both of these events had contributed to the impression among Egyptians that foreigners, including missionaries, were above Egyptian law.⁸⁰

The Mission and Government Committee were deeply involved in defending the 'rights' of missionaries. The Committee was an active partner in negotiating with the Egyptian Government on the protection of the minorities' liberties and interfering with the British Foreign Office for securing the Capitulations. About the importance of the Missions and Government Committee, Morrison argued:

*“ One of the major activities of the ”Missions and Government”
Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, of which I am the
secretary was the conduct of negotiations with the Egyptian*

government, the British Residency (now the Embassy) and the British Foreign Office (through the International Missionary Council) for the securing of guarantees at Montreux and Geneva. But whereas some success, as we have indicated, attended the negotiations in connection with the Capitulations Conference, those at Geneva were frustrated by the point-blank refusal of the Egyptian delegation to give any further assurances for the protection of minorities in Egypt to the League of Nations.” ⁸¹

The non-reference to Christian minorities in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 raised anxiety among Christian missionaries in Egypt. Nonetheless, at the Montreux Convention (1937), Prime Minister Nahas Pasha:

“...gave a definite undertaking concerning the future of missionary institutions after the abolition of the Capitulations had come into force.” ⁸²

About the securing of religious liberty, Morrisson argued:

“Undertakings were given by the Egyptian Premier that: (a) within the limits of the customs recognized in Egypt regarding religions other than the State religion’, freedom of worship shall continue to be assured in all missionary institutions in existence at the time, on condition that (b) these institutions shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals and such Egyptian laws and regulations as apply to similar Egyptian institutions. They are to retain their legal status, be governed ...by their charters, can possess the property and, under certain conditions, may engage on their staff both Egyptians and foreigners. These guarantees to hold good ‘pending the conclusion of a subsequent agreement, or in any case until the end of the transition period’ i.e., the twelve years during which the Mixed Tribunals will continue to function.” ⁸³

After these two major events in the political life of Egypt, Morrison argued:

*“ There were signs of a desire to understand English culture and to cultivate closer friendship. For a time this facilitated mission negotiations with the Egyptian Government and the various Ministers have been remarkably fair”.*⁸⁴

However, despite these changes, Morrison remained apprehensive of the administrative power of the newly independent country to exercise, an eventual, tighter control over missionary activities. He attributed his apprehension to the opposing forces that dominated the country, namely, to the “ body of opinion in favour of consolidating the position of Islam in Egypt,” and those:

*“...whose ideal is Western civilization and whose model is to the laws and customs of modern nations. ...we may say in general that the future of the country will, in a large measure, depend upon which of these two parties gains supremacy.”*⁸⁵

The signs of the revival of interest in Islam were risky for Morrison. He believed that the growing strength of the revival with its influence on legislation and the administration would influence mission work in Egypt. His fears were expressed as follows:

*“ Not only might the difficulties of Christian witness...be increased, and not only might missionary institutions be subjected, despite the safeguards of the Montreux Conference, to vexatious and restrictive interference but, what is perhaps still more important, the general outlook of the people may, through continued emphasis on Islam, be rendered more hostile to Christian missions, and result in a social boycott of missionary institutions and evangelistic activities.”*⁸⁶

Morrison considered that the issue was not yet settled, but he consoled himself by the growing desire for freedom of thought and the belief of some of the Egyptian leaders that the future of Egypt was in the pursuit of a secularist policy in education and jurisdiction along the lines already followed by Turkey and he pursued his argument regarding the freedom of thought affecting Al Azhar saying:

“ Even El Azhar University has undergone a process of modernization, bringing its curriculum more into line with that of Western schools, and placing an unprecedented emphasis on freedom of thought within the limits of the prescribed courses”.⁸⁷

Writing in the “ CMS Outlook” (1938), his fears were dispelled by the results achieved by the independence of Egypt because now “ *Her leaders are set upon appropriating the best elements in western civilization.*”⁸⁸ Later, in 1946, Gray the Principal of the Old Cairo Boys School expressed similar apprehension, he argued saying:

“ The political facts of increased Egyptian authority over foreign institutions, and the possible revision of Treaties at or before the end in 1949 of the interim period laid down by the Montreux Convention, and the uncertainty of future British policy toward the N.E members of the Arab League, etc., are all highly relevant to our future planning and requirements.”⁸⁹

During WWII, Italy’s joining the War raised the possibility of an invasion from Libya. A subsequent effect on Egypt was an increase in hostilities and nationalistic feelings:

“ The Government declared its intention of resisting, and the sentiment of the people is overwhelmingly against the Axis.”⁹⁰

Morrison described the strong nationalist feeling as more rigorous for the securing of Egypt’s Independence within an Islamic character. As for the Egyptian

Government, its friendships were established among neighbouring Islamic countries. Egypt aspired to be a political, economic, and cultural leader who would work for the unification of Muslim lands in the Near East. In this respect, Morrison further remarked that Islam “ *is a powerful factor in drawing independent states together.* ”⁹¹ The positive effects of WWII on the CMS Mission were expressed as follows:

*“ The war has brought many opportunities for friendship with the troops who have poured in Egypt. Christians in the Indian Army have attended our Anglican Services and have visited the homes of British and Egyptian Christians. There have been conferences of Army Chaplain’s at the Cathedral Buildings in Cairo, and at then we have had opportunities of explaining what our Missions are trying to do. A Missionary Library has been founded for the chaplains’ use, and the men who come from Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Rhodesia are invited to our various centres. Several of the missionaries have volunteered for service in the British A R P posts, many Egyptian Christians have taken First-Aid Training, and the doctors have undertaken to give surgical aid at the Anglo-American hospital at Gezireh.”*⁹²

By 1945 missionary education was still experiencing difficulties. Extensive discussions were held over the necessity of registering missionary institutions under Law 49 of 1945. Article XX of the law stated that the Ministry of Social Affairs was in the position to investigate about the Charitable and Social Institutions if:

*“ They are guilty of an act against good morals or public order in their work or the carrying out of their activities.”*⁹³

The position of the Egyptian Government was clear and vocal in maintaining the position “ *that evangelistic work among Moslems is an offence against*

both public order and good morale."⁹⁴ Nationalism in 1947 was characterized by its determination for independence. The impact of the situation on missions was an increasing antagonism on the part of Government officials and the background for the missionary activity in Egypt was described as one of superstition, ignorance and poverty.⁹⁵ Writing to the *CMS Outlook* in 1948, Morrison referred to the people of the Near East and their failure at getting independence after WWI, instead, they were placed under mandates. They aspired for a union of Arab nations, and they were rewarded by the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire, on these conditions, Morrison argued:

*"The hatred which the Arab nationalists had felt through the nineteenth century towards the Turkish oppressor was now transferred to the political, economic and cultural imperialism of the Western Powers. The plan to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine merely added fuel to the flames."*⁹⁶

The consequences were considerable as they intensified antagonism towards the West, the nationalist movement was determined "to secure self-government at all cost. The League of Arab States was, founded on March 22nd 1945, as a vehicle for Arab independence and unity."⁹⁷ Morrison expressed his discontentment at the situation in Egypt as follows:

*"The Ministry of Education insisting that all Moslem pupils in all schools government or private, must be taught the faith of Islam. Some prominent Moslems are pressing for the replacement of western codes of criminal law by the sharia or Moslem law. No opportunity is lost at official ceremonies of paying homage to Islam, its glory in the past, and its prestige in the present."*⁹⁸

Morrison believed, also, that the corruption and the evils in the Egyptian society made it ripe for Communist propaganda. The bearing of the intricate situation on the Church in the Near East meant the imposition of increasing new

restrictions on missionary societies. A law was enacted forbidding the teaching of Christianity to Muslim pupils in Christian schools, despite the parent or guardian's consent. Attempts were made in the Egyptian Parliament to prohibit all forms of evangelistic work through hospitals, schools, charitable institutions, or by literature. For Morrison, this also meant the escalation of discrimination against Christian minorities.⁹⁹ The general situation, in 1949 and its impact on the Mission compared to 1948, Morrison described it as easier. He referred to the failure in the war in Palestine and the decrease in the fervour of the League of Arab Nations.¹⁰⁰

In 1951, Morrison focused on the situation in Egypt by referring to the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty by the Egyptian Government. The political situation was momentous with a serious and blatant anti-British feeling. General Neguib's coup d'état (1952) set Egypt on basic reforms, namely, the filtering of the Wafd party and ending the monarchy's titles. Nevertheless, the concern of the CMS Mission is General Neguib himself highlighted the following apprehensions:

“ The more serious-minded Egyptians, however, realize that the future may bring a dictatorship, and in this regard, the ascendancy of the Muslim Brotherhood, of which General Neguib is a member.” ¹⁰¹

The period was described as difficult to the Mission which expressed dissatisfaction about the intimidation of minorities and foreigners. The Anglo-Egyptian relations deteriorated; demonstrations and riots became intense to eradicate the agents of Western imperialism. The Mission noted, however, that a profound sympathy with Communism was manifest. Employment with the British Army was condemned as treason sanctioned by law. Egyptians had to oppose and refuse all that was British like working in their firms, buying their goods, even the medical prescriptions of their doctors had to be rejected. Later, the pact, between Egypt and Britain in the autumn of 1954 reduced the pressure and anti-British feeling di-

minated, and demonstrations stopped. The new condition in 1955 was described as follows:

“ Great progress is being made in land reform, housing schemes, traffic regulation, provision of a new school, and social centre in the villages. A vast iron foundry has been built near Helouan. The face of Cairo changes from week to week, bringing hopes of a better era, with better wages and housing, to the masses of poor working people.” ¹⁰²

In 1956 the Suez Crisis impinged on the CMS Egypt Mission. Annual Letters could not reach the CMS Headquarters; save for two letters missing details about the political situation and its repercussions on the Egypt Mission. Developments were taking place rapidly in politics.¹⁰³ By 1952 correspondence between the CMS Egypt Mission and Headquarters stopped. All missionaries had to leave after the Suez crisis. Information about the Mission was given by a CMS Dr Chase in a letter in the Kenya file of the CMS Archive. Dr Chase pointed to the events in Egypt as he and his wife were in Egypt at the time of crisis, The letter states the following:

“ From their bedroom window, they saw the angry red flare made by the air attack on the Almaza airfield on the other side of Cairo. They felt that their presence was an embarrassment to Egyptians in the Church and hospital at such a time, and tried to get away as soon as possible, but none of the missionaries could get visas. Finally, they were given ten days by the Egyptian authorities to leave the country. Egyptian friends rallied round to help where possible. One senior hospital worker, when he came up to their flat for the last time, told them in broken English that he wanted to thank the missionaries for the spirit of the hospital over all these years... The missionaries’ departure was four days before the agreed

period.”¹⁰⁴

The failure to negotiate a treaty between Britain and Egypt for the withdrawal of British troops in the Canal Zone led to the rising of a new tide of the nationalist movement. The CMS carried on its Mission under strenuous conditions in which intense anti-British atmosphere was prevailing, notably, at the Delta and Canal Zone. In 1951, missionaries, at Menouf were accused of using of the Hospital revenues for the buying of British arms:

“ They say we are making money out of our institutions there to buy arms with which the British are shooting Egyptians in the Canal Zone.” ¹⁰⁵

In 1952, the situation worsened whereby:

“ Some of our staff must have had to suffer for their connections with us at a time when employment with the British army was denounced by the government as treason punishable by law; when workers were being called upon to leave British firms employing them, and when British goods were boycotted, even to the extent that doctors were told not to prescribe British drugs.” ¹⁰⁶

The accusations directed to the CMS led the Egyptian Government to the removal of CMS titles from Egyptian institutions. As for the properties, they remained in the hands of the CMS. At this juncture, the CMS was hesitant for placing the Mission’s properties in the hands of Egyptians for the following reasons:

“ We have found from very long experience where the Church is very small in numbers there are great problems involved in giving it complete ultimate control over a vast institution involving a great amount of money and patronage.” ¹⁰⁷

In 1951 Jamal Abdel Nasser seized power as a result of a military coup by General Neguib. In 1954 the withdrawal of British and French troops' evacuation from the Suez Zone was acquiesced. Nevertheless, definite withdrawal did not take place until 1956 and it was followed by Nasser's nationalization of the Canal. British and French troops attempted a reoccupation of the Canal Zone, but the United States intervened by using economic pressure to effect a withdrawal and putting an end to British occupation.¹⁰⁸

2.3.1 The Missions and the Government Committee: Christian Education and the Egyptian Government

The Committee on Missions and Governments' main function was keeping the various missionary societies and the International Missionary Council informed of governmental difficulties *vis a vis* missionary activities, notably educational. With regard to Egypt, its members played an important role in maintaining the Missions' ability to pursue their work without impediments.¹⁰⁹

During the period 1936-1959, the Missions and Government Committee of Egypt's Inter- Mission Council dealt with the question of the Government's Compulsory Schools. The Minister of Education issued a law regarding missionary schools in Egypt which content emphasized that Moslem children between the ages of seven and twelve had to receive instruction in Islam. As the Christian elementary schools did not provide lessons in the Quran, it was *sine qua non* with giving up their Muslim pupils to the Government schools. It was pointed out that:

*“ Not only so, but even Christian parents were compelled...to remove their children from Christian schools. It appeared, at one time, as if the Government had set its heart on closing all elementary schools.”*¹¹⁰

The Bill was introduced to the Egyptian Senate in 1938 and reintroduced in 1939. It prohibited the teaching of pupils under sixteen of any religion except that of their parents or guardians. On the repercussions of this Bill on CMS educational work it was argued:

*“ In its original form, the measure would have made it illegal for Protestant teaching to be given to Coptic Christians. It would also have put a stop to all evangelistic work among young Moslems in schools, hospitals, clubs, or welfare centre. Mr Morrison, on behalf of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, has negotiated with the authorities in the hope of preventing its passage.”*¹¹¹

However, by 1950, the problem of religious education became less sharp. Christian schools, including those of the CMS, were allowed to make it the responsibility of Muslim parents to provide their children with Islamic instruction and were not required to allow Islamic teaching in their schools, though some attempts were made in this direction. While Christian schools complied with the rules of the Ministry of Education, they criticized the absence of any effort on their part to plan for the teaching of Christianity for Christian pupils in Government schools.¹¹²

The second issue on the agenda of the Missions and Government Committee related to the teachers 'Recognition' by the Government. At the Assiut Educational Conference (1937), The Rev S F Cooper reported that, at the Assiut Educational Conference, it was stated that the Egyptian Government planned to hold an examination for teachers in non-Government schools successively in 1938 and 1939. The Teachers taking either of the examinations, for the above stated years, had to be inspected in Government Schools. After passing the examination, the teachers would be granted 'Recognition' as qualified teachers. This situation resulted in the desire of some of the teachers in mission schools to take the examination. The Assiut Conference also suggested and encouraged that Christian

missions should apply for Government inspection of their schools. About such conditions, it was maintained:

*“ As the Officers of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council were making enquiries as to the Government’s intentions in this regard, and were also seeking the the counsel of certain prominent Government officials. S.C. agreed to take no immediate action, but to act only in co-operation with the other missionary organizations working in Egypt. ”*¹¹³

The issue was, therefore, on the agenda of the Missions and Government Committee for discussion with the authorities on the recognition of teachers by the Ministry of Education. The discussion resulted in securing two concessions. The first related to ‘Recognition’ of Christian elementary schools with the fulfilment of certain conditions, notably, the standard of education which had to be equal to that of compulsory schools. This was considered a reasonable condition by the “Missions and Government Committee. The second was obtained with difficulty; it permitted Muslim parent to keep sending their children to Christian schools, on condition that they provide the Egyptian Courts with the evidence that Muslim children receive their instruction in Islam in their homes or elsewhere.”¹¹⁴

The Egypt Standing Committee considered the Ministry of Education’s conditions for giving recognition to a teacher in non-Government Primary Schools as unsatisfactory. Consequently, a joint meeting of the Committees of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council “Education” and “Mission & Government” took place to consider the issue. A small delegation was appointed to meet the Minister of Education for securing revision in the conditions.¹¹⁵ Morrison, Secretary of the CMS Egypt Mission, spoke about the ‘Mission and Government Committee’ of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council’s success in achieving a change in the ruling of the Ministry of Education regarding the memorization of some passages of the

Quran in certain departments of the primary and secondary courses. He argued saying:

*“ The good offices of the British Residency in Cairo. The Minister agreed those Christian pupils should be allowed to substitute alternative passages from general Arabic literature.”*¹¹⁶

Morrison’s statement stands as another evidence of the CMS Egypt Mission’s efforts at seeking the interference of British authorities for backing their position and securing their rights and demands.

2.4 The CMS Egypt Educational Work: 1936-1959

2.4.1 Retrospect on Missionary Societies Active in Egypt: First half of 20th Century

Before considering the educational activities of the CMS Egypt Mission, it is significant to consider the different missionary societies that were active in Egypt between the 1930s and the 1950s. The main reason behind this is that all these missionary societies which were active as evangelistic bodies and gave themselves to educational and medical work came to form part of the “ Egypt Inter Mission Council”. This Council met on an annual basis to hear the committees reports on matters affecting missions, including those of education. It is interesting to see how Botrous Mikkail Akhdari described how these societies divided Egypt according to their respective missionary interests:

“ The missionaries divide Egypt into fields of work so that no mission encroaches the territory of other missions. They discuss the relationship existing between Christians as minorities and the state,

as well as that of missions to it. They hold a monthly prayer meeting to encourage fellowship with the Coptic churches. ¹¹⁷

These Missions' adherence to the Egypt Inter-Mission Council and the activity of the Missions and Government Committee posed themselves as religious minorities vis a vis the Egyptian Government and were tenacious in securing their rights and their religious liberty over the period under consideration. First and foremost among the Missions active in Egypt was the American Mission represented in the United Presbyterian Mission which initiated work in Egypt in 1854. Boutrous Akhdari regarded the role played by this Mission as being:

“(the Mission played) the most important part of the religious history of Christianity in Egypt during the last hundred years. Without any possibility of doubt the religious, the social, the educational life in Egypt was greatly influenced by the work of the American Mission in Egypt. The work of the Mission started as a small plant but is now like an oak tree.” ¹¹⁸

The next mission was the Egypt General Mission (EGM) (1895) founded by British volunteers. They were active in opening schools for boys and girls and had book storages in Lower Egypt. They also established two dispensaries. “*The troubles between the Egyptians and the British forces in 1951 caused this mission some damage as well as the schools.*” ¹¹⁹ The Sudan Pioneer Mission (SPM) was also active in Egypt. It started work in 1901 and was stationed at Aswan. “*They had a hospital, a native chaplain and a Bible woman, and some missionaries to preach the Gospel.*” ¹²⁰ The North Africa Mission (NAM), an undenominational Mission, its interest was focused on the evangelization of Muslims.¹²¹ The work of these different Missions resulted in the widespread of evangelistic work and relegated their work to native Churches and native Egyptian pastors. In fact, the CMS and all the above-mentioned missionary societies set the evangelization

of Muslims at the top of their priorities. Nevertheless, the difficulty at gaining converts from among Muslims was expressed as follows:

“ Missionaries find it very difficult to preach the Gospel to Moslems as they are fanatically devoted to their own religion.¹²² The Trinity is the most difficult fact for them to believe. It is the stumbling block before them and this is because they try to understand everything in religion mentally, that is, by reason and mind. In Mohammedanism, everything can be reasonably understood, but this is not the case in Christianity.”¹²³

2.4.2 The Christian Concept of Education

The term “ Great Commission” is understood by Christians as connoting to Christ’s command to his followers after his “ death and resurrection” to “ make disciples” and “ teach” the nations. Nevertheless, Robert L. Gallagher pointed to the fact that the Protestant evangelistic mandate became pronounced only within the past two hundred years. Gallagher argued:

*“ Throughout most of church history, the Great Commission did not provide the motivation or orchestration of the missionary effort. It only became the dominant motivator of the missionary vision after William Carey (1761-1834) published his treatise *An Inquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* in 1792 where he made the argument that Christ-followers should take the gospel to the non-Christian world based primarily on obedience to the command.”¹²⁴*

It was the task of missionary societies, in modern times, to inculcate into missions the notion of sending its respective missionaries, recruit the candidates for mission work, take care about their finance, teach the Christian message, correspond with the Home Mission about the needs of the mission fields, and provide

them with materials. One example is the Church Missionary Society's periodical; the *Missionary Register* which between 1813 and 1855, informed about the main missionary societies' activity around the world.¹²⁵ In 1952, the "CMS Outlook" defined the CMS perception of Christian Education as follows:

" Education begins in the cradle and continues throughout life; it is going on all the time at home, at school, and at work. Our " teachers" are all with whom we have contact; we are continually influencing one another for good or ill. [an education that goes beyond the classroom].It is in this wider setting that we must see the Christian task in education overseas. Some missionaries are teaching in schools and colleges, preparing young people for examinations in much the same way as do their colleagues in this country. The Christian school is a community in which the Christian way of life is demonstrated, and in which knowledge is imparted in the framework of faith. Many missionaries find their " classroom" outside the school altogether. Health education, which is of immense importance in countries where the body is sadly neglected, takes place in the homes and in village clinics. In maternity centres, women are educated in the care of their children. On model farms, the people are educated in better ways of agriculture." ¹²⁶

The CMS, known as the Episcopal Church (*Al kanisa Al Usqufiya*) in Arabic, had six stations in Egypt: The Cairo missionary station founded in 1882, Old Cairo missionary station founded in 1889, the Menouf, Ashmoun and Shubra Zanga missionary stations founded in 1910 and the Giza missionary station founded in 1921.¹²⁷ The CMS Egypt Mission presence in Egypt aimed at converting Muslims to Christianity via the medium of education and other evangelistic activities. The schools it established aimed also at founding churches and both aimed at evangelizing Muslims. " *The Christian schools are called to the work of building up the*

Church that is to be"¹²⁸

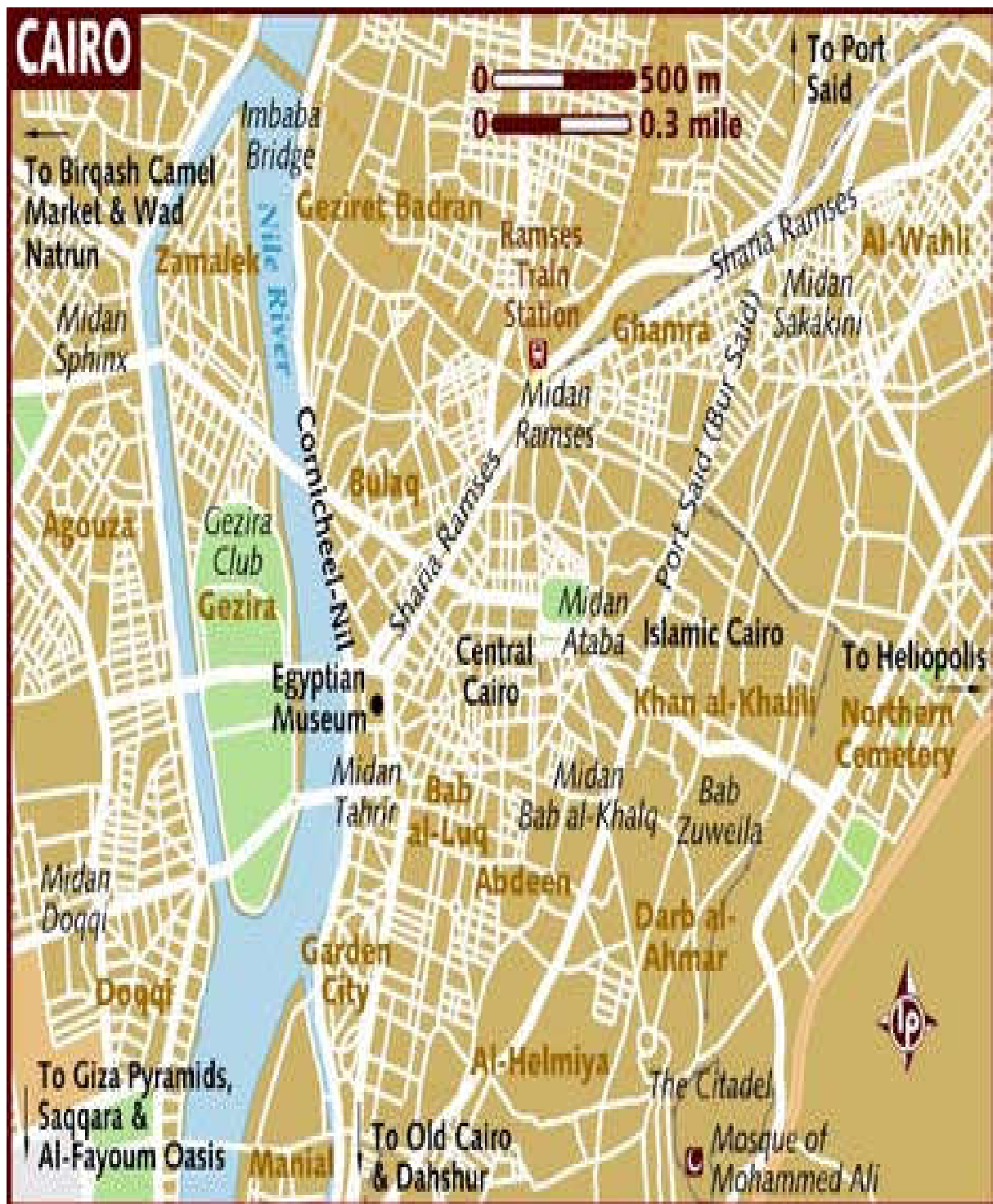
2.4.3 CMS Earlier Educational Activities in Egypt

The CMS. Mediterranean Mission began at Malta in 1815. Its work in Egypt was directed to the Copts and the revival of their churches as a preliminary step for the evangelization of Muslims. Among the early missionaries serving in Egypt were Samuel Gobat, William Jowet, Muller and others. The mission failed because of Muslim repudiation to Christianity. The CMS had a printing press in Malta which printed Arabic Bibles that were distributed among the Copts and later more Bibles were published and distributed in Egypt. Within the CMS scheme of missionary work among the Copts was the revival of Eastern Churches between 1819-1862. The CMS mission managed to establish the Cairo Seminary in which Coptic Clergy and Bishops were trained. As the mission produced scant results, it put an end to its activity in 1862. The mission left behind it the first English College in Egypt at Faggala, *Orient and Occident*; a Christian magazine and the Seminary founded by the CMS missionary Mr Leider.

As a result of the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and in response to the appeals of the CMS worker Miss Mary Whitely; the Rev. F.A. Klein (1827-1903); a German CMS worker, was sent to Cairo to start a mission among Muslims and in 1889 a medical mission was begun by Dr Frank Harpur.¹²⁹

Between 1882 and 1889, the CMS Egypt Mission was administered as part of the Palestine mission.¹³⁰ The CMS established a Boys' School in 1890. It was closed, but managed to be reopened during the time of the Rev. F.F. Adeney; Secretary of the Egypt Mission after Mr Klein. It also opened a Girls' School at Sayida Zeinab district which was under the charge of the CMS missionary; Miss Bywater. This school moved later on to Boulac.¹³¹

Map of Cairo



Source : <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/africa/egypt/cairo/>

2.5 The CMS Educational Institutions and their Activities: 1936-1959

Under the aegis of the British occupation of Egypt, the CMS had established schools in Cairo. From 1910 onwards it established schools in the Menoufia province. CMS schools provided education for boys and girls at both elementary and secondary levels. As better standard in education was required; due to the changing conditions in Egypt, the CMS Egypt Mission found itself under the obligation of moving its institutions to better premises. Improvements in material equipment and standards of tuition were among measures adopted by the CMS. Nevertheless, the CMS Egypt educational activity remained within the perspective of evangelism.¹³²

At the period under study, the Egypt CMS Mission had under its responsibility the supervision of four schools; the Old Cairo Boys' School, the Old Cairo Girls' School, the Menouf Boys' School, and the Menouf Girls' School; all of them day schools. (See Appendix B1, B2). The pupils enrolled in these schools were Egyptians; which provided the CMS with an opportunity to make a contribution that was often opposed by the Ministry of Education for its evangelistic character. All of the CMS Egypt schools followed the Egyptian Government educational curriculum as Government education provided the only medium to the different types of employment.¹³³ At primary school levels where the pupils' age ranged between seven and fifteen, the pupils' study subjects focussed on reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, geography, history, simple science and hygiene, drawing and handwork; which were all taught in Arabic. The pupils had eight to ten weekly English language classes. At the end of this course, the pupils had to take the Government Primary Certificate Examination. The percentage of successes were reported to correspond to those of Government schools.¹³⁴

After passing the Primary Examination, the pupils were admitted to the Secondary Department of the Old Cairo Boys' School where they had to move to the advanced level in the subjects mentioned above, They, also, learned French and took Arabic lessons on physiology, geology, chemistry, physics and Algebra. The pupils were to leave the school at the age of seventeen; after taking the Government's Secondary Examination Part I. The percentage of passes at Secondary level were also reported to have been equal to those of other schools.¹³⁵ In addition to the courses of study following the requirements of the Government examinations, the CMS Egypt schools offered kindergarten classes in the four schools it established in Cairo and Menouf. At the head of each school was an English principal or a headmistress. Efforts were made in the schools to promote friendship and fellowship. The schools placed emphasis on games as a way of training the pupils' character. The CMS Egypt schools claimed to avoid all political bias as no strikes were recorded among pupils, and they boasted to hold a unique record among schools following the Government curriculum. The CMS expressed the firm belief that the bedrock of most appropriate education was Christian education with its ideals of faith and practice.¹³⁶ The aim of CMS schools was expressed as follows:

*“ Our aim is that the school should be a home, where English and Egyptians live together on terms of sincere personal friendship, and it is easy to conceive what contribution they thus make towards peace and happiness between the two nations. “ However, ” Our schools wish to be known as being definitely Christian in aim and character. No one is admitted except on the understanding that he (or she) receives Christian instruction and preserves a reverent silence during school prayers.”*¹³⁷

During the period of 1936 and 1959 the CMS Egypt mission continued its administration to its previous schools and established new ones. In this chapter,

we will shed light on the Schools run by the CMS for the period under study.

2.5.1 The Old Cairo Boys' School

The Old Cairo Boys' School was both a primary and secondary school that followed the Egyptian Government curriculum. At the end of their learning, the pupils had to take the Government's Primary and Secondary Examination. The Secondary Certificate was almost equivalent to the English School Certificates. There was a second part of this Secondary Certificate, which corresponded to English Higher Certificates. These were taken after an additional year's study. This second part of the Secondary Certificate was initially intended as a preparatory examination for the University Courses. Eventually, it was attached to the General Secondary Course taken by most Secondary pupils. Regarding the non-preparation of the School to this higher examination, it was argued:

“ We have not yet offered to prepare our boys for this higher examination, as only a small fraction of them enter the Universities, the majority find useful positions as minor Government officials, merchants, clerks, etc., which do not or should not require this further academic study. But there is an increasing demand for it, and some boys leave our school early to take the full course elsewhere.” ¹³⁸

The two universities offering this preparatory year were King Fouad University founded in 1908; it became a state institution in 1925, and the American University in Cairo. (1919).¹³⁹ After passing their Primary Examination, the pupils were admitted to the Secondary Department of the Old Cairo Boys' School on Rodah Island where they were initiated to more advanced subjects. For instance, they learned English and French. Their lessons on physiology, geology, chemistry, physics and Algebra were taught in Arabic. (see Appendix C.) The pupils left the

school around the age of seventeen after passing the Government Secondary Examination Part I. The School's scores in this Examination equalled those of other schools.¹⁴⁰ The Old Cairo Boys School included in its curriculum competitive activities. The pupils were divided into two groups and the winners were entitled to receive two cups.

“ One of these is awarded to the best ”house” for the conduct, cleanliness and general school work, and the other for games and sports.” ¹⁴¹

Among the problems that the OCBS faced during this period was that of staffing. In 1937, SA Morrison; the Mission Secretary, reported about the failure of the Parent Committee, or General Committee, to send a recruit for the OCBS to act as Principal. The Rev S P Cooper accepted to act as Principal of the School till the end of December 1937. He was replaced by Ronald Walpole Dray who took a two terms course at the Institute of Education before joining in the autumn of 1938.¹⁴²

In 1936, the Egyptian Government decided to reduce the course for the Baccalaureate examination from five years to four years, The OCBS was faced with the problem of either adding a fourth year to take its pupils to Baccalaureate standard or put an end to its secondary system of education. Also, the addition of the fourth year raised the question of additional Egyptian staff:

“ One full time and one part-time teacher, entailing a net cost of between £.80 and £.100 per annum and an initial outlay on desks and equipment of £50.” ¹⁴³

In 1936, Morrison sent letters to the Africa Committee where he expressed an urgent need for sending recruits to the OCBS, especially that Miss Mills; one of the workers at the OCBS was to leave for England for family reasons. The period

of her absence was indefinite and she was, eventually, to ask for an extended leave without salary.¹⁴⁴ The Standing Committee agreed to the necessity of adding the fourth year course by the autumn of 1936 and that the staff's salaries would be met from Local Funds by a grant not exceeding £.50 for equipment.

“ It was brought to the attention of the Parent Committee the necessity of employing an English member in the staff of the OCBS to help for the teaching of the English language up to the Baccalaureate and: ”to make possible the supervision of the teaching of English and of Scripture in the lower classes.” ¹⁴⁵

Morrison wrote to Reverend H. D. Hooper on January 1937 at the CMS Headquarters about the financial problem encountered by the OCBS which went against the efficient running of the School, notably, after the introduction of the Secondary course. On the utter need for additional financial help, Morrison argued:

“ Once more we would urge the P C to consider its responsibility for paying the salary and allowances of both the Principal and Miss Kayte, leaving the Egypt Mission the burden of meeting the cost of any additional help, whether this takes the form of a short-service worker from home or of the engagement of trained Government teachers who help in their spare time.We wonder whether, now that the burden of debt has been removed, the P C can afford us this relief.” ¹⁴⁶

In 1939 the P C's approval was sought for permission to proceed with the building of a Hall Assembly Hall at the OCBS, which could be used also as a Church Hall. The plan was considered a primacy by the Educational Sub-Committee. The Committee gave its consent, but on the following conditions for alterations:

- (a-) *“ The building for the use of the Church of 3 rooms, 1 on the first floor, and 2 on the second floor, above the entrance, and the widening of the entrance from 3,5 metres to 4 or 4,5 metres.*
- (b-) *If possible, provision for a kitchen-pantry for social gatherings*
- (c-) *The erection of a lavatory for ladies*
- (d-) *That detailed plans confirmed the architect’s estimated cost of £1,450*
- (e-) *That the Old Cairo Church be willing to contribute the sum of £150 towards this cost.”* ¹⁴⁷

In May 1938, H W Gray became principal of the Old Cairo Boys’ School in succession to Canon Toop with an interregnum period filled by the Rev S F Cooper who was temporarily transferred from the CMS Menouf missionary station. Cooper reports that in the government examination, shortly before Canon Toop’s retirement, the OCBS recorded 100 % passes at both the primary and secondary certificates. On this issue, he wrote saying:

“ Parents here are very prone to judge a school by its examination results, and we got a much large enrolment’ in the school this year, the numbers increasing from 162 to 218. Perhaps most of all the Canon Toop to be complimented on the excellent spirit which he managed to inculcate. I have visited many schools, but never have I come across one where the boys were so friendly, cheerful, willing and eager, both in work and play. It has been a real pleasure to know the boys and to teach them and to make friends with them. The year here equipment has shown me that there is some fine material among Egyptian boys when they have the right environment and consecrated teachers.” ¹⁴⁸

In 1946 R W Gray, wrote a statement on the OCBS which he marked as Confidential in which he explained the reasons of CMS policy in its deliberate

linking of CMS schools with the Egyptian Governments educational requirements. He argued saying that despite the fact that this:

“...brings us under the critical eyes of both parents and the Ministry of Education, with a steady increasing measure of control and inspection from the latter. This is not necessarily detrimental to the Missionary and Educational aims of the School, as criticism can be bracing, and Government contacts may increase the range and effectiveness of our influence. Actually, we have achieved a considerable measure of co-operation with the Ministry’s inspectors and controllers over methods of teaching and discipline in the School, and the character- training in a general sense which it claims to give.” ¹⁴⁹

Gray questioned how the School could maintain its Christian Educational position in the face of the critical religiously hostile attitude of the authorities. A senior Government official remarked to Gray saying: “you should go easy on the religious” question, we could get on very well.¹⁵⁰

For Gray, the spiritual freedom was threatened by Islamic national legislation; accordingly, CMS missionaries had to choose between two options; either to fight or to die. Nevertheless, Gray was encouraged to believe, that within this period of the School’s history, it did fulfil something of Christian vocation. He believed that the Christian vocation of the School went far beyond the little Christian instruction to the requirements of the Government syllabus. In this respect, he argued:

“ One of the lines of developments in the School, to which I attach great importance, is the way in which the Egyptian Staff are themselves grasping and practising these principles of our corporate

life as a Christian cell, which lie behind any possible success as a Christian School.” ¹⁵¹

Speaking about the staff of the OCBS in 1946, he reported that it consisted of sixteen full-time teachers with a number of three-hundred enrolments; two-hundred Primary and one hundred Secondary. These teachers were all Egyptians save for one or two part-timers confined to the administrative work. All the teaching in the school except for the Secondary English; which Gray regarded as a very important exception because the Secondary Divinity teachers were all Christians except for two Muslim teachers of the Arabic language.¹⁵² Gray argued that it was vital to foster in Christian teachers a real sense of Christian vocation, notably, among the senior ones, who were deemed to play an important role in the development of the School. Likewise, the teachers had to work in a secure environment and had to be well-paid. Otherwise, the School was at risk of losing its teachers to Government Schools and to other better-paid jobs. On this eventuality, Gray argued saying:

“ This may on a long view help to further our aims, as widening the range of our Christian influence and the contribution from CMS to the Egyptian Educational system, but nevertheless it is presenting an immediate problem in all Mission Schools in Egypt” ¹⁵³

The Egyptian teachers in the OCBS were considered not fully qualified by the Egyptian Government standards and requirements. Nevertheless, most of them received, eventually, official recognition as efficient teachers which according to Gray:

“...covers their position as teachers in private schools, but also accentuates the danger of their leaving for Government-paid and guaranteed jobs. (He goes on arguing that) This official Recognition has so far been denied to Christian teachers of the Arabic language on grounds which the Missions regard as inadequate.” ¹⁵⁴

One feedback to the situation was the formation of an Inter-Mission Committee in Egypt to consider the immediate establishment of a Christian Teachers' Training College. Though its experts were mostly Americans, it was open to all those interested in Christian Education in Egypt.¹⁵⁵ The Egyptian staff interacted with the pupils and their families in a way that was deemed satisfactory and representing pressing opportunities to be seized by missionaries for evangelism. Gray explained, further, that the aim of the School was to train these pupils to be good citizens. He pointed to the absence of the home environment that could lead the majority of Egyptian pupils to take their extra-scholastic knowledge in the streets, therefore, he emphasised a need for their training in responsibility. In this context, he referred to an anecdote relating to a group of:

*“ Government and other Secondary schoolboys came and battered at our gates, and began to shout for our boys to come out on strike with them (over some political question) we were able to send one of our top class, a Moslem, to explain to them politely that we were not interested, and would rather get on quietly with our work; and they melted away. (He pursues his argument saying)Situations of this kind frequently arise under present conditions in the Near East; and even if we are not always so successful in dealing with them to good account.”*¹⁵⁶

The OCBS entertained many contacts with the Anglican Church in Egypt and some with the Coptic and other churches established in Egypt. The Sunday school met within the OCBS' premises; though not under the charge of its missionary staff. Some of the Egyptian masters, also members of the CMS Egypt Mission, were recognised members of the Arabic Anglican Communion in Egypt were also teachers. In 1945, as the missionary in charge of the OCBS was on furlough, it was run by the Rev Adeeb Shammas , the CMS Egyptian pastor in Old Cairo, and about whom Gray says:

“ Reverend Adeeb Shammās... gave weekly Divinity lessons to the top two classes in the School, and is most helpful in dealing with both Moslem and Christian boys who want to ask questions about religion and morals, and an encouraging number of the Moslems to avail themselves of this opportunity. Indeed, in certain lessons, when he was teaching Christian doctrine to the Christian boys only, some of the Moslems were very keen to join them.” ¹⁵⁷

All classes at the OCBS provided Divinity lessons which were attended by Muslims, Copts, Anglicans and others. Gray boasted at the fact a number of the Coptic priests and monks were educated at the OCBS. The School was seen to play its role in multiplying the number of evangelically minded members of the Anglican Church in Egypt. To attain this objective, more efforts and new approaches were needed.¹⁵⁸

In 1946 it was questioned whether the educational medium adopted by the CMS School in the past; achieving satisfactory results, could still be maintained within the new circumstances witnessed by the Mission. To carry on those educational objectives of the OCBS and project them into the future, Gray suggested the following:

- “ i- It may be wise to consider now the desirability of enlarging its scope, or even of making radical changes. Possible lines of development of change are:*
- ii- Addition of more advanced or other supplementary courses such as the additional Secondary year mentioned earlier.*
- iii- n alternative Commercial Course at the Secondary level, with emphasis on English. There is a great demand, as I know from experience, especially from large foreign firms in Egypt, for*

well-trained and reliable young Egyptians fluent in various foreign languages of which English is the most important.

iv- Abandonment of our Egyptian Courses altogether, and the substitution of an English Course, with text-books and teaching in the English Language, at least at the Secondary Level. It might be necessary, and desirable for most of our present pupils, to retain the Egyptian Primary Department, with Arabic as its basic language and the Egyptian Primary Certificate as its culmination. Clearly, such a change would need very careful thought out and would make new demands on organisation and staffing. A less revolutionary step would be to take the Egyptian Secondary Certificate examination in English. The possibilities of this are also being investigated, and would involve similar demands on the resources of our Staff in the matter of the English language.” ¹⁵⁹

According to Gray, the CMS' opinion at headquarters and in Egypt was similar in that both were inclined towards the third alternative stated above. The reason was attributed to the recurrent and increasing demand in Egypt for this type of education. He ended his confidential statement about the OCBS on a political note, namely, the escalation regarding the Egyptian authority over foreign missionary institutions, in addition to a pronounced apprehension over the revision of the ending of Capitulations as laid down at Montreux Convention (1937) estimated to end over a period of twelve years, i.e. in 1949 and from that of British policy towards the Near East members of the Arab League of Nation. Gray considered all these factors as highly important and impinging on the future policy of the School's future planning and requirements.¹⁶⁰

In 1947, a CMS Conference on “Realignment” was held in which it was decided to close the Secondary Department of the Old Cairo Boys' School. Morrison argued that the Mission was not yet affected by the Government's system

of Free Primary Education. Nevertheless, he was anxious about the Ministry of Education's training to one thousand teachers and the new buildings it had erected to be a serious blow to the number of pupils enrollments in the Mission Schools, which were to oblige school fees to decrease considerably. On the restrictions put by the Ministry of Education, Morrison argued:

“ Furthermore the Mission must face the government's refusal to recognize some of its unqualified teachers, and its ruling that such teachers must be dismissed. The Ministry of Education is determined, either by law or by administrative machinery, to make it illegal for a child to be taught any religion other than its own, even if the parent or guardian has given his consent. All these factors were in our minds as we met time and again throughout last winter to try and find out what our educational policy should be.” ¹⁶¹

On the impact of the eventual decisions that the Mission was to take, Morrisson speculated a raising in the teachers' salaries in the autumn of 1947 at a time of financial crisis where additional income from the CMS Headquarters in London could not be expected nor from the Local Funds of the Mission. He noted further that the Secondary Department at the OCBS was marked by a decrease in the number of pupils which impinged on the financial resources of the mission and drained it.¹⁶²

An important event in the history of the OCBS in 1948 was the writing of Morrison to Azmy Bey Nawwar, of the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo, of the submission of his proposal for allowing the Coptic Community Council to take over the CMS Boys' Schools on Rodah Island. Morrison conveyed to him the consent of both the CMS Committee in Egypt and in London under the following conditions:

“ First, that the school will be maintained along its present lines as a Christian institution, without the help of a Government grant. Second that the buildings and equipment will be placed at your disposal rent-free for a ten year period, on the understanding that your Council will be responsible for repairs and upkeep. Third, that should you desire to extend the premises, this will only be done with the approval of CMS, and on condition that such new building will revert to CMS at the end of the ten years period. We hope that it will be possible for you to retain the services at the school of several of the present Egyptian teachers both for their own sakes, and also to maintain continuity of tradition. You will realize that our sole aim in these proposals is the continuance of the school as a Christian Institution, and our desire to serve the Coptic Church in any way we can.” ¹⁶³

On the 4th of February 1948, Morrison wrote an official letter to the Rev CS Milford at the CMS headquarters (Salisbury) about the complicated problems faced by the Egypt Mission, and the future policy of the OCBS. At the meeting of the Standing Committee in December 1948, the Egypt Mission was faced with escalating difficulty of maintaining four CMS schools in Egypt because of heavy costs. As the costs increased incessantly and the Egyptian Government insisted permanently on the recruitment of qualified and recognised teachers, the Mission found itself under the obligation of raising the salaries and making them approximately equal to those of teachers in Government service; which was *sine qua non* for the Mission to an increase of 50% in the CMS salaries bill. Morrison argued about this difficulty as follows:

“ When the figures for the year 1947 were completed, we found that our fears were fully justified by the facts. The Old Cairo Girls’ School had exceeded its budget by about £.160, the Menouf Girls’

School by a similar sum, and the Old Cairo Boys' School by £.367. In consequence, we had to dig very heavily into our local funds, drawing from them LE.992 instead for an anticipated £.416. As a result, we carry forward a small balance of about £.200 instead of more than LE.800, as at the beginning of 1947. Furthermore, we are faced with 5% cut in our A. O. H. grant, with a prospect of further cuts in the future and a diminution in the income of our local funds. It was obvious that the Mission must endeavour to cut its expenditure on non-medical work by between £.700 and £.900 a year. The only way this could be done would be CMS ceasing to bear any financial responsibility for the O C B S after June 1948.” ¹⁶⁴

The Mission speculated the saving of the OCBS first by internal economies or by bringing a change in the type of education. Morrison observed: *“we could save the institution for CMS, ”but this seemed quite impossible.”* ¹⁶⁵ On an eventual way out for the OCBS to liberate it from the Government Grant and the interference of the Ministry of Education, the Mission thought of opening a Hostel for students because of the acute need in Cairo. The majority of the Standing Committee was in favour of this proposal because of the opportunities it would open for personal evangelism. Nevertheless, a change in decision occurred due to the Coptic Community Council interest in the project. The CMS was tempted by considering the proposal for two reasons. The first related to keeping the maintenance of the School and the second related to providing another way of cooperating with the Coptic Church. About the new proposal, Morrison argued:

“ When to-day I learned of Azmy Bey's hope to turn it into a boarding school for students, I felt more strongly that his proposal merited our sympathetic consideration, as it seemed to me to combine in certain respects the advantage of both projects” ¹⁶⁶

Before the realisation of the project, Morrison insisted on keeping the proposal as a private matter lest the publicity would affect negatively the running of the School. For such reason, he invited the Parent Committee to deal with the matter privately and to include only those directly concerned. Morrison explained to the Parent Committee the reasons as follows:

“ You will realise that up to the present we have no guarantee that the Coptic community Council will endorse the proposal just as it stands, but Azmy Bey feels confident that he can carry the Council with him. He has already taken two of its most important members into his confidence, and they are whole- heartedly behind it.” ¹⁶⁷

2.5.2 The Old Cairo Girls’ School

This School was first established at Sayida Zeinab district, under the charge of the CMS missionary Miss Bywater,; at the period under study it was moved to Boulac in the new building erected at Rhoda Island. ¹⁶⁸ The OCGS was considered the only CMS girls’ school in Cairo. The number of pupils’ enrolments ranged between two-hundreds and fifty (250) and three-hundred (300) including Egyptians who came from middle-class professionals. Kindergartens’ age requirement was fixed to four, it was open for both boys and girls. The Elementary Department’s role was to prepare the girls for the Government Primary School Certificate and all the pupils in the highest class took this exam and passed it at the age of thirteen. The School was labelled in Egypt “ the hundred per cent school” because its pupils never failed in the Government examination. The fees imposed for enrolment ranged between £3 and £4 per year, without including those of materials. No Government grant was received from the Government.

After taking the Primary Certificate, the pupils went to the Secondary or Craft School which was much popular at that time. After graduation, the girls

either went for teaching or got married. The OCGS engaged, occasionally in collecting money for the poor. The School's order and discipline seem to have been eye-catching to the extent that one of the Head Inspectors remarked: "*The first thing I notice is that you have discipline; if you have that you can have everything.*"¹⁶⁹ The low academic level of the staff was met by training from the head of the school, as a result, the pupils ended up acquiring good skills. In this respect, an inspectress argued: "*It is one of the best schools in Cairo. Really it is one of the best, was the opinion of the Arabic Inspectress.*"¹⁷⁰

The School followed the Egyptian Government curriculum based on the requirements of the Government examinations. The School provided kindergarten classes, special lessons in housecraft and handwork. These subjects were covered by the Government syllabus and did not form part of the Government examination Syllabus. The School provided also game activities as part of the training of the pupils' character. The School gave courses in religious teaching based on the Old and the New Testament. In the OCGS, the pupils started their learning with prayers and a hymn for praising God.

Miss E.D. King, principle of the School, wrote in 1946 on some of the OCGS' activities saying that they provided extra activities whereby the girls were introduced to cookery, crafts and country-dancing. After school on Fridays, groups of girls, including Muslims met after school. Muslim girls' attendance to the Friday meetings was subject to a written application by the father with a promise for a daily reading of the Bible, in addition to attending all Christian teaching in the school. Few girls became interested in converting to Christianity, but Miss King reported that they were intimidated by Muslim Inspectors. One of the converted girls said:

"If I have a Moslem name, I cannot help it. I believe in Jesus Christ. I won't tell a lie against Him. You can call me a Moslem,

but you cannot change my heart.” ¹⁷¹

Miss King reported about the increase in the number of pupils which by 1947 reached three-hundred and three with a two-third of the girls' enrollment being Muslims; the highest number in the School's record.¹⁷² Applications for enrolment in the OCGS outnumbered that of places available in 1949. On the atmosphere reigning the School, it was stated:

‘ For the first time, it was no longer possible to teach Muslim and Christian pupils alike the Gospel message. Bible teaching (for Christians only) was illustrated by attractive pictures and models, exhibited in order to stimulate questions. Christian literature was left in odd places, for the ban on Christian books only extended to the school library. Dramatic performances were given, and prayer for all introduced in general assembly.’ ¹⁷³

The School's was interrupted by the Ministry's Inspectors' repeated visits which irritated the staff. The official and unofficial visits were deemed out of curiosity "to see how 100 % Government Certificate result could be produced by unrecognized teachers." ¹⁷⁴ The OCGS entertained good relations with the Ministry of Education in 1949. This led to the eventual recognition of two senior teachers. The achievements of the School were attributed to Miss King, the headmistress, and the Egyptian staff's devotion and loyalty.¹⁷⁵

On April, 18th, 1949 Morrison wrote a letter to the Rev. C S Milford, at CMS Headquarters in London, about the urgency of building two classrooms at the Old Cairo Girls School, despite the period of incertitude the CMS Egypt Mission witnessed. The content of the letter read as follows:

“ We all felt that if the O C G S is going to continue at all, as we very much hope it will, there is an urgent need for at least two

*more classrooms, particularly as the outdoor classrooms used for kindergartens classes are not altogether satisfactory. I took two architects to the school and they estimated that at present prices we cannot build more than two classrooms for the sum of £600 which is the amount available for this purpose from our Local Funds. As this is not a new building, I did not know whether it was necessary for us to secure PC's permission before proceeding with the project. I am, however, enclosing herewith a plan indicating where the two classrooms are to be situated, a plan which was drawn up by a British architect working at the Embassy who gives us his services for nothing. As we are anxious to proceed with the building early in June and must obtain certain permits from the Government first, I should be grateful if you kindly let me know by air-mail that there is no objection from PC.s side to our going ahead.”*¹⁷⁶

The Standing Committee gave its approval for the erection of the two classrooms on the first floor of the OCGS in the same year. In 1950 the number of enrolments in the OCGS reached three-hundred and ninety-five. A noteworthy event of the year was dominated by cooperation between the staff of the School, the girls' parents, and the Ministry of Education officials. Public Examination results were deemed satisfactory as out of twenty-thousand the four places were taken by the School's girls with a percentage of passes reaching forty-per cent; overstepping the results achieved by the first-classed Government school. The School was congratulated by the controller of the Government Primary Schools Examinations.¹⁷⁷

Beyond the academic work, the OCGS found support in the encouragement of the parents who were sympathetic. Home visiting was a key element in achieving this relationship which went to the extent that: “*It is now almost always possible to pray in a home, whether Christian or not if the welfare of a*

pupil is concerned."¹⁷⁸ Voluntary work was also practised by the School through teaching on Saturday mornings in a Coptic village Christian school, at Kirdasa in the Giza province. Among the other School's activities were its contribution to the Christian Teachers' Fellowship and its elaboration to a syllabus of Christian teaching for all schools' usage.¹⁷⁹

By 1951, the Ministry of Education's Inspectors urged the OCGS to accept the Government Grant-in-aid which would involve teaching the Quran, This situation was interpreted as an effort at stumbling to Christian teaching which, by that time, was given only to Christian pupils. The School's teachers were also affected by the Ministry of Education measures *vis à vis* two experienced and qualified teachers who were lost to Government service. In addition to the recurrent aspect of the Inspectors' visits along with the Ministry Officials' demands for the statistical sheet of the accomplished hours of work. The OCGS' discontentment on these conditions was expressed as follows:

" However, the staff are loyal and do their best for the cause of Christianity, but all are alert to the three difficulties to be faced was that Government is seeking greater control over Christian schools That it is difficult for these schools to provide adequate qualified and experienced staff, spiritually equipped, in view of costs. Christian Mission schools have a contribution to make that the Government cannot. " ¹⁸⁰

In that same year, the Ministry of Education required a qualified female nurse for the OCGS. In response, Mrs. M. M. Gifford gave her services on some specific days in the week. The School kept contacts with parents on their health and academic progress. Their awareness of the needs of the poor encouraged Miss King for the running of a welfare project alongside the educational character of the school.¹⁸¹ Despite the Ministry's control over the curriculum, about the Inspectors

it was argued that:

“ They are usually kind and co-operative, and contact is maintained with homes and families of officials. The Ministry also co-operates with the Liaison Committee.” ¹⁸²

In 1956 the OCGS on Rhoda Island became the Episcopal School for Girls. It was under the care of a Saneya Hanna as a national Headmistress. The number of enrolments outstripped seven-hundreds. The school was staffed by Egyptians with Mrs. Gurney as the only foreigner who gave her services without receiving a salary. During this period of heightening nationalism, it was emphasized that the School received no financial assistance from abroad. Among the difficulties encountered by the School was that of recognition by the Education Department as an Egyptian private school following the Government syllabus and not as a foreign school. Another problem faced by the OCGS related to the obligation of including the teaching of Islam in the curriculum. However, the Government was firm on its decision concerning the teaching of Christianity to Christians and Islam to Muslims in all schools operating in Egypt.¹⁸³

2.5.3 The Menouf Boys’ School

The CMS founded the Menouf Boys School (MBS) during the second decade of the twentieth century, around 1910 onwards. Due to the changing political atmosphere in Egypt and the new standard of Egyptian education, CMS educational institutions moved to better places with improvement in the status of the schools. The Menouf Boys School offered kindergarten classes like the OCBS and the OCGS. At a higher level, the boys took daily lessons in gardening and were introduced to carpentry. Like the OCBS and the OCGS, the Menouf Boys School (MBS) was supervised by an English headmaster. Great emphasis was placed on game activities where pupils were divided into two houses who competed for the winning of a cup. Emphasis on games was deemed as an efficient way to training

the pupils' character. (See Appendix D)

In a letter dated June, 6th 1939 the CMS Egypt Mission called the attention of Rev H D Hooper, at the CMS Headquarters in London to the following:

*“ On pages 2 and 3 of the Minutes of the Meeting of the S C held on the 25th May, you will find a Minute urging P C to give its consent to the opening in October of this year of the first year of a secondary department, with a view to the completion after four years of the full secondary course.”*¹⁸⁴

Apprehensions were expressed about an eventual crisis in the history of the Menouf Boys School (MBS). The cause was the opening of a large Government primary school in Menouf. Twelve years earlier a primary school was built in buildings correlated to the Coptic Church, near CMS Schools and in October 1938, a Muslim primary school was opened. In addition to the building of other primary schools not far from Menouf. The low salaries received by the teachers of the new schools and the probability of admitting pupils at fees lower than the MBS could afford created an iniquity for the CMS in Egypt. Accordingly, the MBS leaned towards a steady decrease in the number of its pupils with the outcome of a yearly increase in the fees for enrolment.¹⁸⁵

The competitiveness coming from these schools pushed the Egypt Mission to submit a proposal for the opening of a secondary department for the MBS. The proposal was put forward earlier in June 1934, but the Standing Committee was not concerted in proceeding with the proposal. However, the new circumstances were deemed necessary for engaging in this project, notably, that secondary schools were inexistent in Menouf and the nearest was at about fifteen miles away. The project was deemed urgent, also, because:

*“ We have often been asked by people in Menouf to open a secondary department. We should probably be able to draw pupils passing out of other primary schools who would build up and stabilize our own primary department.”*¹⁸⁶

Regarding the finance of the new project, the CMS Egypt Mission was emphatic about the fact that it would not necessitate an increase in the present AOH grant (a home grant) received by the MBS.¹⁸⁷ In 1940 the Secondary Department was opened at the Menouf Boys’ School, and in autumn a second was formed; it was regarded as a successful development.¹⁸⁸

As a result of the Ministry of Education’s persistence on ‘recognition’ of teachers in 1950, the MBS was endangered by the probability of its teachers leaving the school before the end of the year. However, when the situation was explained to the Minister of Education, orders were issued to keep the teachers in their school.¹⁸⁹ In 1955 the MBS came to be regarded as a source of malaise to the country and members of the Anglican Church were accused of “ being agents and spies for the British.”

*“ The school has not been a faithful witness to Christian education, owing to weakness, treachery and failure. Its greatest opponents have been Christians of the Coptic Church.”*¹⁹⁰

2.5.4 Menouf Girls’ School

The Menouf Girls’ School (MGS) was opened in 1912 by William Cash, General Secretary of the Egypt CMS Mission till 1941, for Christian Coptic girls to teach them to read and write. The School developed into a primary school with a kindergarten. The pupils were Egyptians who came from middle-class families working as tradesmen and Government officials. The kindergarten was open to children at the age of four years old and it was available for both boys and girls.

The primary classes prepared the pupils to take the Government Primary School Certificate at the age of thirteen and plus. In their third and fourth-year classes, the pupils were introduced to a Domestic Science Course where they learned simple housecraft and cooking though the accommodation for this course was considered unsatisfactory. (See Appendix E) The learning of handwork and needle work was taken by all the girls in the school.¹⁹¹

The MGS charged fees at both kindergarten and primary levels. At Kindergarten the fees for Girls were estimated at £2.1/2, and that of boys was estimated at £3 per year. Primary classes had to pay £3- £4.1/2 per year without including books and materials which were not included. The School received no Government grants. After succeeding in the Primary Certificate, the pupils furthered their learning at non- CMS Secondary or Craft Schools which were in vogue; notably, for Muslim girls. While some of these girls were trained in either nursing or baby welfare work, the others would get married. The School provided game activities like volley ball and netball. Regarding these activities, it was argued:

*“ The Primary girls are divided into three houses- each house having girls of all different ages. The best house in conduct, cleanliness, and lessons is awarded the silver cup. Through the houses the girls are encouraged to take an interest in and to help those less fortunate than themselves, and throughout the year they support a small club for poor children.”*¹⁹²

The assistant staff were Egyptian Christians adhering either to the Coptic Church, the American Presbyterian Church or the Church of England. The kindergarten teachers held a Primary Certificate and received training by the Principal of the School. As for the Primary School Teachers, they held the Egyptian Secondary Certificate and received an American training course. In 1937, Miss Hamer , member of the CMS educational staff, requested the permission for employing one of

her former Muslim pupils at the MGS as a part-time teacher. This raised, in due course the question of accepting Muslims within CMS educational institutions.¹⁹³ The School's activities were based on Bible classes derived from Christian teachings. Both Muslims and Christians were admitted, nevertheless, Muslim parents could ask for the exemption of their children from these classes.¹⁹⁴ Like the OCBS Secondary Department, at the Conference on "realignment", it was decided to close the Primary Department of the MGS.¹⁹⁵

In a letter dated 28th June 1945, Morrison wrote to the Rev H D Hooper, at CMS, London headquarter, in which he reminded him of a Minute of the Standing Committee (SC) on the considering the future of CMS Educational work in Menoufia. It was intended to make the CMS policy in that area more rural in outlook. The eventual decision of moving the MBS and the MGS to the vicinity of Menouf town was linked to the CMS' experiments started in autumn, which would determine the best lines of development in future.

Morrison remarked that the spread of the news that the Egyptian Government was in quest of good premises for a boys' secondary school in Menouf, raised the possible eventuality that the CMS might approach them for the selling of both of the MBS and the MGS's premises to the Ministry of Education. The Standing Committee gave its consent, after lengthy consideration, provided that the CMS would not be under the obligation of vacating its premises before June 1946.¹⁹⁶

2.5.5 Menoufia Village Schools: The Policy of Rural Units

The need for developing a new policy for Menouf (also Manoufia) with a rural outlook was already expressed in 1935 through the Minutes of the Meeting of the Egypt Mission Conference held at the Old Cairo Hospital. The Rev S F Cooper emphasized the need for an agreed policy for all CMS work in Menoufia. Cooper invited the CMS Egypt Mission to consider the crucial importance of rural missions. *"Egypt stood far behind other countries in the place it gave to village evangelism and rural reconstruction."*¹⁹⁷ Work in the villages should be developed, even if it meant closing existing activities in Cairo.

The need for Village Schools was reiterated on March 7th, 1938. A Committee, appointed by the Native Church Council of the IMC, was called to consider the CMS Egypt's evangelistic policy in Cairo. It resulted in a Minute stating that the most effective methods of evangelism were the opening of Christian village schools in co- operation with the Copts. The Native Church Council gave its full support to the new policy.¹⁹⁸ Early in February 1938, in a Conference for Copts, it was declared that Coptic children were in need of Christian education otherwise:

*" There would grow up a generation which is largely ignorant of Christian truth, and which, through education in the Government compulsory schools, would be far better acquainted with Islam than with Christianity. The probable, if not inevitable, would that the process of Islamizing, already so prevalent amongst unshepherded Copts, would be accelerated. It is estimated that at the present time 500 Copts, at very least, become Muslim annually. Some place the figure at 500, or even higher as 1500 per annum."*¹⁹⁹

Requests were sent to the Egyptian Government to appoint Christian teachers in Government Schools, where a fair number of Christian pupils were

enrolled, and press on them to teach them their own religion. The requests were met with categorical refusal. About the situation of the Coptic pupils and the urgency of opening Village Schools, Morrison argued:

*“ Christian children according to the law can claim exemption from attendance at the lessons in the Koran and Islam, which constitute 10 out of 24 weekly lessons in these schools; in actual practice, they find it very difficult to do so, because of the pressure of public opinion. The only hope, therefore, is the present situation would appeal to be the opening of Christian schools primarily for the Christian children in the villages.”*²⁰⁰

The scheme proposed the cooperation of the Episcopal Church in Egypt, the CMS and the Coptic community for the opening of five village schools in the Giza province and five in the Menoufia Province. As far as Menoufia was concerned, a survey of the different districts was undertaken to provide the names of the five suitable districts for the establishment of the CMS new schools.²⁰¹ In 1937 the Coptic Bishop of the Giza Province, in the presence of Wehba Bey Mina of the Coptic Patriarchate, invited the CMS to open such schools in the Giza Province. The Bishop promised that:

*“ If we would do so, he would arrange for the rooms, attached to each local Coptic Church, to be made available for the school premises.”*²⁰²

The Schools would require a grant to secure the purchase of the necessary furniture and outfit. They would also require one or two teachers in each school. The schools would charge a small fee for each enrollment and the CMS would give an initial grant of £.5 to each school for the expenses of furniture and equipment. It was decided that the first year (1938-1939) would be experimental by opening one or two schools each year until reaching the number of five schools in each province.

Regarding the supervision of the schools, it was suggested that the CMS clerics; Rev A N Johnson would be responsible for the control of the Giza Province, and the Rev S P Cooper would control that of the Menoufia Province.²⁰³ Regarding the advantages of the scheme, Morrison argued:

*“ For many years the need has been felt for more effective occupation of the villages in the Giza and the Manoufia Provinces. One scheme outlined many years ago by Dr Cash was to have a ring of about 15 dispensaries with the Menouf Hospital at its centre. There was to be a resident evangelist in each dispensary. Lack of staff and lack of funds have prevented the putting of this plan into execution.”*²⁰⁴

Morrison explained that one among the objectives of the plan was the holding of evangelistic meetings in each of the ten village schools. To achieve this purpose, Morrison suggested the appointment of what called “ evangelically-minded- teachers. With respect to the local Coptic community, they would be involved in the cooperative work of the new evangelistic activity. The “Friends of the Bible” (a Coptic Society) would participate in this activity by sending their speakers. The evangelists from the two hospitals would contribute with visits to provide help. Former patients would be visited by teachers in their homes.

*“ Thus, “Morrison argues: ”our evangelistic work will (as it should) be more village-minded, and it will grow both extensively and intensively at the same time.”*²⁰⁵

The village schools, according to Morrison, would also be ideal in helping the CMS larger schools in Old Cairo and Menouf:

*“ This is what our educational Committee has long ago approved, especially when discussing the policy of the Menouf Boys’ School and the Menouf Girls School. ”*²⁰⁶

For this reason, the CMS should set among its priorities the reopening of the Boarding Department of the Old Cairo Boys' School and the opening of a boarding department at the Menouf Girls' School as suggested by the CMS educational evangelist; Miss Warburton, and approved by the Standing Committee.²⁰⁷ To carry out the scheme, two conditions were put forward; the first was that AOH grant (a CMS home grant) would not sponsor it and money should not be subtracted from existing projects. The cost of the ten schools was estimated by £50 for initial grants and £180 per annum for current expenses. Morrison pointed out that the scheme would take time before all ten schools would be operative. The CMS Mission was informed that they would receive money to cover the expenditure. In case these schools needed slightly more than the sum provided, the CMS would cover it and would likely resort to the reducing of the number of schools. As for the extra expenditures, it was noted that they would be covered either from school fees or from substantial grants provided by the Coptic community.²⁰⁸

Regarding the administration of these schools, they would be under the direction of the Native Church Council, like, the village school at Ghamreen, but financed by the CMS. Morrison remarked that these schools were needed for their evangelistic and educational values designed primarily for Christian pupils; recognition from the Government should not constitute any problem according to Morrison.²⁰⁹ On September 24, 1940, a memorandum on a 'Rural Unit' was elaborated by Morrison and presented to the Africa Emergency Committee. The memorandum was the incarnation of an all-inclusive scheme represented in a 'Rural Unit'. The new scheme considered the Church at the centre of the Mission whereby it would engage in various social activities:

*“ Under a central direction, as a means of mere effective witness to the missionary objective. Measures are suggested for spiritual, educational, medical, social and economic (including agricultural) undertakings, all of which would be regulated from a single centre.”*²¹⁰

Copies of Morrison's memorandum under the title of "A Plan for the More Effective Occupation of the Giza and Manoufia Provinces", were in circulation before the memorandum was sent to Christian authorities at Home. The Medical and Educational Sub-Committees approved the scheme for its evangelistic character. The two Sub-Committees mentioned above endorsed the scheme by remarking the following:

(1-) "That , if possible teachers should be secured from the local community.

(2-) That, particular attention should be given to the training of such village teachers in both educational and evangelistic work.

(3-) That, the Local Coptic Community be encouraged from the outset to assume or at least to share responsibility for the administration of the schools.

(4-) That , as far as possible, grants should be subject to an annual reduction, so that ultimately there might be no need for a grant from the CMS.

(5-) That, the grants be made from the Bywater Legacy Fund.

(6-) That the Native Church Council be invited to assume with the Coptic Community responsibility for the administration of the schools, so that the scheme should be Church-centered, as far as possible.²¹¹

By 1947, the religious liberty of Christian schools was at risk and CMS policy had to be reconsidered. The Government prohibited the teaching of Christianity to Muslim children even if the Christian schools were provided with the parents' consent. The teaching of religion was allowed only if it formed a part of

a course in history or philosophy, and so far as these schools interfered with the religious conviction of the pupils. Regarding these conditions Morrison argued:

*“ Certain missionary societies in Egypt have decided not to accept non-Christian pupils next year. They feel that unless pupils are allowed to attend the Scripture lessons, they cannot benefit from the school. The CMS and the American Mission have reached a different decision. For the present, they propose to retain their Muslim pupils, in the hope that the tone of the school and the Christian life and example of the staff will have some lasting influence upon them.”*²¹²

The Educational Committee established in 1945 extended the scope of consultation on educational problems and policy with the various Egyptian churches. As for the Coptic village schools, they received a financial subsidy from the CMS during the summer of 1947. A conference for village school teachers was planned at the Old Cairo Boys' School where instructions were given for the making of mats, rugs and carpets. This was an incentive for two or three of the village schools to begin work in this field. Morrison's evaluation of the rural project was noted as satisfactory in terms of the standard of work of the teachers and evangelists.²¹³

2.5.6 The Agricultural Unit at Ghamreen:

1945 Onwards

The CMS appointed an Egyptian graduate of the Faculty of Agriculture to open a farm school for boys at Ghamreen. A teacher was employed for village handicrafts and secured the salaries of the pupils working on the farm.²¹⁴ The dairy farm was opened in November 1945 with a Capital expenditure of £.488. There was a deficit of £.43 on the current account, which was hoped to be eliminated or reduced by the end of the first financial year. The active parts concerned by the actual state and the future of this Rural Unit, were the Group, the Rural

Unit Committee, and the Native Church Council. After some discussion, the NCC speculations were about the decision to close the village school by the end of 1945 and use the grant for an agricultural school. Accordingly, the Standing Committee agreed to the following points:

“1- That the salary of the agriculturalist had to be paid from the grant of £400 given by the P C for the farm school, and that the other school expenses should be met, as far as possible, from the sale of the farm products and from the grant now being given to the Ghamreen village School.

2- That every effort be made to start a co-operation society at Ghamreen, so as to encourage the people there to share for the improvement of the village.

3- That as soon as a capable Christian midwife can be found and given the requisite training, a baby welfare centre be opened at Ghamreen, to be financed and supervised by the M M M (Menouf Medical Mission) , at an estimated cost of £.200 per annum. The question of the relation of this Welfare to the Baby Welfare Committee of the Mission was left over for consideration later.

4- That the general supervision of the work at Ghamreen be committed for the present to the Menouf Group, together with the agriculturist and the midwife, then appointed.

5- That the question whether the sum of £.250 taken from the balance of the Bywater Fund for the use of the dairy farm be regarded as a gift or loan, be postponed for further consideration at the close of the first financial year.

6- That the suggestion that the Rev A N and Mrs Johnson take up

their residence in Ghamreen be re-considered by the Menouf Group in the autumn in the light of conditions then prevailing."²¹⁵

The NCC gave its consent for the transformation of the school at Ghamreen in the autumn of 1946 into an agricultural school for boys of eleven years of age and over.²¹⁶ By November, 21st 1947, the CMS Egypt Mission was under the obligation to close the Rural Unit at Ghamreen. As a result of the Egyptian Government's decision to open 15 or more rural centres in the vicinity of the CMS institutions at Menouf, with an eventual consideration for the transfer of the Mission rural centre to the Giza province.²¹⁷

After the closure of the Rural Unit at Ghamreen due to Government decision, The Rev. A N Johnson reports about the impossibility of neither maintaining the village school as an agricultural school nor to continue the evangelistic meetings. Other difficulties arose with respect to the dairy farm buildings at Ghamreen, the Rev AN Johnson also reported that due to the incessant difficulties with the owner; the CMS was obliged to move the rural unit elsewhere. In this respect, Johnson argued:

" The decision of the Egyptian Government to open fifteen or more rural centres in the immediate neighbourhood of Menouf raised the question whether it might not be wiser to transfer the mission rural centre to the Giza Province where greater co-operation from the local community might be expected. The whole question of the future of the work in Menoufia was under continuous consideration." ²¹⁸

2.6 The CMS Egypt Mission and British Government: A Synergetic Relationship

The aim of this research is to investigate into the nature of the CMS Mission in Egypt to assess its success or failure and the rationale behind it is to investigate into the nature that characterized the relationship of the CMS with the British Foreign Office during the period under study (1936 and 1959). Morrison, Secretary of the CMS Egypt Mission, argued after the Montreux Convention (1936) and the abolition of Capitulation (1937) leading the 'independence' of Egypt saying:

“ No longer is there any ground for associating the missionary enterprise in the Egyptian mind with the supposed Imperialistic policy of Great Britain. In this respect, missions should gain rather than lose by the withdrawal of British influence.” ²¹⁹

Morrison argued that Mission should gain rather than lose by the withdrawal of British influence. This statement provides a blatant evidence which contradicted the CMS actions. Different occasions, attest to Morrison's seeking British influence for his Mission. Missions, acting under aegis of colonialism were no doubt under of their governments' protection as was the case for the CMS with the British Government.

In the following section our efforts will be geared towards shedding light on the different occasions, between 1936 and 1959, where the CMS Egypt Mission was umbilically tied to Britain and vice versa. Although the political context of Egypt after the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty at Montreux (1937) made Egypt an independent country, but with British troops stationed at the Canal Zone, the problems encountered by the CMS Egypt Mission, revealed a striking desire from the Mission at seeking “ paternalistic” directions and solutions to its problems from the British Foreign Office. Within Egypt's new political context,

however, the British Foreign Office 'attitude towards its British missions, could not be but one of a sympathizer and advisor. It observed the happenings from a distance and could not interfere with the decisions of the Egyptian Government because, at this juncture, It had no right to do it.

The first occasion on which the CMS Egypt Mission sought the interference of the British Foreign Office was at the negotiations at Montreux (1937). Morrison expressed a concern about the absence of insertion of any clause for the protection of minorities' liberties, however:

“ Interviews with Sir Miles Lampton, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, the British Foreign Office, and the States Department at Washington lend encouragement to the hope that provisions similar to those inserted in the Treaty covering Iraq's admission to the League of Nations, will be demanded when Egypt submits to Geneva her application for membership of that body.” ²²⁰

After 1936, the Egypt CMS Mission's activities were under scrutiny, and the Egyptian Government opposed any effort at proselytizing Muslim pupils. It is interesting, in this context, to see how the leading members of the CMS Egypt Mission reacted to the Egyptian Government decisions about missionary activities. The Mission aimed at proselytizing pupils and sought the interference of the British Foreign Office.

In a letter dated 23rd of May 1939, Llewellyn Gwynne, Bishop of the Anglican Church in Egypt, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury regarding the critical phase undergone by Christian education in Egypt. He referred to the developments after the signing of the Anglo- Egyptian Treaty (1937) in which the educational, medical and charitable institutions of the United Kingdom were secured. Nonetheless, in June 1938 a draft law was submitted to the Egyptian

Senate, which if adopted, as pointed out by Gwynne, would abrogate the clauses in the Treaty relating to the protective measures of CMS missionary institutions. On the 11th May 1939, it was reported in a newspaper that the Minister of Justice drafted a law which aimed at the protection of religious beliefs from the influence of missionaries' evangelistic activities. In response to this news, Bishop Gwynne argued saying:

“ It is quite clear that unless some pressure is brought to bear from the Foreign Office in England there will be introduced a law which will make null and void what we consider some of the most important clauses of the Treaty which the Egyptians solemnly promised to keep. Mr Hesly, the Legal adviser at the Embassy, gives it as his opinion that unless strong measures are brought to bear from the Foreign Office, all our splendid institutions in Egypt, including the Egypt General Mission, which is an English missionary society as large as ourselves, will have to close down.” ²²¹

Bishop Gwynne, however, expressed his discontentment about the situation and the weak policy of the British Foreign Office, he revealed his imperialistic attitude and he was critical and vociferous about Egyptians when he argued:

“ I know these Egyptians well after forty years of experience, and I know we have lost ground again and again in dealing with them by yielding instead of being firm. Their mentality is entirely different from ours, Even the politicians now in power in Egypt have no real political instinct for the good of the people of the country. The policy of the British Foreign Office for Egyptian Affairs has been so weak that the fair-minded, straightforward Egyptians of high ideals dare not even lift up their voices against what they know is vote-catching and dishonest legislation against institutions which are of the utmost value to Egypt.” ²²²

In a correspondence of the CMS General Secretary, William Cash had with Morrison on June 9th, 1939, inquiring about more information regarding the draft law proposed for the Egyptian Parliament, in view of modifying the clauses secured at Montreux and hampering CMS education to Muslims, Cash also suggested that delegates should approach the Foreign Office on this issue. In this respect, he wrote the:

“ I am in touch with the Archbishop (of Canterbury) about a number of these points and I feel quite sure that he would himself approach the Foreign Office if there were really need for that and if the matter is urgent.” ²²³

In response to the CMS General Secretary's letter, Morrison informed him about the efforts of the Missions and Government Committee, of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, that it took the matter seriously and they intended to consult the British Foreign Office on the issue. In fact, at the request of the Missions and Government Committee, Morrison did discuss the matter at the British Embassy. The Embassy had previously written to the British Foreign Office noting that such a measure would be a violation of the Montreux Agreement. The Mission's reference with the British Foreign Office (BFO) on the issue and the eventual decision it was to adopt were highly sought by the Mission. In reply, Morrison emphasized that the BFO's position maintained that the draft law aimed at the prevention of proselytizing of minors and expressed its inability at exercising pressure to effect change in the Egyptian Government decision for authorizing proselytism ²²⁴

Lord Halifax, Secretary of State sent a letter dated 16th July, 1939, to Dr Paton; a CMS administrative official, concerning his meeting with the Archbishop of Canterbury and their discussion about the Egyptian laws restricting the work of British missionary societies. Halifax reiterated his position as follows:

“ I do not think it possible to challenge the section of the Egyptian authorities in seizing and destroying copies of pamphlets which appear to contain serious attacks on Islam. When the President of the Egyptian Delegation at the Montreux Conference is in May 1937 addressed a letter to the President of the United Kingdom Delegation regarding the manner in which foreign educational institutions would be permitted to carry on their activities in Egypt, it was orally made clear to the British Delegation that the Egyptian Government were not giving assurance to cover Missionary enterprise in the form of proselytism and that all proslytism in Egypt was illegal. (Halifax ended on the note) I can assure you however that we shall continue to watch the attitude of the Egyptian Government towards British religious institutions in Egypt and will do everything that we can to protect their legitimate activities.” ²²⁵

In correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 26th July 1939, Lord Halifax explained that the law pertaining to Christian missionary schools in Egypt constituted the matter of correspondence between the British Ambassador and the British Foreign Office. Halifax pointed out that the situation, as it happened at the close of the Montreux Conference an agreement was reached on May 1937 for the abolition of the Capitulations in Egypt. The President of the Egyptian delegation, in a letter to British delegation, was clear and emphatic about the way foreign missions would be allowed to carry on their activities. They were to retain their legal status, be governed by their charters, and within the limits of the customs recognized in Egypt, they would be recognized and freedom shall be safeguarded to all institutions of the UK on condition that there would be no offence against “ public order or morals” . Halifax argued saying:

“At the time when the Egyptian delegation at the Montreux Conference wrote this letter they made it quite clear to the British

delegates that they were not giving assurances to cover missionary enterprise in the form of proselytism and that all proselytism in Egypt was illegal.” ²²⁶

Halifax further argued:

“However, we must remember that the undertaking given at Montreux in favour of foreign educational institutions was intended to cover their activities as cultural organizations without the inclusion of the element of religion. The bill does not conflict with the undertaking given by the Egyptian delegation at the Montreux Conference, more especially as when giving that undertaking the Egyptian delegates made it perfectly clear that they would not give any assurance covering missionary enterprises in the form of proselytism and that all proselytism in Egypt was illegal.” ²²⁷

In 1941, the Conference of British Missionary Societies proffered a Memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies about the interest they gave to the welfare of people in the area where they live. They also expressed a firm belief that it was within the scope of missionary responsibility to make religion creep into people’s daily life. Despite the WWII and its repercussions, the British Government, at this juncture, kept its interference in the affairs of the colonies, notably, their encouragement to the development of rural life development. In this connection, it is argued:

“ In spite of major preoccupation with the prosecution of the war, the Government continues to give practical evidence of its desire for better conditions in Colonial area under its control, and the emphasis is laid on the importance of training rural personal in education, health services, and agriculture. The challenge to local initiative and resourcefulness gives a clear lead for missionary cooperation.” ²²⁸

This statement provides obvious evidence about the interference of British policy in the CMS Egypt educational work through its establishment to the Menoufia Village Centre. In 1946, Morrison provided another evidence of his dependence on British officials' interference in the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. The 'valuable contacts he made during his furlough in Britain would influence the negotiations which would have positive consequences on CMS missionary work in Egypt. In April 1946 Bishop Gwynne, Norman Goodall (of the IMC) and Morrison met Bowker; British Minister in Cairo and Judge Bealy; Judicial Adviser at the British Embassy. Their meeting concluded with the following observation:

“ Apparently the revised Treaty, which is military in scope, does not touch the question of Religious Freedom, but it is hoped that subsequently an Establishment Treaty will be negotiated, in which guarantees for British missionary Institutions may be included. Meanwhile, all Missions are keeping before their diplomatic authorities the importance of securing, if possible, a renewal of the undertakings given by the Egyptian Government at the Montreux Convention of 1937, which would normally terminate on October 1949.” ²²⁹

In 1950 Morrison was very concerned about the dissemination of Communism in Egypt, as a result, he wrote an official report giving information to the British Foreign Office. Morrison argued about the spread of Communism in Egypt as follows:

“ Though forbidden by the Egyptian Government, Communist propaganda is making headway with students, junior Government officials and trades unionists. The student classes are turning to Communism in the hope that it will improve economic and social conditions. They know little of its doctrines, but judge the changes brought about in Communist-controlled countries. Christian students

also see in it a challenge to Islam's supremacy, which brings discrimination in ordinary life against the minorities.” ²³⁰

“Historiographers’ Spectacles” would no doubt differ in their interpretations about such conduct. As this research is part and parcel of historiography, about Morrison’s conduct we deduce that he was an effective arm to both the CMS and Britain. The relationship of the CMS Egypt Mission during the period of study with the British Foreign Office was symbiotic. In 1951, Morrison was invited by the senior staff of the British Embassy to talk on the work of the CMS in Egypt, and the problem encountered by Christian minorities. The Publicity section of the Embassy helped in publishing an edition of 5,000 copies of an Arabic booklet entitled: *“Communism is not the answer to Egypt’s problems.* It was written under a pen name and was ”published by a commercial bookseller in Cairo so that its origin will not be disclosed.”²³¹ Rev. Mathew comments on Morrison’s conduct as a:

“ Covert interference in the domestic politics of Egypt was a very dangerous ploy for any missionary, exposing all missionaries to charges of being agents for foreign powers. It put all the laudable work being done by CMS in such areas as education and health at some risk.” ²³²

Rev. Mathew attributed Morrison’s interference in the politics of Egypt to the changing political climate. About the new political climate Rev. Mathew argued:

“ In 1949, Morrison detected that the atmosphere in which missionaries were operating had eased. The failure of the Arab attack on Israel had weakened the idea of a pan-Islamic Arab block, encouraging Egypt to align herself with one of the western powers. The excesses of the Muslim Brotherhood had shown the dangers of

extreme Islamic nationalism. In addition, the Egyptian Government was anxious about the influence of Communism. A diverse religious context with strong links to the West seemed desirable. Sadly for the Anglican Church, this situation was not to last.” ²³³

Reverend Mathew Rhodes referred to the outstanding aspect of Bishop Gwynne’s service among Allied troops stationed in Egypt during the Second World War. About Bishop Gwynne and members of the CMS Mission and their siding with British interests, Rev. Mathew argued:

“ Egypt remained neutral for most of the War, Bishop Gwynne was a fervent supporter of the Allied cause. Despite the rising tide of Egyptian nationalism, the leaders of the Anglican Church in Egypt always tended to side with British interests, jeopardising the mission of the Anglican Church among Egyptians and frequently placing Egyptian Anglicans in a difficult position.” ²³⁴

To sum up, the CMS defined its concept and perception of Christian Education as a life-long process that outstripped the Mural education . Such education aimed at demonstrating the Christian way of life through classrooms, hospitals, clinics, maternity centres, farms and agriculture. The CMS Egypt Mission’ schools were seen to play their role in multiplying the number of evangelically minded members of the Anglican Church in Egypt.

The CMS Egypt Mission educational system calls for serious attention as it demonstrated an unflagging educational and evangelistic activity which targeted the evangelization of Muslims and placed them at the top of its missionary agenda. Nevertheless, gaining converts from among Muslims, with their deep-rooted monotheistic faith, was deemed a failure as Muslims were categorical in their rejection to the Christian creed as a whole.

All of the CMS Egypt schools followed the Egyptian Government educational curriculum as Government education provided the only medium that could lead to the different types of employment. The CMS linking of its schools to the Egyptian Government's educational requirements brought its educational institutions under the regular Government's control and inspection. As early as 1936, the CMS was facing the Egyptian Government policy which was geared towards counter-opposing missionary activities. The Egyptian Government's decision to reduce the course for the Baccalaureate examination from five years to four years, for instance, raised problems for some of the CMS schools like the OCBS as to either add a fourth year to take its pupils to Baccalaureate standard or put an end to its secondary system of education. The addition complication for introducing the fourth year raised further the question of increased Egyptian staff. CMS schools were also subject to the recurrent inspections by the Ministry of Education' inspectors visits which were perceived as irritating by the staff. The Egyptian teachers in CMS schools were considered as lacking qualification and skills by the Egyptian Government standards and requirements. Accordingly, teachers were threatened by exclusion. However, most of the teachers ended, eventually, by receiving an official recognition as efficient teachers. The dangerous effect emanating from Recognition for the CMS was the possibility of losing its teachers to the Egyptian Government.

Another way of counter-facing the CMS educational missionary activity in 1947 was the Ministry of Education' training to one thousand teachers and the edification of educational institutions. The initiative was considered as a serious blow to the CMS that led to the decrease of both enrollment and fees in CMS schools. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education was firm on its decisions on the illegitimacy of teaching any religion other than Islam despite the parent or guardians' approval. These issues were deemed problematic by Morrison; the Mission Secretary and led, eventually, the CMS Egypt Mission to reflect upon a

new policy.

By 1946, the new political atmosphere led to the thought of whether the CMS Egypt Mission could still be pursued. The apprehension over the revision of the ending of Capitulations as laid down at Montreux Convention (1937) estimated to end over a period of twelve years, (1949) and the British policy towards the Near East members of the Arab League of Nation were considered as extremely important issues that impinged on the future policy of the CMS educational activity. By 1947, the religious liberty of Christian schools was at risk and CMS policy had to be reconsidered. The teaching of religion was allowed only if it formed a part of a course in history or philosophy. By 1951, the Ministry of Education' Inspectors urged the CMS schools to accept the Government Grant-in-aid. This meant for the CMS involving the teaching the Quran and was interpreted as an effort at stumbling Christian teaching. In 1956 the OCGS became the Episcopal School for Girls and under the care of a national Headmistress.

The CMS Egypt Mission's need for developing a new policy for Manoufia with a rural outlook had already been expressed in 1935. This need for Village Schools was reiterated on March 7th, 1938. The Mission Secretary, Morrison, remarked that these schools were needed for their evangelistic and educational values. The new policy placed the Church at the centre of the Mission and would engage in various social activities. On September 24, 1940, a memorandum on a Rural Unit was elaborated by Morrison and presented to the Africa Emergency Committee. The memorandum was the incarnation of an all-inclusive scheme represented in a 'Rural Unit'. The new scheme put the Church at the centre of the Mission whereby it would engage in various social activities.

By 1947, the religious liberty of Christian schools was at risk and CMS policy had to be reconsidered. The Government prohibited the teaching of Chris-

tianity to Muslim children even if the Christian schools were provided with the parents' consent. The teaching of religion was allowed only if it formed a part of a course in history or philosophy, and so far as these schools interfered with the religious conviction of the pupils.

The chapter investigated into one aspect of the nature of the CMS Mission in Egypt, namely, the educational and evaluated the relationship of the CMS with the British Foreign Office during the period under study (1936 and 1959). The different occasions on the interference of the CMS Mission with the British Foreign Office and the Embassy were pin- pointed throughout the study. This relationship could not be but described as synergetic. The chapter has also shed light on the importance of the Missions and Government Committee of the International Missionary Council which was instrumental in the life of the CMS Egypt Mission. The next chapter will consider another facet of the CMS Egypt Mission's activity through medical work and will attempt to evaluate their work in Egypt.

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Chapter Three
The CMS Egypt Mission's
Medical Work:
1936-1959

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The CMS Egypt Mission's Medical Work: 1936-1959

3.1 The Old Cairo Medical Mission (OCMM): 1936-1959

This chapter will examine the CMS medical work for the period between 1936-1959. During this period, the CMS continued its management to the Old Cairo Hospital and established other medical institutions. This chapter will track the entire CMS missionary work and the policy followed for converting Egyptians. The problems encountered by the CMS medical work will be highlighted and an evaluation of the CMS medical work will be provided. This chapter will, however, start by shedding light on the motive behind the institution of Western Christianity to medical missions.

3.1.1 The Concept of Healing: A Christian Perspective

Jesus' miraculous acts of healing touched to the physical and mental aspects of the patient, accordingly, the church throughout history, embraced the healing ministry. The church, notably, through the monasteries came to provide hospital care for or a long time throughout history and healing remained to a great extent the church's responsibility.¹ The introduction of medical work into the Christian missionary activity was intended as a means to an end. The ultimate aim of the medical work was to gain converts through effecting a change in faith of its target and:

*“ The realization that salvation for the soul and the health for the body are inseparable. It was to serve as an open door of opportunity for the message of full salvation”*²

Throughout history, the medical work placed evangelism at the heart of the strategies of approach. Medical missions were motivated by a religious incentive, that of being at the image of Jesus in his miraculous curative acts for bringing about conversion.³ The Mission Home agencies were, generally, very careful about securing the health of their missionaries before sending them to foreign missionary stations. All missionaries were, accordingly, subject to a physical examination text to be entitled to work in foreign mission fields; a way of providing the ideal paradigms for mission work.⁴ The CMS medical work in Egypt established various medical institutions for evangelizing Muslim Egyptians. These institutions will be considered in the chronological order of their foundation so the whole medical activity over the period 1936-1959 will be covered. The CMS Egypt Medical institutions were the following:

a- The Old Cairo Hospital and its Influence.

The Old Cairo Hospital was founded in 1889 by Dr Frank Harpur in 1889. In 1936, it had one-hundred and seventy 170 beds and it provided accommodation for some hundreds of patients. The hookworm shelters in the Hospital made it one of the largest CMS missionary hospitals in the world. Patients came to the Hospital from distant places for treatment and it is reported that patients had even come from Mecca, including the keeper of the Kaaba.

The Egyptian Government hospitals and other hospitals in Cairo provided a good standard of medical treatment to the Egyptians. The CMS Medical Mission, nevertheless, worked with sub-standard equipment compared to that of the Egyptian Government hospitals. About the staff working in the Hospital, it was argued:

“ We are justly proud of our native staff. On the men’s side, the senior members have been with us ten, fifteen, and even twenty years. They are true Christians, steady and reliable in their work, and a splendid influence in the hospital. We have also a very promising group of youngsters aged fifteen and upwards. To fit them to their work, they are given a three years’ course of instruction in anatomy, physiology, and nursing, and have to pass the tests in these subjects set by the doctors.” ⁵

Writing in the “CMS Outlook” for December 1936, Dr Cutting pointed out to the widespread influence of the Old Cairo Hospital through the evangelistic activities of Bible women which brought about fruitful results in the wards and in the out-patient departments. Kindness and fair treatment to children seemed to have left good impressions.⁶ The Old Cairo Hospital was interrelated with the native Church and the Old Cairo congregation which constituted half the total

membership of the church, corresponding to one-hundred and twenty in 1936. A massive direct evangelistic work of the hospital was carried on by salaried native evangelists, who took the responsibility of teaching Christianity to Muslims. The evangelists, also, gave lessons to out-patients twice a day in the wards. Men evangelists extended their work to the villages by visiting and holding meetings. The nurses and servants were stimulated to take part in the evangelistic work in the wards.

By 1936, the Old Cairo Hospital reaped few converts from among Muslims. They numbered twenty-five, however, it was noted that they did not all stand firm in their belief. It was also pointed out that the above number of converts did not provide the definite result of CMS labour for the past fifty years. On the Muslim patients' attitude towards the hospital, it was argued:

“ After their stay of three weeks or so they go away with a totally different idea. They have seen Christianity in action in the kind attention to their physical needs in the lessons in the wards have heard its teaching expounded in a way which disarms much of their prejudice and suspicion, and also they have heard no word of condemnation of their Prophet.”⁷

While conversion gave scant results, the Hospital relied much on the indirect ways as a means to bring about large numbers of Muslims to Christianity.⁸ The Old Cairo Hospital was known to the villagers as “Harmel”; a mispronunciation of Dr Harpur's name. The villages' peasants' class constituted the bulk of the Hospital's patients. On the glittering aspect of the Hospital, and the missionaries spurning of the miserable conditions of the patients, it was argued:

*“ They come in from all the noise and dust of the streets to the compound and are immediately confronted with grass and flower beds around the hospital buildings, which they enter after they have been admitted by the doctor. How strange it must be to them to be washed and dressed in clean clothes, and put into beds with sheets and blankets. Instead of lying in a dark and dirty corner of a house (probably built with mud bricks), surrounded with noise and clatter, the talking of relatives and neighbours, and the noise of animals and chickens, what a contrast’. of being ill at home where neglect, ignorance and dirt prevail, and relatives and friends invade the place to console them, and often times enemies come to gloat over the pains and misfortune of the invalid.”*⁹

In 1938, the Old Cairo Hospital counted one-hundred and seventy-six (176). seven-hundred and fifty (750) men and women received treatment promptly for the two prevalent diseases mentioned earlier. During certain periods of the year, the out-patient accommodation was considered poor. As a result, a first-floor room had to be used as a clinic. The four years’ training given to nurses in the Old Cairo did not follow the government training as was the case for the hospitals attached to the government medical school. Nevertheless, on the influence of Christian hospital, it was argued that:

*“ These mission-trained girls seldom have difficulty in obtaining employment and are usually accepted as staff nurses. Many of them marry and have the opportunity of carrying out in their home life what they have learnt in the hospital.”*¹⁰

b- Old Cairo Hospital Jubilee

The year 1939 marked the jubilee year of the hospital. The Mission was considering the rebuilding of the Old Cairo Hospital. However, the outbreak

of the war went without the realization of the project. In that year, the Rev AN Johnson, a CMS cleric, was transferred from Menouf to supervise the evangelistic work in the hospital. With the help of the Rev Adeeb Shammas, members of the congregation and students were recruited and trained in evangelism with the hospital staff. Bible women, like Miss Geaves and Miss, Rees-Mogg, was most active in the women's wards. On the ladies missionary work, it was pointed- out that:

*“ The problem of following up the patients in their homes is difficult, but the advance is being made especially with the fellaheen who have been patients in the women's anaemia shelter.”*¹¹

The jubilee of the Old Cairo Medical Mission in 1940 marked the Hospital at turning itself into rural areas. The history of the Old Cairo Hospital from its foundation, growth and development along with its influence was related by Bishop Gwynne in his “ These Fifty Years' Old Cairo Hospital Celebrates its Jubilee” The magnitude of the hospital's celebrity was such that Muslim patients asked for a letter to “ Harmul” i.e., the Old Cairo Hospital despite the availability of Government and private Hospitals.¹² Bishop Gwynne reported about the position of English high officials concerning the Hospital as follows:

“ Many Englishmen in high authority, some of whom were not interested in the missionary work of the Church paid great tribute to the efficiency and the compassion of our medical work. Lord Cromer, the great Pro-Consul who was a great benefactor to Egypt, was present and spoke at the opening of the original block buildings. Lord Kitchener, who had known the hospital for years when he was Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, visited it again when he was High Commissioner and was so struck by the treatment of ankylostomiasis cases that he instructed the Egyptian Medical Department to adopt the treatment in their hospitals in various parts of the country.

He said to a missionary friend: "If I were in your place I would use every possible means to bring the Christian faith before the people of this country, but it is my duty to see that your activities do not clash with order or upset unduly the religious susceptibilities of the people and bring about a fanatical rising." In various ways, he showed a true interest in the activities of the hospital. After the Great War Lord and Lady Lloyd were also interested in the work at Old Cairo. They not only visited the hospital but showed their appreciation by various acts of kindness."¹³

The work of the nurses was much appreciated by Dr PE Cutting for the role they played in linking the work of the medical mission of the Church. Miss CC Byrde, the only pharmacist in the hospital reported about the progressing betterment concerning the standard of work and the more select pharmaceutical equipment. Kamal Saleeb, in the Old Cairo pharmacy, was sent to England who during his holidays he worked half-time in the chemist's shop where Miss Byrde received her training.¹⁴ Miss MH Geaves reported about 1946 as being a strenuous year. Necessary missionary furloughs meant extra loads of work which managed to be maintained.¹⁵

The year 1947 recorded epidemic cholera which perturbed the activity of all missionary institutions in the country. Its outcomes led to a loss of fees as a result of the schools' closure till mid-November. The "Hoshes" for anaemia patients in the two hospitals were closed as well; leading to a financial deficit in the Old Cairo Hospital witnessed for the first time.¹⁶

Miss Rees-Mogg, a Bible woman and member of the Old Cairo Hospital staff, reported in 1947 about a summer voluntary activity of some CMS schools teachers who provided lessons, including handwork, to the children suffering from a bone disease in the Women's hospital, The children sometimes had to lie

in beds for months, even years and they benefitted much from this voluntary service. Others patient who was in the hospital for longer periods of treatment did also benefit from the summer voluntary activity. Miss Rees-Mogg and the staff, used to pay weekly visits to houses, and they prayed for the mothers and children.¹⁷

On 7th July 1948, Morrison wrote to Dr H G Anderson at CMS Headquarters in London about the issue of the CMS Egypt Mission and its charging of hospital fees. The issue was the object of some disconcerting among some members of Old Cairo Hospital, notably with Dr. Stuart as spokesman. Dr Stuart contended the procedure adopted at the Old Cairo Medical Mission for charging fees to patients. The arguments of the group of contenders from the Hospital's staff did not correspond to the policy or with the statements of the Parent Committee (PC). In response, Morrison argued as follows:

*“ I may say that several hours were spent in the discussion of this question in the Medical Sub-committee and also in Standing Committee, and I believe that the whole Mission is now fairly satisfied that the issues involved have been made clear, and that the Old Cairo Hospital is following the only practicable policy in present circumstances.”*¹⁸

Miss Rees-Mogg reported in 1949 about the changes achieved in the medical work in spite of the politically changing atmosphere in Egypt and the Government opposition. About the new missionary opportunities, Miss Mogg argued:

“ I feel that opportunities are only now becoming ready to be taken. Crowds of peasant patients link in with innumerable villages. Hospitals and Welfares and Social Work have least won the confidence and intimate trust in at least two large districts. Church and Mission are working in closer integration than ever

before. Increasing literacy and widening knowledge bring greater hope that teaching given will be understood.”¹⁹

The financial position of the Hospital at the celebration of its Diamond Jubilee was deemed unsatisfactory due to the recurrent need for repair to old buildings and to a rise in the cost of living. Nevertheless, the first section of the re-building scheme; the new Sanitation Block was almost completed. Bilharzia and Ankylostoma treatment fees, constituting the main part of the revenue, were subject to an increase. However, the rise in the treatment fees did not affect the number of out-patient attendances; in one record day, the number of out-patients examination reached one-thousand and six-hundred 1,600. ²⁰

By 1951, the revenues of the Hospital increased with an increase in the workload. The Hospital’s staff had almost doubled. The number of Egyptian staff surpassed two hundreds, compared to that of missionaries which decreased. Equipment at the Hospital became more modern. In the past, fees, for both in-patients and out-patients, had to be paid to an Egyptian evangelist at the window of a tiny office in the Out-Patient Department. But, Now, the OPD has a staff of five full-time Egyptian cashiers and all fees are passed through cash registers. On the patient’s registration card was written in Arabic: “ We welcome you to this hospital in the name of God and in the name of the love which was manifested in the Person of Jesus Christ.” Regarding the Hospital’s staff, on signing their contract, they received a letter of welcome stating the aims of the CMS Mission, and the responsibility to be assumed in joining the community. The staff was recommended to strive at maintaining a high level of Christian religiosity.²¹

The efforts of the Old Cairo Hospital were also geared at raising the standard of the nurses’ training to prepare them for State registration and get the Egyptian Government Recognition. The Hospital provided them knowledge about Christian doctrine and evangelism to witness for Christ. Dr Chase, a prac-

tioner and administrator at the Hospital reported the conversion of male and female nurses who were influenced by the daily morning staff prayers. Dr Chase entertained the idea of training laboratory technicians in new methods of learning, and to influence male nurses and boys from school to learn too. Dr Chase aspired at developing a laboratory technicians' training school that would train Christian boys to work, notably, in Government rural health centres.²²

Despite the political situation in 1952, things went on well as the relations between Egyptian and British members of the hospital were on good terms and were not affected by the pressure in Egypt. Two nurses of the Egypt General Mission hospital at Shebeen provided help at Old Cairo Hospital for theirs was subject to closure for a few months.

The pathology laboratory was moved to a larger space at the men's Hoshes building. Dr Chase envisaged the development of this work to the field of bacteriology, and he elaborated a course of laboratory technique lectures in Arabic in cooperation with Dr Gumil as a translator. The Rockefeller Foundation carried on research on rural hygiene in some villages which were visited by Dr Chase his and colleagues.²³ The year 1952, some of the girl nurses attended an eight-day Conference run by the American Mission, at Tanta, to gain experience. However, they were blamed for their lack of responsibility. In this regard, it was argued:

*“ Their chief fault apart from their nominal Christianity is their inability to take responsibility and to keep up the standard of work if left to themselves. A period in England, not to do a course, but to have extra experience in an English hospital might give them a wider outlook and a higher conception of nursing as a whole. Dr Chase feels that the most valuable Christian witness in this situation is probably the simple quality of integrity.”*²⁴

By 1951, the medical work in Egypt and Gaza was controlled by a Medical Board, appointed by the Egypt Church Council. Cooperation in work with the Egyptians was becoming more and more frequent. For instance, the Hospital Committee, elected by the workers in the hospital, gave them a share in controlling its daily activities.²⁵

3.1.2 The Old Cairo Hospital's Related Departments

The Old Cairo Hospital had Shelters, Out-Patient Department, Hoashes and Children Wards. In the Shelters, men and women could receive a ten-days or a month's treatment, depending on their diseases. The Shelters provided mats so that the patients could sleep on the ground. The treatment provided was of a massive scale due to their large number, therefore, they were obliged to queue for their daily medical treatment, notably, receiving their medicines and injections. The Shelters kept busy in providing treatments and the number of patients used to exceed eight-hundred (800). All patients were fed and cared for by the Hospital. The patients suffered, generally from two diseases; ankiostomiasis and bilharzia. Therefore, in addition to the evangelistic teaching, patients listened to health talks from which they learned the causes of their illnesses and the ways to prevent them.

In the out-patients department, the Bible women and evangelists consecrated thirty minutes for prayer in the mornings. In the wards' sections, patients prayed twice a day. When less busy, the doctors gave the message in the wards. Some of the men nurses sang hymns and gave a talk on Sunday evenings at men's wards in the hospital. Thus, all those coming to the Hospital for treatment were reached by the Gospels' message.²⁶ On 21st December 1944. Dr Douglas E Radcliffe referred to the CMS Medical Work and its development during the last few years saying:

“ It is simply astonishing- almost overwhelmingly so; in some departments, such as Out-Patients, it is pretty well threefold what it was in 1939. The numbers on a big Out- Patient day run-up to nearly 1,000. The beds, even in winter-time, which is the slackest period of the year, check a block and it is very frequently a problem to know what to do with a patient who has travelled as far as from Edinburgh to London for treatment, often passing several Government Hospitals en route, to have treatment at Mustashfa Harmul... known all over Egypt.” ²⁷

The Old Cairo Hospital had large open-air court-yards (called Hoashes, where local massive medical treatment of Hookworm and Bilharzia patients were treated. In 1944, the Hoashes treated at optimum eight-hundred (800) men and six-hundred (600) women at peak. About the usefulness of the Hoashes, Dr Douglas E Radcliffe argued as follows:

“ The Hoashes form a very useful 'Hotel' for patients awaiting bed accommodation and every OP day we send a number of folk into the hoashes to wait up to perhaps a week or so until a bed falls vacant. While in the hoashes they have good food and iron tonics (for they are nearly all anaemic) and receive treatment for any incidental parasitic disease they may have. They also get regular daily evangelistic teaching and health lectures, so that the time spent in the hoash is far from wasted.” ²⁸

The Old Cairo Hospital had children wards where children received treatment and had a play-hour and were given toys to entertain them. On Sundays' Choruses and hymns were sung to them. On visiting days relatives and friends paid visits to the sick in the in-patient wards. On the description of such visits, it was argued:

“ Sometimes a patient may have twenty visitors who gather around him, the men sitting on the bed as far as possible, and the women in their black mallas (veils squatting around on the floor, while the children wander around as they please. It often puzzles me how the patients manage to get everything into the hour allowed for visiting, what with greeting one another, telling their news, asking and answering all the questions put to them, as well as endeavouring to finish all the food and tidbits which have been brought in cooking pots for their consumption. They must all be quite tired out when the crowds have gone out, and order and cleanliness have once again been restored.” ²⁹

a- The Evangelistic Character of the Old Cairo Hospital and its Staffing.

All along the period of its work in Egypt, the Old Cairo Hospital never ceased to make evangelism at the heart of its medical work. About the evangelistic nature of the Old Cairo Hospital and its desire at converting Muslims, Mrs Cutting argued:

“ There is no doubt that the kindness of the staff, and the general air of cheeriness and cleanliness which prevail, are the first things to be noticed by the patients who come to the hospital for treatment. But we who are interested in missionary work will realize that in the case of a mission hospital these first external impressions are but the introduction to something deeper. In the Old Cairo as a hospital, we do endeavour to put ”first things first”, and seek to train all the staff of nurses to realize their responsibility towards the hundreds of Moslems who probably might never be brought to hear the message of salvation, apart from medical missionary work which is being

carried on.” ³⁰

The evangelistic work in the hospital is undertaken by full-time evangelists, who were, sometimes, assisted by the nurses.³¹ In 1938, The evangelistic work carried on by the Hospital within the large groups of out-patients and among individual ward, patients-was diligently planned by the group of men and women evangelists. Their tasks were described as follows:

“ The workers may stay two or three hours speaking, making friends, giving help, and keeping order. There is also a considerable amount of following up to be done when patients have returned home. Contacts may be kept for years by those who work and hope for the day that the seed sown will bear fruit.” ³²

Nevertheless, the Rev A N Johnson reported in 1938 about the evangelistic work at the Old Cairo Hospital and the difficulty it encountered at scoring converts from Islam as follows:

“ The estimation of the year’s work is very difficult, if not impossible. We can report no baptisms, but several old patients. . . are receiving instruction in the faith. Four Copts who had Islamised were won back and reregistered at the Coptic Patriarchate.” ³³

In February 1940 the Standing Committee of the CMS Egypt Mission handed over the responsibility for the evangelistic work of the hospitals to the Native Church Council. Later, In July 1943, it was advised to appoint an Egyptian layman to supervise the evangelistic work of the Old Cairo Hospital. The Standing Committee agreed to the following:

*“ a- That every effort be made at once to find a suitable Egyptian,
b- To recommend to the NCC that if within six months a suitable
Egyptian cannot be found, or if, on trial, an Egyptian does not prove
a success and no other suitable Egyptian is available, the PC
be asked to send out a missionary recruit.
c- To ask the NCC to allow two members of the Medical
sub-committee to attend the discussion of this question.”* ³⁴

In 1944, the evangelistic work at the Old Cairo Hospital ran on regularly. A large number of crowded patients, visiting the Hospital for treatment, allowed for evangelism among them. Miss Byrde, a CMS Bible woman, pointed to the interest and respect that the patients showed at the Prayers and Bible lessons in both the wards and the out-patients departments and they were eager to buy a Bible and other Christian literature. Miss Byrde, further argued about the interest in prayer-time shown by patients the wards. Though the Hospital increased the number of its staff, the number of patients kept on increasing, causing pressure on the hospital's staff. The patient came mostly from the peasants' milieu. A switch occurred in the Hospital, in 1944, regarding men's and women's prayers which were held separately; the decision was that they would all meet together in the Church of Jesus the Light of the World for a short Service.³⁵

In 1945 the numbers of out-patients at the Hospital over-passed one- thousand 1000 in one morning. The Catechist and Bible women kept their regular evangelistic work. Many Bibles were sold in the women's Anemia Shelter. The patients' interest was stimulated by the evening Bible Lessons and the occasional Lantern Services, however, this activity seemed to have achieved scant results.³⁶

On the 7th July 1948, Morrison wrote to Dr M G Anderson, on the Superintendence of the Evangelistic Work of the Old Cairo Hospital. Over the year of 1947, a large discussion took place over the suitability of the person to be appointed as superintendent for the evangelistic work in the Old Cairo Hospital. The question was considered by a special committee appointed by the Native Church Council and the Old Cairo Hospital. The issue was also discussed in the Medical sub-committee, at Standing Committees, and at the meeting of the National Church Council.³⁷

Evangelism in 1951 went on the same steps as in the past. Ward prayers continued to be taken by members of English and Egyptian nursing staff. Some passages of the Bible was selected for readings, in addition to prayers in the evening. Bible stories were introduced, with an emphasis on parables, miracles, the birth, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Children wards adopted a similar programme, in addition to hymns and choruses.³⁸

Women with endemic diseases received their treatments in the enclosure where they were separated from other patients. As they were kept in hospital for a period between two to six weeks, they were taught Bible lessons for a month. The women provided an important medium of contact with the numerous villages. Miss Esther Mikhail, the nurse in charge of the women's enclosure, gave health lessons illustrated by lantern slides and projected films borrowed by the British and American Embassies. On the results of such activities, it was argued:

“ The result of this teaching and of the practical kindness which speaks even more eloquently of the Love of God is hard to estimate. But a former Bible woman has testified to the complete change in the lives of many village women. To declare oneself a convert would at once mean complete ostracism from family, friends, and employment.

For this reason, baptisms are few, and an appeal for them is rarely made.” ³⁹

In 1952, Evangelism in the Old Cairo Hospital took different forms. For instance, a group of male nurses with Dr Chase went round the wards on Sunday evenings. A portable harmonium was carried into each ward where a hymn was sung in colloquial Arabic. A co-operative society was formed by the hospital staff to resist the high cost of living. It was supported by a member of the Medical Board, Dr Sadek Antonuis, of the Ministry of Social Affairs and through the unflagging efforts the Rev Adeeb Shammās. Another event of the year was the joining of Dr Saad, a member of the Coptic Friends of the Bible Society, as a permanent member of the hospital staff, “and to regard it as his life’s work.” ⁴⁰

Miss Rees-Mogg, a Biblewoman, shared her flat with the convert friend, Sit N. (whose name is not revealed). The convert lady established contacts with neighbours, it was an opportunity for personal evangelism. The convert was also responsible for conducting afternoon prayers in the women’s wards of the hospital several times a week.⁴¹

At the recommendation of the Committee of Doctors, the Standing Committee approved in 1936 that the OCMM should be made up of four full-time male workers; English, Egyptian doctors and one full-time lady doctor. As for the part-time Egyptian doctors, they were to be recruited according to the following capacities:

- a- As anaesthetist,
- b- As an assistant in Men’s Out-Patient wards,
- c- To do Out-Patient work on operating days,
- d- As locum tenens for holidays.⁴²

The Standing Committee also approved the Medical Sub-Committee's recommendation concerning the holding of Dr Sunwil of the post of an anaesthetist and out-patient Medical officer at the OCMM until the end of December 1936. The holding of a doctor as anaesthetist post was to be reconsidered every year.⁴³ The Old Cairo Medical Mission continued to be flooded with patients Rev. A N Johnson was appointed to superintend the evangelistic work of the Hospital.

In April 1938, The American Mission held its third medical conference attended by doctors from the American Mission hospitals at Tanta and Assiut, in addition to other medical missions active in Egypt; like the Egypt General Mission at Shebin el Qantar and the CMS doctors from the Menouf hospital. The Conference recorded also the presence of private Egyptian practitioners. The Conference' exchange of experience was deemed extremely rewarding.⁴⁴

In 1938, the Old Cairo Hospital recorded the departure of three doctors; C H Stuart, Dr Lockett, Dr L G Griffiths and each doctor had his respective reason. The Mission deplored their parting. Miss E Johnson, in charge of the infant welfare and maternity centre commented on the ambivalent position of Muslim women, she argues saying:

*“ We notice that Moslem mothers are nearly always ready to agree with our teaching about our Lord, and when we speak of the futility of charms for their babies, they declare they have no faith in them, but we fear that some in their hearts are trusting in charms, and if the baby becomes ill they still like to take it to visit a sheikh's tombs instead of taking it to hospital. On the whole, we have noticed a greater willingness to take ill children to the hospital.”*⁴⁵

The Native Christian Council discussed the question of paid evangelists at the Old Cairo Medical Mission. The Standing Committee who met on 21st March 1946 agreed on maintaining the system of paid evangelists in the Hospital, addition to the voluntary evangelistic work.⁴⁶

On 11th July 1949, Morrison wrote to the Rev CS Milford on the OCMM Staffing. Under the pressure of the Standing Committee, Morrison was asked to rewrite to press for more medical recruits for the Egypt Mission especially that three doctors were to resign in the following year. The three doctors were namely; Dr Cuting, Dr King, and Dr Redcliffe. The help of the Parent Committee was seeking to find a way out to this emergency.⁴⁷

b- CMS Egypt Clinics and Dispensaries

Besides the Old Cairo Hospital, the CMS Egypt Medical Mission ran clinics and dispensaries at Cairo and other Egypt's villages like Shubra Zanga, Ghamaza and Cairo Clinic. The CMS had an old dispensary which was replaced by a new one. Its work was deemed satisfactory for its purposes. The new out-patient clinic was attended by seventy- seven patients on an opening day. It was open three times a week and on each day, patients were examined by a doctor from Menouf. Operations of secondary importance were also performed. The evangelistic activity was carried on and it found receptive ears among the patients. In June 1938, the necessary remoulding of the building at Shubra Zanga was effectuated at a total coast of eighteen-thousonds and five- hundred 18.500 £and that ten 10 £of this sum had been provided as a special gift.⁴⁸ Miss Lewis, a CMS worker, writing in CMS Outlook, Jan 1937 referred to the progress and improvements achieved in Shubra Zanga dispensaries. She noted, however, that the extra work of running dispensaries for men as well as women, in addition to a club for men and boys, would require additional staff and ponderous expenses.⁴⁹

In 1938, in addition to the work in the hospital, the staff was responsible for running three out-patient dispensaries which were visited twice a week. The dispensaries had, each, male nurse and resident evangelist responsible for the medical and evangelistic work as well as social activities in the neighbourhood. The centres' scope of work was deemed considerable in its development of confidence and friendship among the workers.⁵⁰

On 11th November 1938, Morrison wrote a letter to the Rev H D Hooper, Church Missionary Society, London, about the severe decline in the number of patients attending the clinic at Shubra Zanga and on account of their disinterest of the people to the CMS evangelistic work in the village, the Standing Committee deemed it right to close this centre and start a new clinic in Menoufia especially that one of the two CMS workers resident in Shubra Zanga requested for a transfer to the Old Cairo Boys' School, and shortage of health-care assistants at the Menouf Medical Mission, the Standing Committee decided to close the Shubra Zanga Clinic. The Standing Committee discussed the issue of the disposal of the property at Shubra Zanga and it was concluded that the proceeds of the sale would be distributed between the bodies which contributed to the funds. As the largest part of the funding was provided locally, Morrison asked permission from the Parent Committee (PC) to use the funds of the Shubra Zanga for the opening of new clinics.⁵¹

The village of Ghamaza recorded the existence of a small Christian community with a small school run on Christian principles as a result of an evangelist's effort in the six previous years. In addition to the village of Ghamaza, the Old Cairo hospital expanded its activities in two more directions: The first related to the Egypt General Mission Hospital. As its Dr Farrow joined the army, CMS doctors assisted by weekly visitations and consulting, performed major operations

along with out-patients' consultation. The second was related to Oumdurman's Hospital which witnessed a reduction in the number of the staff, as a result of the War and serious illness. As the activity of the hospital relied on the services of only one doctor, the Old Cairo Hospital provided help waiting for England to provide more assistance.

In the winter of 1941, the hospital at Old Cairo recorded a busy activity; some of the Government hospitals had to close because of their shortfall or deficiency in drugs. Accordingly, a Winter Camp was established and run in the village of Ghamaza with the help of an Egyptian doctor, two nurses, and an evangelist.⁵²

In 1940, the CMS ran a clinic in a village in Old Cairo. It was attended by many patients. On Wednesdays, there was a women's clinic who received some teaching by a welfare worker while waiting to see the doctor. They taught them how to bath dolls as a way to prepare them for the bathing of their babies and they also gave them lessons on the principle of "prevention is better than cure." In this respect, Miss Byrde argued:

*"Now perhaps you can see why we have mission hospitals in Egypt, although the government are building new hospitals, and extending the scope of their preventive work every year. All this work will be of no lasting value so long as the people of Egypt believe that their lives are ruled by fate, and do not know that He has made us all be co-workers with Him."*⁵³

In the clinic, there was a large attendance. *The Wise Mother*, a book on child welfare was in great demand among the mothers as the rate of literacy increased. It was pointed out that many children suffered from malnutrition and neglect and not only from the disease. As a result, weekly health lessons were given.

Fly suppression was successfully suppressed by the Rockefeller Foundation. Houses in villages were sprayed. The Rockefeller Foundation conducted experiments in five villages. On the results, it was argued:

“ Results were startling. By the freeing of a village from flies, the incidence of Gonorrhoeal ophthalmic was reduced by a spectacular degree. They were also digging cheap latrines in each house, and boring for pure water for each group of ten houses. Mr Hillman feels that if CMS could launch out into something of this sort, a fine contribution could be made to improving the condition of the villagers.” ⁵⁴

3.1.3 Cairo Harpur Memorial Hospital

The CMS Egypt Medical Mission expressed a keen interest in rebuilding the Old Cairo Medical Mission. The scheme was on the agenda of the Mission as early as 1939, nevertheless, the breaking of the WWII hampered the realization of the project. In this respect, Morrison reported that during war-time, no new buildings were to be erected. But the preparatory plans and the local money-raising for the scheme could be started. Morrison invited Dr Anderson, head of the Medical Department at CMS House in London to visit Egypt to have a first-hand impression, notably, when tension was over.⁵⁵

On December 21st 1944. Dr Anderson, head of the medical work of the CMS, visited the CMS Hospitals in Africa and the Middle East, extensive conclusions were made with the regard to future of the work in Egypt, Dr Anderson added:

“ Not least among these was the confirmation of our own opinion that the Hospital must be completely rebuilt if we are to maintain a standard of medical care worthy of Christ. The present Hospital

*is nearly 50 years old and the present structure, with its 200 beds, was originally designed for 20 beds and is more completely antiquated, inadequate and costly in upkeep.”*⁵⁶

On 9th April 1946, Morrison wrote to Dr H G Anderson, at CMS, London, about the Re- building of the Old Cairo Hospital. Morrison argued that the proposals sent home for the re- building of the hospital were seen as a desire to effect a change of emphasis in the policy at Old Cairo. He proposed that the size of the hospital should be one that would be acceptable for a training centre of Christian workers who would be engaged in extension work.⁵⁷

In a Minute of Medical Committee, June 25th 1946: regarding the proposed purchase of land for Old Cairo Hospital, the Medical Committee approved the action of the Secretaries in consenting for the use of local funds to be used for the purchase of land next to the Old Cairo Hospital to provide future accommodation.⁵⁸

In 27th June 1946, Morrison reported about the agreement of the Delta Land and Investment Company to sell to the mission the plot of 2,300 sq. metres, to the north of Shari Gami'Amr, at the price of £2 per sq. Metre.⁵⁹ The Egypt Medical Sub-Committee' set out objectives that were summed up as follows:

- a- The sound training of nurses under proper conditions.*
- b- Adequate hospital service for all classes of the sick.*
- c- Close co-operation with the local medical community, especially as regards the provision of facilities for post-graduate experience and practice for the Egyptian doctors on the staff.*
- d- The support of, and assistance to, daughter hospitals, health and welfares in the surrounding districts.”*⁶⁰

The objectives were to have a hospital within a strategic position of Old Cairo, a modern type construction of a size that would meet the needs of the staff, like the necessity for the nurses training, and the needs of patients for treatment.⁶¹ At Egypt Mission Conference held on March 13th 1947, Miss Warburton agreed on the necessity of re-building the hospital, and expressed the conviction that the three most important services that were to be provided by the Old Cairo hospital were:

“ First, The training of nurses and doctors after graduation. The size of the new hospital would be conditioned by the number of beds required for nurses’ training. Second, The Hospital should be dominated by the spirit of love and use it as a witness of the message of the Gospel to the patient. Third, The Conference endorsed the Hospital’s outreach into the village of the Giza Province. It was suggested that the Old Cairo Hospital evangelist Yusuf Eff. Tadrus might be seconded for co-operation with Yusuf Eff. Ibrahim and Karam Eff in their activity of village visiting. Fourth, The Conference emphasized the regular follow up of former patients of the hospitals to be provided by a large number of evangelists who would make extended visits to the villages. The doctors from the hospitals were also to take part in such an activity Fifth, A village medical centre would be supervised by a resident Egyptian doctor or head nurse and the baby welfare work would be entrusted to an Egyptian midwife. Sixth, The training of the staff would be in CMS hospitals, welfare centre. The supervision of the village centres in the Giza Province would be supervised from Old Cairo and the Manoufia Province from Menouf. The supervision of either hospital would be the responsibility of a doctor from each hospital. Seventh, The preparation of Egyptian Christian doctors for an eventual residence in a village if they come to establish their private clinic;

nevertheless, this proposal raised questions. Eighth, in the early days of the experiment, a missionary might be required to reside in the village. As for the missionary superintendent of medical or baby welfare work, it was suggested that they would stay for longer or shorter periods in a village centre. Ninth, The Conference called also for the appointment of an appeal secretary for the raising of funds in Egypt, England and other places for the reconstruction of the Old Cairo Hospital.” ⁶²

The year 1952, did also, witness the re-planning of the building of the new hospital in Old Cairo. The CMS Mission was facing problems in finding architects. While the English architects were too expensive and disconnected from local needs, the Egyptian architects were not deemed up-to-date with modern hospital design. The difficulties facing the rebuilding of the new Hospital were expressed as follows:

*“ There is a shortage of land and of funds, and increasing difficulty is finding space for modern requirements in the Old buildings. There is also some uncertainty as to what is really needed and the ever-present difficulty of finding time to spare to plan the layout.”*⁶³

Among the efforts made to stimulate interest in the hospital among Christians was the appointment of newcomers to the Hospital Board, who in turn attracted new friends and helpers. However, a special body was formed to give voluntary help to the hospital and to raise funds for specific aims. Another problem that faced the Hospital was the Staff Trade Union's which was a title for difficulty. They split among themselves with a feeling of improper and preferential treatment. Contrary to the senior staff, the newer workers were accused of their loyalty to the Hospital. The financial reasons went without ameliorating their material condition:

“ Though, they are key people with more opportunities than anybody else of being evangelists among the patients. Their full

*co-operation in all aspects of hospital work would transform the situation.”*⁶⁴

The building of the Cairo Harpur Memorial Hospital, in 1956, went through different crises. The Egyptian Government's new laws continued to bear upon missionary work. The Old building suffered from a collapse in the drainage system, new techniques had to be introduced concerning space, equipment and staff to be recruited which were deemed as all problems that needed solutions. The two major problems, however, were the lack of finance and the lack of spiritual zeal. The Hospital became evangelically less effective than it had been in the past. The expensiveness of modern medicines was the major cause of the financial problem. The Hospital found itself with increased staff, many of whom were described as having neither vocation, nor any willingness to convey the Christian message and they were more of the type of salaried personnel who sought an earning for their living. As for those committed Christians, they worked under pressure of daily routine obligations *vis a vis* their patients. During this year, it was questioned whether a medical institution by the size of the Hospital could be run on income fees alone. The year 1956 marked Mr. Hillman's graduation from the Institute of Hospital Administrators. Therefore, he became susceptible to superintend the hospital in case such qualification was required from the Government.

At a time when the Egyptian Government cared about raising the standard of education for student nurses and the amounting nationalist feeling which might, eventually, require nationals to be in authority, the new circumstances pushed the CMS Medical Mission to care about improving the level of its workers. For instance, Miss Lily Salama, an Egyptian member of the hospital's staff, received her training in London, to qualify as a Sister Tutor.⁶⁵

The year 1956 recorded the appointment of four permanent resident doctors of Egyptian nationality committed to the task of mission through

the Hospital. Having previously served in two CMS hospitals; Oumdurman and Gaza hospital, the two doctors were sent to receive more medical training; one to the USA and the other to the UK. Despite the lack of experience in their areas of specialities and in the administration, they were deemed promising for the future of medical work by the Church in Egypt. (A shift to Church-centered mission). Despite the Government hospital which treated different types of diseases in Cairo, it was argued that the Cairo Harpur Memorial Hospital remained exclusive in its services. Sensing the time for the handing over of the Hospital to nationals, the Egypt CMS Mission realized the importance of instruction and the building of the Church.⁶⁶

3.1.4 The Medical Out- Branching Work of the Old Cairo Hospital and Rural Construction

The CMS Egypt Medical Mission operated the policy of out-branching of its medical activities from the Old Cairo Hospital as a centre of management of these activities. It managed to establish other medical institutions and centres like the Baby Welfare and the Little Girls' the club, the Nursery School, the Old Cairo Welfare Centre, Kirdasa Welfare Centre, Home Visiting, the Ragged Sunday School, the Rural Construction and the policy behind it. The Egypt CMS Mission designed a policy which aimed at effecting Christian influence on Egyptian girls through its establishment to two missionary agencies; the Baby Welfare and the Little Girls' Club. This influence covered the girls' lives from birth to the age of fourteen; being the age of marriage in Muslim culture at that time. On the reasons leading to the establishment of the Nursery School, it was argued:

“ The significant years between the ages of two, when the baby leaves the welfare, and six, when she can enter the club, were, however not caters for. It was to fill this gap that we started, two years ago, a nursery class, the first of its kind in Egypt. Elder

*girls from the club find here another practising school, by acting as voluntary helpers with the toddlers, a most invaluable training for future motherhood. The medical inspection that watched over the first two years of the baby's life through the visits of the welfare doctor, are now continued through membership of the nursery class.”*⁶⁷

The good spirit that characterized the Nursery School was attributed to its superintendent, “Sitt Linda,” an Egyptian, who was trained as a welfare worker. She combined two-aspect most appreciated by missionaries and demanded by the Boulac Centre; a deep spirituality and unflagging energy for service.⁶⁸

In 1955, The Nursing School's accounts and records were updated in preparation for handover to the new Matron to succeed the retiring Miss Nunn. The number of pupils in the School had almost doubled and it prepared them to take the Government examination. The School was to deflate (collapse) unless a good Nurses Training Scheme was adopted.

A Nurses' Christian Fellowship was started by Lady M Sinclair, a CMS worker. It set two objectives: First, it was to bring influence into the spiritual life of the nurses. Second, it was to develop a community spirit. Later, Lady M Sinclair became the superintendent of the Women's Hospital. More incumbent work fell upon her when some of her colleagues departed, which made work in the hospital unsatisfactory with the effort to maintain extra-mural activities which aimed at producing a team spirit. About the situation at this school, it was argued:

*“ There are over forty nurses housed in two separate sections. They are young, undisciplined and quarrelsome, in constant need of help and guidance.”*⁶⁹

The Old Cairo Welfare Centre was administered by the hospital. Its premise was in a coffee shop in Old Cairo until a more appropriate place could be available and the funding to meet the expenses. In the Welfare Centre, there was a small board. Mothers attending the Centre hang charms on that board as a sign of giving up belief in them. The situation was argued as follows:

“ It is pathetic to see these charms and to realize that the mother at one time put all her trust in them, depending on them to keep the “ evil eye”, disease, and ill-health, and to bring the child “good luck” and health.” ⁷⁰

When visiting the Welfare Centre at Boulac in 1938, it was reported that Moslem doctor of the Public Health Department said that it was just what needed for every village in Egypt.⁷¹ In 1940, criticism was directed to the function of child welfare centres for their assuming the function of out-patient departments of hospitals, or reducing to milk centres distribution. The real function of these centres was regarded as:

“ The founders of child welfare centres intended that they should be schools for mothers to whom education in mother-craft should be given through health talks and demonstrations, and where they could attend sewing classes and learn to handle their babies correctly.” ⁷²

The Welfare Centre provided three weekly classes on health and the mothers were instructed on the way of bathing their babies. The passing to practice was once a week and it took place under the supervision of the teachers. The missionaries at the Welfare Centre cared about bringing equilibrium between the spiritual and physical side of the teaching. Old Cairo abounded with poverty and the generosity of friends in both Egypt and England; supplied the Centre with warm clothes for the winter. Relieving suffering was not everything for the missionaries who argued:

“ We rejoice to be able to relieve suffering in this way, but we should ask your prayers that this side of the work may not hinder the real object of the welfare. We do long that mothers and children may be brought to the Saviour.” ⁷³

The lady missionaries at the centre faced the ignorance of Egyptian mothers who believed in charms as protecting their babies from sickness instead of taking them to the hospital. The Centre expenses went for the buying of Glaxo and condensed milk which helped to save the lives of many babies.⁷⁴ The new premises of the Old Cairo Baby Welfare Centre moved to a better place. The centre allowed for no more than 130 women at one time; many other requests could not be accepted for lack of space. Even though the Government established welfare centres, missionaries, missionaries were emphatic about the women’s preferences to join the Mission’s centre.⁷⁵

In 1945, the evangelistic aspect of the Welfare Work at Boulac Centre remained pronounced. Sitt Negeeba, who was also in charge of part of the Girls’ Club at the Centre, conducted a weekly evangelistic meeting for Women. The number of attendances reached twenty-four from among Copts and Muslims.⁷⁶

Miss Johnson, a CMS worker, took over the superintendence of the Baby Welfare Centre in 1938 on the resignation of Miss Sands. Bible and health talks were given by Egyptian workers until she became skilful in Arabic. The centre was in a rented house which, though suitable, it was not considered satisfactory. An untrained worker from the centre was engaged to fill the vacancy in the training centre of the Association for the Welfare of Egyptian mothers and babies. The Training School was recognized by the Egyptian Government. The Association trained another member of the staff and provided for half her salary.⁷⁷

Kirdasa, a district near the Giza province, recorded the establishment of a CMS Welfare Centre. Its work was considered better than that of Boulac in 'Old Cairo'. The clinic was under the supervision of Dr Chase who was aided by Mrs. Giffard whose time was divided between working part-time for the co-supervision of the clinic and part-time work at the Old Cairo Hospital. The work was deemed very difficult, notably, during the summer.⁷⁸ In 1955, the work was entrusted to a Christian Egyptian doctor who took care of the work three times a week. The doctor and another recruit spent half of their time at Kirdasa village living in a small flat above the clinic.

*“ The women’s meeting at this Church is a special concern of Miss Gutteridge, who plays the organ for them, and gets to know the women.”*⁷⁹

Home visiting constituted a valuable opportunity for personal evangelism. Miss Johnson, an evangelist, believed that home visiting was worthwhile and better than at the Centre where the noisy babies disturbed the taking of Bible lessons. Describing the difference at homes, she argued:

“ In the homes, one gets a small group and can have heart-to-heart talks. The women give the workers a warm welcome.”

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It carried an evangelistic work by ten members of the Hospital’s staff on Thursdays afternoon during the winter for children living in a slum at the back of the hospital of which one-hundred Muslim children attended. The Sunday school was superintended by the hospital dispenser. Miss Byrde, a pharmacist, who gave a weekly preparatory class for teachers. Furthermore, the out-patient department’s evangelistic activity consisted in gathering children for prayers and lessons on Christianity. This evangelistic activity was placed under the charge of Dr Wahba and four other members of the Old Cairo Hospital’s staff. Church communicants took a share in helping with the activity of children’s prayers. This was

deemed as partial fulfilment of the desire to see the members of the native Church contributing to the evangelistic work of the hospital.⁸¹

In 1940, Morrison reported about a crucial new development of village missionary work or the Rural Construction. At its Jubilee, the Old Cairo Medical Mission, as reported by Morrison, imposed itself as the largest medical mission in the world with its outstanding policy of “branching out” or expanding and broadening its work. After the Jubilee, extensive plans for rural construction were recommended by the Report of the CMS Medical Commission.⁸² All through the history of the Old Cairo medical and missionary work, it kept a tight contact with village life. The Hospital was of a widespread reputation among the peasants. About this advantage of the rural project, Morrison argued:

“ (The Hospital)... its widespread popularity among the fellaheen has placed it in a most advantageous position for exerting a powerful influence in the rural area. Here then is a “growing point” to watch with faith and prayer. The two creative ideas behind the new plan are: First, the missionary spirit of the native Church expressed in a new reliance on voluntary (instead of paid) evangelists in the hospital. The Native Church Council has accepted responsibility for the evangelistic work within the hospitals at the Old Cairo and Menouf, the greater part of which has hitherto been done by paid evangelists. From now on the responsibility will fall upon the two local congregations- many of whose members are hospital workers (under the leadership of their local clergy. Some members have already promised to devote part of their spare time and their weekly holiday to this task. Thus voluntary evangelists by the local Church will gradually replace paid evangelism by mission employees. Second, the witness of the Church to the fact of Christ’s claim on the whole of life, demonstrating it in action. Plans have been made

for establishing rural reconstruction units among the peasants in the two provinces for which the CMS, by agreement with other missions, is responsible, namely Giza and Menoufia. The hope has been to make a start this autumn by the opening of one centre in the Giza Province as an experimental station.” ⁸³

Morrison defined Rural Construction as 'a great adventure in the village community life' that would demonstrate on a smaller scale:

“ What village life begins to look like when the Spirit of Christ gets to work upon it, Its purpose is to influence the whole of the life of the community within its radius and to bring it under the control of the Spirit of Christ.” ⁸⁴

The foundation of social centres proposed by the Egyptian Government as pointed-out by Morrison aimed, exclusively, at the betterment of the social condition of the community. Whereas, for the Egypt CMS Medical Mission:

“ The Christian rural unit has the life and witness of the Church of Christ as a source, centre and aim of its activity. In the first place, the centres selected will as far as possible be villages where a fair proportion of the population is at least technically Christian, and where there is a Christian community willing to cooperate in the scheme. The aim will be to reach through these local Christians their non-Christian neighbours.” ⁸⁵

While directed to the local Christians, Morrison declared that the ultimate aim of the rural centres was to evangelise Muslims. In each village centre, the CMS Medical Mission envisaged the building of a school supervised by the local Christian community. About the aim of the rural constructions, Morrison further argued:

“ Its aim will be not only to satisfy the Government requirement but also to prepare the children to take a full share in an improved village community life and to give them an essentially Christian education. The village school will also be a community centre which at night will provide social and educational interests for adults.” ⁸⁶

Morrison reported about intimate interaction of the spiritual, mental and physical health of the villager. He attributed the dirt, poverty, and bad social conditions in Egypt to ignorance. In addition to the dispensary medical work, the efforts of missionaries would be geared towards bettering sanitation, health, and housing, diet, welfare work, preventing diseases and providing general teaching. Poverty and malnourishment in Egypt was synonymous with ailments and the peasants' immunity power decreased accordingly.

One of the scheme's tasks was to explore ways for raising the economic level of the peasants. In this perspective agricultural experts were approached on the launching of dairy and poultry farming and simple agricultural industries. Besides, an eventual, formation of an Agricultural Producers' cooperative Society, which received Government support and facilities.

To the tough economic conditions were added the Mission considered as pernicious village customs. Morrison argued against early marriage, indebtedness, and rivalrous family relationships. Missionary efforts in these areas, would, according to Morrison, call attention to the practical side of Christianity, Morrison argued that the success of the scheme was linked to the selection of an Egyptian team of workers with spiritual and technical qualifications.

The CMS Egypt Medical work was for the most part self-supporting and the partial' funding of the scheme would be the responsibility of the local Christian community. Despite the difficulties encountered by the CMS Egypt

Medical Mission, notably, the impact of the war, the reduction of grants from CMS Headquarters and the Egyptian Government's attitude towards the missionary work, Morrison was emphatic in saying: "*We intend, despite all the difficulties, to go forward.*"⁸⁷

3.2 The Menouf Medical Mission (MMM): 1936-1959.

3.2.1 The Menouf Hospital

In 1936, it was reported that the Medical Mission Auxiliary at its meeting on the 22nd December 1936 approved the plans for the new buildings at Menouf, and that it would leave it for the Egypt Medical Mission to bear the expenses evolved. The proposed purchase of a plot of land had not to exceed £. 200, to be met by the Egypt Medical Mission finances. Dr Leslie Griffiths noted that the purchase of the strip of land was delayed by some legal difficulties.⁸⁸

The Menouf Hospital became by and large specialized in-patient ankylostomiasis and bilharzia illnesses. Although the two diseases were treated by the Government for out-patients, in missionary circles, they were considered less efficient than that of the CMS Menouf Hospital. The Menouf Hospital counted eighty-five to ninety per cent of patients.⁸⁹

The largest income of the Menouf Hospital came from fees paid by the patients and it was argued that despite the Government competition, the Hospital would continue to survive and would be a premium evangelistic agency for the Menoufia province, notably, if extended with out-patient clinics.⁹⁰

The medical work in the hospital and the out-patient clinics treated mainly endemic diseases, which required minor supervision and the small group of medical and surgical professionals managed by a senior Doctor. Dr Abdul Malik was famous in Menoufia for the minor operations he performed and the more complicated ones were sent to the Cairo Hospital.⁹¹ On the future of the Menouf Hospital, it was argued:

*“ With regard to the future of the hospital. . . there is ample need, if we are to compete with well-built Government hospitals, for an inexpensive rebuilding scheme for the hospital, to modernize it and make it fit for the present and future requirements.”*⁹²

The evangelistic character of the Menouf Hospital consisted of conducting evangelistic meetings in the villages and the perpetrating of Dr Abdul Malik’s policy which consisted in using the Christian members of the staff in evangelistic work. The Hospital had thirty beds with an in-patient department which accommodate between forty to fifty ankylostoma patients, and a medical staff of one senior and one junior doctor.⁹³

In 1937, the Egyptian Government provided good facilities for the sick in its hospitals. However, the problem remained a sharp one concerning Menouf. The CMS Menouf Hospital was appreciated by the people and the largest number of its patients, who were peasants and working-class patients suffered from ankylostoma and bilharzia. Eye diseases were also recorded.

The increasing number of patients raised the need for a larger and modern hospital. A scheme was prepared to provide new blocks for men women, and a theatre. The men’s hospital was completed and the old building continued to be used as an out-patient department. The opening of the men’s hospital was planned to coincide with the visit of the General Secretary William Cash to the

station, where he had previously worked for years, to the ceremony.⁹⁴

a- The Menouf Men's Hospital and the Future of the Memouf Medical Mission (MMM).

The Menouf Men's Hospital was built in 1937. Morrison reported that the Egyptian Government planned the erection of a Government hospital at Menouf by 1939. ⁹⁵The new Men's Hospital at the MMM cost £. 1550.⁹⁶ In 1938, efforts were made to convert a veranda into a ward at Menouf to accommodate men patients in the winter. Nevertheless, Dr Abdul Malik reported a decrease in the number of patients at both the Hospital and at the clinics; at Ashmoun, Beit el Arab, and Shubra Zanga, as a result of the twelve government hospitals built in the last few years in the Menoufia province. Furthermore, a government hospital within 400 yards of the CMS hospital at Menouf was also expected to be opened by 1940. Dr Malik argued:

“ Moslem sentiment has revived strongly throughout Egypt during the last year or two, and this has led them to try to imitate our methods, both medical and evangelistic. In the town of Menouf alone there are now four Moslem societies with large membership whose work is to preach Islam and encourage people to read the Koran. These societies also provide free medical treatment on occasions and help also the poor among Moslems with financial help.” ⁹⁷

On 10th December 1940, Morrison sent a letter to Dr Anderson, at the Church Missionary Society in London, to arrange for the PC's approval for the purchase of land at Menouf. The idea emerged as the MMM encountered difficulties regarding the sanitation system at the Menouf Hospital. The reason related to the level of the sub-soil water that rose every year, notably, during the time of the high Nile when it became difficult to arrange for the disposal

of sewage.

Mrs Abdul Malik suggested the purchase of one-quarter of an acre- on the south-east side of the hospital to which could be directed the surplus water from the drainage water system. The proposal was approved by the architect they consulted, the Menouf Hospital Committee, the Medical sub-Committee and Standing Committee. It was estimated that the cost would not exceed £200. Morrison added that the land could be used for planting trees, and other crops which would provide a source of revenue for the Hospital.⁹⁸

By 1944, dissatisfaction was expressed by the medical sub-committee regarding the condition of the Menouf Medical Mission, chiefly because the staff, established earlier by Dr Cash and Dr Cook, did not crystallize. The sub-committee demanded from the PC to guarantee the appointment of this staff within a reasonable period otherwise it would be better to close the hospital.⁹⁹ Dr Anderson asserted that the PC would not consent to the closing of the hospital, and gave promises to secure its staffing. Dr Abdul Malik withdrew his resignation at the request of Dr Anderson until the arrival of future staff. It was, also, consented that every effort would be made to staff the MMM with competent Egyptian nurses.¹⁰⁰

On 16th February 1947, Morrison wrote to Dr Anderson, CMS, London, about the Menouf Medical Mission and its future staff. It was deemed that the MMM was at a critical juncture. Dr Abdel Malik had outstripped the retiring age and finding a competent Christian Egyptian compatible with CMS objectives proved difficult. Morrison argued on the importance to remedy the situation as follows:

“...we are convinced that to continue the medical mission at Menouf with the limited staff which it has had during the past

twenty years is not good enough. If the hospital and its out-stations are to make the impact which they should on the whole life of the community, there is need not merely for two missionary sisters, as already allowed, but also for two missionary doctors of whom one should be a woman, for a missionary pharmacist, and also for a missionary lady evangelist or baby welfare worker.

When Bishop Cash and Dr Cook visited Menouf some fifteen years ago, they reached the conclusion that the only satisfactory staffing of the hospital so far as doctors are concerned would be to have three doctors, one of whom would be a man missionary, the second a woman missionary, and the third an Egyptian. Nothing has happened in the meantime which has changed the validity of this decision. It becomes all the more imperative if CMS in Menouf is going to carry out a policy of preventive medical work, following the programme approved by the PC.”¹⁰¹

Minute of Medical Committee- 28th January 1947 proposed the purchase of land for Menouf Hospital Medical Committee endorsed the action of Secretaries in sanctioning the local purchase of a small plot of land fringing the present Menouf Hospital property. Morrison ended his letter on the note that the CMS Hospitals continued to receive increased numbers of patients, they, however, held to the idea that the Menouf Hospital had either to be staffed suitably, regardless of much it would cost, or it would close down for no other alternatives were offered. Accordingly, in 28th January 1947, the Secretaries validated the local purchase of a small plot of land bordering the present Menouf Hospital.¹⁰²

b- Staffing of the Menouf Medical Mission and The New Menouf Hospital.

The Standing Committee (SC) urged the Parent Committee (PC) in 1937 to send, urgently a recruit doctor for the MMM. The SC in Egypt underlined that PC would appoint a supported missionary doctor to the MMM. The PC's attention was called to the fact that medical missionaries to Egypt used to be supported financially, and that by 1937, there was only one medical missionary; emphasising that by this year, the Medical Mission Auxiliary (MMA) made no direct contribution to the support of the medical work in Egypt.¹⁰³

On the 30th of January, The Standing Committee (SC) agreed on the extension of the Menouf Medical work along with the CMS policy of preventive medicine, the SC recommended, also, to the PC that the missionary staff should be constituted of one man doctor, one woman doctor, two sisters, one pharmacist, and lady evangelist or welfare worker and an Egyptian doctor. The OCMM could not assist by sending one of its experienced doctors for Menouf until another doctor recruit had arrived from Britain, and:

“ It was felt that it would be better not to send a missionary doctor until two new letters were available and had been given a year's uninterrupted Arabic study. It might be possible then to locate to Menouf one senior sister and one of the new recruits. As Dr Redcliffe had originally been sent out for Menouf, it was thought that for this and other reasons he might be the best doctor to locate to Menouf, at least for two or three years. SC realized that these proposals would add to the cost of the MMM at a time when the local medical income might be falling but it agreed unanimously that only some such plan could CMS discharge adequately its responsibility before the Egypt Inter-Mission Council for missionary

work in the Menoufia Province.” ¹⁰⁴

On the 7th June 1945, the SC approved for the establishment of a hospital Board for the Menouf Hospital as was the case for the Old Cairo Hospital. The exception for the Menouf Hospital was that Article 4 of the Constitution read as follows:

“ The Board shall consist of seven members, who shall for the present to be appointed as follows:

a- Ex- officio: The PO of the Hospital; the Matron of the Hospital (or, in her absence, the Nursing superintendent of the Mission); the doctor in charge of Ashmoun clinic; the Rev Aziz Hanna as representing evangelistic work; the Accountant.

b- By-election: Two Egyptian workers in charge of departments, to be elected by the members of staff who have been at least five years in the service of the Society.” ¹⁰⁵

Plans for the re-building of the Menouf Hospital started in 1952. After the building of the hospital, it encountered serious staffing difficulties, the Egyptian doctor retired after forty years of service. Medicine, nursing and Christian witness declined. A committee examined the precarious situation for future planning that would restore the vitality Christian witness. The hospital was to be administered from Old Cairo until the appointment of a new Medical Superintendent. Dr Saad Fahmy was put in charge cooperating with Lady Meredith Sinclair Both had worked over several common projects in Old Cairo.¹⁰⁶

In 1937, the MMM established a welfare activity in Menouf. However, the Medical sub- committee expressed its inability about covering part of the expenses of a new welfare worker at Menouf. The Medical Sub-committee deemed, the woman evangelist in Menouf, sufficient. After some consideration, the Standing Committee agreed to the Medical sub-committee proposal regarding

the present woman evangelist in Menouf that she would work in the hospital on full-time and permanent basis and that she would be supported entirely by the Menouf Medical Mission, and not partly by the Native Church Council.¹⁰⁷

3.2.2 The CMS Missionary Candidates

In July 1940, Dr Anderson made a medical survey in which he underlined the following points: In the early years of their recruitment, most of women missionaries were subject to invalidation leading to a termination of work.

Anderson reported that women missionaries aged forty-one were predisposed to ill-health and breakdown. After that age, CMS health records showed betterment in their health. Half of the breakdowns occurring for women missionaries were before the completion of six years service. Among the category of women missionaries, the nurses had the poorest health in the CMS records. Egypt was among the countries which tested most severely the health of the recruits. According to Dr Anderson's opinion, 831 of all casualties had psychological causes. The Doctor pointed to the eventual contribution of the Livingstone College with courses for the preparation of missionary candidates. It was pointed out that the Africa Group Statistics attested that the number of recruits who retired for health reasons during the period under survey was trivial.¹⁰⁸

Dr Anderson reported the deplorable rigorous adherence to the rules about language study which was recorded in many missionary stations, including Egypt. Dr Anderson argued about the nurses, their busy time could not allow for it. Accordingly, the majority of nurses worked in the missionary station with a language handicap for years. A necessity was expressed regarding women recruits relating to their development of a hobby before joining the Mission Station. It was equally emphasized that the candidates' first furlough aimed at refreshing the body, mind and spirit. At this juncture, the collaboration in plans of the Teaching College (Livingstone) was appreciated.¹⁰⁹

The location of missionaries to foreign missionary stations was within the prerogatives of the Locations and Foreign Committee. The Candidates' Committee made a recommendation for the Location and Foreign Committee. The latter could interfere with supporting the choice of the recruit as they knew the importance of the choices of the human environment in which the recruit would begin his missionary work. In the selection of candidates, the Committee was concerned more by considering what the CMS calls the "possibility of becoming" of the missionary recruit rather than the candidate's achievements. The Committee's appreciation of the candidates' tendencies were instrumental in their decision. The candidates could develop their tendencies in the Mission fields and at this juncture, help was deemed necessary.¹¹⁰

3.2.3 The CMS Egypt Medical Mission's Finance and Administration

The Minute of the Medical Committee of October 22, 1935, confirmed that the medical work in Egypt should be reestablished on a fully self-supporting basis from January 1, 1935.¹¹¹ The OCMM accounts for 1936 showed a credit balance of £.2381.843 and those of MMM showed a deficit balance of £.48.632 that continued until 1937. The net balance at the OCMM which amounted to £. 2074.124, was distributed as follows:

- 1- "£.1500 for the new Men's hospital at the MMM,*
- 2- £.200 for the purchase of the strip of land to the east of the MMM,*
- 3- £.370 towards the cost of the new missionaries' flat at the OCMM."*¹¹²

In 1937, the Standing Committee adopted the recommendation of the Medical sub committee that the MMM would be provided with an annual grant from

the OCMM to assist the Mission in developing its financial independence. It was decided that the amount of money to be provided would be determined in consideration of the financial situation of the MMM in recent years.¹¹³ The Menouf Medical Mission's Account for 1937 showed a deficit balance of seventy-nine four-hundred and sixteen £79.416. The grant to the MMM made from the OCMM for the year 1937 amounted to £828.286.¹¹⁴ The final account for the MMM for the year 1937 showed a deficit balance of seventy-nine four-hundred and sixteen £79.416. The grant made to the MMM from the OCMM. for 1937 amounted to £828.286.¹¹⁵ On the 31st December 1937, the balance-sheet of the OCMM showed a credit balance of £.1428 on the current account and that most of the sum was spent as follows:

- 1- *“£.314 for the part cost of the new flat at Old Cairo Hospital.*
- 2- *£.73 for part cost of the new Men's Hospital at Menouf.*
- 3- *£. 930 to meet the deficit on the current account of the M M M for the year 1937. This left a balance of the only £.111 of which £.30 was due to the architect and £.30 to the builder.”*¹¹⁶

In a Minute of the Executive Committee of the Parent Committee dated 14/3/1945, Morrison reported the following:

*“ The Old Cairo and Menouf Hospitals should fall into line with all other CMS hospitals in the surrender of its self-supporting basis as from January 1st, 1946.”*¹¹⁷

Nevertheless, it was pointed out that the consideration of the Welfare centres and the Menouf hospital, might, eventually, push the SC to submit a request for financial assistance to the Parent Committee.¹¹⁸

Established in 1894, the CMS Medical Department emerged of the need to finance the CMS medical mission work. As early as the 1830s, the CMS had been

sending qualified medical missionaries overseas. For the most part, the missionaries were responsible for raising money locally until the creation of the Medical Missionary Auxiliary Fund in 1886. The money raised was exhausted rapidly; as a result, in 1891 the 'Auxiliary Committee on Medical Missions' was established to raise Funds. By 1895 the Medical Mission Auxiliary (MMA) managed to finance all of the Society's medical missions. ¹¹⁹

In 1905, the home and overseas work of the Medical Mission Auxiliary split into two separate divisions; the MMA related the section dealing with the home side of medical mission work and was affiliated to the CMS Home Division; the overseas side kept functioning under the Medical Secretary and Medical Committee in the Foreign Division.

The Medical Department had the responsibility of funding, supporting, promoting, and advising on the Society's medical mission work, in addition to its care about the health of the Society's missionaries. The CMS Medical Board was a professional advisory body which decided about the suitability of candidates and missionaries for service. The Board, also, took into account the health of missionaries. Its members, being all doctors, were also members of the Medical Committee. As the Medical Secretary was a doctor, He had the duty of subjecting the CMS missionaries to a medical examination; he was also an adherent of the Medical Board. The CMS operated medical mission work overseas in different important areas like India, China, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Sudan, Egypt, Palestine, Iran, and to a lesser extent, in Canada and Japan. Medical funds were also spent in the building of numerous hospitals and dispensaries, whereby:

*“ By 1941 there were around 240 medical missionaries and wives
and 1300 trained non-Western doctors and nurses working in 52*

hospitals, 108 outstations, and 'hundreds of maternity and welfare clinics'; in this one year staff saw 94,000 inpatients and dealt with approximately 2,500,000 out- patients attendances." ¹²⁰

In 1945, the CMS Medical administration underwent some changes. Egypt Standing Committee recommended the appointment of a medical commission that would be responsible for the general policy and finance of the CMS medical work in Egypt. The Medical Commission would be elected to supervise the work for a period of two years that would be reviewed in the light of the experience gained. The absence of Morrison, the Secretary of the Mission and the Professional Medical Office (PMO) of the Old Cairo Hospital were to be absent for some time, therefore, the commission was recommended not to begin it until spring 1946. The Commission would meet two or three times a year. It would consist of sixteen members, of whom eight were to be British and eight Egyptian or nationals of Middle East countries, who were appointed as follows:

a- " Ex officio, the Secretary of the Mission, the PMO of Old Cairo Hospital, the PMO of Menouf Hospital, the Nursing Superintendent of the Mission, the Superintendent of the Old Cairo Baby Welfare, and the Superintendent of the Boulac Baby Welfare.

b- By-election:

i- Three members of the staff of the Old Cairo Hospital, two of whom shall be missionaries and one Egyptian.

ii- One Egyptian from the staff of the Menouf hospital.

iii- Two Egyptians elected by the National Christian Council (NCC) preferably persons from the area in which CMS medical work is situated, to maintain the link between the medical work and the church. For the present, these might be the Rev. Adeeb Shammam and Rev Aziz Hanna.

iv- Four persons appointed by Standing Committee of whom

three shall be Egyptian and one English. The following names of Egyptians were suggested: -Sir Saba Bey Habashi, Nageeb Pasha Mahfuz, Dr Debas, Dr Garas el Daba, Dr Girgis Bey Subhi and Dr Badia Girgis.” ¹²¹

The elected members from the Hospital staff were to be appointed by the Hospital boards. Members eligible for the election to the Commission had to have the following qualifications:

- i- “ If missionaries, they shall be out of probation.*
- ii- If Egyptians, they shall be Christians, have adequate knowledge of English, have been in the service of the Society for at least two years, and shall be either doctors, pharmacists or those with similar qualifications. If and when either the PMO or the Nursing Sister of the Menouf Hospital is replaced by a missionary, the membership of the Commission shall be re-adjusted, to ensure compensatory Egyptian representation.”*¹²²

In the UK, the cause was supported by fundraising, exhibition work and other means such as the publication of an official journal. The fundraising was conducted through a series of sub-departments. Including:

“ Hospital Supply Department: originally set up to supply medical missions with bandages and old linen and each hospital with complete sets of bedding and clothing, it later began to supply medical equipment of all kinds. Sale of Work Department: supplied boxes of needlework free to CMS medical mission stalls at Sales of Work. Patterns Department: looked after and sent out paper patterns provided for supporters making clothes, quilts etc for hospital patients. Foreign Stamps Department: collected stamps and sold them for funds. Linen Rag Society: started in January 1892 to furnish CMS hospitals with linen, cotton wool, lint, sheets, blankets,

*flannel and bandages supplied by members and sent out by the Missionary Leaves Association (see MLA) Boys Brigade Branch of the MMA: founded in 1892 to raise funds and support the work of the Society's medical missions; by 1942 it was raising over £1,000 a year. Order of the Red Cross: a medical mission prayer union established to link those interested in the work of medical missions. Members were expected to pray regularly for medical mission work, to try to help through gifts of money, clothing, dressings or providing articles for Sales of Work and to interest friends in the work.”*¹²³

The Society was at the lead of medical mission agencies operating and from the CMS point of view it was the largest medical mission agency in the world. As pointed out its records were instrumental for the study of medical mission as a manifestation of evangelism, the history of medicine, colonial history, architectural history and the biographical family history.¹²⁴

3.2.4 Government Position *vis à vis* CMS Egypt Medical Work

Throughout the period under study, the evangelistic work of missionary societies active in Egypt, notably, that of the CMS was under the Egyptian Government's restriction. “Labeeba Habeeb”, a missionary, argued about the Egyptian Government restrictions saying:

*“ We are all concerned about a proposed new bill for the prohibition of any religious teaching (other than their religion) to children under sixteen. Although the bill would not interfere with the actual welfare work, it would prevent us from teaching the other children who always come to the clinic with their mothers. It would also stop us from re-opening the children's club.”*¹²⁵

In 1949, Government policy was geared towards the restriction of the evangelistic work in and out of the Old Cairo Hospital. Apprehension was expressed about the patients' homes visiting which could be subject to suspension. Also, the Village Centres seem to have provided the opportunity for this type of personal evangelism, and the reaching of Coptic villagers, who lived away from their churches.¹²⁶ In 1941, the Pharmacy Law was issued. It prohibited the sale of medicines to out-patients in any pharmacy attached to a missionary hospital.¹²⁷

The CMS Medical work was under pressure in 1944, the Mission complained of a tightening in the religious freedom. Apprehensions were expressed regarding the approach of the date 1949 which marked the extended deadline for the freedom of religious minorities as established in the Montreux Convention of 1937. In the face of Government strict control, Douglas E Radcliffe, member of the CMS Egypt Mission argued as follows:

*“...and on all sides pressure even now is being brought to bear, to eliminate direct evangelism and the preaching of Christ Jesus from our schools and hospitals. We have stood on our rights, but the future is full of big problems and fears’ Further, the rights of religious minorities should be guaranteed so that they may have equal opportunities to make good in the Civil Service, in the academic appointment, in Arts and Sciences, and business, etc. This is not the case in Egypt to-day, and the Copts of Egypt struggle for their very life for fundamental civil rights and freedom.”*¹²⁸

On the Egyptian Government's position towards missionary activities, Morrison argued:

“ Now that the Government has passed legislation forbidding Christian teaching to Muslims in our schools, we must reckon with the definite possibility of similar legislation being enacted soon for the

prohibition of Christian teaching to Muslims inside the hospitals or welfares. Many of us, however, feel that a great deal might still be done if we had a a better system of following up patients, and particularly if it were possible to establish the rural centres we have had in mind for some years, from which regular visitation of former patients of our hospitals could be carried out.”¹²⁹

The CMS Egypt Mission’s medical institutions’ ultimate aim was to gain a convert. Throughout 1936 to 1959, the Old Cairo Hospital and its related hook-worm shelters made it one of the largest CMS missionary hospitals in the world. In 1936, the widespread influence of the Old Cairo Hospital through the evangelistic activities of the Bible, women brought about fruitful results in the wards and the out-patient departments. Kindness and fair treatment to children seemed to have left good impressions.

The massive direct evangelistic work of the hospital was carried on by salaried native evangelists, who took the responsibility of teaching Christianity to Muslims. The evangelists gave lessons to out-patients twice a day in the wards. Men evangelists extended their work to the villages by visiting and holding meetings. The nurses and servants were stimulated to take part in the evangelistic work in the wards. The village peasants’ class constituted the bulk of the Hospital’s patients.

In 1940 the Old Cairo Medical Mission marked the Hospital turning itself into rural areas. The financial position of the Hospital was deemed unsatisfactory due to the recurrent need for repair to old buildings and a rise in the cost of living. Bilharzia and Ankylostoma treatment fees, constituting the main part of the revenue, were subject to an increase. However, the rise in the treatment fees did not affect the number of out-patient attendances.

By 1951, the revenues of the Hospital increased with an increase in the workload. The Hospital's staff had almost doubled. The number of Egyptian staff surpassed two-hundreds, compared to that of missionaries which decreased. Equipment at the Hospital became more modern. The efforts of the Old Cairo Hospital were also geared at rising the standard of the nurses' training to prepare them for State registration and get the Egyptian Government Recognition. The Hospital provided them knowledge about Christian doctrine and evangelism to witness for Christ. The year 1952, some of the lady nurses attended an Eight-day Conference run by the American mission at Tanta to gain experience. However, they were blamed for their lack of responsibility and their nominal Christianity.

The Old Cairo Hospital was also active through its related medical departments like the Shelters, the out-patients department, the Hoashes, the children wards. All along the period of its work in Egypt, the Old Cairo Hospital never ceased to make evangelism at the heart of its medical work. The evangelistic work in the hospital was undertaken by full-time evangelists, who were, sometimes, assisted by the nurses.

In February 1940 the Standing Committee of the CMS Egypt Mission handed over the responsibility for the evangelistic work of the hospitals to the Native Church Council. Later, In July 1943, it was advised to appoint an Egyptian layman to supervise the evangelistic work of the Old Cairo Hospital. In 1944, the evangelistic work at the Old Cairo Hospital ran on regularly and a large number of crowded patients, visiting the Hospital for treatment, allowed for evangelism among them. In 1945 the numbers of out-patients at the Hospital over-passed 1000 in one morning. The Catechist and Bible women kept their regular evangelistic work. Evangelism in 1951 went on the same steps as in the past. Ward prayers continued to be taken by members of English and Egyptian nursing staff. Some passages of the Bible were selected for readings, in addition to prayers in the

evening. Bible stories were introduced, with an emphasis on parables, miracles, the birth, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Children wards adopted a similar programme, in addition to hymns and choruses. In 1952, Evangelism in the Old Cairo Hospital took different forms. For instance, a group of male nurses with Dr Chase went round the wards on Sunday evenings. A portable harmonium was carried into each ward where a hymn was sung in colloquial Arabic. Besides the Old Cairo Hospital and its related departments, the CMS Egypt Medical Mission ran clinics and dispensaries at Cairo and other Egypt's villages like Shubra Zanga and Ghamaza. In 1940, the CMS ran, also, a clinic in a village in Old Cairo. It was attended by many patients. Women were taught how to bath dolls as a way to prepare them for the bathing of their babies and they also gave them lessons on the principle of 'prevention is better than cure.

The CMS Egypt Medical Mission expressed a keen interest in rebuilding the Old Cairo Medical Mission. The objectives were to have a hospital within a strategic position of Old Cairo, a modern type construction of a size that would meet the needs of the staff, like the necessity for the nurses training, and the needs of patients for treatment. The building of the Cairo Harpur Memorial Hospital, in 1956, went through different crises. The Egyptian Government's new laws continued to bear upon missionary work.

The CMS Egypt Medical Mission operated the policy of out-branching of its medical activities from the Old Cairo Hospital as a centre of management of these activities. It managed to establish other medical institutions and centres like the Nursery School, the Baby Welfare and the Little Girls' Club. In 1955, The Nursing School's accounts and records were updated in preparation for hand-over to the new Matron. The number of pupils in the School had almost doubled and it prepared them to take the Government examination. A Nurses' Christian Fellowship was started by Lady M Sinclair, a CMS worker, It set two objectives:

First, it was to bring influence into the spiritual life of the nurses. Second, it was to develop a community spirit. The Old Cairo Welfare Centre was administered by the hospital. It provided three weekly classes on health and the mothers were instructed on the way of bathing their babies. The missionaries at the Welfare Centre cared about balancing the spiritual and physical sides of the teaching. In 1945, the evangelistic aspect of the Welfare Work at Boulac Centre remained pronounced. It conducted a weekly evangelistic meeting for Women. The number of attendances reached twenty-four from among Copts and Muslims.

In 1940, Morrison reported about a crucial new development of village missionary work or the Rural Construction. He defined Rural Construction as 'a great adventure in village community life' that would demonstrate Christian life on a smaller scale. Kirdasa, a district near the Giza province, recorded the establishment of a CMS Welfare Centre. Home visiting was also another branch of the CMS Egypt Medical work and it constituted a valuable opportunity for personal evangelism, in addition to The Ragged Sunday School through which an evangelistic work by ten members of the Hospital's staff on Thursdays afternoon during the winter for children living in a slum at the back of the hospital of whom one-hundred Muslim children attended.

The Menouf Hospital became by and large specialized in-patient ankylostomiasis and bilharzia illnesses. Although the two diseases were treated by the Government for out-patients, in missionary circles, they were considered less efficient than that of the CMS Menouf Hospital. The evangelistic character of the Menouf Hospital consisted of conducting evangelistic meetings in the villages and the perpetrating of Dr Abdul Malik's policy which consisted of using the Christian members of the staff in evangelistic work. Plans for the re-building of the Menouf Hospital started in 1952. After the building of the hospital, it encountered serious staffing difficulties. Medicine, nursing and Christian witness declined. A commit-

tee examined the precarious situation for a future planning that would restore the vitality Christian witness. The hospital was to be administered from Old Cairo until the appointment of a new Medical Superintendent.

In 1945, the CMS Medical administration underwent some changes. Egypt Standing Committee recommended the appointment of a medical commission that would be responsible for the general policy and finance of the CMS medical work in Egypt. The Society was at the lead of medical mission agencies, and from the CMS point of view it was the largest medical mission agency in the world.

Throughout the period under study, the evangelistic work of missionary societies active in Egypt, notably, that of the CMS was under the Egyptian Government's restriction. In 1949, Government policy was geared towards the restriction of the evangelistic work in and out of the Old Cairo Hospital. Apprehension was expressed concerning the patients' homes visiting which could be subject to suspension. In 1941, the Pharmacy Law was issued. It prohibited the sale of medicines to out-patients in any pharmacy attached to a missionary hospital. The CMS Medical work was under pressure in 1944, the Mission complained of a tightening in the religious freedom. Apprehensions were expressed regarding the approach of the date 1949 which marked the extended deadline for the freedom of religious minorities as established in the Montreux Convention (1937). The Egyptian Government's invigilation and restriction to the work of the CMS went on till the government of Nasser who; nationals took over the work and the CMS mission work was brought to an end with a forced departure of missionaries in 1956.

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Chapter Four

**The CMS Egypt Mission's
other Evangelistic Activities,
the Mission's Finance
and Muslim Response:
1936-1959.**

Chapter 4

The CMS Egypt Mission's other Evangelistic Activities, the Mission's Finance and Muslim Response: 1936-1959

4.1 CMS Egypt Mission's Activity through Literature:1936-1959

This Chapter falls into four sections. It furthers the exploration of the CMS Egypt's Mission work in Egypt through the mediums of literature and Church activity. The chapter, will also, shed light on the CMS Egypt Mission's finance and it concludes with the Egyptian Muslim response to the CMS Egypt Mission and all the foreign missionary work in Egypt under the period of study. The literature activity of the CMS Egypt Mission will consider its early literature work with an emphasis on the role played by

Constance Padwick; a CMS missionary worker who served in Egypt between 1923-1940. This section of the chapter will also consider the strategy developed in this field of activity regarding the type of literature designed for Muslims in Egypt. The section will also pin-point to the CMS Egypt's magazine "*Orient and Occident*" as a missionary vehicle for CMS evangelism. The first section of this chapter will conclude with Laubach's Illiteracy Campaign (1947) adopted by the CMS Egypt Mission. The second section of the chapter will start with a historical sketch of the foundation of the Diocese of Egypt and Sudan and the building the All Saints' Cathedral on the Nile River. The Church's activity throughout the period under study aimed at reviving the Coptic Church as a means to what they consider the key to the problem for the evangelization of Muslims. Section three of the chapter will deal with the CMS Egypt Mission and how it went about financing its work through the CMS headquarters's policy which inculcated into the Egypt Mission the notion of a self-supporting status by relying on its local funds. The fourth section of the chapter will examine the nature of the Muslim response represented in the response of the Egyptian government, the Egyptian press and the Azhari Ulemas and that of the Muslim Brotherhood and their opposition to the CMS and all missionary societies's work in Egypt between 1936 and 1959. The Egyptian response to foreign missions started by the 1920s and continued throughout the 1930s, the 1940s and 1950s.

4.1.1 CMS Egypt Mission's Early Literature Work: Constance Padwick's Contribution

The CMS started with the establishment of a printing press in Malta and the early literary production for Muslim evangelism was controversial. While it reaped few converts, it raised Muslims against missionaries and their

activities. On the early character of the CMS literary production and the need for a shift in policy, it was argued:

*“ It aimed at exposing the weaknesses of Islam and showing the superiority of Christianity. Today we must take a different line”*¹

The modern period of the CMS literature work began with the publication of tracts in 1902 which were followed by a slow but regular publication of books. 1938, for instance, recorded the publication of five books with a distribution of 9474 volumes.² Constance Padwick, a CMS missionary worker who served in Egypt from 1923-1940, is described by Catriona Laing, who authored an article on Padwick, as follows:

*“ Padwick’s contribution to missionary work in the Muslim world manifested a distinctive, indeed sui generis attempt to re-orient the missionary approach towards greater collaboration and cooperation with other Christian denominations and with Muslims”*³

Her involvement in the literature activity of the CMS was associated with her report. *The Power of the Printed Page: “ A Survey of Christian Literature in Moslem Lands”* (1923), which called for the establishment of a permanent Christian Literature Committee for the Muslim world.

“ Responding to the rise of literacy rates and the changing socio-political context of the post-Ottoman, post-Imperial Muslim world the report suggests some new directions for Christian mission. These are shaped by a demand for greater use of Christian literature for evangelistic work and a desire to find

appropriate forms of approach for different groups of society. It alerts the reader to the need to make Christian publication specific to a range of reading audiences.”⁴

The report’s importance lied in its emphasis on the power of newspaper evangelism and an approach to Muslims via prayer and devotion literature; an approach adopted before and after 1936. “ *Combined, they presented opportunities for public and private encounter between missionaries and Muslims.*” ⁵

In 1921, a field committee constituted of seven missionaries belonging to different missionary societies was established; their mission was to survey Christian literature throughout the Muslim world. The Committee members sent reports emphasizing the need for Christian missionary literature; accordingly:

“ Their surveys were collated and used to make the case for a permanent literature committee to be based in Cairo. ”⁶

Padwick turned the surveys into a report about Christian literature in the Muslim world. The Report noted about Padwick the following:

“ she had been for many years in vital touch with the problems of the Christian approach to Islam through literature”.⁷

Evangelism through the press provided the CMS Egypt Mission and other Christian missions active in Egypt with a way of reaching wider audiences.

“ Furthermore, at a time of considerable unrest and anti-missionary attacks newspaper evangelism offered a public

way for Christian missionaries to work in a manner that conformed to the new restrictions placed upon them whilst still witnessing to the Christian Gospel in public. By responding to the need for new forms of public engagement newspaper evangelism offered mission a new approach that could adapt to the changesâ€ Devotional and liturgical Christian literature in the native languages of the Muslim world offered a second new form of approach. It contributed to the missionary endeavour in four ways. It was accessible to the poorer uneducated classes; it presented an alternative to apologetics and doctrinal issues; it matched the spiritual unity of Islam with Christian spirituality, and it responded to the desire for private as well as public forms of Christian missionary work.”⁸

Padwick was concerned with providing a type of literature within accessible and suited to Muslims. She suggested a devotional type of literature. Her missionary zeal epitomized in her desire to see Christianity invading Egyptian society. In this respect Laing argued:

“ Her particular ambition for the literature committee was to develop a greater variety of publications to ensure that different kinds of Christian evangelistic literature were available and catered for different reading needs. These ranged from publications for barely literate women and children - pictures, songs and simple stories to works suited to the intellectual upper classes.”⁹

Substantial amounts of Christian literature focusing on doctrine, prayers, hymns and Arabic ritual ceremonies were translated for Egyptians.

A shift in the approach to Muslims was observed when compared to the past. The shift emphasised a move from an apologetic approach to a devotional through the translation and publication of colloquial literature focusing on prayers and devotions.

“ The report commended a form of Christian literature that led the Muslim into the prayers and devotions of Christianity and presented an alternative form of missionary approach. This was not a move to a more anti-intellectual approach for the simple-minded; it was an attempt to develop depth in relations with other religions.” ¹⁰

Noting the absence of the spiritual approach and insisting on its value for missionary encounters with Muslims Padwick commented :

“ The Moslem world is at heart a unity. Not linguistic, not political, not social, not intellectual, not ritual although all of these have a unifying aspect to them, they are various modes of expression of a unity whose secret lies in the spiritual realm. The bottom fact of the unity of Islam is a common spiritual attitude drawn from the spiritual content of the Koran and of the personal character of Mohammed! [The literature was destined for the ordinary Egyptian man]. In contrast to the public engagement provided by the newspapers, this move to use devotional literature to witness to Muslims and the exploration of the spiritual dimension of Christianity proffered a different kind of experience of the religion at a more personal and private level.” ¹¹

4.1.2 The Mission's Need of Workers for Literature Evangelism

On 12th June 1936, Morrison wrote to the Rev. H.D. Hooper at CMS Headquarters, about the engagement of Miss E. Mitchell after Miss Dudley left the Egypt Mission; Morrison expressed the need of the Egypt Mission for someone to carry on evangelistic work among educated women in Cairo. On the method of approach to Muslims, it was argued:

“ Also, promising beginnings have been made with newspaper evangelism in Cairo and someone was needed to follow up the opportunities of friendship with the families of editors and journalists whose confidence had been won through the newspaper work.” ¹²

During the winter of 1936, Miss Padwick suggested Miss E. Mitchell as a voluntary worker. Mitchell had work experience with the Wesleyan Mission in India, Her favourite missionary work was amongst Muslims in the Near East. As Miss Padwick appreciated her work, she invited her to return for a period of nine months. Padwick's satisfaction with Miss Mitchell's voluntary work was expressed as follows:

“ Miss Mitchell who had made friends with the wives of editors and journalists, whom Miss Padwick and Miss Henry had met in connection with the work of Newspaper Evangelism. Miss Mitchell was also able to establish friendships with the families of Moslem readers of O and O resident in Cairo. And with the families of some educated men in touch with the work of the Rev. Adeb Shammas. Miss Mitchell had expressed her

*willingness to return to Cairo for a further period of nine months in September 1936. S.C. agreed to the suggestion that Miss Mitchell be taken on as a voluntary worker in local connection for evangelistic work amongst educated women in Cairo, on the understanding that Miss Mitchell would be left free to develop this work in the way she found best, and also that the only expense involved would be the cost of her travelling from Palestine to Egypt.”*¹³

The services of Miss Mitchell were also appreciated by the CMS Egypt Mission Secretary, Morrison who argued:

*“ Many of us would feel that our CMS work in Egypt would be strengthened by Miss Mitchell’s temporary addition to our staff and I know that she, for her part, would welcome a closer link with us. I, therefore, suggested to Miss Mitchell and to the SC that she be taken on for nine months under the terms of an agreement of which I herewith enclose a copy. I understand that we need PC’ approval before this agreement can be signed. â!/. “ Miss Mitchell asks that she be left free from committee work to develop her work amongst educated women in the way that seems best, and with so experienced a worker we all agree that is a reasonable provision. I should be grateful if you would secure for me the necessary sanction of the P C.”*¹⁴

In 1937, the Rev H E J Biggs was transferred to Cairo as Circulation Manager for the SPCK, for a period of three years.¹⁵ In 1938 Fifty copies were printed in Arabic and were taken every month by church members and a few Muslim at the Boulac girls’ school.¹⁶ The need for more literature was expressed by the CMS Egypt Mission and it was argued:

*“ The students of Egypt are striving to adjust their thought to the changing environment of the modern world. They are devouring magazine articles and newspapers from the West, some good, many bad, but most of them indifferent. What kind of Christian literature is there to help them. The monthly magazine Orient and Occident, and the series of student books published by the SPCK, partly meet the need, but much more is required to bring them the light of the truth as it is in Jesus. A start has been made on a small scale with newspaper evangelism, but nothing of permanent value can be achieved until some gifted person is given adequate support to make this task his (or her) life work”.*¹⁷

The spread of Christian ideas through literature was deemed to remove the wrong impression about Christian missions and encourage freedom of thought. In this respect, It was argued:

*“ Beyond doubt, one of the most formidable obstacles to the growth of the Church in Egypt at present is the persecution which invariably gags the footsteps of the convert from Islam. Perhaps the greatest contribution towards the permeation of student thought with Christian ideas has come from the lecture delivered to the crowded audiences at the Extension Department of the American University in Cairo. This is a task which calls for the cooperation of all the missionary forces in the country, forces which are already happily united under the aegis Egypt’s Inter-Mission Council.”*¹⁸

Under the direction of the Rev H E J Biggs, the production and circulation of Christian literature made progression. However, production could not keep up with the demand for the lack of qualified workers.¹⁹ Likewise; the increase in the number of readerships gave rise to an array of literature varieties that appealed to the Egyptian reader. In this respect, it was argued:

*“ The minds of young and old alike in the Near East today are submitted to a veritable bombardment of new ideas through the spread of literature. The cumulative effect of this is to leave them perplexed and bewildered. By broadcast and newspaper, by the spread of rationalist literature and the efforts of propagandists for the modern political ideologies, men and women today have to face challenges to their fundamental beliefs and ideas which their parents never dreamed about. The House of Islam and the Eastern Churches are alike affected. Against this aggressive work, the Christian Church must place a planned programme of literature dealing with the vital questions of the day In Egypt.”*²⁰

4.1.3 The CMS Egypt Mission’s Approach in the production of literature

One outstanding characteristic of the CMS Egypt literature production was focusing on the Student Series. Among such publications, the following could be cited: What after Death Science and Religion, and the Christian Contribution in Ethics, in addition to the translation of Paterson Smythâs Life of Christ which sold more than two-hundred and fifty 250 volumes a year. With the elimination of illiteracy and the increase in the number of

readers, CMS missionaries argued:

*“ They will read anything and everything; we must prepare for this Egypt by having ready a large series of suitable books. Even now our production does not keep pace with the demand. We are asked today for more and more good Christian stories, more commentaries, books that will show a man can meet the demands that life makes on him. Yet we are hampered for the lack of workers.”*²¹

Nevertheless, the CMS Egypt Mission encountered problems more with the circulation and distribution of literature than with its production. In 1938, through the efforts of the London Lay Workers' Union of the CMS House, the CMS Egypt Mission managed to recruit a full-time colporteur. By December 1938, the number of sold volumes reached nine-hundred volumes.²²

The year 1940 marked the reconstitution of the Editorial Board of the CMS magazine; *“Orient and Occident”*²³ The CMS founded the Orient and Occident magazine in 1905 and it was used as a means of evangelism. It was supported mainly by special gifts, which contributed to the formation of the Cairo Literature Fund. Between 1919 and 1925, the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems sponsored the magazine. The CMS at Headquarters in Salisbury Square decided the following:

*a- “ The establishment of a board of editors, not all of whom should be Anglican, b- The fact that should this help the A.C.L.S.M. fail, the Society would again be responsible financially. From 1923 onwards Miss Padwick took the main share in the responsibility for its production and financing and the CMS is deeply indebted to her for the services she has thus rendered.”*²⁴

On 14th January 1938, Morrison reiterated the CMS Policy emphasizing two main objectives common to the CMS and the Anglican Church in Egypt, namely, the evangelism of the Muslims through the co-operation of the Christian Churches and the unity of the Churches; with a closer fellowship between them as a preliminary step. Morrison expressed the need for the appointment of the Board of Editors of the magazine “*Orient and Occident*”, and the formulation of its policy. The matter needed, however, the approbation of the Standing Committee. Morrison suggested, also, that the magazine’s evangelistic character should be more pronounced.²⁵

In 1940, Morrison reported about the unsatisfactory period undergone by the editorial and financial affairs of the CMS magazine “*Orient & Occident*”. The situation became more critical, especially, when the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in Egypt could no longer afford to finance the magazine. In September 1940, the Standing Committee reviewed the position of its magazine; “*Orient and Occident*” whose circulation in 1934 surpassed three-thousands 3000 per month. Compared with 1938 the circulation of the magazine had fallen from two-thousand and five hundred and twenty-five 2525 to one-thousand and seven-hundred and sixty-nine 1769. For the 1930s, the magazine was run at a loss of about £two-hundred 200 a year; the sum was covered predominantly by private donations. At the end of 1939, the accumulated deficit was estimated by £one-hundred and forty (140). When SPCK support terminated, the magazine continued to be published for the months of August and September through the loans of Bishop Gwynne.²⁶

During the absence of Miss Padwick from Egypt, the magazine was published under a board of editors, which included CMS missionaries, Egyptians, Evangelical, but with a major responsibility falling upon Habeeb Effendi Sa'id who took over the responsibility with dissatisfaction for he needed a collaborator to assist him in his work. An emergency meeting of the Standing Committee met on September 5th 1940 with an agreement on the following recommendations:

“1- S.C. should resume its full responsibility for the magazine.

2- S.C. should at once pay from its Local Funds Cash balance the amount advanced to “ O & O” by the SPCK, and refund the loan of £.30 made by Bishop Gwynne.

3- This “ O & O” debt (henceforward included in CMS accounts) be wiped out as soon as possible from any balance we have at the end of each year in our “Local Funds Account”. It was agreed, also, that the investment for “O & O” raised as part of the “Gairdner Memorial Appeal Fund should be left intact.

4- Steps are taken to put “ O & O” on a proper financial basis, by reducing its expenditure, aiming at increasing its income from subscriptions and donations, and if necessary by an annual grant from “ Local Funds” not exceeding £.40 per annum. Various suggestions were put forward for increasing the income of the magazine, such as:

a- An appeal to missionaries and others in the Near East to become “Hidden Friends” of the magazine,

b- An appeal for “ Sustaining Subscribers”, who would donate a capital sum to the magazine,

c- The appointment of an “ O & O” Secretary in each Church.

5- While S.C. remains finally responsible for the administration of the magazine,

6- the Literature sub-committee be revived- it met last about 1930 â that it advises about the magazine, in the same way, the Medical, Educational and Finance sub-committees do about their respective fields of activity. It would consist of those missionaries engaged in Literature work, together with Habeeb Effendi. Sa'id, and the Secretary as Chairman.

7- The Editorial board be reconstituted, to include:

i- At least the members of the Egypt Mission,

ii- Three or four Egyptians Miss Padwick has suggested three names, in addition to that of Habeeb Eff. Sa'id,

iii- Two missionaries of other societies.

iv- Miss Padwick as a Consulting Editor, whose advice can be sought, when necessary. S.C. agreed to invite the following to become members of the Editorial board:

a- Dr Stuart, the Rev. EG Parry, Mr Morrison.

b- Miss Padwick as a Consulting Editor. This Editorial group was empowered, if necessary, to appoint others to fill temporary vacancies.

8- This Editorial board should meet not less than once every three months, to plan out the contents of the magazine, and help it to follow a definite constructive and evangelistic policy. It was agreed also that letters of thanks should be sent to all those who had hitherto served on the Editorial Board of the magazine.”²⁷

In 1941 the Local SPCK reported an increase in the sales of Arabic and English books. Mr Biggs encouraged the sale of Arabic books among Muslims and Christians. During the War, he also encouraged the circulation of English Christian books among the troops. The SPCK Depot was transferred from Boulac (Old Cairo) to the Cathedral Buildings for the increasing demand of English books.²⁸

Morrison contributed to the editorial supervision of SPCK Arabic publications. The costs increased, but literature continued to be produced regularly. In co-authorship, Habeeb Effendi Said and Morrison published three books in the Students' Series: *'on Religion and the State, Religion and Economies, and Different forms of Government'*.²⁹ About the activity in the circulation of Christian literature, it was argued:

*“ From our depot in Cairo in 1940 we distributed 15,000 volumes in Arabic, but in 1941 the figure was 24,000. If a colporteur sells £4 to £5 worth of books in a month we feel he has done well, yet one of our men was selling from £11 to £26 worth per month. Biographies are the most popular. On an average two-hundred and seventy-five 275 copies of Peterson Smyth's Life of Christ in Arabic are sold in a year, and it is a large book. Generally speaking, however, the smaller books sell best.”*³⁰

In 1943 the CMS Egypt still needed missionaries in the fields of production and distribution. A need for money to print the literature was also required. The sales of English books were deemed not enough to cover the fees of the needed books. Also, the considerable grant contributed by the SPCK to the combined work; had to be augmented by CMS workers.

4.1.4 CMS Egypt Mission's Literature: Strategic Approach and the Laubach's Illiteracy Campaign

The Egypt Diocesan Literature Committee planned for the printing of three translated books that were to be followed by six others and thirteen other books were in the stage of preparation. The Mission considered this step “ a real forward look”. Distribution, however, was not successful as a result of the War which impeded the reaching of missionary stations. In this context, the CMS missionary zeal and daring were expressed as follows:

“ We as Christians shall have to make our contribution to the many problems that 'will arise in reconstruction. We must be preparing the books now so that they will be ready when the demand comes. To be effective our literature must be in a language understood by the common people; it must be simple and direct in presentation, uncompromising in its challenge to life. A book which makes no conflicts makes no converts; that is true of a book in any language.” ³¹

The removal of the SPCK Depot for the sale of English books from the CMS building in Boulac to the Cathedral, locality seems to have increased the sales and the War, as pin-pointed was perceived as a positive factor as long as it allowed the distribution of CMS Christian literature among the troops.³² In 1943, the sale of Arabic books by the SPCK rose to a crescendo as a result of the work of an active Egyptian colporteur recruited by the CMS. The unpredicted rise in the cost of paper, however, made publication difficult and sometimes impossible. The fall of prices was awaited to restart publishing on a vigorous ground.³³

Miss Mayne; a CMS missionary, reported a decrease in the income of the magazine “ *Orient and Occident*,” in 1942 to £.71.738. The Literature Committee of the International Missionary Council in America contributed with a donation of £.60.175 from the Literature Committee of the IMC in America, and of £.48.625 received through the CMS administrative Dr Paton.³⁴ The sale of Arabic books in 1943 reached twenty-four thousand and seven-hundred and twenty-three 24,723 copies in comparison with that of 1942 which numbered sixteen-thousand and six-hundred and forty-eight 16,648 copies. The acknowledgement was attributed to the Egyptian colporteur’s efforts. As for the English books in 1943, as reported by Rev EG Parry, they reached twelve-thousand and two hundred and forty-four 12,244 books, pamphlets, Bibles and Prayer books.³⁵

On 9th May 1944; the Editorial Secretary wrote to the Rev HD Hooper, at CMS House, about his receipt of the Minutes of the Egypt Literature Committee of March 9, emphasizing the changes in the Committee structure which took considerable action towards cooperation. An Egyptian chaired the committee which consisted of seven Egyptians and six Europeans. Besides, the new members who joined the Committee; represented in the Director of the Nile Mission Press, the Chairman of the Literature Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council and a representative of the Society of Love (Cairo) provided a means for cooperative work. ³⁶ In 1946, the three Christian Publishing Societies continued the holding of their meetings and their cooperation became the centre of the Arabic Christian Literature sub-committee of the Near East Christian Council (NECC).³⁷

The Rev EG Parry's missionary work focused on the literature side. In 1946, an English section was started in the Boulac Bookshop to meet the needs of the military troops stationed in Egypt. When the military troops left, the demand for English books decreased and the English section was moved to the Cathedral as the English religious literature could still, be needed by civilians.³⁸

Shortage of paper in 1945 made it impossible to publish Arabic literature, though about fifteen books on different subjects were ready for publication. The demand was more on children books and stories. Colportage, however, seemed to have been satisfactory thanks to the efforts of an Egyptian colporteur. The task was considered as a tough activity in a Muslim country. Nevertheless, the Egyptian colporteur managed to sell more of Canon Gairdner's apologetic work: *Aspects of the Redemptive Work of Christ*; a book destined for Muslim readers.

There were three Christian publishing Houses in the Near East. They owed their origin to the missionary work of the SPCK, the Nile Mission Press, in Cairo, and the American Press in Beirut, Syria. At the request of the Near East Christian Council, they merged on a consultative basis, to avoid overlapping in their work and embark on a cooperative production of Christian literature. The new Council issued a common catalogue to be used by missionaries and Church leaders, they also agreed on some minor issues like price and colportage.³⁹

In 1947 Dr Laubach, a Congregational missionary, known as 'the apostle to the illiterate', went to Egypt. His visit was described as a landmark

event of the year. Laubach's visit aimed at launching a movement against illiteracy in the Near East. He was a professional in preparing charts in foreign languages, including the Arabic language. The interest of King Farouk in the campaign made easy the cooperation with the Egyptian Government. Charts, flash-cards were prepared in collaboration with representatives of the Ministries of Education and Social Affairs. Nevertheless, for Laubach:

*“ It was to the Churches that Dr Laubach made his special appeal, not merely that there may be in Egypt a completely literate Church, but that, by teaching someone else to read, the Christian may have a practical way of showing his love and concern for his less fortunate Moslem brothers.”*⁴⁰

The Roman Catholic and Coptic Churches took part in the campaign. The CMS considered this initiative as an outcome of the formation of the Committee of Liaison in December 1944 and the spirit of understanding it generated between the communities.⁴¹

In 1948, the SPCK in London declared itself responsible for providing the salaries of one of the editorial teams over a period of three years. The Protestant Episcopal Church in America also promised to grant £2,000 renewable for three years. The major problem, however, related to finding ways to increase the circulation of literature; notably for the instability witnessed by the Near East, in addition to postal restrictions. A catalogue was issued of the publications of the three press Houses; the SPCK, the Nile Mission Press and the American Press, Beirut.⁴²

The CMS worked in collaboration with the representatives of the Roman Catholics and the Coptic Christians, to propel a campaign against

illiteracy using the Laubach method, and for work amongst the blind. The Laubach campaign touched all of Egypt. Committees were set up in prominent centres. The twelve parts of Dr Laubach's Life of Jesus were published in Arabic by the SPCK in the Near East. Requests were sent to London and New York for helping in the publication of Laubach's books for use by the semi-literate. The CMS Missionary work was disrupted in 1948 by the epidemic Cholera. Teachers from the Old Cairo Girls' School seized the opportunity to teach illiterates using Laubach's teaching method for illiterates.⁴³ The progress of the Literacy campaign in the CMS stations, namely, Menouf and Old Cairo continued over the year 1949 and the CMS Egypt Mission was actively involved in the work.⁴⁴

By 1955, the CMS literature side of the work advanced considerably. Mr Habeeb Said, the editor of *"Orient and Occident"* availed himself fully to the work of literature after his retirement from his Government work. The Near East Christian Council designated him Literature Secretary representative of the entire Middle East. He directed his efforts towards gathering publishing companies and authors of concern about the Arabic Christian literature into new collaboration and association.⁴⁵ On the CMS furthering missionary activity, it was argued:

"CMS work must go on because it is helping to build up the Church Universal. The result of their labours is seen in the young Churches, These Churches in their turn are taking up the unfinished task bequeathed to them by earlier missionaries. They form, indeed, an important part of the Church Universal. We must, therefore, concentrate our efforts on the undergirding of these Churches in such ways as to enable them increasingly to

do the work themselves. CMS policy involves the maintenance of our educational work as strongly as possible, the further development of training catechists, teachers, and pastors, the continuance of the hospitals, dispensaries.” ⁴⁶

4.2 The Anglican Episcopal Church in Egypt: 1936-1959

4.2.1 The Diocese of Egypt and the Emergence of the Anglican Episcopal Church: A Historical Perspective

In 1876, Samuel Gobat and the Duke of Sutherland consecrated the All Saints' Cathedral in Cairo. The Cathedral started as a small parish church and became the main centre of worship for British residents in Egypt. In 1914, Britain declared its Protectorate over Egypt and in 1915, the Bishop of Jerusalem planned for the construction of a church in Cairo. In 1916, Bishop Mc Innes declared:

“ Such a church would be a witness and a symbol of our Christian faith to the people of Egypt. To ourselves it would not only be a symbol, but the outward expression of our inward faith, the centre of our religious life, and a new and perpetual incentive to worship.” ⁴⁷

In 1925, the All Saints' building Cathedral was demolished and the site was sold in the perspective to buy a better one. Between 1925 and 1938, St. Mary's was the Pro-Cathedral until the new All Saints Cathedral was built.

In 1938, Bishop Llewellyn Gwynne established the second All Saints' Cathedral in Cairo and the Archbishop of York, Dr William Temple, consecrated it.⁴⁸

4.2.2 The Diocese of Egypt and Sudan

Egypt was part of the Old Jerusalem Diocese until 1920. The Episcopal Anglican control was very limited until 1905. The Churches at Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez, were, thus, the enterprise of laymen who:

*“...felt they could not live their lives and carry on their business without the spiritual inspiration of their Church. It is impossible to rate too highly the splendid work these laymen did. The Bishop occasionally came over to confirm, but the Clergy were appointed by the local Church committees.”*⁴⁹

In 1920, Bishop Llewellyn Gwynne was entrusted with the duty of founding the Diocese of Egypt and Sudan. He was also instructed with the responsibility of building the All Saints' Cathedral on the Nile River. It was under his pastoral care that the first four Egyptian native pastors of the Church like Girgis Bishai and Adeeb Shamma were ordained ministers. Eventually, the Diocese of Egypt separated from Sudan. CMS Bishops succeeded Bishop Gwynne (1920-1946) like Bishop Geoffrey Allen (1947-52), Bishop Francis Johnston (1952-58) and Bishop Kenneth Cragg (1970-74).

After Bishop Cragg, native Egyptians took over; Adeeb Shamma was appointed Archdeacon and Ishaq Musaad became, eventually, Bishop in 1974.⁵⁰

The Episcopal Church in Egypt established strong ties with the Eastern Churches. For instance, the Patriarch of Alexandria was elected Vice-president of the Fellowship of Unity. The fellowship was influential in preserving amity within the eastern communities. Bishop Llewellyn Gwynne argued about the task of the Church in Egypt saying:

*“ There are grand opportunities round about us, which the Christian Church fails to seize, partly because of our unfortunate divisions, and partly because a large number of Christians are Christians in name only. Even amongst our educated English people, there are far too many who are drawn away by the deadening the spiritual atmosphere of cosmopolitan society like Cairo, and never give a hand to the work of the Church of God. Also because the time is not yet when the large body of Moslems, rigid, fanatical, suspicious, and with an unreasonable hostility towards anything Christian, are willing even to listen to the Christian message.”*⁵¹

In 1922 the Episcopal Church in Egypt counted four hundred and twenty-nine baptized members and two-hundred and nineteen communicants. By 1940, there were, approximately, seven-hundred members.⁵²

4.2.3 The Church Activity and its Evangelistic Character: 1936-1959

The Church activity for the period under study was evangelistic by vocation. The CMS Egypt Mission’s work among the Copts was a means that targeted Muslims. In 1936, Morrison argued about the aim behind the CMS revival of the Coptic Churches saying:

“ Our purpose for supporting all movements for the revival of the Coptic Church is not merely that we consider the resuscitation of that Church to be of supreme importance, but also that we believe it to be the key to the problem of Moslem evangelization in Egypt.” ⁵³

The CMS invested efforts in the training of voluntary evangelists to equip them for the “ highly specialized task” of Muslim evangelism. In this perspective, monthly classes were provided for younger missionaries at the premises of the School of Oriental Studies of the American University at Cairo, and others were initiated for the Menouf Church members.

A CMS Workers’Conference was held in 1936 on the themes of “Islamic Devotions,” “Private Devotions,” and “Public Worship.” The discussions were of great impact among the attendants. About the opportunities it offered for evangelism, Cooper; a CMS missionary, argued as follows:

“ At no time during the five years I have been in Menouf have there been such opportunities for evangelism, and at no time in the last five years has there been so much life in the work in practically every department. There has been remarkably little opposition to the preaching of the Gospel, although we have been bolder and more definite in our preaching than before.” ⁵⁴

In 1936, the Menouf congregation opted for the purchase of a parcel of land adjoining the Clergy’s House for building a new church. It was Bishop Gwynne who undertook the operation of the purchase on the 19th May for £109.250. Later, Gwynne declared the property trust in the name of the

Episcopal Church in Egypt in communion with the Anglican Church.⁵⁵

On November 20th, 1936, Morrison reported about the Anglican Church Council in Egypt, and its proposal to appoint the Diocesan Board of Finance as a trusted Board for holding all the property of the Anglican Church in Egypt. A sub-committee was designated to consider the proposal in-depth and to report eventually to the Anglican Church Council. The Anglican Church Council and the Native Church Council had both agreed that:

*“ If the scheme were put into execution, the Trust Board would only act on a resolution from the Native Church Council in all matters affecting the property of The Episcopal Church Council in Egypt in communion with the Anglican Church.”*⁵⁶

In 1937, the Mission emphasised the boosting of the spirituality of the members of the Anglican Church and urged them to get involved in evangelistic work. As a result, the Mission took measures in bringing forth volunteer workers for the village evangelistic meetings.⁵⁷ The Archbishop of York and Bishop Gwynne consecrated the All Saints Cathedral in 1938. The cathedral constituted the parish church of the English community in Cairo and the mother church of the diocese. The Rev E G Parry argued as follows:

“ Three times a year the three Arabic churches meet in the cathedral for combined services- on All Saints’ Day and Ash Wednesday the Egyptians by themselves; on St. Andrew Day they combine with the English congregation in a service of prayer and thanksgiving for the extension of God’s Kingdom.

This service is conducted in Arabic and English, each worshipper could follow the service.” ⁵⁸

Adeeb Shammās; described as zealous for the cause of the conversion of Muslims, was established as pastor of the Gairdner Memorial Church in 1937. The Church was situated in the hospital compound of Old Cairo. About this Church, the Rev E G Parry argued:

“ The Church at Old Cairo grows rapidly and there is a band of people who are keen on evangelistic work.” ⁵⁹

The Anglican Church in Egypt was of limited membership. It expressed unwillingness to enlarge its membership by gaining adherents from the Coptic Church. Its claim was 'to exist to serve, and not to gain.' It regarded its role tuned mainly to its missionary purpose and the maintaining of the vitality of its faith. Its aim was geared towards presenting the Christian worship, freedom of thought, and social service. It also nurtured co-operation between the different Churches. From its inception, its role was oriented towards the “Fellowship of Unity.” It also contributed to the elaboration of methods of work among Muslims and considered itself a pioneer in the field.

“ The work of the CMS and the Anglican Church in Egypt will, in all probability, remain for many years restricted in scope. It will, we hope, be distinguished by its quality if not by its quantity. But it is a work the absence of which, we believe, is a serious loss to the Christian Church in Egypt today. Egypt needs Great Britain’s co-operation in its tremendous task of reconstruction.” ⁶⁰

A Women's Service was elaborated every week in 1938. MC Liesching: a CMS Bible woman entertained evangelistic visiting to a growing number of Muslim women who received Bible lessons. The Muslim women attended the English Church service to which they understood nothing of its Christian diction. As a result, they were provided with a service in colloquial Egyptian language.⁶¹

Egypt's adoption of a liberal, democratic constitution and its upholding of Islam as its official religion rose apprehension on the part of the CMS missionaries. The latter considered that Islam was more privileged as a religion and that it hampered its subjects from associating with other religions. The CMS Egypt mission considered this attitude a disadvantage concerning minorities and that it interfered with the personality growth within society. In 1938, the CMS Egypt Mission emphasised the following:

*“ The Church in Egypt should ask for religious freedom generally on two grounds, which must stress the value to be gained by the Egyptian Community rather than to be based on any so-called inherent rights of the church organizations.”*⁶²

In 1938, the Bishop and the Native Church Council consented for the formation of an Anglican Benevolent Society; its funds were to be used for the relief of the poor. It was agreed that its funds would be derived from gifts by the Native Church Council, the Churches, from adherents and non-adherents of the Church and Church collections. In this context, it was argued:

*“ It was thought that some people would be willing to give donations to a Benevolent Society of this kind, who would not be prepared to contribute in the same way to Church funds.”*⁶³

By 1940, the Episcopal Church in Egypt was identified as a very small Church. Its adherents counted more than seven-hundred 700 members; including children and few converts. Regarding the importance of maintaining a CMS Church activity in Egypt, it was argued:

“ He Mission has, at various times; given serious thought to the question whether it is worthwhile to continue is the face of many hindrances and much discouragement. But the answer is always ‘Yes.’ The withdrawal of the Church would be regarded as a defeat, and it would mean the cessation of an influence whose bounds cannot be determined. Then there is the influence of the Church on other churches and the religious background of the Christian community in general, and there is also the important part it plays as a liaison between other bodies. “Standing, as it does, between the ancient historic Churches and the rather extreme Protestant communities, it exerts an unseen but beneficial influence on both.” ⁶⁴

During War-time; notably in 1940, the Native Church Council of the Episcopal Church in Egypt accepted the request of the CMS Egypt Mission to assume the responsibility of the Evangelistic work within CMS hospitals. The CMS Egypt Mission regarded this decision as an implementation of the principle of voluntary evangelism articulated at the Madras Conference.⁶⁵ In 1943, though a period of War-time; the CMS Egypt Church evaluated its missionary work as follows:

“ Like everyone else, we in the Church in Egypt have been affected by the war, but, strange as it may seem, some good has

come out of the evil of war. For the first time in their lives, hundreds of men have seen missionary work at first hand. Some of these men are seeing the work about which they have read in missionary magazines or hears in addresses, but the great majority is being introduced for the first time to the work of Christ among non-Christians.” ⁶⁶

The Egyptian vicar of the church at Old Cairo, the Reverend Adeeb Shammas ⁶⁷ was active in introducing men and women of the Forces to missionary work. Adeeb Shammas was trained at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, before his ordination. He was skilful in English. He invited Army and Air Force chaplains to visit the hospital at Old Cairo. They were introduced to the church built to the memory of Canon Gairdner; one of the famous CMS missionaries in Egypt. Shammas used the opportunity of the visitors to speak about the missionary work among Muslims and about their reaping of converts.⁶⁸

Pastors in Egypt were British par excellence. An important event took place in 1944; it related to the institution of an Egyptian Vicar, Rev Aziz Hanna, at Menouf. As a result of this ordination, the four churches, including, the Arabic Anglican Church in Egypt became under the care of Egyptian priests. The exultation of the CMS Egypt about the result achieved with national pastors, was expressed as follows:

“ In recent years the Egyptian Pastors have succeeded in securing a more effective pastorate in several directions. They have been able to organize parochial clubs, meetings, etc, with greater effectiveness than is possible to an English Pastor. They

*also take great care of the children and young people in their parishes.”*⁶⁹

Efforts towards the improvement of the quality of church leadership in 1944 were translated into a regulation that all ordinants (invest with ministerial or priestly authority) had to be holders of Baccalaureate degree in addition to their attendance of a three yearsâ course at the Coptic Theological College in Cairo. To strengthen the Church’s responsibility for Muslim evangelism, it was equally noted that by 1944, the number of Muslim converts admitted into the Coptic Church exceeded that of the other Churches in Egypt.⁷⁰

The CMS Egypt Mission was aware of the ambivalent situation. The above-stated bright picture of the national clergy was regarded as a positive aspect and an outcome of their missionary efforts. However, by 1944, it was acknowledged that many Christians in Egypt’s villages were still ignorant of their Christian faith. Others like priests, monks, and laymen preferred to cling to their old ways of worship and the outcome was:

*“ The intensity of the struggle between the reactionaries and the reformers has been made clear in the propaganda issued by the respective candidates for the vacant patriarchate. The future of the Church will depend, under God, upon the result of this election. It is a fitting subject for our prayers.”*⁷¹

In 1945, Morrison expressed dissatisfaction regarding the estrangement and fissure between the Coptic Church and the Lay Community Council at a time when the different Churches in Egypt were uniting together to overcome the difficulties they were facing. Morrison argues about a more

challenging role to be played by the Churches in Egypt. In this respect, he argues saying:

“ The danger facing the Christian Churches in Egypt as they confront Moslem opposition is that they will adopt a purely defensive policy. What is needed today is a more courageous spirit, which will find in Egyptâs manifold communal problems and opportunity for Christian service. In the fields of health, economics, education and social welfare Egypt requires all the skilled help she can be given. Morrison further argues, Side by side with the call to community service stands also the need for a more courageous outlook on Evangelism. An appeal has been issued to all the Churches to join in an Evangelistic Campaign this autumn or next spring, and the appeal has been approved.” ⁷²

The CMS Egypt Mission declared in 1946 that the evangelization of Muslims was a discouraging task. Therefore it considered that the Anglican Church in Egypt did not grow out of conversions from Islam. Accordingly:

“ The clergy work hard in their parishes and endeavour to keep their congregations the Churchâs primary work of evangelizing the Moslems. But it is a different and often discouraging task.” ⁷³

The visit of the World Council of Churches delegation to Egypt and the Near East was a reminder of a major significance regarding the Ancient Churches and their strategies for Christian work in the regions. It was vociferously emphasized that:

“...the more the Government puts difficulties in the way of Christian work, the greater is the need to strengthen these churches.” ⁷⁴

“The Friends of the Bible society”, a Christian group that belongs to the Coptic Church; founded by two pioneering CMS missionaries; of Douglas Thornton and Temple Gairdner, established fifty-five affiliations throughout Egypt. It was responsible for the management of three Christian Hostels in Cairo. By 1947, the number of lay reform societies belonging to the Coptic Church reached forty in Cairo.

A Week of Witness organized by the CMS Egypt Mission in November 1946 recorded the participation of the four CMS congregations at Giza, Old Cairo, Menouf, and Boulac. It is pointed out that it was in Old Cairo that the most satisfactory results were achieved. The success was attributed to unflagging efforts of the Pastor, the Rev Adeeb Shammas. The different Churches in Egypt, namely, the Coptic “Society of Sincerity”, the Coptic Catholics, the Evangelicals, and the Anglicans held services in each other’s churches. Morrison spoke at the Coptic Catholic Church in Old Cairo to a congregation of two-hundred and fifty 250 persons with a majority of Muslims. One of the meetings was attended by the Bishop of Worcester; Dr Cash and Dr Hardy Jun. Discussion with the Committee centred on the ways to protect religious freedom the Near East. By 1947, Miss MH Geaves, a CMS worker, anticipated the taking over of the Old Cairo Church by Egyptian members of the Church.⁷⁵

Missionaries and nationals celebrated the Third Jubilee in Egypt. The services were held in English and Arabic at the Church of Jesus the

Light of the World in Old Cairo on the 31st of March, 1948. The Bishop of Egypt made of the Cathedral a spiritual centre for both British and Egyptian Christians.

“ To form the nucleus of an Arabic service on Sundays in the Cathedral. So the Cathedral is proving a place where the praises of God are sung in both the Arabic and English tongues Sunday by Sunday.” ⁷⁶

The CMS Egypt Mission evaluated the work of the Egyptian national clergy as follows:

“ The Egyptian clergy have carried on their duties faithfully with the little apparent result. Three baptisms have therefore given great joy, such events being very rare in Egypt.” ⁷⁷

The work of the pastor at Menouf was also appreciated by the Mission, notably, for his success in establishing a friendly relationship with the Coptic community. The pastor's regular attendance to Coptic services led to the attendance of several to the Anglican evensong. This amity was considered favourable and was described as follows:

“ Some of the Coptic societies are enthusiastic in Sunday school work and other kinds of Christian service. Their methods are efficient, and the happiness of the children in their schools is very evident.” ⁷⁸

The Mission, however, complained about the pastors' low salaries. This factor was a generator of problems relating to the holding back of University graduates, at a time when the Mission relied on educated ministers

to exercise their missionary work.⁷⁹ In 1949, the Egypt CMS Mission was much concerned with the idea of the Ordination of more Egyptians for the ministry of the Episcopal Church. One of the reasons behind such initiative was to cover a dearth of personnel and urgency for student evangelism.⁸⁰

In 1950, changes occurred regarding the administrative structure of the Church. The Council of the Episcopal Church in Egypt amalgamated the functions of the CMS Standing Committee and the Native Council. The new Council managed the affairs of both the Mission and the Church. Egyptians Christians were represented on an equal basis as non-Egyptians on the Council and all its Boards, and for the first time, Egyptians could influence the policies of both Mission and Church.⁸¹

Along with this change, the Anglican Church Council in Egypt underwent a reorganization whereby the two bodies, were elected; one was responsible for English Chaplaincies, and the other was responsible for the whole work of the Diocese. The introductions of these administrative changes were deemed helpful in defining the council's functions and to signal that the Church is not primarily English."⁸²

The new Church Council was established in 1950. The event was regarded as one of great importance. Egyptian clergy and laymen like the CMS Egypt Mission counterparts could intervene with matters relating to the Mission policy, the boosting of the Church, and Muslim evangelism. The Egyptian clergy's status improved in 1950 with the ordination the Rev. Thabit Athanasius and Ishaq Eff Musaad, who studied theology at St Aidan's College, Birkenhead.⁸³

Retirements and transfers in 1952 had a serious bearing upon the Egyptian Church. The transfer of the CMS Egypt Mission Secretary, Morrison to Arab refugee work in Palestine was deemed difficult regarding the critical time through which the Mission was going through. Morrison's transfer came right after the retirement of the Egypt CMS workers, Dr Cutting and Dr Ratcliffe and the appointment of the Rev E G Parry to Sudan.⁸⁴

The CMS evaluation of the situation was described as follows:

*“ Nevertheless, there is considerable ground for hope in the faithfulness of the Christian nationals to the Missions in these critical times, and the sense of responsibility, they show for the continuance of Christian work. Their courage has been remarkable. Though naturally fearful, they are beginning to feel that they have equal rights with the missionaries for positions of authority, and with more experience will be able to take these places. In the Church, those to whom pastoral responsibility has been committed are proving worthy of their vocation. The Rev Adeeb Shammam Bishop's Representative, is a real Father in God, and is seeking to encourage potential leaders, and to establish a self-supporting Church.”*⁸⁵

The problems facing the national clergy during this period was the working of the Rev Aziz Hanna in Menouf without resident missionary to assist him, the Rev Thabit Athanasius, Pastor of the Cairo city congregation, encountered also many problems. As for Ishaq Musaad, who was to be ordained Deacon in July 1952 was receiving a two years training at St Aidan's

College in England. On his return, his diaconate was to be in Old Cairo. Dissatisfaction about the quality of Christian witness is expressed as follows:

“ The quality of Christian witness in the congregation is not of a high standard, however. Though Church attendance is very regular and the services appreciated, workers and communicants do not seem concerned about the spiritual needs of those around them.” ⁸⁶

The situation was even worse as that the majority of Christians were described as being unaware of why they were Christians. The only reason for being Christians is attributed to their being born into Christian families. On the impact of Christian influences on Egyptian Christian congregation, it was argued:

“ As a result of this, perhaps, Mission policy is on the whole reluctant to devolve responsibility on to Egyptian colleagues. It is interesting to note that the Old Cairo congregation is the only Egyptian congregation where men wait for women to receive Holy Communion first, as a matter of courtesy; that is an encouraging sign, symptomatic of a new attitude.” ⁸⁷

By 1955, the CMS Egypt Mission considered the Church in Cairo perplexing for the nature of its congregations. While the clergy was considered genuine Christian pastors the Church was regarded as limited to parochial duties and dissatisfaction was expressed as no efforts were made in the direction of Muslim evangelism. The Church congregation was mainly Coptic; which was evangelized by both Presbyterians and Anglicans. Their primary concern was directed towards their Church life and was:

“nervous of doing anything, which might endanger this secure and recognized position under the Muslim Government.” ⁸⁸

The CMS Egypt Mission worked in vain for bringing reform within the Coptic Church. It regarded its duty as one of direct evangelism, notably, concerning Muslims. The nationals within the Church, however, were devoid of missionary zeal. Accordingly, it was believed that *“revival was needed and that too is unlikely to come from within.”* ⁸⁹

Until 1950, the CMS operated through its Standing Committee and it managed its schools, hospitals and welfare centres. The Egyptians handled the churches' responsibility via their Native Church Council. In 1950, the committees were abolished and were replaced by the Council of the Episcopal Church and its Boards and a new constitution. Their membership was divided between half Egyptians and half foreign missionary. By 1955, there was no estimation of the difference between Egyptian and missionary. Membership of both Council and Boards relied either on ex-officio or through election by members of the Church.⁹⁰ Regarding the situation reached by 1955, it is argued:

“The missionary thus becomes an unprivileged, ordinary member of the Church. Any approach to the Government is made as a Church, not as a foreign Mission, and the names of institutions have been changed to show the new relationship.” ⁹¹

The CMS Egypt Mission realized that it was high time for Egyptians to take over the work at an estimate of 75 %. What remained for the CMS was a representation through its missionaries on committees, to act as Liaison officer and to encourage Muslims evangelism.⁹² In 1956, the CMS

Egypt Mission described the future of the Church as uncertain. Everything Christian was suspected, watched and under pressure. The work of the local Church remained the vehicle of missionary work in the future. The Old Cairo congregation was under the pastoral care of Archdeacon Adeeb Shammamas. The Choir was practised by young people mostly on holidays because of their studies. However, the band of choir practice enjoyed their activity of singing and Dr Stuart is reported to have: “*done wonders with their very ordinary voices, and they are much in demand for weddings.*”⁹³ In 1957, Jesse Hilman, the CMS Egypt Mission’s secretary after Morrison, argued about the Church in Egypt as follows:

*“ So well had God prepared our small Church in Egypt during recent years that all the work begun by CMS is still going on under Egyptian leadership, although all the missionaries had to leave at the end of 1956.”*⁹⁴

The CMS awarded bursaries for studies in England for the Archdeacon, an ordinate, nurses, and a doctor. On the perspective of the takeover, it was argued:

*“ All of these are now not only better equipped for their heavy tasks, but have also forged links of fellowship with the Church here which will withstand the present tensions.”*⁹⁵

The umbilical cord of the CMS Egypt Mission remained uncut from the Christian nationals after the evacuation of the CMS missionaries from Egypt under Nasser’s regime. A letter from nationals to the CMS read as follows:

“ You will be glad to hear that our church services are performed as usual in the Cathedral and all other places. Our institutions also are running smoothly and efficiently. We are under a heavy strain, but we feel sustained by the prayers and sympathy of all our friends.” ⁹⁶

4.2.4 Muslim Conversion to Christianity

The CMS Egypt Mission was mindful of the Muslims rejection of the Christian concept of faith. The divine Sonship of Christ, the Atonement and the Trinity were concepts that stood in direct opposition to the Muslim’s faith which bedrock is monotheism. However, Anglican Christians of the CMS tended to interpret Muslim opposition to the Christian Creed as a misconception, therefore, it was argued that:

*“ It is possible to present those truths in a way which will remove misunderstandings, and informs of thought which are not immediately repugnant to the Muslim mind. Much time may have to be given to the preparation of the Muslim for the reception these of truths. Part of this propagation should be to help Muslims to discover spiritual truth for themselves, through personal experience”*⁹⁷

There was a general agreement within the CMS Egypt Mission in 1936 that Muslims converting to Christianity should be baptised regardless of the social and governmental response. The Anglican Church regarded baptism as a means of grace, and adherence into fellowship and worship.⁹⁸ The converts’ background, being Muslim, was an impediment that they faced with

uneasiness. About the impact of the convert's declaration and concealing of the new faith, it was argued:

“ Baptism is the outward sign of the convert's readiness to confess Christ; it is the open designation of the fact that he is a Christian. The convert has a definite contribution to make to the life of the Church, a contribution which he cannot give until he is a full member of it. Those who shirk baptism generally suffer a set-back in their spiritual life. By failing to declare openly their Christian conviction, they find themselves in a difficult position, living as they do in a Muslim environment. They are torn between rival loyalties, loyalty to their Christian conviction and loyalty to their Muslim community. If they are true to the former, they will almost certainly be ejected. If to the latter, their Christian witness will inevitably weaken.”⁹⁹

However, in a letter dated May 23rd 1939 that Llewellyn Gwynne, Bishop of the Anglican Church in Egypt wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury regarding the critical phase undergone by Christian education in Egypt, Bishop Gwynne did also argue about the absence of conversion among Muslim Egyptians to Anglican Christianity as follows:

“ Our Hospital of the Old Cairo, which celebrates its jubilee this year, has treated it is estimated more than a million Egyptians with all sorts and kinds of diseases, and yet not one patient has been baptized in the Hospital during that time. The same can be said of all our institutions. We instruct all the pupils in the Christian faith, knowing from experience that even

*if they do not become Christian that knowledge has a beneficial effect on the character of the pupils.”*¹⁰⁰

In 1946, however, the CMS Egypt Mission was emphatic about refusing the Muslim minors? baptism in the Church,¹⁰¹ The CMS Egypt Mission was also confronted with the converts 'differing attitudes towards baptism. Some of the converts regarded baptism as hindering their evangelistic work within their community. Others feared the reaction of their environment in "the absence of religious freedom in Muslim lands."¹⁰²

In 1942, the Inter-Mission Council Committee discussed two significant issues. The first was related to the custom of changing a convert's name at baptism. This was related to social rejection and the difficulties faced by the convert in the case of signing an official document. The Egyptian Government rejected conversion from Islam to Christianity and made the use of the Muslim name compulsory in official transactions. As a result of the Government position, the Inter-Mission Council, in consultation with all missions and churches in Egypt, considered the option of following the Indian procedure of retaining the Moslem name and adding the Christian name to it.¹⁰³ In 1946, the CMS Egypt Mission reaped scant results regarding conversion to the Anglican faith. Accordingly, it was declared that:

“ The Anglican Church grows in Egypt by the natural process of birth rather than by the influx of converts from Islam. The clergy works hard in their parishes and endeavours to keep their congregations the Church’s primary work of evangelizing the Moslems. But it is a different and often discouraging task.” ¹⁰⁴

In 1947, Muslims who converted to Christianity felt socially insecure and emotionally rejected by their families and surroundings. The intensity of the feeling among women converts led to the suggestion for the establishment of small houses where the converts could be provided with the atmosphere of family life.¹⁰⁵ The Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on Evangelism was asked in 1951 to consider the converts’ difficulties and meet the needs of those who were baptized. The Committee came to the conclusion that the converts should not be kept in separation from the Christian community, but they should, immediately, be made integral members of the life of the Church. Also, the need for a women converts’ hostel was approved; and the Old Cairo Boys’ School building on Rodah Island was to be used for this purpose.¹⁰⁶ The argument about secrete converts to Christianity stated the following:

“ The Lord has been blessing the work of the Church Mission Society and although the converts from other religions are few, yet the number of secret disciples is great. The work of the Society in Egypt has left a great influence in the lives of those who seek education in the schools, healing in the hospitals or Christian truth from missionaries and co-workers in the field.” ¹⁰⁷

By 1955, the CMS Egypt Mission reported about a new freedom of religion which allowed for the building of Churches. It is, also, pointed out that there were numbers of Muslim converts who were baptized to the Coptic Church and not to the Anglican Church.¹⁰⁸ The CMS keeps the issue of Muslim converts to Christianity in Egypt as confidential. The CMS Archive keeps a closure on the subject whereby the names and the number of these converts remain unknown for reasons that they call obvious.¹⁰⁹

4.3 The CMS Egypt Mission's Finance: 1936-1959

The CMS Egypt Mission worked grappling with the issue of Finance. The grants received from the Society at home were never sufficient and the CMS policy at home aimed at inculcating the CMS Egypt Mission to rely on its local funds to manage its work. As early as 1935, the Minute of the Medical Committee confirmed that the medical work in Egypt should be financially independent and self-supporting.¹¹⁰ The OCMM accounts for 1936 showed a credit balance of £E.2381.843, and those of MMM showed a deficit balance of £.48.632 that continued until 1937. The net balance at the OCMM which amounted to £E. 2074.124, was distributed as follows:

- “ 1- £.1500 for the new Men's hospital at the MMM,*
- 2- £.200 for the purchase of the strip of land to the east of the MMM,*
- 3- £.370 towards the cost of the new missionaries' flat at the OCMM.”* ¹¹¹

In 1936, Morrison received a grant of 6 £from the Africa Committee Contingency Fund to cover the legal expenses that fell upon the CMS Egypt Mission regarding the suggested Trust for the holding of the Mission's Property in the Native Church.¹¹² In 1937, the Standing Committee adopted the recommendation of the Medical sub-committee that the MMM would be provided with an annual grant from the OCMM to assist the Mission in developing its financial independence. It was decided that the amount of money to be provided would determine in consideration of the financial situation of the MMM in recent years.¹¹³ The Menouf Medical Mission's Account for 1937 showed a deficit balance of £. 79.416. The grant to the MMM from the OCMM for 1937 amounted to £828.286.¹¹⁴ On the 31st December 1937, the balance-sheet of the OCMM showed a credit balance of £.1428 on the current account and that most of the sum was spent as follows:

*“ - £.314 for the part cost of the new flat at Old Cairo Hospital.
 - £.73 for part cost of the new Men's Hospital at Menouf.
 - £. 930 to meet the deficit on the current account of the MMM
 - for the year 1937. This left a balance of the only £.111 of
 which £.30 was due to the architect and £.30 to the builder”¹¹⁵*

4.3.1 Self-Supporting Status of the CMS Egypt Hospitals

In a Minute of the Executive Committee of the Parent Committee dated 14/3/1945, Morrison reported the following:

*“ The Old Cairo and Menouf Hospitals should fall into line
 with all other CMS hospitals in the surrender of its*

*self-supporting basis as from January 1st, 1946.”*¹¹⁶

Nevertheless, it was pointed out that the consideration of the Welfare centres and the Menouf Hospital might incite the SC to submit a request for financial assistance to the ParentCommittee.¹¹⁷

In 1938, two conditions were suggested for the scheme of Rural Units. The first emphasized that they should not be financed from CMS Home finance and the second insisted that it should not take money away from existing projects. The eventual opening of the ten schools would involve a cost of £.fifty 50 for initial grants and £one-hundred and eighty 180 per year for current expenses. However, it was realized that several years would elapse before all ten schools would be operational. In case of extra funding for the Rural Units, it was argued:

*“ If it is proved in practice that the cost of these schools exceeded the amounts suggested above, it might be necessary to increase slightly the CMS grant to each one, and so possibly reduce the total number of schools. On the other hand, the extra expenditure might be met either from school fees or from larger grants from the Coptic community.”*¹¹⁸

4.3.2 CMS Egypt Mission Local Funds

The Finance Sub-committee reported that a sum of LE. 178 from its balance at the end of December 1938 were used to pay off debts on the OCGS Building Fund.”¹¹⁹ The accounts for the MMM, including the grant from the OCMM, showed a profit in 1938 of £. 197.¹²⁰ Reduction in grants to the CMS Egypt Mission from the CMS Headquarters in London was met

by readjustments and economies without closing any important section of work or lessening the missionary staff. However, the Egyptian Government's increased taxation made missionaries experience strenuous times.¹²¹

The CMS General Secretary, Wilson Cash inquired from all the CMS mission secretaries, including Morrison in Egypt to inspect their local resources and provide for their synopsis. Morrison informed that the Mission's local budget for the war-time period was scanty. Morrison argued about the budget as follows:

“ Nominally we have about £.400 in our local funds, but actually these are tied up in the building formerly used by the Menouf Boys' School. By permission of the PC, the proceeds of the sale of this property will come to our local funds, as we advanced from the latter the sum required to complete the new building of the MBS. Besides, we hold about £1,450 earmarked for an Assembly Hall at the OCBS., and about £200 earmarked for a new building for the Old Cairo Baby Welfare. There is also about £100 earmarked for a tennis court at Menouf. All these sums are invested locally, but, owing to the marked fall in prices resulting from the international situation, we could only realise them at present at a considerable loss. We might, however, make use of the interest on these investments as they fall due, provided an equivalent sum was earmarked to the credit of the Egypt Mission in England. Also, there is a CMS Provident Fund, by the terms of whose charter the capital sum invested, is to be kept apart from all other accounts and used for no other purpose... The Episcopal Church in Egypt has

*an invested reserve fund of £2,200, but the Mission would have no right to touch this sum.”*¹²²

A net loss of £.four-hundred and twenty-five 425 was recorded on the accounts of the MMM for the year 1939. This was met partly by the use of the balance of £.two-hundred and twenty-seven 227 which was in hand at the beginning of the year, and partly by a grant of £.one-hundred and ninety-six 196 from the OCMM.¹²³ The SC approved of the recommendation of the Medical sub-committee that the MMM should aim at being fully self-supporting during 1939.¹²⁴ On Mach 10th 1939, Wilson Cash, the CMS General Secretary, wrote to the Africa Secretary, regarding what was considered to be the Society's funds from those of the CMS Egypt funds, Cash argued as follows:

*“ With reference to the Shubra Zanga sale proceeds; I do not agree with the interpretation that Morrison puts on local funds and CMS. Money given by donations or from local receipts in any way, unless specifically earmarked, are the funds of the Society. The mission as such is technically only an agency of the Society. There can, therefore, be no such claim unless a trust was formed, and money appealed for the one sole object. This property that Morrison refers to was built by me personally when I was in Menoufia, so I do not think the mission has any claim to the proceeds. In view of our serious financial position, and the sacrifices made in other parts of the world to build up a capital fund, I think this money ought to come to England, leaving the mission to make out a case if they wish for a rant for the Missions Building fund.”*¹²⁵

The statement of the income and expenditure of the MMM for the year 1941 showed a credit balance of £.four-hundred and five 405, as against a deficit balance of £. one-hundred and eight 108 in 1940.¹²⁶ Morrison drew up a memorandum that illustrated a broad scheme for a Rural Unit. The scheme aimed at placing the Church at the centre of missionary work which was to be of many-sided social activities; including; spiritual, educational, medical, social and economic and agricultural activities. The finance of the scheme was deemed to be a local initiative.¹²⁷

The Minutes of the Egypt Standing Committee of May 1940 recommended the adoption of a scheme for the development of a Rural Unit in the CMS Egypt Mission. On November 1942, the Standing Committee recommended the sponsoring of the scheme from the gifts of the American Church to the CMS Egypt Mission. The Africa Committee did also recommend the following Resolution:

“ The sanction be given to the addition of a sum of % 600 per annum to the Estimates of the Egypt Mission, to finance the development of a Rural Unit in the Mission on the lines of the attached Memorandum.” ¹²⁸

In an emergency meeting of the Egypt Standing Committee on 6th February 1946, it was decided to appeal for a grant of £.50; 000 from the Victory Fund in Egypt towards the rebuilding fund of the Old Cairo Hospital.¹²⁹ The Egypt SC of Nov 1938 recommended the sale of the CMS property at Shubra Zanga and requested that part of the proceeds might be retained by the Mission for the opening of new work in Menoufia Province. Africa Committee in April 1939 sanctioned the sale but stipulated that the proceeds

must be remitted to PC. The Mission Secretary, however, was informed that the Mission was entitled to claim financial assistance when proposals for the new work had been formulated. In a letter dated Dec. 1946, the Mission Secretary reported that negotiations for the sale at £six-hundred and fifty (650) were almost complete, and asked, with the strong support of the SC, that the money may be used to help meet the cost of the capital expenditure which would be involved in the two-fold scheme of a rural unit and village teachers' training centre. He suggested that no final decision was taken until he submitted a statement of future plans.¹³⁰

In a letter dated 8th April 1949, Morrison wrote to the Rev CS Milford, at CMS, Headquarters, about the Old Cairo Boys' School as follows:

*“ We should have found it very difficult to meet the large deficit on the OCBS last year, a sum of £. 1016, had it not been for the fact that most unexpectedly the Menouf Boys? School produced a credit balance of over £.600. Otherwise, Our Mission would have been sunk financially.”*¹³¹

4.4 Muslim Response to CMS Missionary

Activities: 1936-1959

4.4.1 The Egyptian Government, the Press and the Ulema's Response

This section of the chapter considers the nature of the Muslim response represented in the response of the Egyptian government, the Egyptian press and the Azhari Ulema and their opposition to the CMS and all missionary

societies' work in Egypt for the period under study. The Egyptian response to foreign missions started as early as the 1920s and continued throughout the 1930s to the 1940s and epitomized in the 1950s. Muslims were not alone in opposing foreign missions; some of the Coptic clerics were, likewise, critical of the type of Christianity propelled by foreign missionaries.¹³²

The Egyptian government, the press and the Azhari Ulema declared with a remarkable zeal that mission constituted a danger to the Muslims' faith. The Egyptian Government tackled the issue through the regulation of rules on missionary work and their teaching of the Christian religion to Muslims. The section of this chapter will shed light on the Egyptian Government response.¹³³ The Egyptian Government and the Egyptian society, in general, perceived Christian missions, their educational work and their Diakonia activities as a threat to the Muslims' faith and culture. In this regard, it was argued:

*“ Missionary schools were experienced as provocative by many nationalists, Muslim activists and intellectuals, as well as by officials of the Coptic Orthodox Church. The missionaries were regarded as a threat or at least as a competition and stimulated the establishment of schools by Muslim and Coptic benevolent societies.”*¹³⁴

The Egyptian government started its restriction to the missionary work by issuing regulations to control foreign missionary education. The Montreux Convention (1937), agreed for a period of twelve years of Capitulatory system for foreigners living in Egypt. With the abolition of the capitulations in 1948, Christian missions' religious teaching for Muslims was verboten in

schools. After the 1952 revolution, measures were taken with respect to the curricula in foreign schools.¹³⁵

The Egyptian Government's policy was, initially, geared towards the control of all educational institutions and making illicit Christian teaching to Muslim pupils in Christian schools. Missionary schools were under the obligation of providing Muslim pupils with the teaching of Islam. Missionary schools active in Egypt, including those of the CMS, negotiated with the Egyptian Government on these issues. For the majority of Coptic primary and secondary schools, it is to be noted that as these schools received a government grant, they were under the obligation to comply with the Government's commands.

While the Egyptian Constitution safeguarded religious freedom, evangelism and attempts at converting Muslims were strongly opposed and prohibited. On account of the Egyptian Constitutional article which makes of Islam the religion of Egypt, the Egyptian State's obligation was that of preserving the country from any subversive activity. The future of the younger Churches founded in Egypt by the Western missionary enterprise was, also, to come under the Government consideration. About the Church, Morrison argued:

*“ Our own small Egyptian ”Episcopal Church” puts Moslem evangelism first and does everything in its power to encourage all movements for reform within the Coptic Church. It tries to be a bridge between the ancient and younger Churches, and to promote the work of reunion.”*¹³⁶

During the Third Government of Al Nahas (May 6th 1936-June 31st 1937), in Upper Egypt, Inspectors of the Ministry of Education litigated the parents of children who adhered to Christian Schools. They called the pupils to attend the local compulsory schools, and both Muslim and Christian parents were charged with fines.¹³⁷

Likewise, in 1937, the Under Secretary of State for Education clarified the conditions for the recognition of Christian Schools, notably, their providing of an education that should be equivalent in standard to that of Government schools. The Under Secretary, also, pointed out that Muslim children had to attend Government schools which curricula were based on Islamic teaching. This position was tantamount for missionary schools with withdrawing Muslim pupils from missionary schools.

Nevertheless, the contact of Morrison; the CMS Egypt's Mission Secretary with the British Embassy and the discussion of the latter with the Minister of Education resulted in an affirmation that missionary schools would pursue their work under prescribed conditions. It was also confirmed that Muslim pupils would not be removed from Christian schools provided that they conform to the Government required standards. The Minister rehearsed (restated) the conditions stated by the Under Secretary of State for Education. However, he emphasised that if Christian schools refused to give teaching in Islam to Muslim pupils; they would, inevitably, be attached to the Government (compulsory) schools. The Minister rejected the alternative of the pursuing of education of Muslim pupils in Christian missionary institutions and providing for their Islamic education outside the schools.¹³⁸ Morrison noted that the situation improved after the meeting of the Official

of the British Embassy with the Minister of Education.¹³⁹ In 1938, Senator Abdel Khaliq Selim introduced into the Parliament a draft bill prohibiting missionary propaganda to pupils under the age of sixteen. The content of the bill included the following:

“ - Art.1. Missionary propaganda to the youth of both sexes under the 16 years of age aiming at conversion by preaching, inducement, by making comparisons between two faiths or by allowing them to join in prayers or take part in religious ceremonies other than those of their creed or that of their parents, or by the employment of any other means intended for their conversion is forbidden.

- Art.2. Any infringement of this law is punishable by imprisonment for one year or a fine of

*£.100. - Art.3. In the event of a second offence, the term of imprisonment becomes 5 years, and the fine is raised to £1000. The institution in which the offence is committed for the second time shall be closed, and no permission shall be granted for the opening of one of its kind. - Art.4. The Ministers of the Interior, Justice public Health and Education are charged with the execution of the present law.”*¹⁴⁰

Senator Selim further explained that according to the Egyptian Constitution, missionary propaganda was not prohibited. He pointed to the fact that proselytism should be directed to adults who could grasp and perceive the meaning of the faith. Accordingly, the law protected the youths under sixteen, whose conversion to Christianity was deemed of harmful consequences. Schools and hospitals had no right to interfere with the faith of the youths

to effect an illegitimate alteration of their faiths. The Senator concluded on the note that:

“ It is to avert such tragedies and put an end to an unsatisfactory state of things, that the above draft bill is submitted,” ¹⁴¹

In 1938, the Minister of Education Mohamed Mahmud Pasha: June 24th 1938- August 1939) consented to the recognition of Christian elementary schools, and the attendance of Muslim children to Christian elementary schools. He argued that the children could receive instruction in Islam in their homes or elsewhere, provided that:

“ a- they take an examination in these subjects at the end of each year, to prove that the instruction so given is of the standard required of pupils in the Government compulsory schools;
b- the headmaster of the local Government schools has the right to ascertain that such instruction is being given in their own homes or elsewhere” ¹⁴²

In June 1938, Abdul Khaliq Salim introduced a bill to the Egyptian Senate which content stated the following:

“ It is forbidden to make any appeal to young people, male or female, who have not yet reached the age of sixteen to change their religion, whether the appeal is made in the way of instruction, or inducement, or a comparison between their religious faith and that which they are invited. It is also forbidden to allow them to take part in any religious services or

ceremonies which are contrary to the religion or sect of their parents or guardians. Similarly, there is forbidden any other course whose purpose is to effect a change of sector religion. [Accordingly, charges and warning against missionary institutions declared the following:] It is no small disgrace for parents to find that their children, whom they sent in full confidence to these propagandists for instruction or medical treatment or help, for example, have constantly become repudiators of their parents' religion and disrespectful of their beliefs. Would that the matter ended at this point. Very often these children disappear if they anticipate reproof from their parents or guardians.” ¹⁴³

Another measure taken by the Government was the holding of an examination for teachers in non-Government schools, successively, for the years 1938 and 1939. Teachers taking these examinations had to be in schools inspected by the Government. On passing the examination, the teachers received the recognition as qualified teachers. As some teachers in missionary schools expressed a desire to take the examination for recognition, accordingly, it was suggested that missionary schools ought to be inspected by Government.¹⁴⁴

In 1939, the Egyptian Government tightened its measures against missionaries by abolishing "resident status" for missionary and permission to remain in Egypt had to be renewed annually. Those who had been in Egypt for more than five years were attributed visa according to the Montreux Convention. About these impediments, Morrison argued:

“ Difficulties had, however, been experienced in securing permission to enter Egypt for a new missionary doctor for the CMS. And it appeared that the Egyptian The government was anxious to press for the engagement of Egyptian doctors instead of foreign missionary doctors.” ¹⁴⁵

The attitude of the Egyptian Government towards missionary work compounded with the call of the Egyptian press to the Ministry of Education to exercise control over all foreign schools. Suggestions emphasized the conformity of their curricula to that of the Government schools, notably concerning Arabic, the history and geography of Egypt and civics. It was also suggested that missionary schools were under the obligation of providing teaching in the Quran.

The Ministry of Education issued a circular that Muslim pupils, in primary schools, had to take their examination in the Quran as a rudimentary step for to higher levels. The Ministry of Education further emphasized that all teachers of the Arabic language in Government schools and those supported by Government had to be Muslims for the reason that *“ the teaching of this subject is concerned with the Koran and the sacred traditions.”* ¹⁴⁶

The Minister of Education, under the Government of Hasan Sabry Pasha 28th June November 15th 1940, met in a Conference, August 23rd 1940, with the heads of foreign and missionary schools regarding the teaching of Arabic, history-geography, civics, and Islam in their schools. The CMS was for a deliberate acceptance of a 'Conscience Clause', which content would exempt Muslim pupils from Christian missionary teaching based on a written application from the parent or guardian; the application was subject to

annual renewal.¹⁴⁷ The Minister of Education concluded on the 28th October 1940 the following regarding foreign schools:

a- The inspection of the Ministry of Education to foreign schools and the preparation of students for Government examinations. The Ministry was also emphatic about inspecting; in all foreign schools, subjects like Arabic, Egyptian history and geography, and civics to Egyptian students.

b- Language of Government Examinations: The Minister declared that from 1942 to the future language of Government Examinations would be in Arabic starting from 1942.

c- The teaching of Islam to Muslims in foreign schools through Muslim teachers provided by the Ministry of Education. The majority of mission schools including the CMS; not only did they oppose the idea of the teaching of Islam to their Muslim pupils but strongly contended the teaching of Islam in their schools. Apparently, it seemed that the foreign schools felt empowered by the Montreux Convention which gave them the right to be governed by their own curricula.¹⁴⁸

The heads of the missionary schools were categorical in their refusal for providing teaching on Islam in their missionary schools. Regarding the uncertainty facing missionary work, Morrison argued:

*“ I do believe, however, that our work should be continued, whatever happens, if only for the sake of the Christian Church in Egypt.”*¹⁴⁹

On 1st April 1940, the Ministry of Education sent a letter to the Controller of District requesting the appointment of Muslims as teachers of Arabic in non- governmental schools. Its content stated the follows:

“ A review of some of the Reports on the Arabic Language in Free Schools has shown that some of these schools have entrusted the teaching of the Arabic Language to certain non-Moslem teachers. Seeing that the teaching of this subject is concerned with the Koran and the sacred traditions, we ask you to take care not to entrust this subject to non-Moslems. We also ask that the attention of inspectors be called to the observance of this rule when selecting uncertified teachers.” ¹⁵⁰

In 1940, a draft law was submitted to Parliament forbidding evangelism in schools, in hospitals and charitable institutions not only to minors but to adults as well. However, the Senate was adjourned, giving place to procrastination for the legislation to see light.¹⁵¹ However, the Ministry of Education, under the Government of Hasan Sabri Pasha, expressed its determination in 1941 at fulfilling its intentions through the important clauses of draft-law which stated the following:

“ No free (i. e. non-government) school may teach its pupils, male or female, a religion other than their own, not even if their guardian has given his consent in writing to such teaching.” ¹⁵²

Within the Government response in February 1941, the Ministry of Education passed the Pharmacy Law which forbade the sale of medicines to out-patients in any Pharmacy attached to a hospital.

The Law placed CMS Hospitals in Egypt in a tight spot as the CMS generated income from these sales. The Egyptian Government officials resorted, also, to the closing of some Christian worship centres in rented premises and private houses in Upper Egypt. The latter was opened without a Royal Decree.¹⁵³

For the safeguard of public order, the draft law of 1941, aiming at bringing non- government schools under the control of the Ministry of Education was revived in January 1942. The Law enhanced the role of the Ministry of Education in inspecting and supervising non-Government schools. It also made illegal the teaching of Christianity to non-Christian pupils and enforced the teaching of Islam to all Muslims attending missionary schools.¹⁵⁴

However, while CMS missionaries approached the British Embassy for intervention, a change of Government occurred; and the new Minister of Education, under the Government of Nahas Pasha (February 6th 1942-October 10th 1944) called for a reconsideration of the draft laws. This measure was received with appreciation from CMS missionaries and the Minister of the Wafd Party was described as "*a man of broad sympathies, bent on reform.*"¹⁵⁵ In a public address that the Minister delivered in 1942, the Minister stated the following:

" Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to see the right kind of free educational establishments flourish In this countryside by side with the State- controlled schools, the latter catering for the great bulk of the nation, and the former specializing in transmitting a peculiar culture tinged with the colours of the West, but both types striving to impart the same common

*national ideals. It would be a bad day for Egypt if all the schools belonged to the State followed a standardized pattern of education. Each school should be left free to develop characteristics of its own, and thus evolve a school tradition which is so distinctive a feature of every public school worthy of the name.”*¹⁵⁶

In 1942, the Wafd Ministry withdrew the draft law for the supervision of non-government schools for more consideration and showed signs for more liberal treatment to missions. The results were, however, fruitless. Eventually, the Minister of Education requested written commitment for the forbiddance of Muslim pupils from Christian teaching in the Mission Schools.¹⁵⁷ In 1943, the Minister of Education called for the exclusion of children from Christian teaching in Mission schools. The Ministry of Education took no other initiative save that Inspectors visited Missionary schools, and threatened them with closure if Muslim pupils were not exempted from Christian teaching.¹⁵⁸ The Egyptian Government requested from the CMS in 1943 the removal, from their hospitals, all evangelistic texts from the walls of the wards.¹⁵⁹ The Ministry of Education declared that after June 1944, there was no room for unrecognized teachers to be recruited in schools in Egypt. The running argument was that:

*“Several CMS teachers have not obtained recognition, and others have applied for it. But the outcome of the measure is that the choice of staff for the mission schools will be severely limited in future, and the majority of those eligible would be Muslims.”*¹⁶⁰

In June 1944, the Minister of Justice in the Wafd Cabinet introduced a bill for the alteration of the Community Councils in Egypt. These Coun-

cils were instrumental in the resolving of issues relating to personal status. Egypt counted twelve Community Councils; ten Christian and two Jewish. The Government put forward their reorganization through the introduction of Muslim judges into their Courts of Appeal and the transferring of cases to the Muslim Courts of Personal Status, nevertheless, the bill was met with opposition from Egypt and abroad.¹⁶¹

In 1945, the Egyptian Government, under Mahir Pasha (October 10th 1944- February 24th 1945) issued a law mandating the registration of all charitable societies and social institutions. The Minister could, by Law, order for the dissolution of any institutions with activities that ran contrary to public order or good morals. The CMS, however, was affected by another law which:

“ forbade any public appeal for contributions to any charitable or social institution, whether registered or not, without the consent of the Ministry of Social Affairs.” ¹⁶²

In 1946, Under the Government of Ismail Sidqui (February 17th December 9th 1946) Miss King, the Principal of the CMS Girls' School, at Rhoda Island, received a letter from the Ministry of Education which content stated the following:

“ a- It is the duty of the H E the Minister of Education to prevent anything that is contrary to public order;
b- For children to attend religious exercises or lessons of a religion other than their own is contrary to public order, even though the parents or guardians have consented to such teaching being given to their children.

c- it was contrary to the law for Muslim children to attend Christian worship or lessons, and threatening legal action against any school which continued to permit this.” ¹⁶³

CMS missionaries argued that from 1940 to 1946, the Egyptian Parliament received several bills aiming at making Christian evangelism illegal along with Muslims' attendance to Christian teaching and worship, nevertheless, they noted that some of the draft laws received Parliamentary approval.¹⁶⁴ Regarding Christian Services, the Egyptian Government passed a law necessitating a Royal Decree for the erection of a Church. However, in 1946, the Government made it clear that the law concerned Services held in private houses.¹⁶⁵ On May 1947, under the Government of Mahmoud El Nokrashy Pasha (December 9th 1946- December 28th 1948) Morrison received a letter from the Ministry of Education stating the following:

“ It is clear from the investigations which the Ministry has carried out in the schools connected with the Society, that these schools are undertaking the teaching to Moslem children of religions other than their own, which is contrary to Public Order. The Ministry directs the attention of the Society to the necessity of refraining from teaching pupils a religion other than their own, and hope that the Society will write to the schools connected with it, about the necessity of preventing the Moslem pupils from attending the lessons of the Christian religion, or attendance at church during the time of prayer, notwithstanding that parents have been asked to sign the forms of agreement that allow the children to attend religious exercises. The Ministry will exercise every care to see that the Society and the schools belonging to it carry out these instructions.” ¹⁶⁶

The Minister of Education did also submit another bill to Parliament aiming at the control of all non-Government schools, with one of its article making it illegal for a Muslim child to be taught a religion other than his, despite the parent or guardian's written consent to it. Missionaries guessed that the bill would not be enforced until 1949; the date indicating the end of the interim period fixed by the Montreux Convention.¹⁶⁷ The CMS Mission felt threatened by the Ministry of Education's law targeting Private Schools. On the Egyptian Government's response, Morrison argued:

*“ No one questioned the right of the Ministry of Education to supervise private schools in Egypt.”*¹⁶⁸

The articles pertinent to missionary concern were articles eleven and twelve. Article twelve declared the teaching of pupils any religion other than their own illegal regardless of the parents' consent. As for Article eleven, it stipulated the binding of the schools preparing pupils for the public examinations to adopt the syllabus enjoined by the Ministry of Education. This injunction was for the CMS schools and all missionary schools in Egypt as tantamount with providing:

*“ Instruction in the doctrine, worship and practice of Islam for their Muslim Pupils'. The Minister of Education has made it clear that Article XII will be rigorously enforced, and that there will be no concessions.”*¹⁶⁹

In 1949, all missionary schools were under the obligation of including a teacher of Islam in their schools, or the Muslim pupils had to receive their instruction in Islam in Government schools in their districts. In 1949, a new Minister of Education, under the Government of Hussein Sirri Pasha (July 26th 1949- January 12th 1950) was elected, who was for the instruction of

children in their own religion.¹⁷⁰

With the rise of the tide of anti-British feelings in 1952, Jesse Hillman, the new CMS Secretary after Morrison, noted that Christian institutions were not attacked.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, the Suez Crisis in July 1956 was of important effects on the CMS Mission; Rev Mathew described the situation as follows:

*“ It was not long, however, before events were to have a greater impact on CMS personnel. British doctors were struck off the Egyptian medical register. Their telephones were disconnected and radio sets were confiscated. Naturally, the question arose as to whether the remaining CMS missionaries should leave Egypt. In a letter of 1st November 1956, CMS left this decision to the missionaries themselves but expressed the hope that they would remain in Egypt as long as they were permitted to do so by the Egyptian authorities.”*¹⁷²

By November 1956, the British Consular warned missionaries for leaving. Max Warren, the General Secretary, phoned the CMS Egypt Mission Secretary; Jesse Hillman; the CMS missionaries' decision was that of not leaving Egypt. Nevertheless:

*“ A few days later, CMS missionaries were among the 713 British people and 740 French who were deported by the Egyptian Government. They were treated courteously but their passports were marked 'no return'. Some were asked to sign a paper saying they were leaving voluntarily but they refused.”*¹⁷³

In 1940, a movement in the Arabic Egyptian press called for the restriction of missionary work in Egypt. Articles in the press called for:

- a- A shortening of the “interim” period guaranteed under the Montreux Convention during which missionary institutions are promised certain Safeguards*
- b- The bringing of foreign schools under the more direct control of the Ministry of Education*
- c- The conformity of the curriculum in foreign schools to that of equivalent Government schools, especially as regards the teaching of the Arabic language, history and geography*
- d- A regulation that Muslim pupils in Christian schools must be given instruction in the Koran.”* ¹⁷⁴

The Egyptian press directed accusations to British missionaries for being the agents of British imperialism. In this respect, it was pin-pointed that:

- “ This charge was sometimes used to undermine the Wafd Party which was sometimes seen as sympathetic to missionaries rather than to the growing nationalism within Egypt.”* ¹⁷⁵

The Press Censorship, at the break of WWII, was active at hampering and restricting Christian publications.¹⁷⁶ In 1943 the Egyptian Press called for the revival of the bill for the suppression of all forms of evangelism in hospitals and schools.¹⁷⁷

Egyptian Ulema’s response took three aspects against missionary activity in Egypt. The response through literature, through the opening of

private schools and advice, admonition, and warnings about the danger of missionary activity. They felt very concerned about the issue of the evangelisation of Muslims. Their response was, primarily, through literature published in the form of articles, letters, and fatwas.

The Azhari Council for fighting against Evangelism in Egypt, founded in 1935, was very active and was represented in the different regions of Egypt. Later, the escalation in opposition led to the dismissal of more than seventy Azhari from their posts. Sheikh Tantawi argued for the legislation of laws established for the closing of all foreign schools, were they English, French or American.¹⁷⁸

Ahmed Amine (1886-1954), an Egyptian historian and writer, argued in his article "*Al Madaris Al Gharbiya fil Bilad Asharqiya*" about the impeding of the establishment of foreign missionary schools and saw in them a shelter for both evangelism and colonialism. They invited for a religion other than Islam. Foreign and missionary schools were divisive; and created antagonism among the citizens of the same country.¹⁷⁹

When the CMS Egypt Mission initiated the policy of the Village Centre in Menoufia (1937) to provide an education that would meet the needs of Egyptian villagers, their activities were met with opposition from Muslims. In this regards, it was argued:

“ Our activities have called forth some opposition on the part of the Moslems, and they get a special preacher down from Cairo to preach in the mosque against us. They also visited the parents of some of the children in the school and asked them to withdraw

them."¹⁸⁰

The anti-missionary campaign of the 1930s, the Azhari Ulema issued a fatwa in which they condemned Muslim parents for sending their children in missionary schools. Likewise, families were warned from joining a missionary hospital.¹⁸¹

In the 1950s, the political and educational conditions were marked by deep changes. After the Suez crisis, the Egyptian Government's regulations, its supervision of the curriculum and its determination on the recognition of qualified teachers culminated in the conversion of the foreign schools' syllabi into that of the Government schools.¹⁸²

Along with Al Azhar's response to missionary activities, the organisation of the Muslim Brotherhood, a revivalist movement founded by Hasan al Banna, had a noteworthy position against Christian missionary work in Egypt. Their counter- opposition to missionary activities was through educational and medical work.¹⁸³ The Muslim Brotherhood was active throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s. They also recorded activity in creating urban projects that were an important source for the generation of jobs.¹⁸⁴

To sum up, in addition to the educational and medical work, the CMS Egypt Mission carried on its evangelism to Muslims in Egypt through the production of literature and the Church activity. A noteworthy aspect concerning literature production, the CMS realized the need for a shift in policy from the controversial aspect, which was directed at exposing the so-called weaknesses of Islam and the supremacy of Christianity, to the devotional character. The approach to Muslims via prayer and devotion literature;

was an approach adopted before and after 1936. The devotional Christian literature provided an ideal new method of approach. It was suggested by Constance Padwick whose strongest desire was to see Christianity invading Egyptian society. The approach was crystallised through the substantial amounts of Christian literature focusing on doctrine, prayers, hymns and Arabic ritual ceremonies which were translated for Egyptians. The spread of Christian ideas through literature was deemed to remove the wrong impression about the Christian mission.

Literature production focused on the Student Series which themes centered around life after death, *Science and Religion*, Christian Ethics, and the *Life of Christ*. Nevertheless, the CMS Egypt Mission had always grappled with problems of literature circulation. The CMS did also continue its work through its magazine *Orient and Occident*; established in 1905 as a means of evangelism. In 1940, the CMS reconstituted of the Editorial Board of the magazine and Morrison expressed the need for the formulation of its policy. During War-time, the CMS witnessed a shortage of paper which made impossible the published books on different subjects. Colportage among Muslims was deemed as one of the toughest activities.

The three Christian publishing Houses in the Near East owed their origin to the missionary work of the SPCK, the Nile Mission Press, in Cairo, and the American Press in Beirut, Syria. At the request of the Near East Christian Council, they merged on a consultative basis to avoid overlapping in their work and embark on a cooperative production of Christian literature to Muslims. By 1955, the CMS literature side of the work advanced considerably. Also, the editorship of *Orient & Occident* was given to nationals.

The CMS furthering of missionary activity was deemed necessary for helping to build up the Church Universal and the CMS overall policy was geared towards maintaining its educational work, medical, with an emphasis on the preparation of personnel through their training in the different spheres of evangelistic work.

Through the Church, the CMS invested efforts in the training of voluntary evangelists to equip them for the “highly specialized task” of Muslim evangelism. The Mission, constantly, emphasized spirituality among its workers. The Anglican Church in Egypt was of limited membership, and it attributed its unwillingness at enlarging its membership by gaining adherents from the Coptic Church. Its claim was to exist to serve, and not to gain’.

By 1940, the Episcopal Church in Egypt was identified as a very small Church. Its adherents counted more than 700 members. Pastors in Egypt were British par excellence, however, in 1944, Egyptian, mainly Copts, were ordained, priests. Accordingly, the Arabic Anglican Church in Egypt became under the care of Egyptian priests. This led to the CMS exultation about the result achieved. The CMS Egypt Mission declared in 1946 that the evangelization of Muslims was a discouraging task and acknowledged that the Anglican Church in Egypt did not grow out of conversions from Islam.

In 1950, changes occurred concerning the administrative structure of the Church. The Council of the Episcopal Church in Egypt amalgamated the functions of the CMS’ Standing Committee and the Native Church Council. The new Council managed the affairs of both the Mission and the Church. Egyptians Christians were represented on an equal basis as non-Egyptians

on the Council and all its Boards, and for the first time, Egyptians could influence the policies of both Mission and Church, the boosting of the Church, and Muslim evangelism. By 1955, the CMS Egypt Mission considered the national clergy as genuine Christian pastors, but dissatisfaction was expressed as no efforts were made in the direction of Muslim evangelism. The CMS Egypt Mission worked in vain for bringing reform within the Coptic Church and the nationals within the Church were devoid of all missionary zeal.

In 1956, the CMS Egypt Mission described the future of the Church as uncertain. Everything Christian was suspected and was under pressure. The work of the local Church remained the medium of missionary work in the future. The umbilical cord of the CMS Egypt Mission remained uncut from the Christian nationals after the evacuation of the CMS missionaries from Egypt under Nasser's regime.

Regarding conversion, there was a general agreement within the CMS Egypt Mission as early as 1936 that Muslims converting to Christianity should be baptized regardless of the social and governmental response. The Anglican Church regarded baptism as a means of grace, and adherence into fellowship and worship. Nevertheless, the converts' background, being Muslim, was an impediment that they faced with uneasiness. In 1939 Llewellyn Gwynne, Bishop of the Anglican Church in Egypt argued about the absence of converts among Muslim Egyptians to Anglican Christianity despite all the efforts invested through their educational, medical, literature production and Church activity. In 1946, the CMS Egypt Mission was confronted with the converts' differing attitudes towards baptism. Some of the converts regarded baptism as hindering their evangelistic work within their community. Others

feared the reaction of their environment in "the absence of religious freedom in Muslim lands.

By 1955, the CMS Egypt Mission pointed out that there were numbers of Muslim converts who were baptized to the Coptic Church and not to the Anglican Church. The CMS kept the issue of Muslim converts to Christianity in Egypt as confidential. The CMS Archive maintains a closure on the subject whereby the names and the number of the converts remain unknown for reasons that are called 'obvious'.

The CMS Egypt Mission carried on its Mission grappling with the issue of Finance. The grants received from the Society at home were never sufficient and the CMS policy at home aimed at inculcating the CMS Egypt Mission to rely on its local funds to manage its work. Reduction in grants to the CMS Egypt Mission from the CMS Headquarters in London was met by finding out internal solutions like readjustment and saving without closing any important section of work or reducing the missionary staff.

The Egyptian government, the press and the Azhari Ulemas expressed with a remarkable zeal that Christian mission constituted a danger to the Muslims' faith. The Egyptian Government tackled the issue through the regulation of rules on missionary work and their teaching of the Christian religion to Muslims. The Egyptian Government's policy was, initially, geared towards the control of all educational institutions and making illicit Christian teaching to Muslim pupils in Christian schools. Missionary schools were under the obligation of providing Muslim pupils with the teaching of Islam. In 1939, the Egyptian Government tightened its measures against missionar-

ies by abolishing “resident status” for missionary and permission to remain in Egypt had to be renewed annually. Those who had been in Egypt for more than five years were attributed visa. In 1949, all missionary schools were under the obligation of including a teacher of Islam in their schools or the Muslim pupils had to receive their instruction in Islam in Government schools in their districts.

The Egyptian press directed accusations to British missionaries for being the agents of British imperialism. The Press Censorship, at the break of WWII, was active at hampering and restricting Christian publications. As for the Egyptian Ulemas response, it took three aspects against missionary activity in Egypt. The Ulemas’ response via literature, the opening of private schools, and through advice, admonition, and warnings about the danger of missionary activity displayed a high sense of concern about the issue of the evangelisation of Muslims. The Azhari Ulema did also issue a fatwa in which they condemned Muslim parents for sending their children to missionary schools. Likewise, families were warned from joining a missionary hospital.

After the Suez crisis, the Egyptian Government’s regulations, its supervision of the curriculum and its determination on the recognition of qualified teachers culminated in the conversion of the foreign schools’ syllabi into that of the Government schools. Along with Al Azhar’s response to missionary activities, the organisation of the Muslim Brotherhood had a noteworthy position against evangelism. Their opposition to missionary activities was through educational and medical work.

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Conclusion

The present study examined the Church Missionary Society's Mission work in Egypt as a Middle-Eastern country from 1936 to 1959. It explored the CMS Mission's strategies for the evangelization of Muslim Egyptians. The rationale behind the choice of these two dates was to highlight the CMS missionary activity in Egypt in post-colonial era; the era of Egypt's independence after the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (1936). The date 1959 was selected as a closing date which relates to the period of the CMS release of its archive records in the year 2000.

The choice of Egypt as a case study is attributed to its position as a country of concern within the Middle East and to the West. This concern was amplified and intensified by the presence of a Coptic minority and an established Coptic Church, the strategic importance of the Suez Canal, its high production in cotton that stimulated Britain's mercantilism and the presence on its territories of foreigners from different nationalities with cultural and religious diversity. These criteria were of a direct impact on the history of Egypt and that of Christian missions in general and the CMS in particular which placed Egypt on top of its Christian missionary agenda.

First and foremost, the research has shed light on the importance of the consideration of the mission work of an influential missionary agency representa-

tive of the Church of England and its mission to Muslims. It unveiled the nature of the CMS work in Egypt and it shed light on the symbiotic relationship of the CMS Egypt Mission with the British Embassy and the British Foreign Office. The CMS Egypt Mission sought a constant interference of the British Embassy and the BFO on the issue of preserving the evangelistic character of missionary education. After the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the context of the CMS Egypt Missions' work was no longer colonial; the new context did not allow for any interference from the BFO, nevertheless, attention is called to observe the perpetration of a blatant colonial mindset the CMS Egypt Mission displayed.

The consideration of the Church Missionary Society's activities over a century from the date of its foundation in 1797 to 1899 served as a pertinent historical background for the study of the CMS missionary activities in Egypt from 1936 to 1959. The historical overview of the CMS in its worldwide missionary stations displayed the Society's missionary zeal and disclosed about the policy that led to its propagation all over the world with striking achievements. More importantly, it has pin-pointed to the CMS awakening to the absence of Missions to Muslims. The Church Missionary Society's early efforts of Missions to Muslims in the Middle-East in general and in Egypt in particular exposed the alarming feeling of anxiety that the Society developed in relation to its neglect and lack of interest in the evangelisation of Muslims. The historical background leading to the consideration of the CMS Early work in the Muslim world through the Mediterranean Mission, provided a pertinent contextual setting for the understanding of the CMS Egypt Mission's work in the twentieth century.

The CMS educational work for the period under study has revealed that it was influenced by different factors that were of an intimate relationship to the CMS Egypt Mission's work in the field of education. It has exposed who were the policy makers and has shed sufficient light on the crippling conditions under which

the CMS Egypt Mission operated its Educational Mission. It has also displayed the extent to which the CMS Egypt Mission had the acumen in surrounding itself with Committees like that of the Mission and Government Committee of the International Missionary Council (IMC), which worked unflaggingly to defend and secure the Society's "rights" on the issue of the Egyptian Government restriction to the missionary education and proselytism among Muslim Egyptians.

The study embarked on to answer two research questions. First, it has highlighted the CMS Egypt Mission's multifaceted missionary work, and it has detected the different occasions and instances of the CMS Egypt Mission's seeking for interference from the British Embassy and the BFO for panaceas to the impediments it encountered in its efforts of evangelizing Muslims through the medium of education. The important result of the research in terms of the problematic of the study was amply substantiated. It demonstrated how, despite the fact, the political context was that of an independent Egypt, the CMS Egypt Mission's mindset remained by large colonial.

The CMS Egypt Mission's clear definition of its concept of Christian Education as a life-long process that outstripped the Mural education and its imposition as a Christian way of life which creeps into classrooms, hospitals, clinics, maternity centres, farms and agriculture is but indicative that the CMS Egypt Mission's aimed not only at effecting a change of faith but also at altering the Egyptians Muslim culture and give way to the Christian culture. The CMS Egypt's work in Egypt is a very thought provoking Mission. In addition to the missionary aspect of the CMS Egypt Mission, is it not also making an effort at the deculturalisation of a Muslim country with a deep-rooted heritage in Islam. The CMS Egypt Mission's schools were evangelical in nature and from a Muslim perspective losing one Muslim to Christianity was, is and will remain synonymous with shaking the individual Muslim belief and the shaking of the integrity of the *Ummah*.

An important result relating to the CMS Egypt Mission' educational work is that it has demonstrated that despite the unflagging educational and evangelistic activity which targeted Egyptian Muslims , the outcome was that it reaped only few converts and some of those converts reverted to Islam. The study has pin-pointed to some of the Official members of the CMS Egypt Mission's, namely, Bishop Gwynne and Morrison, who with regret, attested to the fact that their Mission achieved scant converts among Muslims.

The study has, also, revealed that all of the CMS Egypt Mission's schools followed the Egyptian Government educational curriculum which provided the only medium that could lead to the different types of employment. Nevertheless, CMS Education was different in that it was evangelistic in nature. Furthermore, the CMS linking of its schools the Egyptian Government's educational requirements brought its educational institutions under the regular Government's control and inspection. As early as 1936, the CMS was facing the Egyptian Government policy which was geared towards counter-opposing missionary activities. Another finding within the context of education was the impediment that the CMS Egypt Mission faced regarding Egyptian teachers in its schools who were considered as lacking qualification and skills by the Egyptian Government standards and requirements. Accordingly, teachers were threatened by exclusion unless they passed Government examinations for Recognition. The threat of Recognition was synonymous with losing CMS teachers to the Egyptian Government school system. An additional finding was the Egyptian Government's counter-facing the CMS educational missionary activity in 1947 through the Ministry of Education training to one thousand teachers and the edification of educational institutions. The initiative was considered as a serious blow to the CMS that led to the decrease of enrollments in CMS schools. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education was firm on its decisions regarding the illegitimacy of teaching any religion other than Islam despite the

parent or guardians' approval. These issues were deemed problematic by Morrison; the CMS Egypt Mission's Secretary who was in constant reflection of new policies to meet the challenges.

The findings of the research point also to the date 1951 when the Ministry of Education Inspectors urged the CMS schools to accept the Government Grant-in-aid. This meant for the CMS involving the teaching of the Quran. The CMS interpreted it as an effort at stumbling Christian teaching. Also, an important event in the history of the CMS Egypt Educational Mission in 1956 related to the OCGS became the Episcopal School for Girls and became under the care of a national Headmistress.

The findings have also revealed that as early as 1938, the CMS Egypt Mission developed a new policy for Manoufia. The policy came as a response to the Egyptian Government's building of a series of schools in the vicinity of the CMS schools. It emphasised a rural outlook. Rural schools were needed for their evangelistic and educational perspectives and the new policy placed the Church at the centre of the Mission and engaged in various social activities in view of gaining converts.

The examination of the CMS medical work from 1936 to 1959 tracked the Old Cairo Medical Mission and the Menouf Medical Mission with their related institutions' activities. The study revealed about the motive behind the institution of Western Christianity to medical missions which was defined as being purely evangelistic along with the CMS Egypt Mission's medical institutions whose missionary character was very pronounced. The massive direct evangelistic work of the hospital was carried on by salaried native evangelists who took the responsibility of teaching Christianity to Muslims.

In February 1940 the Standing Committee of the CMS Egypt Mission handed over the responsibility for the evangelistic work of the hospitals to the Native Church Council. Evangelism in 1951 went on the same steps as in the past. Ward prayers continued to be taken by members of English and Egyptian nursing staff. Some passages of the Bible were selected for readings, in addition to prayers in the evening. Bible stories were introduced, with an emphasis on parables, miracles, the birth, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Children wards adopted a similar programme, in addition to the singing of hymns and choruses.

Among the findings of the CMS Egypt Medical Mission's was the rebuilding the Old Cairo Hospital in 1956. It was renamed the Cairo Harpur Memorial Hospital in memory to Dr Harpur. The Hospital was erected in a strategic position of Old Cairo; it was a large modern type construction with a section for the training of nurses. The Hospital went through different crises and the Egyptian Government's new laws kept on bearing upon the evangelistic aspect of the CMS Egypt Medical work.

The CMS Egypt Medical Mission's policy of the out-branching of its medical activities from the Old Cairo Hospital managed other centers like the Nursery School, the Baby Welfare and the Little Girls' Club. Morrison's development of village missionary work or the Rural Construction aimed at providing Christian life on a smaller scale. CMS Welfare Centres, Home visiting and the Ragged Sunday School constituted other branches of the CMS Egypt Medical work and provided a challenging opportunity for personal evangelism.

The Menouf Hospital, as the CMS Egypt Mission's second important Hospital, became by and large specialized in-patient ankylostomiasis and bilharzias illnesses. Despite the fact that the two diseases were treated by the Government,

in missionary circles, they were considered less efficient than that of the CMS Menouf Hospital. The evangelistic character of the Menouf Hospital relied on conducting evangelistic meetings in the villages; the Christian staff was the important role-player in this evangelistic work. The Menouf Hospital was rebuilt in 1952; it encountered serious difficulties that related to staffing, medicine, nursing and Christian witness which had declined by that time. A committee examined the precarious situation in view of a future planning that would restore the vitality of its Christian witness.

Throughout the period under study, the Medical evangelistic work of missionary societies active in Egypt, notably, that of the CMS was under the Egyptian Government's restriction. A Pharmacy Law was enacted in 1941; it prohibited the sale of medicines to out-patients in any pharmacy attached to a missionary hospital. In 1949, the Egyptian Government restricted the evangelistic work in and out of the Old Cairo Hospital. Discontentment was expressed with regard to the patients' homes visiting which was endangered by suspension. The CMS Medical work remained under tight and strict invigilation until the government of Nasser (1956-1970) which placed them under forced departure.

The literature activity of the CMS Egypt Mission revealed the pivotal role played by Constance Padwick and highlighted the establishment of the Literature Committee in Cairo. The strategy developed in this field of activity regarding the type of literature designed for Muslims in Egypt was unveiled. The CMS Egypt Mission's use of *Orient and Occident*, as a purely evangelistic medium, was pinpointed. Equally important, was the CMS Egypt Mission's taking advantage of the Laubach's Illiteracy Campaign (1947) which aimed at removing illiteracy in Egypt. The Campaign was intended, primarily, to render services to the Church and its Mission.

By 1955, the CMS literature side of the work made considerable advances. Also, the editorship of *“Orient and Occident”* was given to nationals. The CMS furthering of missionary activity was deemed necessary for helping to build up the Church Universal, and the CMS overall policy was geared towards maintaining its educational and medical works, with an emphasis on the preparation of personnel through their training in the different spheres of evangelistic work. A noteworthy aspect with respect to literature production was the CMS realization for a need of a shift in policy from the controversial aspect, which was directed at exposing the so-called weaknesses of Islam and the supremacy of Christianity, to the devotional character. The approach to Muslims via prayer and devotion literature was an approach adopted before and after 1936. The devotional Christian literature provided an ideal new method of approach. It was suggested by Constance Padwick whose strongest desire was to see Christianity invading the Egyptian society. The approach was crystalized through the substantial amounts of Christian literature focusing on doctrine, prayers, hymns and Arabic ritual ceremonies which were translated for Egyptians. The spread of Christian ideas through literature was also deemed to remove the wrong impression about Christian mission. Literature production did also focus on the Student Series which themes centered on life after death, Science and Religion, Christian Ethics, and the Life of Christ. Nevertheless, the CMS Egypt Mission had always grappled with problems of staffing, colportage and finance.

The Church activity throughout the period under study is detected as effort at reviving the Coptic Church as a means to what it considered the key to the problem for the evangelization of Muslims. Through the Church, the CMS invested efforts in the training of voluntary evangelists to equip them for the highly specialized task of Muslim evangelism. The Mission, constantly and unflaggingly, emphasised spirituality among its workers. The Anglican Church in Egypt was of limited membership, and it attributed its unwillingness at enlarging its member-

ship by gaining adherents from the Coptic Church. Its claim was to exist to serve, and not to gain. By 1940, the Episcopal Church in Egypt was identified as a very small Church. Its adherents counted more than seven-hundred (700) members. Pastors in Egypt were British par excellence, however, in 1944, Egyptians, mainly Copts, were ordained priests. Accordingly, the Arabic Anglican Church in Egypt became under the care of Egyptian priests. This led to the CMS exultation about the result achieved. The CMS Egypt Mission declared in 1946 that the evangelization of Muslims was a discouraging task and it acknowledged that the Anglican Church in Egypt did not grow out of conversions from Islam.

In 1950, changes occurred with regard to the administrative structure of the Church. The Council of the Episcopal Church in Egypt amalgamated the functions of the CMS Standing Committee and the Native Church Council. The new Council managed the affairs of both the Mission and the Church. Egyptians Christians were represented on an equal basis as non-Egyptians on the Council and in all its Boards, and for the first time, Egyptians could have a say in the policies of both Mission and Church, the boosting of the Church, and Muslim evangelism. By 1955, the CMS Egypt Mission considered the national clergy as genuine Christian pastors, but dissatisfaction was expressed as no efforts were made in the direction of Muslim evangelism. The CMS Egypt Mission worked in vain for bringing reform within the Coptic Church and the nationals within the Church were deemed devoid of all missionary zeal. In 1956, the CMS Egypt Mission described the future of the Church as uncertain. Everything Christian was suspected and was under pressure. The work of the local Church remained the medium of missionary work in the future. The umbilical cord of the CMS Egypt Mission remained uncut from the Christian nationals and vice versa after the evacuation of the CMS missionaries from Egypt under Nasser's regime.

Regarding conversion, there was a general agreement within the CMS Egypt Mission as early as 1936 that Muslims converting to Christianity should be baptized regardless of the social and governmental response. The Anglican Church regarded baptism as a means of grace and adherence into fellowship and worship. Nevertheless, the converts background, being Muslim, was a stumbling block that they faced with uneasiness. In 1939 Llewellyn Gwynne, Bishop of the Anglican Church in Egypt, argued about the absence of converts among Muslim Egyptians to Anglican Christianity despite all the efforts invested through their educational, medical, literature production and Church activity. By 1955, however, the CMS Egypt Mission pointed out that there were numbers of Muslim converts who were baptized to the Coptic Church and not to the Anglican Church. Among the findings is that the CMS kept the issue of Muslim converts to Christianity in Egypt as confidential. The CMS Archive at Headquarters maintains a closure on the names and the number of the converts from Islam to Christianity for reasons that they described as 'obvious'.

The findings reveal also how the CMS Egypt Mission carried on its Mission grappling with issues of Finance. The grants received from the Society at home were never sufficient and the CMS policy at home aimed at inculcating the CMS Egypt Mission to rely on its local funds to manage its work. Reductions in grants to the CMS Egypt Mission from the CMS Headquarters in London were always met by finding out internal solutions like readjustment and saving without closing any important section of work or reducing the missionary staff.

The study's findings regarding the nature of the Muslim response is that it was a three-dimensional response represented in the response of the Egyptian government, the Egyptian press, the Azhari Ulemas and that of the Muslim Brotherhood and their opposition to the CMS and all missionary societies' work in Egypt for the period under study. Muslim response points to the remarkable zeal that

characterized the Egyptian government, the press and the *Azhari Ulema* response. Their response emphasized that the work of Christian missions constituted a danger to the Muslims' faith. The Egyptian Government tackled the issue through the regulation of rules to counter-face missionary work and their teaching of the Christian religion to Muslims. In 1939, the Egyptian Government tightened its measures against missionaries by abolishing 'resident status' for missionaries and permission to remain in Egypt had to be renewed annually. As for those who had been in Egypt for more than five years, they were attributed visa. In 1949, all missionary schools were under the obligation of including a teacher of Islam in their schools, or the Muslim pupils had to receive their instruction in Islam in Government schools in their districts.

The Egyptian press directed accusations to British missionaries for being the agents of British imperialism. The Press censorship, at the break of WWII, was active at hampering and restricting Christian publications. As for the Egyptian Ulemas' response, it took three aspects against missionary activities in Egypt. The Ulemas' response via literature, the opening of private schools, advice, admonition, and warnings about the danger of missionary activity, displayed a high sense of concern about the issue of Muslim evangelism. The *Azhari Ulema* did also issue a fatwa (a legal ruling) in which they condemned Muslim parents for sending their children to missionary schools. Likewise, families were warned from joining a missionary hospital. The Egyptian Government's regulations, its supervision of the curriculum and its determination on the recognition of qualified teachers culminated in the conversion of the foreign schools' syllabi into that of the Government schools. Along with Al Azhar's response to missionary activities, the organization of the Muslim Brotherhood had a noteworthy position against evangelism.

To encapsulate, the CMS Egypt Mission's work from 1936 to 1959 was a multi-faceted missionary activity. It worked unabatedly through the mediums of

education, medication, literature and church activity to evangelise Muslim Egyptians. In terms of success and failure, it could be concluded that the CMS Egypt Mission failed for it gained only few converts. However, the Mission succeeded in planting a missionary Church within a Muslim country. The Legacy of the CMS Egypt Mission remained tied to it through the uncut umbilical cord of the Anglican Communion.

The present research invites to a number of topic outlets of scholarly importance and interest and it generates further research that would be challenging to embark on. Though the recommendations for further research are numerous, limitation would be to three only. Literature review, on the CMS work in the Muslim world in the twentieth century, shows that the century has received scant attention and study. The present thesis tackled some of the issues of the CMS work in the first part of twentieth century; nevertheless, there is a lack of studies on the tracking of the CMS work and policy in the Muslim world in the first half of the twentieth century and after. First, eventual future studies might, for instance, investigate the hypothesis of whether the Anglican Church in Egypt under the care of nationals is of an evangelistic character. Investigation might also focus on the extent to which the Anglican Church in Egypt is independent in its work and decisions from the Anglican Church's interference from the UK.

The second sphere of interest for research includes the further investigation of the role played by CMS women missionaries in the Muslim World in general or in reference to case studies. CMS women missionaries' work within the Society is eye-catching, and it is noteworthy to mention that the later history of the CMS records the election of a woman as General Secretary of the Society. The question that might arise would be: How far did the CMS rely on the work of CMS women missionaries. Standing as circles in the chain of policies adopted by the CMS, what was the extent of their work's success and failure in the Muslim World in

general or in reference to case studies. Could women missionaries, for instance, be dropped from the CMS general policy of are they so essential that the CMS would be a limping Society without them. Third, the present research recommends the investigation on. The History of Muslim response to Christian missions and their activities in the Muslim World or in reference to case Studies within the context of Comparative Study between the 19th and 20th centuries.

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Appendices

Appendices

Appendix A

The Church Missionary Society's Expenditure on Missions During the Centenary.

The following centenary report of the CMS shows the expenditure of *the* General Fund of the Parent Society to each individual Mission. Additional funding for almost all the CMS Missions came from the mission fields and home grants which helped in raising the capital of each considerably. Also, it is to be noted that two of the early established missions benefited from Government grants; namely, the New South Wales and the West Indies.

The CMS educational work, notably in India, Ceylon and other missionary stations received considerable help from Government grants-in-aid. The table does not include the expenditure of Special Funds since 1848.

Missions	Expenditure
West Africa	908,423
East Africa and Uganda	363,732
Mohammedan Lands	589,678
India	4,092,152
Ceylon and Mauritius	694,467
C h i n a	625,187
J a p a n	219,049
New Zealand	565,804
N.W . Canada and British Columbia .	601,300
West Indies	127,710
Madagascar	7,204
South Africa	5,166
New South Wales	1,663 8,801,535
Disabled Missionaries, etc	379,921
Preparation of Missionaries	433,222
Collection of Funds	552,075
P u b l i c a t i o n	251,094
Administration	500,517 10,918,364

Source: Stock, CMS, vol, I, P 717.

In the overall funding of the Church Missionary Society's Missions, it is interesting to highlight that the foreign countries and British Colonies made some contributions to CMS Missions. Following is a list of these countries:: See Appendix of the list of the contributing countries.

Appendix B 1

- School Reports:

The following comparison was reported between enrolment of pupils this autumn and that of twelve months ago:

	November 1937	November 1936
- O.C.G.S.	214 (120 Moslems)	195 (93 Moslems)
- O.C. B. S.	309 (73 Moslems)	173 (53 Moslems)
- M. B. S.	132 (67 Moslems)	144 (73 Moslems)
- M.G.S	131 (59 Moslems)	123 (79 Moslems)

These figures revealed an increase of 53 in the total enrolment of all schools as compared with a year ago. S. C. agreed to the suggestions of the Educational sub-committee that the figures given for these statistics should be those of pupils actually in attendance on the 1st of November of a year or of pupils who have paid fees up to that date.

- Examination Results

-

The following success in the recent Government examinations was reported:-

- Secondary Examination

	No. in class	No entered for examination	No passed
O.C.B.S.	11	11	11

- Primary Examination

O.C.G.S.	7	7	7
O.C.B.S.	16	16	16
- M.B.S.	18	11	9
- M.G.S.	9	6	6

S.C. congratulated the Staff of the Schools on those excellent results.

Source: Church Missionary Society Archive. Section VII: General Secretary's Papers. Part 2: Papers relating to Africa, 1873-1949. G/Y E Egypt. G/Y E2. General correspondence including reports on CMS schools. 1934-1947.P 2

- **Staff:**
 - 1 English educationalist
 - 5 full-time Egyptian assistants and 1 Armenian assistant
 - 2 half-time Egyptian assistants
 - 2 pupil teachers

<u>Classes & Fees:</u>		
	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>
1 kindergarten (boys & girls)	1.500	2.000 per annum
2 nd kindergarten boys and girls	2.000	3.000
3rd kindergarten boys & girls	2.000	3.000
1 st Primary (girls)	2.400	per annum
2 nd	3.000
2 ^{3rd}	3.000
4 th	3.900

- The number of pupils: 145, of whom 65 are Moslems and 1 a Jewess. Of the 145 pupils, 86 are boys.
- Hours of work: Monday to Friday, from 8.30 a.m. to 12.
- 1.10 p.m. to 3.30. p.m.

- The kindergarten children sleep for one hour and have more time for games and recreation.
- Prayers: About eight minutes daily.
- Religious Instruction: 1 hour daily.

Source: General Secretary's Papers. Part 2: Papers relating to Africa, 1873-1949
 G/Y E Egypt. G/Y E2. General correspondence including reports on CMS schools
 1934- 1947.) P 3.

Appendix B2

- Educational Statistics. (174/9)

The following comparison was reported between the enrolments of pupils in the various institutions:

Nov. 1941	Nov.1940
Old Cairo Boys' School 289(118 Moslems)	272 (106 Moslems)
Old Cairo Girls' School 285 (183Moslems°)	274 (177Moslems)
Menouf Boys' School 183 (119 Moslems)	150 (96 Moslems)
Menouf Girls' School 173 (87 Moslems)	179 (91 Moslems)

Source: CMS Central Archive-Egypt mission- Education Cairo Literature Centre 1936/ 1938, 1942-1944. Egypt Mission. Asia 1935-1949. ASE G 2 E e1. Education: Cairo Literature Centre. 1936,1938, 1942, 1944. Africa Committee Précis, February 24, 1942. The following items of interest appear in the Minutes of the Egypt S C of Nov 13, 1941. (174/9).

Appendix C

Old Cairo Boys' School	
<u>Staff:</u>	3 (or 4) English educationalists.
	9 (or 10) Egyptians.
	1 Visiting French master.
<u>Classes & Fees:</u>	- 1 st Primary £E. 4 per annum.
	- 2 nd Primary £E. 4 per annum.
	- 3 rd Primary £E.5 per annum
	- 4 th Primary £E. 5 per annum.
	- 1 st Secondary £E. 12 per annum.
	- 2 nd Secondary.... £E. 12 per annum.
	- 3 rd Secondary..... £E. 12 per annum.

- The number of pupils: 153, of whom 54 are Moslems.
- Hours of work: 8.30- 11.45 a.m. and 1.5 to 3. 45 p.m. from Monday to Friday, Saturday, 8.30- 11 a.m.
- Weekly holiday from 11 a.m Saturday till Monday morning.
- Games continue after school hours until 5 p.m.
- Prayers: Four to five minutes daily.
- Religious Instruction: half-hour daily, except Saturday.

Source: General Secretary's Papers. Part 2: Papers relating to Africa, 1873-1949. G/Y E Egypt. G/Y E2. General correspondence including reports on CMS schools 1934- 1947.)

- **Appendix D**

Menouf Boys' School	
<u>Staff:</u>	- 1 English Principal
	- An Egyptian headmaster and 5 full-time Egyptian assistants.
<u>Classes & Fees</u>	
Kindergarten	£E.1.000 per annum.
1 st Primary	2.000.....
2 nd Primary	2.5000
3 rd Primary	3.000
4 th Primary	3.500
Number of Pupils:	135, of whom 65 are Moslems.
Hours of Work:	Monday to Friday, 8. a.m. to 12.10 p.m. 1.30p.m. to 4. 15 p.m.
Prayers:	5 minutes daily.
Religious Instruction:	1 hour daily.

Source: General Secretary's Papers. Part 2 ;: Papers relating to Africa, 1873-1949. G/Y E Egypt. G/Y E2 .General Correspondence including reports on CMS schools. 1934- 1947.

- **Appendix E**

Menouf Girls' School		
Staff:	1 English educationalist 6 Egyptians	
Classes & Fees:	2 kindergarten classes,	£E. 1.500 per annum
	1 Transition class	£E. 1
	1 st Primary class	£E. 1.500 to £E. 3
	2 nd Primary	00 per annum
	3 rd Primary	00.....
	4 th Primary	00.....

- The number of pupils: 82, of whom 27 are Moslems. Of these 82, 20 are boys.
- Hours of Work: Monday to Friday-
- Kindergarten classes, 8- 12 a.m. , 2- 30 p.m.
- Prayers 30 minutes daily.
- Religious instruction: 4 lessons a week of ½ an hour each.

Source: General Secretary's Papers. Part 2: Papers relating to Africa, 1873-1949
G/Y E Egypt. G/Y E2. General correspondence including reports on CMS schools
1934- 1947.)