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“Cairo is the Main Castle of Islam”: Kaiserswerth Deaconesses’ Nursing in Nineteenth century Egypt and the Importance of Converting Muslims

BY

RANIA ASHOUR

ABSTRACT

Research on the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institution’s ‘home mission’ (Innere Mission) abroad has long assumed that the conversion of non-Christians played a subordinate role compared to the evangelisation of the Christian population. The recent example of the Kaiserswerth mission in the Middle East and the analysis of the encounter between deaconesses and locals has shown that this was not necessarily the case. This article joins the new research trend and examines the context of the missionary efforts towards Muslims in Protestant hospitals in Egypt from the middle of the nineteenth century. As a contribution to global history, this paper includes the perspective of the non-Christians living in Egypt, especially Muslims, and their interactions with the German missionaries. This study finds that some actors of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute, including the deaconesses, had more agency over the practice of the missionary work than the mission’s founder Theodor Fliedner, specifically seeking to convert Muslims. In addition, by examining the motherhouse journal of the deaconess institute, this study demonstrates that Egyptian Muslims were not merely passive receptors of conversion efforts, but also actors who supported or rejected the missionary hospitals.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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I. INTRODUCTION¹

“Sister Ruska is his special friend, and he waits with longing for her voice and never tires of listening to her reading from the Bible; he especially asks to read to him about Jesus, whom he probably only reveres as a prophet and teacher.”²

This statement of a deaconess reading the Bible to a Muslim was made in the journal of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute about their nursing work in Alexandria in 1895. The reader may not find anything strange about this anecdote, as it is in line with the usual missionary narrative. It does, however, call into question one strand of research of the so-called Kaiserswerth Diaconia’s ‘home mission’ abroad. The Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute, which was founded in Kaiserswerth, Rhineland, by Pastor Theodor Fliedner in 1836, was part of the transnational Protestant missionary movement of the nineteenth century and was the largest German Protestant missionary society in the Middle East.³ In the Kaiserswerth Institute, the mission in the Middle East was known as *Orientalarbeit* (work in the Orient) and referred to missionary work that involved exporting a social welfare model and cultural influence through religion.⁴ The Institute constructed hospitals, orphanages, and schools in several locations, such as in Jerusalem, Beirut, and Alexandria.⁵ The expansion in the Middle East from 1851 onwards was made financially possible primarily due to Fliedner’s good relations with the Prussian King Frederick William IV, alongside donations from other associations and committees.⁶ The Prussians were eager to offer their financial backing as part of their evangelical efforts in the Middle East in the 1850s.⁷

According to Fliedner’s writings, the purpose of establishing institutions in the Middle East was to mainly reform Middle Eastern churches and to support the German-speaking diaspora.⁸ Thus, it was seemingly a ‘home mission’ (*Innere Mission*) abroad. The German Protestant ‘home mission’ combined social welfare with evangelisation in the sense of reawakening the Christian faith of the already Christianised population in Germany.⁹ The movement of Social Protestantism, which includes the representatives of the ‘home mission’, was particularly dedicated to educational and medical services since the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰ By establishing his institute, Fliedner was reacting to the social problems in Germany at that time. His deaconesses were trained as nurses to care for people from the lower classes and the petty bourgeois who had become impoverished in the process of industrialisation.¹¹ At the same time, the Protestant movement’s nursing care also served to win the working class back to Christianity, after many had turned to the social democratic or socialist workers’ movements and distanced themselves from the religion.¹² Thus, the representatives of the ‘home mission’ hoped to bring about social, religious, and political change by setting a good example for those who had turned away from their Christian faith.¹³ This goal was not limited to Germany, but was also applied to German settlers abroad. Fliedner was particularly determined to evangelise the Christians in the Middle East.¹⁴

However, the extent to which the conversion of Muslims played a role in the missionary activities in the Middle East is disputed in recent research. On the basis of

Fliedner's writings, the historian and theologian Uwe Kaminsky argues that the missionary action was merely a matter of reforming the indigenous churches and that the conversion of non-Christians was not intended.¹⁵ By focusing solely on the director's intention and thus emphasising the efforts to convert Christians, such work has missed an opportunity to consider how encounters with Muslims shaped the work of the Kaiserswerth Diaconia.¹⁶ The historian Julia Hauser reinterpreted the missionary activities in the Middle East as a dynamic encounter between the deaconesses and local population, which allows us to look from the agenda to its actual implementation on the ground.¹⁷ Her findings are significant for this study in that they show that missionary work depended on the local population, and the deaconesses as actors had their own intentions regarding missionary work.¹⁸

A new strand of research challenges the assumption that the institution only intended to attempt to convert or evangelise Christians.¹⁹ In contrast to other studies on the 'home mission' in the Middle East, which deal mainly with the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire, the aim here is to examine the nature of the Kaiserswerth mission towards Muslims with the example of the little-discussed deaconess hospitals in Alexandria, founded in 1857, and the deaconess hospital Victoria in Cairo, founded in 1884. Missionaries began to settle in Egypt when Viceroy Muhammad Ali (1805-1848) and his successor Ibrahim (1848) opened Egypt to the West and tolerated ecclesiastical institutions alongside their support of Prussian enterprises.²⁰ The equalisation of all monotheistic religions through the Ottoman Tanzimat Decrees of 1839 and 1856 further pushed the opening of Egypt to the West and allowed Western missionaries to establish church communities in the Ottoman Empire.²¹ However, the conversion of Muslims was generally prohibited. Nevertheless, I contend that actors from the Kaiserwerth Institute attributed great importance to Egypt, especially Cairo, for the conversion of Muslims. Officially, the facilities of the institution were supposed to support German and other Western Protestant congregations in Alexandria and Cairo, which formed in the second half of the nineteenth century in the face of growing trade interests.²² However, as this paper demonstrates, co-founder of the Deaconess Hospital Victoria and pastor of the German Protestant congregation Martin Gräber, for example, attached greater importance to the conversion of Muslims through the hospital than to the care of the German Protestant congregation.

The geopolitical situation in which Egypt found itself at the time also represents a particularly important factor in the context of missionary work. Egypt as an autonomous vessel state of the Ottoman Empire had been occupied by Britain since 1882, and Alexandria in particular was dominated by foreign influence.²³ Among others, this influence was reflected in the institutional organisation of the Deaconess Hospitals in Alexandria and Cairo. They belonged to the Kaiserswerth Diaconia, but were run in cooperation with other Western Protestant communities who also funded the hospitals along with Egyptian viceroys.²⁴ In Cairo the hospital's board was made up of members of the four Protestant communities from Germany, Britain, Switzerland, and the United States.²⁵ The hospital in Alexandria, in turn, was managed by representatives of Germany, Britain, and Switzerland.²⁶ The cooperation of Western powers had an impact on the development of the

deaconess hospitals in Egypt. In this light, and given the lack of studies on the subject, it is worthwhile to look at the circumstances in Egypt and ask about the Kaiserwerth Deaconess Institute's action and their strategies of conversion. In the context of entangled history, I also want to include the perspective of Egyptian Muslim individuals in the activities of the mission stations run by the Kaiserwerth Deaconess Institute.²⁷ My aim here is to consider the various actors among both the missionaries and Egyptian individuals who pursued different interests regarding the use of the hospitals and who had opposing opinions on their establishment.²⁸ In the first part, I show that contrary to earlier research assumptions, deaconesses and other missionary volunteers specifically tried to convert Muslims, both directly and indirectly. I will then demonstrate that Muslim individuals also shaped the missionary work, as they could support or reject the activities of the deaconess institution.

The monthly journal of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund (Friend of the poor and sick)*, or *AKF*, and its reports on missionary activities in Egypt offer an opportunity to answer these questions. Missionary sources can reveal divergence from their agendas in practice and the dynamics of intercultural encounters.²⁹ To include the perspective of the Muslim community and to show the bias of the missionaries, the journal's reports need to be read against the grain.³⁰ However, this is a source published by missionaries that did not address the individual experiences of Muslims, but recorded events with Muslims that were significant for the members of the deaconess hospitals. Therefore, the focus of this study is on individuals who have publicly advocated for or against the hospitals and had access to political power. Of interest to this study are the reports on the hospital in Alexandria and the Deaconess Hospital Victoria in Cairo from the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. This delimitation represents the peak phase of the so-called *Orientarbeit*, or the German influence in the Middle East and Levant, until it came to a temporary end with the beginning of the First World War.³¹ The reports on the activities in the Middle East are often anonymous and are taken from statements by the deaconesses, some of which are very abbreviated.³² As a rule, they reported success stories that were intended to meet the expectations of the readership.³³ It can be assumed that the readership was interested in the Kaiserswerth institute's activities and in part supported them financially. The monthly journal was first published in 1849 and initially edited by the founder of the institute, Theodor Fliedner. After his death, his successors Julius Disselhoff and Fliedner's son Georg Fliedner, who was also a pastor in Kaiserswerth, continued the publication. The aim of the journal was to finance the activities that depended on donations as well as to improve the reputation of the Institute in Germany.³⁴ This must also be considered when examining the journal for evidence of attempts to convert Muslims.

II. CONVERSION EFFORTS TOWARDS MUSLIMS: THEORY VS. PRACTICE

The Deaconess hospitals in Egypt were utilised by many Muslims. From the reports of the *AKF* it becomes evident, after initial reticence, that the number of Muslim and generally

Middle Eastern patients gradually increased at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1902 Muslims represented the majority among ten denominations listed, with 651 patients in Alexandria's deaconess hospital.³⁵ The Deaconess Hospital Victoria in Cairo was also utilized by many Muslims in 1902, who represented a quarter of the total number of visitors.³⁶ Since Muslims made up a large proportion of the patients, it is important to examine how the missionaries engaged with them.

The assumption that the conversion of Muslims played only a minor role or no role at all in the activities of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute's Christian mission is mainly based on Fliedner's writings, as well as on the efforts of his son Georg Fliedner in continuing to assert his father's programs.³⁷ Georg Fliedner, for example, opposed the missionary ambitions of Kaiserswerth pastor August Wilhelm Schreiber, who was planning to proselytise Muslims with the help of the deaconess institute.³⁸ This does not mean, however, that there was no desire to convert Muslims at all, and that Fliedner and other authority figures in the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute did not feel superior towards Islam. Missionaries usually held the conviction of cultural and racial superiority over the people they hoped to convert.³⁹ In the case of the deaconesses, they too were convinced that Protestantism was superior to other faiths, particularly to local non-Protestants.⁴⁰ In their writings, for example, this can be seen in the way they draw on Orientalist stereotypes when writing about local inhabitants, portraying them as mendacious and deceitful.⁴¹ In keeping Orientalist discourse, the authors used a dichotomous representation of the so-called Orient and Occident to show the supposed superiority of the West and of German Protestantism. Likewise, Theodor Fliedner attributed fanaticism to Muslims and considered it necessary to weaken the influence of Islam.⁴² He aimed to do this as a long-term project through the indirect strategy of exemplifying mercy, especially in the form of nursing.⁴³ To achieve this, he emphasised in his writings that hospitals must be built for all denominations.⁴⁴ In the Ottoman Empire and especially in Egypt, the foundation of hospitals was a perfect way of doing so, because the government invested little in health facilities and the missionaries could show with deeds what they preached.⁴⁵ In the case of Egypt, the financial crisis during the reign of Viceroy Ismail (1863-1879) further contributed to their neglect.⁴⁶ Apart from this, missionaries generally also hoped that their Western hospitals would prove Europe's technological superiority and show their supposed ideological superiority.⁴⁷ Returning to the deaconess institute's strategy of converting, however, it is clear that the conversion of Muslims through exemplifying mercy was of greater importance to some actors than it was to Theodor Fliedner.

THE GOOD EXAMPLE: CONVERSION EFFORTS THROUGH SO-CALLED TRUE MERCY

In Egypt the conversion of Muslims was not a marginal phenomenon, but was sought by various individuals involved in the Deaconess hospitals. For example, one author of the *AKF* expressed hope that the Muslim population would in the future make greater use of the newly founded Deaconess Hospital Victoria in Cairo, "and then also open their ears and hearts to the proclamation, through word and deed, of the eternal love revealed in Jesus

Christ.”⁴⁸ The aforementioned clergyman of the German Protestant congregation in Cairo and “one of the most zealous co-founders of the work” Pastor Martin Gräber, also attached great importance to converting Muslims by exemplifying love for one’s neighbour.⁴⁹ Gräber’s view on the founding of the Deaconess Hospital Victoria was quoted in both 1887 and 1910 in the *AKF*.⁵⁰ The aim to convert Muslims becomes clear from these two articles insofar as it was mentioned as a reason for the establishment of the Deaconess Hospital Victoria in Cairo even before the German-Protestant diaspora care: “It could no longer be lacking in her [Cairo] in fact. After all, Cairo is the main castle of Islam and there is no more effective preaching to the Muhamedans than that of active love!”⁵¹ Only then does he address diaspora care: “But we Europeans, we Germans, we Protestants there have also been longing for a deaconess hospital like the one in Alexandria. We had no care for our sick, and there is so much sickness in the hot climate.”⁵² Interestingly, the reformation of the local churches as a further motivation for the establishment of the hospital was not mentioned in either article, although this had the highest priority in Theodor Fliedner’s agenda. Gräber’s choice of words also indicates that he saw Cairo as the centre of Islam and the settlement in Egypt as a symbol of another step towards challenging Islam’s dominance in the region. Since the author of the 1910 article was probably Deodat Disselhoff, who was Julius Disselhoff’s son and pastor of the motherhouse in Düsseldorf-Kaiserswerth, his views may also be reflected in the article. This also applies to the unknown author of the 1887 article. Crusade-like phrases, like ‘main castle of Islam’, accumulate from the 1880s onwards and fall into the same period as the German Empire’s quest for imperial power.⁵³ As Malte Fuhrmann states, the new head of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institution, Wilhelm Zoellner, also campaigned in 1898 for the “crusade of love” against Muslims in the Middle East with the help of the deaconesses.⁵⁴ Ultimately, it is evident that after Theodor Fliedner’s death in 1864, other actors associated with the Kaiserswerth Diaconia, such as the deaconesses, the pastor of the German protestant congregation, and other authority figures in the institute, had their own goals regarding the so-called *Orientarbeit*. This is reflected most notably in the fact that they prioritised the conversion of Muslims. One example of indirect efforts of conversion through exemplifying mercy is the focus on eye care, which missionaries saw as particularly suitable for the conversion of non-Christians.

FOCUS ON EYE CARE

Eye care as an example for indirect efforts of conversion has not been examined so far in the context of activities of the Kaiserswerth Diaconia in the Middle East. In his study of British missionary hospitals in nineteenth century Jerusalem, Yaron Perry pointed out that these hospitals usually specialised in the treatment of eye diseases and orthopaedic ailments as well as leprosy.⁵⁵ Perry argued that this specialisation in curing eye diseases and leprosy is connected with the healings by Jesus in the New Testament.⁵⁶ New Testament scholars assume that the healing of the blind in the New Testament would have meant a healing from so-called paganism rather than from a physical disability.⁵⁷ Relating this to the medical mission, missionaries hoped that the target group would understand this so-called

healing in the context of the biblical interpretations they preached and accordingly take it as “blessings of healing”.⁵⁸

The *AKF* shows that hospitals in Egypt also specialised in eye care. This is supported, for example, by the fact that the Deaconess Hospital Victoria in Cairo employed a German ophthalmologist in addition to two general practitioners.⁵⁹ The *AKF* also reports that from 1887 an eye clinic and a surgical clinic were attached to the same hospital.⁶⁰ In Alexandria, the Deaconess Hospital offered treatment and cleaning of the eyes for Muslims in its pharmacy from 1864. In the same article an unknown author pointed out the popularity of eye treatment among Egyptian Muslims:

Relatively few Muhamedans have come to the hospital so far. Here too, as was the case in Jerusalem in the beginning, we must wait and earn trust. However, many Muhamedans come to the pharmacy every day to get medicine, to consult the doctor or to have their wounds, especially sick eyes, cleaned and treated.⁶¹

This example is interesting in several respects for the question of conversion attempts. Against the background that nursing was used as a strategy of missionary work, it can be assumed here that for deaconesses and the articles' unknown authors, the goal of the eye treatment was not healing itself, but the patient's conversion to Christianity. The above-mentioned unknown author not only reveals the wish to convert Muslims, by explicitly mentioning them, but also the deceptive intentions of the missionary work in the hospital towards Muslims.

The authors of the reports in the *AKF* also attribute gratitude to the patients whose eyes were treated in Alexandria, with a religious interpretation: “When the sisters visited the poor Arab families in their miserable, dirty huts in the city and brought them medicine, especially for the many eye patients, they were received like angels of God.”⁶² Here it becomes clear how the author perceived their mission. The Arab families are portrayed as dirty and thus as pitiful, unable to help themselves. The text reveals the hope that through the deaconesses' medical support, their patients could be convinced of the righteousness of Christianity. Consequently, it appears that the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Hospitals in Egypt also specialised in certain treatments, such as of the eyes, to indirectly convert the target group.

ATTEMPTS OF DIRECT CONVERSION

Examining the *AKF*, it becomes evident that individuals in the hospitals also actively tried to convert Muslims in Egypt. I define the act of direct conversion as missionary work that goes beyond exemplifying charity, and that includes the spreading of the gospel.⁶³ In mission hospitals, for example, it was generally common for missionaries to teach the New Testament to patients and to try to convert them with religious talks or sermons.⁶⁴ This was also the case in the deaconess hospitals in Egypt. The journal *AKF* reveals that missionaries and converted Copts read the Bible to Muslims in the outpatient clinic of the hospital in Alexandria.⁶⁵ The deaconesses also actively participated in spreading Christian doctrine.

Sister Ruska, who is quoted in the introduction to this paper, read the Bible to a blind Muslim and had religious discussions with him about Jesus, who is recognised as a prophet in Islam.⁶⁶ She explicitly asked him about the Christian doctrine of salvation: “When asked if he loved the Saviour, he answered ‘Yes’; when asked if he believed that the Lord had died for him and that Jesus was the Son of God - he said: ‘I want to hear more about him, tell me all about him.’”⁶⁷ The unknown deaconess then expressed the hope that “[t]his man [...] might convert to Christianity if he were taught.”⁶⁸ The deaconesses were thus by no means resigned to the passive mission of converting the locals by exemplifying mercy, but also strove to actively convert non-Christians.⁶⁹ In some cases, it is not clear whether the patients they were trying to propagate Christian faith to were Muslims or not, as they sometimes just referred to them as Arabs. For example, the *AKF* reports about the Arab deaconess Hanna who read the Bible to Arab patients in Alexandria, and a superior sister in the same hospital distributed New Testaments, tracts, and sermons to not further identifiable patients.⁷⁰

Interestingly, it was controversial in the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institution and other deaconess institutions that participated in the Kaiserswerth General Conference in 1861 whether deaconesses should participate in the conversion of non-Christians.⁷¹ In general, contemporary German Protestantism rejected active missionary activities by women, such as preaching. The deaconesses of the Kaiserswerth institution were also criticised for their conversion ambitions by Protestant pastors and the director of the deaconesses’ institution Theodor Schäfer in Altona, another prominent figure in German Social Protestantism.⁷² Instead, they assigned to them the apparent passive task of converting non-Christians through care work. This corresponded to the gender-specific expectations of German Protestantism.⁷³ In general, work in hospitals and educational institutions conformed to the normative and bourgeois model of femininity of the time, as they were perceived as domestic spaces and the work resonated with the concept of spiritual motherhood.⁷⁴ The deaconesses, on the other hand, saw their work abroad as well as in Germany more as an active missionary task.⁷⁵ Their motivation was strongly religious and they saw the work abroad as a chance to prove themselves and to be recognised as “heroines”.⁷⁶ Another reason for the modification of the mission could be related to the competing mission societies.⁷⁷ At the educational facility run by the Kaiserswerth institute’s deaconesses in Beirut, for example, the deaconesses competed for their clientele primarily with the Catholic missionary societies, but also with Jewish organizations and local Christian, Muslim, and Jewish initiatives.⁷⁸ Accordingly, the above examples suggest that the deaconesses were also actors in the Middle East who resisted the orders and authority of the mother house on the ground.⁷⁹

However, the question arises as to why the reports of undesired direct attempts of conversion by deaconesses were published in the *AKF*. Despite the debate about proselytizing women, the Kaiserwerth Institute’s home board chose to make the women’s activities public. The resulting contradiction can be explained by the fact that the presentation of successes, in this case the conversion of Muslims, could increase the

reputation of the Kaiserswerth Diaconia and therefore further finance their work.⁸⁰ This is particularly clear in the article *Hülferuf aus Afrika (Call for help from Africa)* in the *AKF* from 1862. The article began by listing the successes of the missionary activities, such as the fact that Muslims listened to the missionaries reading the Bible “with great devotion”, followed by a request for donations.⁸¹ Consequently, the editors and home board assumed that the readers and possible benefactors of the missionary activities in Egypt were in favour of the conversion of Muslims. Moreover, in connection with Germany’s imperial plans, voices for the conversion of Muslims increased also within the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute. Thus, this example shows that after Fliedner’s death, the home board of the Kaiserwerth Institute itself approved of attempts to convert Muslims in the Deaconess hospitals in Egypt.

III. AGENCY OF EGYPTIAN MUSLIMS

After shedding light on the conversion attempts by the missionaries, I turn now to how Egyptian and Muslim individuals reacted to the converting efforts. The assumption that target groups of Christian missions were passive and unable to act is refuted by recent work, which seeks to break with the binary categorisation of the powerless indigenous people and the all-powerful missionaries.⁸² The missionaries were in constant negotiation with their environment and were confronted with expectations and resistance from the local population.⁸³ In what follows, we will see that the hospitals were generally used by Muslim individuals and that they were also financed by the state. In addition, Muslim publicly voiced their concerns about the Cairo hospital.

USE OF THE DEACONESSES’ HOSPITAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Generally, the services of missionaries were valued by the Egyptian communities, despite the deceptive intentions of the missionaries themselves.⁸⁴ However, the interest of Muslims in Christianity, which is often mentioned in the reports on the activities of the Kaiserswerth Diaconia in Egypt, must be viewed critically, particularly as the journal wanted to fulfil the readers’ expectations and therefore usually reported on supposed success stories.⁸⁵ One group that supported the Deaconess hospitals financially were the viceroys of Egypt. They were not the target of the Christian mission, but it was through their support of the missionary societies that the latter were able to establish themselves. Said Pasha (1854-1863), who ruled at the time of the foundation of the hospital in Alexandria, actively supported the founding of church institutions, unlike some of his predecessors who merely tolerated the work of missionary societies.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, as was generally the case, the conversion of Muslims was forbidden under his rule.⁸⁷ His successor, the liberal Ismail Pasha (1863-1879), also maintained the opening to the West and advocated Western influence in the fields of education, technology, and architecture.⁸⁸ It was only under his rule that Cairo became accessible to the West, as he encouraged the migration of Europeans to the city.⁸⁹ In this context, it can be gathered from the *AKF* that in 1884, Ismail, who had already

been deposed at the time, and his successor, Tawfik Pasha (1879-1892), financially supported the foundation of the Deaconess Hospital Victoria with 2,000 marks each.⁹⁰ Under the reign of Tawfik in 1881, the Egyptian government also promoted the gratuitous cession of a plot of land in Cairo to the founders of the hospital.⁹¹

However, especially with regard to the last viceroys, Ismail and Tawfik, it must be taken into account that Egypt was gradually more financially dependent on Western powers due to its bankruptcy.⁹² Moreover, since the suppression of the so-called Urabi Uprising in 1882, Egypt had been occupied by Great Britain, as a result of which Viceroy Tawfik had to cede most of his ruling power to the British consul Evelyn Baring.⁹³ Consequently, the viceroys' decisions were influenced by the dependence of the major European powers. This also becomes evident when considering that the name 'Victoria' was agreed on in 1884 by the British and the other members of the Deaconess Hospital in Cairo. After the naming, the British pledged further financial support, transferring the Egyptian government's outgoing grant to an abandoned British hospital instead to the Deaconess Hospital Victoria.⁹⁴ This fact indicates the rising power of Britain since the occupation.

OPPOSITION TO THE DEACONESS HOSPITAL IN CAIRO

In principle, the members of the Kaiserswerth mission and other involved missionary volunteers were not very successful in converting Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁵ Although Muslims were indeed open to the missionaries' services in education and nursing, they strictly rejected the missionary attempts of conversion and harboured resentment towards their religious motives.⁹⁶ These resentments developed into public anti-missionary campaigns by religious reformers against the active promotion of Christianity in the 1920s and 1930s.⁹⁷ Scholar Umar Ryad noted that the strong Muslim resistance to missionaries in the twentieth century was a consequence of accumulating resentment against the missionaries' strategies of the previous century, which is of interest here.⁹⁸

Evidence of opposition, or at least skepticism, on the part of the Muslim population can be found in the *AKF*. That the Muslim population was not passive is clear from a retrospective report by Deodat Disselhoff in 1910 on the founding of the Deaconess Hospital Victoria in Cairo. He wrote that in 1881 the Protestant community was to receive a plot of land for the Victoria Deaconess Hospital free of charge from the Egyptian government, but residents of the adjacent El-Abbasiya neighbourhood resisted and petitioned for the building permit to be denied.⁹⁹ Disselhoff explained that among the more than 300 signatures was "the sheikh of the mosque that houses the largest Islamist university"¹⁰⁰, which gave the petition greater weight and enabled it to achieve its goal. The mosque mentioned must be the Al-Azhar institution, still renowned in the Muslim world today, which includes a prestigious university as well as a mosque.¹⁰¹ The Muslim institution thus regarded the settlement of a Christian-run missionary hospital at its location as a provocation. The strong resistance of the residents of this neighbourhood is also evident from Disselhoff's following remark: "But even if the petition had been rejected, the

hostility of the inhabitants of that neighbourhood would have held out the prospect of bad hours for the young work.”¹⁰² Thus, the founders had to search for an alternative property.

This, however, did not constitute the only opposition by Muslim individuals to the establishment of the Deaconess Hospital Victoria mentioned in *AKF*. The second case, according to Deodat Disselhoff, concerned the “all-powerful Arabi Pasha”¹⁰³, who was minister of war at the time. Disselhoff stated in the article that Ahmed Urabi had opposed another purchase of property that was close to a military barrack “because he feared damage to the health of his soldiers lying in barracks 600 metres away from the neighbourhood of a hospital!”¹⁰⁴ Whether this was indeed Ahmed Urabi’s fear must be questioned. Urabi, who was anti-European and therefore also opposed Viceroy Tawfik, had been the leader of the so-called Urabi Uprising between 1879 and 1882. His disapproval of European influence in Egypt may have been one reason for rejecting the construction of the hospital. Due to his anti-European attitude, there is the possibility that Disselhoff chose another explanation for the rejection to discredit him afterwards.

IV. CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to analyse to what extent the conversion of Muslims in practice played a role in the activities of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute in Egypt and how their work was perceived by Muslim individuals who had access to political power. The study of the reports of the *AKF* has shown that the missionary ambitions of the various actors involved differed and for some played more than just a marginal role. While Theodor Fliedner in theory attributed less importance towards proselytising to Muslims, other actors within the Institute showed greater interest in their conversion. In addition to this, this essay contends that actors in the field not only indirectly tried to convert Muslims, but also actively did so, highlighting the ambivalence between theory and practice of the so-called *Orientalarbeit*.

At the same time, Egyptian Muslims under the care and sphere of the missionaries were not passive, harbouring various reactions to the missionary presence. While the government supported the missionary hospitals financially, and while Muslims generally used the hospitals, critics of the government, Islamic religious leaders, and Cairo inhabitants actively sought to obstruct their establishment. For future research, it would be worthwhile in this context to use local government and court records in Egypt as sources, as well as Egyptian newspapers, to better understand the relationship of the local population to the founding of the hospitals.

In order to answer the question of the nature of missionary activities in the Middle East, it is worth going beyond Fliedner’s writings and instead focusing on implementation in practice. Through an entangled history, it becomes evident the individuals involved were not passive targets of conversion and all-powerful missionaries. Indeed, missionary work in

Egypt was not a one-sided transfer process imposed by the missionaries, but an encounter with a reciprocal character. Equally, deaconesses were not inclined to conform to the gendered expectations of the missionary work by staying passive. The study of the encounter between protagonists of the mission and local actors in Egypt therefore opens the possibility of reframing the Kaiserswerth Institute's efforts to convert, but also the agency of those actors involved.

NOTES

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² "Bilder aus der Diakonissenarbeit im Hospital zu Alexandrien," *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, May-August, 1895, 91. Original text: „Schwester Ruska ist seine besondere Freundin und er wartet mit Sehnsucht auf ihre Stimme und wird nie müde, ihrem Lesen aus der Bibel zuzuhören; besonders bittet er, ihm von Jesus vorzulesen, den er aber wohl nur als Propheten und Lehrer verehrt.“

³ Julia Hauser, *German Religious Women in Late Ottoman Beirut: Competing Missions* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 23.

⁴ Uwe Kaminsky, "The Establishment of Nursing Care in the Parish: Kaiserswerth Deaconesses in Jerusalem," in *Deaconesses in Nursing Care: International Transfer of a Female Model of Life and Work in the 19th and 20th Century*, ed. Susanne Kreutzer and Karen Nolte (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 81f., 84.

⁵ Norbert Friedrich, Uwe Kaminsky, and Roland Löffler, "Preface," in *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East: Historical Studies of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Norbert Friedrich, Uwe Kaminsky, and Roland Löffler (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010), 10.

⁶ Uwe Kaminsky, "Die innere Mission Kaiserswerths im Ausland: Von der Evangelisation zum Bemühen um die Dritte Welt," in *Sozialer Protestantismus im Kaiserreich: Problemkonstellationen - Lösungsperspektiven - Handlungsprofile*, ed. Norbert Friedrich and Traugott Jähnichen (Münster: LIT, 2005), 360f; Uwe Kaminsky, *Innere Mission im Ausland: Der Aufbau religiöser und sozialer Infrastruktur am Beispiel der Kaiserswerther Diakonie (1851-1975)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010), 46f.

⁷ Kaminsky, "Die innere Mission Kaiserswerths im Ausland," 364.

⁸ Theodor Fliedner, "Vorschlag zur Gründung einer deutsch-evangelischen Missions-Gesellschaft für das Morgenland," *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, November-December, 1857, 1, 10f; Uwe Kaminsky, "German 'Home Mission' Abroad: *The Orientarbeit* of the Deaconess Institution Kaiserswerth in the Ottoman Empire," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 198, 208.

⁹ Bettina Hitzer, "Protestantische Philanthropie und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland: Ein vieldeutiges Verhältnis," in *Zwischen Fürsorge und Seelensorge: Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Arnd Bauerkämper and Jürgen Nautz (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009), 117.

¹⁰ Kaminsky, *Innere Mission im Ausland*, 12.

¹¹ Karen Nolte, "Deaconesses' Self-Understanding and Everyday Nursing Practice in the First Deaconess Community in Kaiserswerth, Germany," in *Deaconesses in Nursing Care*, ed. Kreutzer and

Nolte, 21.

¹² Nolte, "Deaconesses' Self-Understanding," 29.

¹³ Nolte, "Deaconesses' Self-Understanding," 29; Uwe Kaminsky, "Die Kaiserswerther Orientarbeit als soziale Infrastruktur zwischen Staat und Kirche," in *Protestanten im Orient*, ed. Martin Tamcke and Arthur Manukyan (Würzburg: Ergon, 2009), 86.

¹⁴ Kaminsky, "German 'Home Mission' Abroad," 194f.

¹⁵ See Kaminsky, "The Establishment of Nursing," 81, 83, 87; Kaminsky, "German 'Home Mission' Abroad," 203f.; See also Thorsten Norbert Preine, "Flüchtlinge in Jerusalem: Kaiserwether Diakonie in Kontext der Orientmission," in *Mission im Konfliktfeld von Islam, Judentum und Christentum: Eine Bestandsaufnahme zum 150-jährigen Jubiläum des Jerusalemserenens*, ed. Andreas Feldtkeller and Almut Nothnagle (Frankfurt am Main: Lembeck, 2003), 67f.

¹⁶ For an overview of the state of research see Julia Hauser, "Mind the Gap!: Raum, Geschlecht und Zirkulation von Wissen in der Mission am Beispiel der Kaiserswerther Diakonissen in Beirut," in *Mission global: Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Richard Hölzl and Rebekka Habermas (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 6f.

¹⁷ Julia Hauser, "From Transformation to Negotiation: A Female Mission in a 'City of Schools'," *Journal of World History* 27, no. 3 (2016): 476, 493, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2016.0117>.

¹⁸ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 1-3, 14. Deaconesses were not understood as missionaries by contemporaries, but recent research on missionary work recognises deaconesses as central actors. See Hauser, "Mind the Gap," 139f.; Rebekka Habermas and Richard Hölzl, "Mission global: Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert: Einleitung," in *Mission global*, ed. Hölzl and Habermas, 11f.

¹⁹ Hauser, "Mind the Gap," 140.

²⁰ Samir Boulos, *European Evangelicals in Egypt (1900-1956): Cultural Entanglements and Missionary Spaces* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016), 28; Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 89.

²¹ Heather J. Sharkey, "Empire and Muslim Conversion: Historical Reflections on Christian Missions in Egypt," *Islam & Christian Muslim Relations* 16, no. 1 (2005): 44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0959641052000313237>.

²² Albrecht Fieß, *Die deutsche Gemeinde in Ägypten von 1919-1939* (Hamburg: Lit, 1996), 39; Anita Müller, *Schweizer in Alexandrien 1914-1963: Zur ausländischen Präsenz in Ägypten* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 21. On the Kaiserswerth support for Protestant congregations in Egypt see Angelika Marks, "Von Kaiserswerth nach Kairo - die 'Liebesarbeit' der Diakonissen," in *1912-2012: Die Deutsche Evangelische Kirche in Bulak: Ein Jahrhundert wechselhafter Geschichte in Kairo*, ed. Deutschsprachige Evangelische Gemeinde Kairo (Berlin: Heenemann, 2012), 195f.

²³ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 6.

²⁴ On cooperation see Marks, "Von Kaiserswerth," 189, 195f. On the funding see [Deodat] Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital Viktoria in Kairo: Ein Rückblick auf die 25jährige Geschichte des Hauses 1885-1910," *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, February, 1910, 26.

²⁵ Marks, "Von Kaiserswerth," 189.

²⁶ Carl Goebel, "Die deutschen Krankenhäuser im Orient," in *Länder und Völker der Türkei*:

Schriftensammlung der Deutschen Vorderasiengesellschaft, ed. Hugo Grothe (Leipzig: Gaeblers Geograph. Inst., 1917), 16.

²⁷ On the agency of non-European actors see for example Rebekka Habermas, “Mission im 19. Jahrhundert - Globale Netze des Religiösen,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 287, no. 3 (2008): 639f., <https://doi.org/10.1524/hzhz.2008.0056>; Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 1. On the perspective of Muslims on Christian missionary work in the Middle East see for example Umar Ryad, “Muslim Response to Missionary Activities in Egypt: With a Special Reference to the Al-Azhar High Corps of ‘Ulamâ (1925-1935),” in *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, ed. Murre-van den Berg, 281.

²⁸ Hilde Nielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie, “Introduction,” in *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World*, ed. Hilde Nielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), 13. See also Habermas and Hölzl, “Mission global,” 28.

²⁹ Hauser, “From Transformation,” 476.

³⁰ On this method see Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 10.

³¹ For periodisation see Falk Wiesemann, “In diesem Land, wo die Lebenssonne zuerst hineinleuchtet: Kaiserswerther Diakonissen im Morgenland. Mit 26 Abbildungen,” *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch* 80 (2010): 157, 159.

³² Hauser, “Waisen gewinnen,” 28f.

³³ Hauser, “Waisen gewinnen,” 28f.

³⁴ See Falk Wiesemann, “In diesem Land,” 152; Kaminsky, “Die innere Mission Kaiserswerths im Ausland,” 366f.; Kaminsky, “Establishment of Nursing,” 86.

³⁵ “Übersicht über den Stand der Arbeit der Kaiserswerther Diakonissen im Morgenland,” *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, July-August, 1903, 111. As the author of the article signed only ‘D.’, it is not possible to identify them with certainty, but there is a possibility that it was Deodat Disselhoff, as his father, J. Disselhoff, had already died in 1896, and he wrote a large number of articles.

³⁶ “Übersicht,” *AKF*, 1903, 112.

³⁷ Kaminsky, “German ‘Home Mission’ Abroad,” 204.

³⁸ Kaminsky, “German ‘Home Mission’ Abroad,” 204.

³⁹ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 11. On the relationship between missionaries and imperialism see John M. MacKenzie, “Introduction,” in *European Empires and the People: Popular Responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester University Press, 2011), 9.

⁴⁰ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 249.

⁴¹ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 287.

⁴² Fliedner, “Vorschlag,” 10.

⁴³ Hauser, “Mind the Gap,” 140-142; Kaminsky, “Establishment of Nursing Care,” 86; Kaminsky, “German ‘Home Mission’ Abroad,” 201.

⁴⁴ Fliedner, “Vorschlag,” 6.

⁴⁵ See Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Der verpasste Friede: Mission, Ethnie und Staat in den Ostprovinzen der Türkei 1839-1938* (Zürich: Chronos, 2000), 525.

⁴⁶ For Arabic names, I do not use transliteration with diacritical marks. Instead, the Latinised form is used. On the situation in Egypt see Boulos, *European Evangelicals*, 28f.

⁴⁷ Yaron Perry, "Medical Treatment as a Missionary Instrument and its Social Consequences: Aspects of the Work by the London Jews Society in Palestine up to 1914," in *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East*, ed. Friedrich, Kaminsky, and Löffler, 153.

⁴⁸ "Das Diakonissen-Hospital Victoria in Cairo," *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, January-April, 1885, 12.

⁴⁹ Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital Viktoria," 25.

⁵⁰ "Diakonissen," *AKF*, 1887, 16-18; Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital," 25.

⁵¹ "Diakonissen," *AKF*, 1887, 16. Original text: „Es durfte in ihr [Kairo] in der That nicht länger fehlen. Ist doch Cairo die Hauptburg des Islams und keine wirksamere Predigt giebt's den Muhamedanern gegenüber, als die der thätigen Liebe!“. Disselhoff's article from 1910 seems to have taken over most of the text from 1887. In Disselhoff's article, the word 'capital' (*Hauptstadt*) was used instead of 'main castle' (*Hauptburg*). See Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital," 25.

⁵² "Diakonissen," *AKF*, 1887, 16. Original text: „Aber auch wir Europäer, wir Deutsche, wir Evangelischen dort sehnten uns seit lange nach einem Diakonissenhospital, wie Alexandrien es besitzt. Wir hatten für unsere Kranken keine Pflege, und es giebt doch so viel Krankheit im heißen Klima.“

⁵³ See Malte Fuhrmann, *Der Traum vom deutschen Orient: Zwei deutsche Kolonien im Osmanischen Reich 1851-1918* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2006), 187-188; Hauser, "Mind the Gap," 140, 156.

⁵⁴ Fuhrmann, *Der Traum*, 187.

⁵⁵ Perry, "Medical Treatment," 153.

⁵⁶ Perry, "Medical Treatment," 153.

⁵⁷ See for example Brian R. Miller, "History of the Blind," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed August 11, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-the-blind-1996241>.

⁵⁸ Boulos, *European Evangelicals*, 97.

⁵⁹ "Diakonissen," *AKF*, 1887, 18.

⁶⁰ "Übersicht," *AKF*, 1903, 112.

⁶¹ "Bericht über die Diakonissen-Stationen," *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, July-August, 1864, 123. Original text: „Ins Hospital selbst kommen bis jetzt verhältnismäßig nur erst wenige Muhamedaner. Es gilt auch hier, wie es in Jerusalem Anfangs der Fall war, harren und Vertrauen erwerben. In die Apotheke aber kommen täglich viele Muhamedaner, um sich Arzneien zu holen, den Arzt zu consultieren oder die Wunden, namentlich kranke Augen reinigen und behandeln zu lassen.“

⁶² "Hülferuf aus Afrika, aus dem Diakonissen-Hospital zu Alexandrien, von den Kaiserswerther Schwestern," *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, May-Juni, 1862, 80. Original text: „Wenn die Schwestern die armen arabischen Familien in ihren elenden, schmutzigen Hütten in der Stadt besuchten, und ihnen Arznei brachten, besonders den vielen Augenkranken, so wurden sie wie Engel

Gottes aufgenommen.“ Whether they were Christian or Muslim Arabs cannot be deduced from the text.

⁶³ See also Boulos, *European Evangelicals*, 100.

⁶⁴ Boulos, *European Evangelicals*, 100.

⁶⁵ “Hülferuf aus Afrika,” *AKF*, 1862, 80. The missionaries’ identities are not specified any further in the article.

⁶⁶ “Bilder aus der Diakonissenarbeit,” *AKF*, 1895, 91.

⁶⁷ “Bilder aus der Diakonissenarbeit,” *AKF*, 1895, 91. Original text: „Auf die Frage, ob er den Heiland liebe, antwortete er ‚Ja‘; fragt man ihn, ob er glaube, daß der Herr für ihn gestorben sei und daß Jesus Gottes Sohn ist - so sagt er: ‚Ich will noch mehr von ihm hören, erzählt mir alles!“

⁶⁸ “Bilder aus der Diakonissenarbeit im Hospital zu Alexandrien,” *AKF*, 1895, 91. Original text: „Dieser Mann würde vielleicht zum Christentum bekehren, wenn man ihn lehrte.“

⁶⁹ On the passive mission, see Hauser, “Mind the Gap,” 141.

⁷⁰ “Über die Diakonissen-Stationen im Morgenlande,” *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund*, March-April, 1881, 55; “Diakonissen Arbeit im Morgenlande,” *AKF*, 1887, 16.

⁷¹ Kaminsky, “German ‘Home Mission’ Abroad,” 203f.

⁷² Hauser, “Mind the Gap,” 141 and 10f; Nolte, “Deaconesses’ Self-Understanding,” 31f.

For more see Hauser, “Mind the Gap,” 140f.

⁷⁴ Hauser touches upon this in *German Religious Women*, 2.

⁷⁵ Wiesemann, “In diesem Land,” 155; Nolte, “Deaconesses’ Self-Understanding,” 31f.

⁷⁶ Kaminsky, *Innere Mission im Ausland*, 48; Kaminsky, “German ‘Home Mission’ Abroad,” 206, 208.

⁷⁷ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 2.

⁷⁸ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 1f., 5.

⁷⁹ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 1, 14. On the authority of diaconia see Susanne Kreutzer and Karen Nolte, “Deaconesses in Nursing Care: A Transnational History,” in *Deaconesses in Nursing Care*, ed. Kreutzer and Nolte, 8.

⁸⁰ Hauser, “Waisen gewinnen,” 29; Kaminsky, *Innere Mission im Ausland*, 47.

⁸¹ “Hülferuf aus Afrika,” *AKF*, 1862, 80.

⁸² Habermas, “Mission im 19. Jahrhundert,” 639; Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 11.

⁸³ Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 11; Hauser, “From Transformation,” 496.

⁸⁴ Boulos, *European Evangelicals*, 2.

⁸⁵ See e. g. “Bilder aus der Diakonissenarbeit im Hospital zu Alexandrien,” *AKF*, 1895, 91, 93. Hauser, “Waisen gewinnen,” 28f.

- ⁸⁶ Sharkey, "Empire," 44.
- ⁸⁷ Sharkey, "Empire," 44; Kaminsky, *Innere Mission im Ausland*, 38.
- ⁸⁸ Boulos, *European Evangelicals*, 28; Fueß, *Die deutsche Gemeinde*, 47f.
- ⁸⁹ Marks, "Von Kaiserswerth," 197.
- ⁹⁰ "Diakonissen Arbeit im Morgenlande," *AKF*, 1887, 17.
- ⁹¹ "Diakonissen Arbeit im Morgenlande," *AKF*, 1887, 17.
- ⁹² Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte, *Deutschland in Ägypten: Orientalistische Netzwerke, Judenverfolgung und das Leben der Frankfurter Jüdin Mimi Borchardt* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017), 38.
- ⁹³ See for example Martin W. Daly, "The British Occupation, 1882-1922," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol 2: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Martin W. Daly and Carl F. Petry (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 239.
- ⁹⁴ Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital," 27f.
- ⁹⁵ Marcel Geser, *Zwischen Missionierung und „Stärkung des Deutschtums“: Der Deutsche Kindergarten in Konstantinopel von seinen Anfängen bis 1918* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verl., 2010), 67f.
- ⁹⁶ Heather J. Sharkey, "Missionary Legacies: Muslim-Christian Encounters in Egypt and Sudan during the Colonial and Postcolonial Periods," in *Muslim-Christian Encounters in Africa*, ed. Benjamin F. Soares (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 68. See also Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 4.
- ⁹⁷ Boulos, *European Evangelicals*, 43, 46; Ryad, "Muslim Response," 286.
- ⁹⁸ Ryad, "Muslim Response," 281f. However, Ryad was referring here mainly to English-speaking missionary societies. On their more offensive strategy at the end of the nineteenth century, see also Sharkey, "Missionary Legacies," 62.
- ⁹⁹ Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital Viktoria," 26f.
- ¹⁰⁰ Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital Viktoria," 26f. Original text: „da an ihrer Spitze der Scheich der Moschee stand, die die größte islamistische Universität beherbergt.“
- ¹⁰¹ Ryad, "Muslim Response," 282.
- ¹⁰² Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital Viktoria," 27. Original text: „Aber auch bei Abweisung der Petition hätte doch die Feindseligkeit der Bewohner jenes Viertels dem jungen Werke böse Stunden in Aussicht gestellt.“
- ¹⁰³ Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital Viktoria," 27. Original text: „allmächtige Arabi Pascha“.
- ¹⁰⁴ Disselhoff, "Das Kaiserswerther Diakonissenhospital Viktoria," 27. Original text: „da er von der Nachbarschaft eines Hospitals Schädigung der Gesundheit seiner in einer 600 Meter entfernten Kaserne liegenden Soldaten fürchtete!“