

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XII

JANUARY, 1922

No. 1

EDITORIAL

THE DISARMAMENT NEEDED

The World War brought to the surface and intensified all the animosities and hatreds which had lain dormant in the different nations in past years. The close of the War did not end the spirit of war. The appeal of idealism to the world to settle the issues of the war in such a way as would promote the interests of all the nations and so promote the interests of the world failed. The Great Powers made it their chief aim to promote their own interests, and the Lesser Powers, finding that there was no international body which would disinterestedly labor for the interests of these smaller nations, sought each to gain its ends by intrigue or by armed force. Hence there has been a succession of little wars following the Great War. The reestablishment of trade and manufactures and transportation has been hindered; the peoples have been eating up their resources without renewing them. The world is poorer today, and suffering is greater today than it was three years ago.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the Near East. It is very generally conceded that if the Great Powers had resolutely grappled with the question of the Near East immediately after the Armistice they might have

reached a settlement which would have secured peace and enabled the peoples of the Near East to recover from their exhaustion and to devote their energies to the development of their industries. It was plain at that time that the Great Powers could reach a settlement in one of two ways. Either they must impose their terms on the defeated nation and use force to have those terms executed, or they must come to an agreement with the defeated nation upon terms which both parties would accept.

The Great Powers adopted neither of these two ways. They allowed matters to drift along, following the line of least resistance. Old animosities were greatly intensified. Greece and Turkey went to war. This war has cost thousands of lives. Both nations have been brought to the verge of bankruptcy, their currencies are depreciated. Hundreds of villages have been destroyed, fertile regions have been laid waste. Widows and orphans have been multiplied, and no settlement has been reached. What strikes the observer most forcibly is the uselessness of all this destruction of life and property. To what purpose is all this waste? At the end of this war the same question remains as at the beginning of it, viz: How can these two nations reconcile their conflicting interests? The war has made plain only one thing, namely, that they cannot reconcile their conflicting interests by war. "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword," said Jesus Christ, and the truth of His words appears in the history of this decade.

These thoughts are truisms which all would accept if they could view them as impartial observers, but they do not observe them from that standpoint. Blindness and deafness have fallen upon the peoples. It is a partial blindness and deafness which cuts off all sight and all hearing which does not agree with our own preconceived views. Selfishness and Hate have sealed our eyes and stopped our ears. We go onward in the old, old way which the world has followed so long. Self-interest we hold to be the supreme motive for the nation, and armed

force the only method of settling national differences. Does it pay? Are the results of the series of wars in which the world has been engaging such as to commend the old law and the old method of the world for use in this age of the world when modern inventions have increased the destructiveness of war?

There are many who would answer promptly that the old law and the old method are discredited and ought to be rejected. But they ask, How is this to be accomplished? There are certain basic principles which the world ought to recognize. They are impressed upon us by the sad experiences through which we are passing.

1. The interests of every nation are the interest of all the nations. We are learning how closely the nations are bound together. In the realm of economics we are forced to recognize that the business of our country cannot prosper unless the business of the neighboring countries prospers. Commerce is giving and taking, buying and selling, and in the long run the bargain must be good for both parties if it is to lead to good business.

2. The peace of our country is dependent on the peace of other countries. If they go to war we are always in danger of being drawn into the maelstrom. It is therefore in the interest of every nation that all the causes of dissension between different countries should be removed quickly and not allowed to rankle and fester and become an open sore of the world. This danger increases as the means of communication between different parts of the world increase and become more rapid.

3. The great need of the world is a change of the spirit in men. It is quite remarkable to see how leading men in different professions are giving voice to the same feeling that the great need of the world is a change of spirit. Ministers, lawyers, statesmen, students of economics and of industries—all alike are saying that the spirit of animosity does not pay, whether it be the animosity between classes or the animosity between nations. Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, Sir Philip Gibbs, and Sir George Paish have

all said in almost the same words: that "the only basis for the economic reconstruction of Europe today is a spiritual basis; the only solution to the economic problem is a spiritual solution. The candid judgment of hard-headed business men is that it is the hearts of men that need changing."

In the Near East we need a change of spirit. The Turks need it. They need to give up the spirit of intolerance which visits punishment upon any man who abandons the Mohammedan religion. They need to place religious truth in the open for investigation, and to make every man free in regard to his religious faith. So long as Mohammedans occupy the position that any man who forsakes the Mohammedan faith should be put to death they make it impossible for the rest of the world to treat with them on equal terms. The rest of the world has abandoned that rule and now stands for freedom in religious matters. A faith that rests on coercion is discredited. Islam had already put down the movements which made for freedom of thought in religion and philosophy when the Ottoman Turks invaded the Near East, and it had become a religious absolutism, an unbending orthodoxy. The Ottoman Turks adopted this system, and they were at an additional disadvantage because the religion of Islam was given to them in Arabic, which is to them a foreign tongue, only understood by their scholars. All initiative of thought and criticism among them has been repressed. Where religious inquiry is repressed the spirit of initiative and of inquiry that makes for progress is generally lacking. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Mohammedan countries are not progressive. Mohammedans owe it to themselves to welcome inquiry into all matters of doctrine and creed. They need to stimulate the freedom of thought and investigation which puts a people in the path of progress. They need to get rid of the spirit which has stained their history during my own lifetime with repeated massacres of innocent men, women and children. These massacres

were committed under the promptings of a wrong spirit. The Turkish nation needs a new spirit if it is to prosper. New forms, new methods are not enough so long as the old spirit is unchanged. Religious intolerance and national fanaticism have always borne the same kind of fruit in all nations and they will continue to bear the same kind of fruit. A change of spirit is needed if there is to be concord between Christian and Mohammedan nations.

The Christian nations stand in equal need of a change of spirit with regard to their dealings in the Near East. They have acted from self-interest and regarded the Near East as territory to be exploited. They have vied with one another in seeking to gain each one some advantage for itself. They have not commended Christianity to non-Christian peoples because they have violated its first principle of unselfishness in their international dealings here. Nor have they stood for morality and righteousness. The influence and example of the Allied armies since the Armistice have contributed to the increase of drinking and prostitution in Constantinople. There is great need of a change of spirit in the Christian peoples.

This change of spirit may be partly effected through the schools. The schools of the Near East have been nationalistic and even chauvinistic. They need to teach a sound internationalism and social justice. The principles of economics and of national righteousness should be inculcated in students' minds at an early age in order to render them proof against the false ideas which are being propagated with the utmost vigor since the war. Every community must realize that its welfare is bound up with the welfare of the other communities in this complex social body and must see to it that the children realize this also. At the present time the children are taught in these national schools to sing songs which embody the spirit of hatred towards certain other nations. This is true both of Turkish schools and of Christian schools. Education is now a divisive influence and not

a unifying influence. We need to recognize that such an educational regime tends to perpetuate the old spirit of war and hate with all its disastrous results. We sow the wind and we reap the whirlwind. Again I ask, Does it pay? Ought we not to see to it that our educational systems should breathe a new spirit of international concord and cooperation?

But the schools alone cannot change the spirit of the nations. We need a change of heart, a radical change of attitude towards our fellowmen, with whom we are forced to live because they are our neighbors. What can produce this change? It must be a spiritual, religious force. There is no other power that can subordinate self-interest to the interests of others, that can make principle stronger than passion. If we would be right with our fellowmen we must be right with God, we must put God in control of our lives.

It is for every one to search carefully his own religious conceptions to ascertain what power there is in his religious faith to change his spirit, so that he may deal rightly with his fellows as individuals or as nations. I know of no power that can effect such a transformation except the personal influence of Jesus Christ. He told His disciples,

"The Son of Man came not to be served but to serve and to give His life a ransom for many."

"As the Father hath sent Me even so send I you."

That is in the same spirit of service to others. Many individuals have caught that spirit and are exemplifying it in their lives, but nations have not yet caught it. When that spirit takes possession of any man, whatever his race or nationality, hatreds and animosities fade out of his heart, and he becomes a man who can work with his fellowmen for the good of all. It is such a change of spirit that the world needs today.

Constantinople.

C. F. GATES.

WHAT MOSLEMS EXPECT

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF MOSLEM DEMANDS*

THE PRESENT CRISIS

The war, which revealed the secret thoughts of so many hearts, at present is opening the eyes of the Western nations to that most real and fundamental feeling which the Moslem Community, "The Ummah," conceals under its veil, viz. the common griefs of its members, their collective aspirations, their self-consciousness.

The present crisis is rich in lessons for all the peoples of the West who still maintain towards their Moslem friends the well-considered ties of a sympathy which they have already manifested. Today it would mean little to acknowledge that no just or permanent peace is possible in the Orient by holding to the "Curzonian" formula, namely, that the League of Nations must not at any price keep alive, by embittering it, the spirit of the Turkish *status quo ante bellum*," and must not bring about the organization of the intensive exploitation of trade in Moslem countries by a society of sleeping partners, duly based on mandates, an exploitation which would deny to those countries even all participation in the administration or in the profits of the enterprise. The question is too largely one of human interests. Moreover it is of the highest necessity to discover by weighing and comparing the terms of the written demands presented since 1916 by the various Moslem delegations, what the Moslems are determined to secure from us, at any price, in order to continue to live among us and at the same time remain Moslems, now that the independence of Turkey, the last material rampart separating them, has been broken down.

* (Translated from the French in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. XXXIX, with permission of the author and editor.

I

THE EXPLANATIONS SUGGESTED

The public of the West, especially of France, is beginning to consider seriously the problems of Islam. They are presented to us daily under two familiar forms, which are directly accessible: "The Retaliation of the Nations of Asia upon those of Europe"; and "The Uncouth Bolshevism of the people of the Orient." Both cases are a new adaptation of Panislamism—re-edited with more or less appropriate documentary evidence. Before fully analyzing what the Moslems actually say and think, we must rapidly examine these common-places of Western public opinion, point out that they are *a priori* explanations produced purely and simply by our European brains, and that these projections of our Western state of mind only prevent us from looking clearly at the present evolution of Islam.

PANISLAMISM. This curious fiction is a romantic fancy, made popular in the West since the close of the eighteenth Century through the writings of several authors—chiefly Oriental Christians—from the Armenian Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1788), to the Greek Orthodox Savvas Pasha (1898). Having gravely compared the structure of the Moslem world to that of medieval Christianity, the *Ijmâ* of the Sunnite Ulemas to the Ecumenical Councils, and the Khalifat of the Sultan of Stamboul to the spiritual power of the Pope of Rome, they have, as Barthold and Nallino¹ admirably narrate, ended by introducing into the language of international diplomacy the idea of a "spiritual power" of the Ottoman Sultan (in his capacity as Khalif) an idea which, adroitly conceived² by the Count Saint-Priest on the occasion of the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774) was subsequently invoked in the formation of the treaties of 1909, 1912, etc., although such an idea is not only directly con-

¹Barthold, ap. Mir Islama, 1912. Nallino "Notes sur le prétendu Califat Ottoman, 1916." The only mistake in this title is the confusion of Califat with spiritual power. (Cf. infra p. 13.) There really is a legitimate Khalifate which is not "pretended."

²To save the Sultan's influence in the Crimea.

trary to the teachings of the Orthodox Moslem scholars, but also to the most obvious interests of the European powers which have helped it on at their own expense. This myth, adopted temporarily by the Turkish liberals in harmony with Abdul Hamid (constitution of 1876), did not bring to them the results they expected. They have abandoned it, while Sunnite Islam never accepted it.

The word "panislamism," formed like "pangermanism" and "panslavism," is a contradiction in terms. "Panislamism" does not exist any more than "pancatholicism" or "panbolshevism." There is an Islam, which is *a priori* international. Any properly instructed Moslem whatsoever, whether born in Java, Kazan or Fez, has the right—*ipso facto*—to exercise immediately certain canonical functions (*qadi, mufti, shahid, modarris, moh-tasib*) with the Moslem community, no matter what city of any other country he happens to be passing through, should the community call on him for that purpose. Historically the breaking up of the Islamic world into separate states has multiplied obstacles, paralyzing the official exercise of this extra-territorial semi-civicism, from whence result certain so-called panislamic manifestations.³ But the right thus invoked is no pretension; it is a result of the "Brotherhood Pact" which created Islam (the Day of Aqaba); it is the positive base of the Moslem Community as founded at Medina by Mohammed and maintained by Abu Bekr against the parochial claims of the Ansars (Day of the Saqifa).

This democratic notion of an equality in comradeship among all the Moslems, especially the *de jure* extra-territoriality of the educated Moslem, the lack of geographical limitation to the jurisdiction of the Ulemas, is primitive and fundamental. In no sense is it the result of the myth of a "Moslem Papacy," nor does it emanate from that imaginary "spiritual power" of which Abdul Hamid

³The Moslem political refugees arriving in Turkey were naturalized as Ottoman subjects *ipso facto*.

alone may have fondly dreamed, in the hope of influencing Moslem self-consciousness beyond his frontiers.

The positive and fundamental basis of the present Moslem claims is as follows: From earliest times the Moslems have been accustomed to consult their scholars, the *ulemas*, beyond their frontiers, on disputed points of doctrine and discipline. They claim the right of continuing to confer together that they may pass upon the "rule of ordinary life of the community." No state of siege, no press censorship, no internment at Malta or elsewhere, will ever be able seriously to hinder the exercise of this right, of this liberty of thinking together so that they may live together, as long as there are loyal and thoughtful Moslems in the world.

Thus, without very much surprise, we saw the British Government, after having interned during the war the director of the Indian paper, *The Comrade*, Mr Mohamed Ali, authorize him officially this winter to come to Europe at the head of the Indian Khilafat Delegation to expound freely the program of the Indian Moslem demands. This program⁴ compared carefully with the other demands prepared since 1916 by the chiefs of the Moslem communities shaken by the war—notably in Russia⁵—enables us to give below an inventory of the concrete elements of a Moslem policy which has real aims. We have noticed simultaneously three series of demands: those of race (national), of class (social) and of culture. The first two are secondary; the third alone is specifically Moslem. Let us first of all examine the first two.

THE MOSLEM XENOPHOBIA. In the race war which Germany wished to unchain in 1914, she counted for success particularly on the support of nationalist movements among the Moslem subjects of Russia, Great Britain and France—from Persia and India to Senegal. These peoples, who for the greater part remained loyal during the war, are now introduced to us as seething with nation-

⁴Cf. R.M.M. Vol. XXXIX, p. 22 ff.

⁵Congress of Oufa, 1918. Cf. the Egyptian, Syrian, Tunisian, Azerian and Persian programs.

alistic movements of hatred to foreigners *because they are Moslems*.

It is true that the principle of nationality (alias: "liberty of the people"—self-determination) imported more-over from abroad into Islam by the Westerners themselves, is more and more utilized and commented upon in Moslem centers; that the Moslems of various countries having gradually come under the control of administrative machinery foreign to them suffer increasingly therefrom; and that they see the remedy of the situation in the free election of a Chamber of representatives exercising in their name an effective control on the local legislation, justice and administration, and preparing the annual budget. But there is nothing specifically Moslem in this. And at the same time we must repeat that the excessive use of the principle of nationality by the Moslems, would be particularly pernicious to Islam. History shows that once before, during the tenth century, this principle of *Shu'ubism* contributed to the downfall of the Khalifate of Bagdad. And, at the present moment, there is a striking example of it; for in becoming too exclusively nationalistic in their views, and uninterested in Mecca, Jerusalem, Damascus and Constantinople, the Moslem chiefs of nationalistic Egypt are being drawn into the compromise which Portugal signed in 1703 with Lord Methuen: that of having their political independence guaranteed by Great Britain, at the price of complete economic subjection, depriving them henceforward of all Moslem international solidarity.

From a doctrinal point of view Islam is not hostile to foreigners. The Koran prescribes a holy war to the death only against those who worship idols, and permits the conclusion of definite understandings with monotheistic people, especially with the Christians and Jews. The Moslem States have even constantly given over to these latter certain professions indispensable to city life, viz. banking and finance and medicine. The Koran simply

warns the faithful not to mingle with these non-Moslem monotheists, and not to trust the Jews. The only shadow therefore of xenophobia to be found there would be an *antisemitism*: but this antisemitism is a precaution of a moral order and in no sense an economic demand (as in Christianity.) As a matter of fact Jews have always been kindly received in Moslem lands.

MOSLEM BOLSHEVISM. The intensive propaganda of social war which the Russian Bolshevists have engaged in since 1917 has worked directly against the European Colonizing Powers, by appealing to the Moslem inhabitants of their colonies. Great Britain more than any other colonizing people⁶ of the West recognizes this danger, for she, more than any other, plays the part of "capitalist" as regards the "proletariat" of the lands beyond the seas, which she utilizes as much for securing at reduced prices the raw materials she consumes as for selling at a sure profit the manufactured goods she wishes to export. India and Egypt are two examples of this, and their Moslem leaders are increasingly conscious of the fact.

It was therefore natural that little by little a political understanding should be reached in all the countries of European colonization between the socialist party (3rd International) of the metropolis and the local Moslem press. The same urgent necessity summons them: the duty of emancipating as soon as possible the proletariat of agricultural and mining laborers—chiefly composed of Moslems—from the distressing conditions into which the mechanical operation of Western economic enterprises keeps them.

They guarantee them gradual improvements—the right to strike, the reduction of working hours, the increase of wages and pensions. But in all this there is nothing specifically Moslem. The very principle of the "class war," and the whole Marxian proposition are contrary to the Moslem social structure. Ten centuries ago

⁶Germany, which through its heedless covetousness has been deprived of all colonial responsibilities, could inaugurate a friendly Moslem policy with much greater facility than the Allies.

the great communistic movement of the *Qarmatians*, who destroyed the Ka'bah, almost succeeded in disintegrating the Moslem community. And, as then happened, it may once more let loose those terrible struggles between peasants and townspeople, between bedouins and the artizans, in which Ibn Khaldun recognized, with great insight, the normal cause of the downfall of the principal Moslem States.

II

THE SHA'A'IR AL ISLAM: SOCIAL DEFENSE OF MOSLEM CIVILIZATION

Let us pass to the inner source of the demands of the various Moslem populations at the present time. In France where the racial nationalism has not taken on the aggressive character assumed in Germany—where Bolshevism does not excite the same hopes as in Russia, nor the same fears as in England—the Moslems expect (and justly we believe) to be given a better opportunity than anywhere else for self-expression, for making the world understand the guiding principles of their demands, and for expounding those arguments which the masses of the faithful in Islam hold to. What they desire above all is to be allowed the free exercise of their rules of ordinary life, as it is expressed in public and in private, the *sha'a'ir al Islam* or badge of Islam.

If they demand that we respect their alphabet, their languages, their schools, their press, and their academies, it is not so much because of their nationalism or xenophobia, as because of the way they have been brought up; because their fathers wish to transmit to their children this rule of ordinary life as a *viaticum* of immortality.

If they fight for the emancipation of the colonial proletariat, the agricultural and mining laborers—even though these latter do not form part of the movement—it is not because of socialism or communism, but because these laborers and these miners have in common with the other Moslems a compact of traditional religious brother-

hood, the canonical prescriptions of which they observe, often with greater fervor than the bourgeois themselves.

Let us then see from their point of view⁷ in what consists this badge of Islam, which they demand should at all costs be kept intact and respected throughout the modern world.

(a) EQUALITY AS CITIZENS. By this they mean that the Moslem, without forsaking his personal and family rights (polygamy, inheritance, contracts) be treated by all states as a citizen on a footing of equality with non-Moslems, in order that he also may gradually attain to the same civil equality which the Jews have finally succeeded in obtaining throughout the whole world. The political demands referred to above (revision of taxation, control of loans, encouragement of local industries) are one by one to be considered from this angle of social justice. Thus in Russia, the Moslem minority, admitted into citizenship without raising the question as to personal rights, is quietly becoming monogamous—an evolution which will not be helped by the dilemma which resulted from last year's experience in Algeria. The union should take place in the habits of the people before it is hallowed by the laws. If we start with this equality of treatment, first administrative, and later legal, the difficulties will disappear, the most troublesome of which is still the canonical prohibition of mixed marriages.

(b) RELIGIOUS AUTONOMY. The whole Moslem population of each country—known as the Moslem Community—should be recognized as a legal society, having the right to administer its own canonical affairs and to elect a corporate Council authorized to control, with the protection of the State and without improper intervention, all religious affairs, such as:

The Moslem schools (*maktab, madrasah*); deciding

⁷The details which follow are taken from the principal official memoranda presented since 1916 by the qualified Moslem delegations from Asia and Africa, and especially from the resolutions of the Turco-Tatarian Congress of Oufa, 1918.

⁸The wife may remain non-Moslem, but the husband and all the children must become Moslems. This rule is not expressly Koranic; and there might possibly be some mitigation.

their own pedagogical methods, reforms in language and writing, preparation of text-books, schedule of courses (primary, secondary, and higher); the establishment of new schools, libraries, and museums; and the publication of newspapers for the instruction of the community.

Koranic courts for all questions of personal rights, such as the examination of the qualifications of candidates for the positions of *qadi* and *mufti*, their promotion, and the organization by this Council of a Moslem Office for legal and advisory assistance, attached to the State Court of Appeal; Koranic-control of intemperance, usury and prostitution.

The control of public worship and religious foundations: the proper administration of property given for the maintenance of educational and benevolent institutions (*Habus, Awkaf*); the introduction of new assessments and the compulsory collection of the same for the above purposes;⁹ the celebration of feasts, and the observance of fasting; repairs to mosques, maintenance of cemeteries (and their inviolability); the establishment of benevolent societies and hospitals, and the recognition of the nomadic tribe as a responsible individual (against arbitrary expropriation).

(c) Participation in the government, with proportional aid therefrom. For example: if the absolute majority of a given district is Moslem, there should be a Moslem as the chief local administrator; if not, at least one official specially entrusted with Moslem affairs. And furthermore there should be a Moslem delegate, elected by the community, to defend its interests with the administration. In the general or local budget of Public Instruction, there should be a proportional amount assigned to the Moslem schools; the Moslem students should be given assurance that they will find in the other schools instruction in their own language and religion. Legal proceedings should be held in the language spoken by

⁹Islam does not admit of a complete separation of State and religious institutions; it requires the secular power.

Moslems or translated into it, if one of the parties (in the civil court) or the accused (in criminal cases) should be a Moslem; the judges should know how to speak and write this language if fifty per cent. of the population be Moslem.

III

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF THE KHALIFATE

Up to this point the demands do not differ, to any great extent, from those of corporate and religious bodies with which modern states have to deal, and which they have a vital interest in utilizing as a protection against the disintegrating propaganda of the anarchists. We now come to the last and most specifically Moslem demand: The complete independence of the Khalifate.

The Moslems are doubtless willing (and they have proved it) to be loyal subjects, and faithful citizens of foreign states; but, in order to have the assurance of the Divine mercy and to persevere patiently in the united observance of their faith, they need to know, to proclaim and to have it recognized that somewhere on this earth there is a Moslem chief whose authority comes from God alone,¹⁰ who maintains the prescribed rules intact and punishes illegal acts in accordance with the text of the Koran.¹¹ It is not at all necessary that they become his subjects; but they must pray for him in order that this permanent proof of the truth of their faith shall exist¹² on the earth visible to all: *a defender of the law*.¹³

Such is the deep meaning of the Khalifate for Islam past and present. As Adam was ordained Khalif of God on earth, as the first four Khalifs succeeded Mohammed, so there must always be in this world a *living proof* of Islam, an executive power that governs in accordance with the Koran, and that receives inspiration from the Councils of the Ulemas. It is not absolutely necessary to be

¹⁰There is no distinction between the spiritual and the temporal.

¹¹And with the example of Mohammed as the Koran states it.

¹²The "Hidden Imam" of the Shi'ites and the *Qutb* of the mystics are exaggerations and misrepresentations of this requirement.

¹³Defender, not aggressive conqueror. His character is essentially defensive, as for example the guardian of deposit.

placed under his direct orders; to obey him is not a compulsory duty such as the obedience required by the Koran for the five *fara'id*. Even for his own direct subjects the Khalif of the Sunnites is only an administrator who may be recalled, a guardian commissioned by the Community; he has neither legislative initiative (which belongs to the Koran alone), nor judicial authority (which belongs to the Ulemas.) He has merely a temporal executive power; he leads the public prayers (*Imam-as-salat*), and by legal sanctions, reminds the public of the respect due to the law. And this is sufficient in order that, in return, all sincere Moslems should pray for him publicly in the mosques.

Thus, very naturally, since all the other independent Moslem States have disappeared, the affection of the faithful in the Orient is concentrated on the one remaining sovereign who is still capable of filling the role of Khalif, the last "defender of the Law." And imperceptibly without the aid of any Turkish propaganda, and despite police persecutions, the name of the Sultan of Stamboul has been introduced in the Friday *Khutba* in the mosques; in Russia since the eighteenth century, in Turkestan for one hundred years, and in India for fifty years. This, moreover, expresses no immediate desire for political submission to the Ottoman Government.

Attempts have been made to discover in this demand for the complete independence of the Khalifate an evolution of Islam towards the Christian theory of "spiritual power,"¹⁴ an imitation of the Papacy. Nothing of the kind. And the delegates from India replied admirably to Mr. Lloyd George on the 19th of last March that the Khalif is not a "Pope at the Vatican," still less a "Pope at Avignon"; that he cannot be vaticanized and that nothing can be served by drawing analogies from other religions to tear asunder and devitalize Islam by means of distinctions between the "temporal and spiritual," or "Church and

¹⁴See above, page 2, 3.

State."¹⁵ Islam needs to know that there is somewhere on earth a Moslem sovereign, absolutely free, whose power of being "rightly guided" depends on God alone.¹⁶ This is all. The name to be given him "*Khalif, imam, amir al-mu'minin, or mahdi,*" is of secondary importance.

Who can this sovereign be, and where should he reside? At the moment when the Moslem policy of the Allies, directed by Lord Kitchener, was striking at Turkey (1915), England believed that it was possible to find eventually a Khalif in the Sherif Hussein, at Mecca. He was an Arab, a descendant of the prophet, and the guardian of the holy cities: he became temporarily, while awaiting something better, the King of the Hejaz.

After four years of experience it does not appear that his popularity with the Moslems has greatly increased. Not that he has lacked personal qualities; he scrupulously defended Islam in the Hejaz against indiscreet encroachments and demands for concessions during these years of military cooperation with the Allies, where he had neither the initiative of operations, nor the choice of means. He has understood thoroughly, on the other hand, that his principal chance, besides the scrupulous guardianship of strict orthodoxy, lay in the traditional attachment of the Arabs of Mesopotamia to the descendants of the Prophet. But at this point he ran against the lack of intelligence and the hostility of the Anglo-Indian Government; and now when the more comprehensive point of view of Lord Allenby seems to be discussed in London for Mesopotamia (Sherif Abdallah) it is perhaps too late.

Deprived of an adequate base of operations, and surrounded by competitors in Arabia, the king of the Hejaz, has had to renounce formally all pretention to the Khalifate,¹⁷ and if the other Moslem countries persist in

¹⁵See the official account—Indian Khilafat Delegation Publications III, p. 7; IV, p. 9; II, p. 5; I, p. 6.

¹⁶It is therefore impossible to make him renounce in advance the prayers which the Moslems would offer in his name, beyond his frontiers, although art. 139 of the San Remo scheme seems to propose this very thing.

¹⁷In 1917-1918 he wished to take the title not of *amir al mu'minin*, but the more explicit one *Imam al Haramain*—leader of prayer in the two holy cities, as he stated in a solemn proclamation in which uniting with the moderate Shi'ism of the Zaidites (his old adversaries of Yemen) he had to announce the definite downfall of the Khalifate.

refusing to recognize him so long as he does not put himself once more under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Khalif, he is menaced with having either to submit or to abdicate. Great Britain, by compelling him in January, 1919, to surrender his Indian guest, Maulana Mahmoud Hassan Sahib, of Deoband (the representative at Medina of the association of the "Servants" of the Ka'bah', and a respected Ulema) in order to intern him in Malta, has greatly discredited the king of the Hejaz in the eyes of the Indian Moslems.

It has also been repeated a little too often, since 1916, that the Arabian king would serve as a counterpoise to the Ottoman Sultan. Such is at least Lord Curzon's policy of balance which certain Italo-British writers advise the League of Nations to adopt in regard to Islam. Nallino, on this point, gave a glimpse of what Insabatto has developed,¹⁸ i. e. the theory that it is to the "interest" of the Western Powers to support a single Arabian Khalifate—Qoreishite and Meccan—whose chief, held at their discretion in the Hejaz, would be conveniently utilized by them as an extra-territorial arbiter. He would, when requested, regulate in Mecca the administrative litigations which might arise between them and the Moslems of their colonies, since, as Insabatto remarks, with a Machiavellian touch, the temporal executive power of the Khalif would suffice, in accordance with the Moslem law, to start the whole movement of administrative reforms, whereas in the West these reforms are only obtained at the price of a revolution.

All this makes clear the intensity of the reproaches which the great majority of the non-Arabic Moslems have directed against the king.¹⁹ They blame him for having been the cat's paw for the enemies of Islam, for having smitten it to the very heart at Mecca by his revolt of May 30th, 1916, in order that they might strike it on the head

¹⁸Cf. R.M.M. XXXVIII p. 262.

¹⁹Very unjustly, for he saw plainly that in face of the heresies of Union and Progress he had to guard Moslem Orthodoxy scrupulously, and be much more conservative than the Ottoman Sultan.

by occupying Stamboul (March 16, 1920); for having mobilized against it (Islam) the nationalist spirit of the Arabs—while the Turks suffered passively for it. Indians, Malays, and Persians agree on this point, as do also—among the Arab-Moslems—the Egyptians and Tunisians. Finally the Moslems of Russia speak of boycotting for a period of ten years the pilgrimage to the Hejaz, as long as the king reigns there.

In revenge, this same Moslem majority is determined to continue to consider the Ottoman Sultan as the only legitimate Khalif and to keep his name in the Friday *Khotba*.²⁰ They consider that, thanks to him, the Turkish peasant has been more profoundly Islamized in his daily life than the Arab nomads. But they admit that, if necessary, the deposition and replacement of the Turkish Khalif might be considered, if the nationalist intolerance of his pan-Turanian advisors should continue to provoke the Arabs to schism, and if the moral corruption of his statesmen should bring to a head the foreign intervention in the material and intellectual inheritance of the Moslem East.

Under these circumstances it seems that the less European States interfere in this quarrel among the Moslems, the better it will be for the whole world. The key of the question of the balance of power is found in Mesopotamia. If the *Khutba* is recited in Bagdad as it is already recited in Damascus on behalf of *amir al-mu'minin* Hussein—the Ottoman Khalif will still be threatened with deposition, and the loyalty of Islam be divided for a time between two camps, as has happened before.²¹

The social reorganization of Islam as an international community moreover is only just beginning. The great movement for Moslem unity inaugurated forty years ago by Seyid Jamal ad-Din al Afghâni,²² is going on and

²⁰It is well known that whereas the name of the Sherif Hussein was recited in the *Khutba* on the Syrian coast at the close of 1918, now in February, 1920, the name of the Ottoman sultan is once more recited.

²¹Notably from 657 to 660 (Ali and Mo'awiyah); the acts of the two contemporary titularies are considered equally valid (Hanbalites, Karamites.) This solution is the rule among the Zeidites.

²²Cf. R.M.M. XII 561 ff. XXII 181 ff.

extending, thanks to the writers known as Salafiyah. From all parts a sustained effort can be traced, directed not only towards the fusion of the four Sunnite legal schools, but also towards a reconciliation between the Sunnites, Shi'ites, Wahhabites, Khârijites, and even the Ismaelians and the Sikhs, to be accomplished through a simplification of the law and a return to the Koran. But in dogma and in teaching this agreement will come slowly; it will probably only be realized after a conference between the different national congresses of the 'Ulemas such as function in India and Russia; or perhaps through an international Moslem congress such as the late Gasprinsky Bey proposed.²³ And it is this congress in the last resort, which would settle the dispute regarding the Khalifate which is now pending between the Arabs and Turks. Thus Islam would return to its original consultative principles, to the elective Shurâ, abandoned in 680 by Mo'awiyah.

IV

THE DAR-AL-ISLAM.

The question of the "place of residence" of the Khalif brings us face to face with the last concrete case to be considered here, viz., that of specifically Moslem territory (opposed to the "Dar-al-harb," or pagan country, where the Mohammedan cannot live in peace, and should not enter save to fight idolatry). It comprises four distinct categories: forbidden, reserved, canonical, and unredeemed territory.

(a) The *forbidden territory*: land on which no non-Moslem is allowed openly to set his foot, under the penalty of death. This comprises the Holy Places and their sacred surroundings, *Haram*. There are four such principal places: Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Hebron, to which the Sunnite Indians add, on the demand of the Shi'ites, the "sacred tombs" of Nedjef, Kerbelâ, Kazmain, Samara and Bagdad. These forbidden areas are

²³Cf. R.M.M. III 498, 545, IV 100, 151, V 173, XVIII 216. It appears very improbable that this congress could ever coincide at Mecca with the canonical pilgrimage, as the partisans of the Qoreishite Khalifate wish.

of various dimensions. They may be only a rock enclosed by a railing (as the sakhra at Jerusalem), or an open space surrounded with chains (Hebron, Kerbela, Kazmain), or a group of mosques. The Haram of Mecca and of Medina, however, have been gradually enlarged by the growth of intolerance²⁴ to include not only the adjacent zone within which the pilgrims must put on the "ihram," but almost the whole of the Arabian peninsula (except the interior of the Yemen, where Jews are still tolerated). The bickerings about Europeans and the consuls, penned up in Jiddah,²⁵ are well known; and even during the war England had in 1917 to give up a landing of troops at Yanbo, as originally planned, and the non-Moslem allied officers (English and French) were only permitted to travel in the interior of the country one by one and for a short time, beyond the limits of Jiddah, Yanbo, Wejh and Akaba.

(b) The *reserved territory*: that is, the "territory over which it is an article of the Moslem faith that no political control by any foreign power can be tolerated." The great majority of Moslems place in this category, first of all, *Constantinople*, the predestined capital of the Khali-fate—a conquest promised to a Moslem chief as a blessing and a guarantee of orthodoxy by very ancient prophetic traditions.²⁶ The few who favor the Arabian Khalifate (with its seat in Mecca) require as a minimum the "neutralization" of Constantinople.

In the second place the Moslems consider as reserved territory certain countries where Islam has ruled continuously as a sovereign power. Those who uphold the Indian school, in accordance with the authorized opinion of Dr. M. A. Ansari, issued in Delhi, 1918, limit geographically this term to the "Jazirat al Arab," i.e. Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Certain pro-Hejaz Egyptians, like M. S. Arafâtî, basing their statements on the history of the Mohammedan conquest,

²⁴Cf. R.M.M. XXXVIII p. 84. The rule is not due to any injunction of the Prophet.

²⁵Such as the affair of the "Tomb of Eve."

²⁶Notably in the Sahih of Muslim in the ninth century of our era.

give the name of Dar-al-Islam to the whole of the countries conquered "under the first four Khalifs," thus adding to those mentioned above, Persia, Egypt, possibly Afghanistan and Cyrenaica.

It will be noticed that the Powers seem to accept the principle of the first statement. The establishment, however, of a Jewish home in Palestine will be difficult to reconcile with the second. The Hejaz alone appears up to this point to have been treated as "Reserved Territory" (Treaty of San Remo).

(c) *The canonical territory*: that is, the territory where the Moslem is obliged openly to observe his religion without dissimulation. The present usage considers as canonically Moslem countries, every region where the Moslem population, even though in the minority, is compact enough to have arranged for the public observance of their rules of ordinary life, and sufficiently active to have had the authorities, when non-Moslem, enact that the observance of the five canonical and compulsory duties of a Moslem be officially respected. Thus in all epochs there have been countries which were not politically Moslem, but which were recognized centers of Moslem social life; such as Gujerat from the eighth to the thirteenth century, Constantinople during the last years of the Greek Empire, the Crimea since 1774, Abyssinia and Yunnan since 1873, Kansu since 1879, Dobroudja and Thessaly since 1878, Uganda and Bosnia since 1909, and, according to certain *fatwas* obtained by Hunter and Léon Roches, British India and French Algiers since their occupation.

(d) *The unredeemed territory*. This last claim, however impractical it may appear, must also have a place here. To the eyes of the sincere believer, all lands previously occupied by Islam where there are still centers of public worship, erected for canonical prayer, remain "Moslem Lands" (cemeteries, etc.) Such are Budapest, Monastir and Silistria for the old Moslems of Stamboul;

such was Kazan from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, as long as persecution prevented the renovation of the mosques and the public calling of the *âdhân*. This feeling for the unredeemed land is a fact. It not only inspires the poets with persistent sorrow for the loss of Andalusia, the Balearic Isles, Sicily and Crete, but also the categoric reply of *non possumus* given by all Islam to the suggestion of an eventual restitution (even archaeological) of ancient churches or synagogues subsequently changed into mosques: the tombs of Hosea and Ezekiel in Iraq, the mosque of Abu 'l-Hajjaj at Luxor, of Nabi Daniel at Alexandria, ancient churches in Tunis, Saint Sophia at Constantinople, the Temple (Sakhra) and the Cenacle—(Nabi Daud) in Jerusalem, have all during these last few years in various degrees been the occasion of an important exchange of views.

We believe that these are the lines on which the Moslems intend to act in social matters at the present moment. It would indeed be possible to bring to a successful issue certain discussions now agitating on the surface a part of the Moslem world, by simply taking advantage of race or clan hostilities (a pro-Arab or pro-Turkish policy), or of class animosity (a *makhzen* or *siba* policy). But such an attempt to gain a momentary political equilibrium is artificial and self-destructive. The time has come, especially in France, to make further progress. A really effective Moslem policy must face the question here and now how the peculiar phases of Moslem social life can adapt themselves in the near future to the modern world, since they refuse to pass out of existence; and must consider up to what point the protection of our Western social order will permit of cooperation with the Moslems in the defence of their own culture, of their rule of ordinary life, and of that which has been handed down to them as believers. France, who was the first to give the right of citizenship to the Jews, owes it to herself to take, when the moment comes, the same initiative for Islam.

Paris, June, 1920.

LOUIS MASSIGNON.

OUR METHOD OF JUDGING ISLAM

Religion has, and must necessarily have, relation to the total conditions of life—the stage of culture and civilization reached. Accordingly, even if the saying that each people had the religion best suited for it had ever been true, it can be true no longer; for the changes in those conditions for all the peoples, with few exceptions, are so many and rapid, that only a religion which had quite an exceptional capacity for adaptation could hold its own. As, owing to geographical exploration, mechanical invention, scientific discovery—with their consequences in the industry, commerce and intercourse of the nations, the conditions are more and more tending to become the same, it is evident that the religion which would fulfil the requirement of being entirely satisfactory, must needs be a religion which can adapt itself to the culture and civilization which are spreading throughout the world, and which if not yet dominant, are affecting even the nations which are coming into any contact with European peoples. As isolation of life is becoming less and less possible, so different religions for different peoples are proving less and less practicable. One culture and one civilization for the world will also demand one religion; and the satisfactoriness or otherwise of any claimant for that position must be determined by its adaptability to the most exacting demands which the total conditions of life may make. Even if a savage found full satisfaction in Animism, or a semi-civilized man in Islam, that does not prove that either Animism or Islam could meet the needs of civilized man. Mankind is moving as a whole towards a stage in its development which will antiquate religions which hitherto have had a relative right to existence as practicable in a transitory phase of human thought and life. We need not make abstract comparisons of religions as

they are represented in their sacred scriptures to discover defects or excellencies. What we have to ask is this question: As the world is now developing, is there a religion which will not be left behind, but can keep step with its progress?

It is in this way that the problem of Christianity in relation to Islam must be approached. There are two considerations which make this problem of special significance. First of all, Islam is in many parts of the world the most formidable *rival* which Christianity has to meet among the barbarous and semi-civilized peoples; and it is a rival, and not a *herald*, for the assumption that Islam could prepare the way for Christianity has no justification. Secondly, of all the great world-religions, Islam alone has from the beginning been a *supplanter* of Christianity. Mohammed was in contact with Jews and Christians, and he established his religion to supplant Judaism and Christianity, and in many lands Islam has succeeded as a supplanter. It is true that his knowledge of both was imperfect, and that he came in contact with corrupt forms of both. Had he known the Christ of the New Testament, would he have claimed to be the prophet of Allah with absolute authority? Be that as it may, this serious consideration confronts us, that Islam has proved a rival which can command success. The contest between the Cross and the Crescent is thus a critical and crucial contest; and it has an interest and importance that no other contact of Christianity with another religion can command. In what way can we judge Islam so as to determine what the issue of the conflict should be?

As man is rational, æsthetic and moral as well as religious, a religion must show *intellectual adequacy*, *aesthetic attractiveness*, *moral efficacy* as well as *religious satisfaction* for the man who has reached the highest stage of human development hitherto attained, if it is to prove its claim to become the world-religion. How does Islam meet these tests?

It has this in common with Christianity as at least an

initial qualification, that it is *monotheistic* and opposed to *idolatry*. Pluralism may be regarded as a philosophical freak; for if the modern mind is to have any belief in the divine, it can believe only in one God in all, through all, and over all; polytheism cannot survive with modern science and philosophy. Whatever may be said in favor of the sacramental principle—the material as the symbol or channel of the spiritual—idolatry is no longer tolerable as a mode of worship. Hence, if Christianity is not to forfeit its claim in comparison with Islam, it must be on its guard to maintain a strict monotheism, and to abstain from all idolatry. The unity of the Godhead must be rigidly asserted, and the belief in God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit must not be allowed to sink to a tritheism—as in popular thought and speech it often does. As the word "*person*" has now misleading associations, and has lost the meaning it had when used by the framers of the creeds, the missionary must exercise great care both in his own thought and his teaching in the use of that terminology. This is not the occasion for an exposition of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity; but it can, I believe, be so given as to preserve monotheism, and (what is very important for the missionary) to correct the defects of Islamic monotheism. For Islam, God is a solitary being, and has not in Himself the promise and potency of relationship, love, society; and as man's personality is social, and cannot be conceived in isolation, the God of Islam cannot be conceived as fully personal. For Islam, the relation of God to the world is external and arbitrary, for He is by the necessity of His nature transcendent, and cannot be thought of as immanent. (Pantheism and mysticism are repugnant to orthodox Islam.) Hence, man is placed in relation to God as creature, subject, or even slave, and not as son; and the Incarnation has been misrepresented as ascribing a carnal relation to God. The doctrine of the Trinity harmonizes divine transcendence and divine immanence, and so meets a demand both of modern thought and of the religious

consciousness. The character of God suffers in consequence of the conception of the divine nature and relations. Whatever of moral and spiritual content Christian thought can put into the name *Father*, is necessarily absent from Islam. God is absolute and tyrannical will, and even His mercy has no moral content. There is a superseded type of Christian theology to which Islamic theology has some resemblance; but what the missionary must preach is the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It must be recognized that the two distinctive Christian doctrines—the Trinity and the Incarnation—present the greatest difficulty to the mind of Moslems, and that both can be so presented in a crude form as to justify their opposition. Nevertheless, Christian theology can so expound both doctrines as to correct the defects of Islamic, and to exhibit the excellencies of Christian monotheism. Here must the issue in theology be met, if Christianity is to win Islam.

A detailed comparison of other doctrines is not necessary, as this article does not aim at being exhaustive, only suggestive, and must be limited to the points of primary significance. The comparison of the two religions as regards their æsthetic attractiveness must also for this reason be passed over; and we must turn to the question of *moral efficacy*. A comparison of moral codes, and even of moral practices, would not go to the root of the matter. The true test is this—what is the judgment of sin, and what is the standard of holiness? As has been just indicated, the conception of the character of Allah is defective; and it needs no proof to those who know the facts that the character of Allah's prophet, Mohammed himself, does not afford so excellent an example as would compensate for that defect. Christ enjoins on His disciples to be perfect, as the Father in heaven is perfect; and the divine perfection which He reveals in the Father is holy love, a perfection as communicative as it is complete. He himself realizes under human conditions and within human limitations as the perfect Son, the perfec-

tion of the Father. Be it observed that here the moral demand and the religious relation form an absolute harmony. As culture and civilization advance, the progress of human morality has been, it will be fully conceded, towards the Christian ideal of holy love, and not towards the restricted code of laws which Islam prescribes. The standard of holiness will determine the judgment of sin. Hence, the religion in which the holy love of God is revealed is also the religion which requires and provides for mankind an atonement for sin. Such belief in atonement as there is in the heretical Shi'ite form of Islam indicates a human need which the orthodox Mohammedan theology does not meet; but it does not come into comparison as regards moral significance with the Christian doctrine of the Cross. An exposition of the Christian doctrine cannot here be expected of me, and probably such exposition as I might offer might not command the assent of all readers. But enough common ground there is for all Christian believers to warrant the Christian missionary in affirming that God as revealed in Christ takes sin so seriously that only by the sacrifice of His Son could He save man from sin, and that Christian believers take sin so seriously that in accepting Christ's sacrifice they die unto sin that they may live unto God. It need hardly be urged with what care the doctrine of the atonement must be expounded in order that none of its moral efficacy may be lost. If Paul himself feared that his exposition of grace might lead to the misunderstanding, "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?" (Romans vi. 1) how much care must we ever exercise so as not to make the Christ of none effect. Islam does not stimulate a human conscience which demands an atonement for sin, and so does not provide the atonement which alone meets the demand.

While it is here that the moral test must be applied, yet we may now turn, and ask, What do the moral code and practice of Islam prove in respect of moral efficacy? There are three questions we may ask: What sins has this

religion moral insight enough to condemn, and moral power enough to prevent? What sins does it condemn without preventing? What sins does it not condemn nor prevent, but even approve? A merit which is sometimes claimed for Islam in comparison with Christianity is that it forbids the use of intoxicating liquors. We need not grudge it what praise it deserves on this account. But we must press the question, Does it always prevent the use of what it condemns? The answer that candid Mohammedans have given is that it does not. We may further ask, Is a negative prohibition morally most efficacious? Even if it does prevent one evil, does it promote moral progress? Christians must be ashamed of the drunkenness which disgraces countries nominally Christian. They must lament that even many who make a Christian profession are lax in their practice in this respect. But on the other hand it may be maintained that no man who is really filled with the spirit will be drunken with wine, and that the Christian motives for total abstinence which are urged in the most advanced Christian circles, namely, complete self-control and scrupulous regard for others, have a higher moral value than a negative prohibition alone can have.

Where Islam dominates a society, there three moral evils prevail, polygamy, slavery and religious persecution; and of these three evils we may say that this religion does not condemn them, and does not merely tolerate them, but even approves them. In fairness to Islam we may consider all that can be said in defense. Polygamy and slavery at a certain social development had a relative justification. It was better that several women should as wives be under the protection of one man than be exposed to lustful violence, because not so protected. It was better that an enemy should be enslaved than slaughtered. But the social conditions were savage in which both institutions arose, and with the passage of those conditions, both became a moral offence. While Islam did not invent either institution, it has perpetuated both; the

regulation of both in the Koran has given them an enduring place in Mohammedan society. Not only so, but in the Moslem conception of man's relation to God, and the consequent relation of men to one another, there is no principle such as there is in Christianity, which must lead inevitably to their abolition. This is the truth and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that He did not by regulation of social institutions secure for them a permanent validity in His religious community, but by laying down principles of a permanent and universal authority He provided for a progressive morality in a developing society. Christendom is not free from the reproach of religious persecution, but both by precept and practice Mohammed gave to the *Jihad*, or religious war, an approval and commendation that the Christian Scriptures do not give. These must suffice as samples of the moral defects of Islam. The condition of Moslem lands to-day is the judgment of history on its inferiority to Christianity when and where practice conforms to profession.

Turning now to the religious satisfaction which Islam in comparison with Christianity may afford, we must remind ourselves that in addition to offering a world-view in its theology, and a guide to life in its ethics, there are especially two needs of the soul of man which a religion should meet, and these are suggested in Hebrews xi. 1 as the functions of faith: "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen"—a statement which we may paraphrase thus: faith makes the future as certain as the present, and the invisible as real as the visible. A religion, to satisfy fully, must make God real and immortality certain, but the *value* of that satisfaction will depend on the *quality* of the fellowship with God given, and of the hope for the hereafter offered, and also on the relation of thought between the fellowship and the hope. The fellowship which man has with God, as Islam conceives Him, is and cannot be anything else than submission; man must accept whatever God appoints. Such submission need not be slavish or ignoble: its motive

need not be fear alone, or its result mere passivity. Calvinism also demanded such submission, and it made strong and worthy men; but Calvinism could put a content into its conception of God that Islam cannot. Nevertheless while submission to God is an essential element of religion, and much piety to-day is ineffective because it lacks this element, it is not the whole of religion. What Christianity offers is an intimate, personal communion of the believer with God in Christ, which as it exercises so it also satisfies the whole personality. It is God, the ultimate cause, the final purpose, the infinite and eternal reality, to whom man is related; and as God is revealed as holy love, it is God as complete and communicative perfection whom man has as his highest good, giving meaning and worth to all other goods which are His gift. It is also God *in Christ*, and so God as man, God invested with all the truth and grace, the kindness, tenderness, helpfulness, forbearance and forgiveness present in the historical reality of Jesus Christ. How close and full can be the fellowship with God in Christ, and how satisfying!

However highly the Moslem may value Mohammed as prophet, or even as intercessor, there can be no counterpart in Islam to this distinctive Christian experience, of which Paul may be taken as a typical instance. Not in all who confess Christ as Saviour and Lord does this experience in all its fullness become actual; but, possible it is for all in some measure, allowing for all natural differences which do condition even the spiritual life. All that a perfect human friendship could offer is taken up into the perfect divine communion. Neither apart from the other might, but both together do give this perfect satisfaction which religion seeks. And this religious satisfaction is also morally satisfying, for in it alone is found the moral motive, the moral power, and the moral end, which alone suffice for the fullest and freest development of the finest and strongest moral personality. God's companions progress towards perfection in their

communion with Him who is the eternal reality of all perfection.

Because this life with God is also life in the eternal reality, it is already *eternal life*; it has the promise and the potency of immortality, for it has that quality which deserves and assures continuance. The belief in a future life may have no moral and religious value, if the life, the continuance of which is expected, has not moral and religious value. While the Moslem's expectation of Paradise may sustain and even inspire him in the *Jihad*, and the dread of torments might restrain him from evil doing, it cannot be said that what the Koran has to say about the future life has its roots in religious experience, or its fruits in moral character, that it has a quality which will cleanse and hallow this present life. The hope rests on the Prophet's words alone, and has not its inward confirmation in the Moslem's heart, as has the Christian's who lives in fellowship with the Son of God, who died, rose again and liveth for evermore, who as the first-fruits of them that sleep is already a foretaste of the coming glory. Even if sometimes popular Christian hymns have used the figurative language of Scripture to give a sensuous conception of the future life, yet they do not make an appeal to sensuality as do Koranic descriptions of the joys of Moslem warriors in Paradise, which the majority of Mohammedans will take literally and not figuratively, and which Mohammed, being what he was, probably meant to be taken literally, for as he yielded to his own passions, so he was not above using the passions of man for his own purposes. When we penetrate beneath the figurative language of our Scriptures, we find that the future life has a moral and religious quality, worthy as a gift of holy love. To be with Christ, to see Christ as He is, to become like Him—even if we recognize the inadequacy of all human language in regard to what God has prepared for those who love Him—these are aspirations which will purify and prepare the human personality for perfection.

I have offered these illustrations—and they seem to me to include all that is primary and essential in the presentation of the Gospel—as to the judgment of Islam in comparison with Christianity in order to suggest subjects and methods of thought to my brethren whose privilege it is to labor and wait for the triumph of the Cross over the Crescent. I do not presume to instruct them how to speak to Moslems, for they have, as I have not, practical experience of what to give and what to withhold so that they may get the points of contact and the lines of least resistance for their hearers. As one who sets all his constructive efforts in theology on the content of the comparative study of religions, it is my hope that I may have made a contribution, however small, to that co-operation between Christian theologians at home and Christian missionaries abroad, which is urgently demanded by the interests of the Kingdom of God in the world.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

New College, London, England.

TURKISTAN--A NEGLECTED MISSION FIELD

As in the sphere of daily life, so also in the higher sphere of missionary calling and choice, there seems to be an unexplained "something" which makes for love or for indifference: some mission fields attract and inspire to heroic deeds, others are "passed by"—and this seems to be the case with Turkistan.

I have often wondered—and lately felt the burden of it on my heart—that Turkistan should seem so undesirable and remain uncoveted by friends of missionary enterprise. Who of my readers has ever seen the vision and heard the call of that field? And yet no one will deny, that it was included in the sweeping Kingly command to "go into all the world." It is with the purpose of bringing Turkistan before the readers of "The Moslem World" that these lines have been written, and with the prayer that when the patient reader shall have emerged from the geography, history, ethnography, and the description of the religious and social life of Turkistan, the Lord God would make this, seemingly dry, material to appeal to him, illuminating it with a spark of fire from above.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

(See map facing page ii.)

The whole territory occupied by what is known as Russian Central Asia, or Russian Turkistan, covers an area larger than former Austria and Germany, France, Italy and Denmark put together. It consists of the five Governorships: Syr-Darya, Ferghana, Semiryetchinsk, Samarkand, and the Transcaspian Region, and the two vassal states: the Khanats of Bokhara and of Khiva. All these together form an irregularly-shaped triangle, whose base lies in the north, and measures from east to west about 1,500 miles. It lies between $38^{\circ} 40'$ and $47^{\circ} 35'$ North latitude—the same latitude as Spain, South

of France, Italy, Greece, Anatolia, etc., and from $56^{\circ} 20'$ to $72^{\circ} 50'$ east of Greenwich. The natural limits of Turkistan are the Caspian and Aral Seas on the west, the steppes of the Provinces of Tourgay, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk on the north, that of Semiryetchinsk on the east. As all these provinces belong to Russia, these boundaries have no political but purely administrative interest. The easternmost point of Turkistan touches Mongolia (formerly part of China). The southern frontier lies along Chinese Turkistan or Kashgaria, passes south of the Pamir to Kafirstan, and on over high mountain-chains north of Afghanistan to the river Amou-Darya, from there directly west through the desert, crosses the Mourg-ab and goes along the Heriroud to Sserachs. Here Persia begins, and the frontier follows the mountain-chain of the Kopet-Dagh till it reaches the Caspian Sea. This mountainous frontier protects Russian Central Asia from attacks from the south, but also shuts her off from free intercourse with Afghanistan, China, and India.

The relief of Turkistan is extremely varied: Snow-covered mountain-chains whose peaks tower up to 24,000 feet, mountain plateaus like the Pamir at a height of 15,000 feet, delightful forests and meadows, fruitful well-watered stretches of agricultural land and bleak sandy deserts: on the whole the northwest and north consist of low land, the east and south of fertile land sloping up towards the mountain chains that fill practically all South and East Turkistan. The center of these eastern mountain chains lies in the Tyan-Shan, from which the different chains branch out due north and northwest, filling nearly all of Ferghana, and due west into the Khanat of Bokhara. All these chains slope down rather abruptly, and lose themselves between the 70th and 65th meridian in the steppes. The Pamir occupy a position by themselves: a high plateau between towering mountain chains covered with eternal snow. In the southern and western parts of Turkistan we have some ranges

branching out from the Hindo-Koush, Parapameze, Kopet-Dagh and from the Caucasian Elbrouss group.

The whole of the Turkistan lowlands, having once been at the bottom of the sea, some of its parts are found to be 45 feet below the Caspian Sea, which is itself 80 feet below sea-level. These lowlands are extremely varied in their aspect: In the Trans-Caspian region and in some parts of Syr-Darya, Samarkand and Bokhara we have the dreaded sand-deserts, filled with long ranges of either fixed or moving sand dunes (barkhans), without springs or vegetation; they are called according to their coloring: Kara-Koum (Black Sands) or Kizil-Koum (Red Sands); next follow the sand steppes, which in spring are covered with gay flowers, but after May present the picture of desolation; big areas of lowlands, thanks to some river or lake, are covered with grass, and serve as pastures for the nomad Kirghiz. Here begins the fringe of the fertile land which consists of "loess" or organic dust of decayed vegetation, blown down from the forest-covered hills and deposited mostly along the river banks; this soil is extraordinarily fertile and gives crops of astonishing percentage. As everywhere, so here, life depends on water, and here even more so, as the climate is very dry and the rain falls only during the winter months. Again: the rivers, descending from high mountains, are very swift and overflow when the snow thaws, and with the exception of a few, dry up early in summer and late in autumn. The scarcity of water is one of the reasons why millions of acres of land which might be put under cultivation, lie waste. The lack of a regular and sufficient rainfall and the scarcity of rivers have from time immemorial forced the aborigines to resort to artificial irrigation by sluices and a system of canals called "aryks": right and left the big arteries take the water out of the rivers, and leave them often so much drained that they either disappear in the sandy plains or in some stagnant lake. Only two rivers reach the Aral Sea in full flood—the Amou-Darya and

Syr-Darya: they are indeed the feeding mothers of Turkistan. The Amou-Darya begins on the Pamir heights, passes through the wild mountain regions of East Bokhara, where two or three rivers flow into it; then it flows west and northwest, forming the frontier of the Khanat of Bokhara with Afghanistan; turning north it flows through the Province of Syr-Darya, forming at the same time the eastern limit of the Khanat of Khiva, and loses itself, broad, muddy and majestic in a large delta, flowing into the Aral Sea. The Amou-Darya is the only river in Turkistan on which steamers ply. A military flotilla, at the service of the public, maintains communication with the frontier fortresses of Termaze, Kherky and Kelif near Afghanistan, and with Khiva. The second large river, the Syr-Darya, has its origin in the mountain ranges of the Tyan-Shan. It consists of two swift streams which in Ferghana unite into the Syr-Darya; passing through the lowlands and steppes of the province of like name, having served to irrigate about one million acres of land, the river ends in the Aral Sea.

Another river, the Zaravshan, descends from the mountains of East Bokhara, and after having given life to 350,000 acres of land, in Bokhara as well as in the Province of Samarkand, loses itself in a small lake. The river Tchirtchik irrigates the land around Tashkent. The rivers Mourg-ab and Tedjen flow down from Afghanistan into Turkomania, and are made serviceable by a number of sluices and *aryks*. The seas are: the Caspian Sea which tends to diminish by evaporation; the Aral Sea, and the lakes of Balkash, Ala-Koul and Issykh-Koul in the eastern part of Turkistan.

THE CLIMATE of Turkistan is one of the driest in the world: even the great rainfall in the mountains is not sufficient to give humidity to the air, overheated as it is by the torrid heat of the endless deserts and sand steppes over which it passes. More than eight times as much is evaporated as comes down by rainfall: if it were not for the belt of glaciers in the east and south, Turkistan

would long ago have been transformed into a lifeless desert. As elsewhere, the continental climate brings with it a great difference between winter and summer, and day and night temperature. The dry heat is comparatively easy to bear, and free perspiration makes sunstrokes of rare occurrence. The thermometer reaches from 135 to 155 Fahr. and eggs can easily be baked in the sand. The winds, although mostly from the north, sweep over the Kara-Koum and Kizil-Koum steppes, and thus get heated and bring no relief. The famous cloudless blue sky of Turkistan is due to the fact that the winds absorb the humidity of the soil, and being warmed, do not form clouds. We give here some of the records for several of the larger towns during a period of five years.

	<i>Mean Temperature</i>	<i>Summer Temperature</i>	<i>Lowest Temperature</i>
Tashkent	57 Fahr.	89	66
Khodjent	55 Fahr.	106	61
Namangan	50 Fahr.	86	54
Osh (3,500 ft. high)....	48 Fahr.	95	61
Kazalinsk	41 Fahr.	89	66

THE FLORA of Turkistan varies greatly according to the difference of soil, height and climate. We have the flora of the sand steppes, of the clay steppes, and of the river-belt: brushwood, poplars, tamarisks; of the mountain slopes: sub-Alpine and Alpine. The forests which cover the mountain-slopes up to 9,000 feet consist of elm, oak, rhododendron, juniper, hazel, almond, pistachio, wild prune; higher up there are fir trees. The Pamir have no trees except willows and tamarisks, but luxuriant pastures where the Kara-Kirghiz feeds his immense flocks. There are numberless flowers, from the blood-red tulips and anemones which cover the sand steppes in spring, to the rich sub-Alpine and Alpine flora. Many species are the same as on the Himalayas. Several species of flora and fauna which have disappeared elsewhere on the face of the earth, have survived in these mountains.

THE FAUNA of Turkistan presents also a great variety

due to the difference of altitude and climate: something like 385 species of birds; insects of all kinds: phalanges, scorpions, tarantulas, mosquitoes, and also venomous serpents and tortoises. In the brushwood along the river beds tigers may be found, and also higher up in the mountains; wolves and foxes in the steppes; bears, boars, and wild hogs; goats and sheep; the yak is found on the Pamir, as also the wild horse. Camels and donkeys are most common. Livestock breeding is extensively pursued. Horses of Arab blood are bred in Turkomania and Bokhara.

MINERALS abound, but are not mined, as they might and ought to be, owing to the inertia of the former Russian Government, and the exclusion of foreign capital. There are silver, lead, copper and iron ores; auriferous sand, naphtha, coal, salt, etc. Also many mineral springs are found, but all these riches are badly managed or lie idle.

THE INHABITANTS of Turkistan number about ten million souls. We have in

Province of Syr-Darya	1,800,000
Province of Ferghana	2,000,000
Province of Samarkand	1,000,000
Province of Semiryetchinsk.....	1,000,000
Transcaspian Region	500,000
Khanat of Bokhara	2,800,000
Khanat of Khiva	800,000

The proportion of women to men is about 85 to every 100.

The present population may be roughly classed as aborigines and immigrants, the latter being mostly Russians—military men, administrators, merchants and colonists; there are also Armenians, Grousinians (Georgians), Germans, Esthonians, Russian Jews, a few Belgians, etc.

Turkistan having been the theatre of so many immigrations and conquests for the past 4,000 years, it is evident that the aborigines themselves present a very mixed element. Ethnographically the population of Turkistan represents a mixture of the Indo-Aryan and Turko-

Mongol races; the first form the settled element, the second the nomads. The Oural-Altayans or Turko-Mongolians are numerically predominant, and form the following groups—Sart, Ouzbeks, Kirghiz, Turkomans, Kara-Kolpaky and Tartars. We will now give briefly the characteristics of each group:

THE SART represent 25 per cent of the whole population; their origin is disputed, but this much seems certain that they come of Turko-Iranian stock and represent the product of intermarriage between the oldest known aborigines—the Tadjiks (Iranians) and their conquerors, the Turko-Mongolian Ouzbeks. The Sart combines the characteristics of both races. As a rule he lives in the towns and controls the commerce; he is averse to hard physical labor, very apt at imitating the modern improved ways of working; he is a skilful artisan and gardener; his fields are cleverly terraced, and irrigated according to centuries of experience in engineering skill. He is fond of flowers and birds, polite, friendly and open-minded. The house of the Sart, whether in town or village, is made of sun-dried mud bricks, but is kept clean and comfortable by mats and rugs. The houses of poor and rich alike have separate quarters for women and men, for the women are kept strictly “purdah”; the women’s court has generally some trees and flower-beds, also some running water, and one is struck by their evident love for a pretty home. But the curse of polygamy is strongly felt; the children are passionately loved and fondled, are gaudily attired and their little caps decorated with owl-feathers against bad luck.

THE OUZBEKS live mostly along the great rivers Amou and Syr-Darya; they are of pure Turkish stock, probably from Kashgaria. Having conquered the aboriginal Tadjiks, the settled Ouzbeks kept the higher administrative offices of the Khanats of Khiva and Bokhara in their hands. The nomad Ouzbeks roam through the steppes of West Bokhara, Khiva, West Samarkand and the Syr-Darya District. In character they resemble

the Sart, but are less open and friendly; they are great lovers of music; their women are secluded.

THE KIRGHIZ is the lord of the steppes, from the Altay in middle Siberia westward to the Volga in European Russia. He is of pure Mongolian race, of the Turko-Tartar branch: flat-faced and with spare beard. He is a born nomad, and roams with his immense flocks through the steppes, settling in winter in the lower parts near the rivers, and spending the summer high up in the mountains; we find him all over Turkistan, and on the Pamir none but the Kirghiz can make a living. They live in felt tents called "yourta," and feed mostly on milk products; their women are unveiled, independent, and take a more prominent part in the life of the family, and of the tribe. These nomad Kirghiz have of late been subjected by the Russian laws to a partial expropriation of their boundless steppes, which has forced many of them to settle as agriculturists. They are quick to profit by education offered to their children, who make clever students, and are now to be found in Russian high and professional schools; quite a number of them are to be found among officers and administrators. (The Kirghiz are also called Cossacks.)

THE TURKOMANS are of the Turkish branch of the Mongolian race, and live exclusively in the Trans-Caspian region and in Khiva. There is only half a million of them left, as part of them emigrated to North Afghanistan and North Persia. They are nomads with a strong disposition to robbery, and were in former centuries the terror of their neighbors in Khiva and in Persia. They made slave raids into North Persia, and sold their prisoners into both the Khanats; so that the thousands of Persians who now live and even hold offices, especially in Bokhara, are all the descendants of those Persian slaves. The Turkomans are divided into seven clans which guard their purity of blood most jealously. After having been conquered by Russia 35 years ago, they have adopted a settled way of life. They are famous for breeding horses,

and make very fine rugs. They are indifferent Moham-medans, hospitable but lazy; their women are unveiled. The Turkomans avail themselves gladly of the means of education provided by the Russian Government.

THE KARA-KOLPAKY are believed to be among the oldest Mongolian settlers of Turkistan. In former times they lived on the shores of the Syr-Darya, and in the delta of the Amou, and were the original population of Khiva; but their robber-neighbors, the Kirghiz, sweeping down upon their well worked fields, forced them to scatter all over Turkistan. The Kara-Kolpak is a good laborer, but cannot hold his own against Sart or Tadjik, whose Aryan blood gives them an undeniable intellectual superiority.

THE TARTARS (NOGAY), of pure Mongolian origin, are scattered all over Turkistan as small traders and artisans; they come mostly from Siberia or the Volga Provinces. They are shrewd and of few words, and are the most unpleasant opponents in a religious discussion because of their dry, contemptuous fanaticism. Their women are, as a rule, unveiled, but adopt sometimes the "purdah," when living in exclusively Mohammedan surroundings.

KASHGARYS are found in Ferghana; in outward ways they resemble the Sart; their women are unveiled.

There are quite a number of AFGHANS scattered all over Turkistan, mostly in Bokhara, with which they have a lively trade in sheep, as also with Turkomania. They keep to themselves, and somehow do not seem to be acceptable to the rest of Turkistan citizens, although they are known to be fanatical Moslems. They consider themselves to be of a Semitic race.

THE IRANIANS are represented by the Tadjiks and the Persians. The Tadjiks are thought to have come from Iran in pre-historic times, and are therefore reckoned the real aborigines of Turkistan; they have kept their Iranian traits in character, outward appearance, and language. They had to retire into the mountainous parts of Turkistan, and specially of Bokhara, before their Turk-

ish conquerors, where they live even now a laborious life as peasants: knowing to perfection how to make use of the water, they can produce good crops from the smallest plot of arable land high up on the mountain slopes and plateaus. They have great flocks on the mountain pastures. Not only here in the almost inaccessible heights, but also when settled in towns, the Tadjik leads a life separate from his Sart or Ouzbek neighbor; this is partly explained by the fact that all the Tadjiks are Shiites.

THE PERSIANS, as we have said before, are descendants of former slaves, and live in great numbers in the Trans-Caspian region, in Khiva and Bokhara, but some of them are to be found in every town of Turkistan. They have acquired much wealth through trade. Being Shiites, they are disliked by their Sunnite neighbors. Their number has been considerably increased during the last decades by immigrant Babis, who have their own mosque at Askhabad.

THE ARABS are represented by some 20,000 people, who claim their descent from those Arabs who in the 7th century A. D. conquered Turkistan and introduced Islam.

THE BOKHARIAN JEWS are the descendants of the ten tribes exiled by the Assyrians, and settled in northern Persia, from whence they entered Afghanistan and Turkistan. They were always despised, and had to submit to all sorts of ignominies, yet by their energy and spirit of enterprise they have come to be rich, and hold in their hands nearly all the trade in manufactured and imported drapery goods. But even now (I speak of 1910 to 1916) they have to wear a special dress, and in Bokhara even a cord around their waist as sign of former bondage. Their women are of exquisite beauty, fine featured, commanding in stature and hold a place of honor in the family.

THE INDIANS are either Mohammedans—rich merchants in silks, tea and spices, who strike one by their haughty bearing—or Parsees (fire worshippers) held in general contempt, obliged to dress in a particular way,

disfigured by the red flame-like spot between their eyebrows. We find them in nearly every town of Turkistan, but mostly in Bokhara, as money-changers and usurers; they speak the languages of Hindustan.

THE ARMENIANS AND GEORGIANS are found in good numbers in the towns as tradesmen, artisans, hotel and restaurant keepers. They are not liked by the Moham-medans nor by the Jews and Russians, as they get rich quickly, thanks to their frugal life and great capacity for work. They are Gregorians or Lutherans, and their family life is exemplary, but with all that most of the houses of ill-fame are run by Georgians.

THE GERMAN colonists have settled in the plains near Tashkent and north of it at Aoulie-Ata, also in the Khanat of Khiva. Germans are to be found in every town as merchants or artisans, and in several of the larger cities they have Lutheran churches. Quite a number of them are Mennonites, and they all live their quiet and laborious life separate from their neighbors. European Jews, mostly of course immigrated from Russia, live in every town, and are met with at the village bazaars. Here and there Esthonians (Lutherans) are to be found; and Belgians, running the few mines or petrol-wells, also some Frenchmen as merchants or teachers. As far as I know, only one Englishman was allowed to settle as teacher and interpreter in Tashkent. Whenever British or American citizens wanted to cross Turkistan, or to visit it as tourists, they had to provide a special permit for a limited number of days only.

THE RUSSIANS, the conquerors of Turkistan, number about 150,000, and represent the military and administrative element of the country; as such they live mostly in the towns. About 150 villages have been built by Russian peasant colonists: these do not work with the irrigation system, but depend on the rainfall, and are therefore mostly to be found in the agricultural and sub-Alpine belts, where the forests guarantee them the necessary climatic conditions. They keep aloof from their

Mohammedan neighbors. In the towns the two elements come in closer contact, and often establish friendly relations, although each party harbors a certain contempt for the other. The new part of every town is called the "Russian" one; there the military forces, administrative, educational and religious institutions are centered. The Mohammedans live by themselves in the old part of the town, which is called the native part.

THE LANGUAGES of Turkistan, as might well be expected, are numerous; yet one may easily travel all over the land with one or two of them, and come in touch with the people. The most common language is the Sart or Ouzbek-Turkish, which is thought by some to be the mother of all the other Turkish languages, such as the Osmanli-Turkish, the Tartar, Kirghiz, Azerbeidjan and Kashgar. (It is sometimes also called the Yagatay.) In any case all these peoples understand each other, and can read each others' books more or less. The other group takes in the Aryan languages, such as Persian, Tadjik, Urdu, and Pashtu (Afghan); these are more commonly used in the western part of Turkistan, but Persian, for instance, is understood all over Turkistan by the Mullahs and the better-class men. Arabic is taught in the Madrasses, but hardly any mullah has a real grasp of the language, except he has been to El-Azhar University, or elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking East; nevertheless, Scripture portions in Arabic are bought. With ten languages for our Turkistan Mohammedans, and three languages—the Jargon, Hebrew and Persian—in Hebrew characters for the Jews, three or four Hindustani dialects for the Parsees, and six to eight languages for the Europeans represented in Turkistan, I myself stocked Scripture portions in 22 languages in order to meet the needs of all the "Tongues and Peoples" with which I met during my travels. But the chief languages are certainly the Russian, as used in all governmental institutions and offices (although there are always interpreters), and the Sart language as spoken by the natives. Yet as the result

of the contact with the Russians and the schools of the new type, quite a number of Sart, at least in the towns, can now understand and even speak Russian.

It is the Tadjik in Bokhara who is most difficult to reach, as he does not understand anything but his dialect, into which, so far, no portion of Scripture has been translated; Bokhara, certainly, is waiting more than any other part of Turkistan for her day of grace and opportunity.

NATURAL PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF THE COUNTRY

The settled inhabitants derive their wealth or simply their means of living from agriculture and commerce, and the nomads from cattle breeding. As we have said before, the soil, consisting of decayed organic matter "loess," is extraordinarily fertile and the experience of the aborigines helps them to make the best use of the water drawn from the canals or aryks. There are in all about two and one-half million acres of artificially irrigated soil under culture, and about one million more are dependent upon the rainfall. Turkistan occupies the second place in the world as to the area of agricultural land under artificial irrigation; only India surpasses her, with more than twice the irrigated area.

AGRICULTURE. We can only briefly name the chief products: wheat, rye, rice, barley, millet, sorghum, Indian-corn, lentils, cotton, many oleagenous plants; vegetables and fruit of all kinds, apples and apricots are famous; grapes are grown in immense quantities, melons of exceptional sweetness and flavor; fodder of all kinds. The culture of silk-worms is practiced extensively, and has been for centuries.

FISHERIES exist on the lakes and the two big seas, mostly in the hands of Russian colonists.

MINING, as mentioned before, is but poorly developed.

INDUSTRY is largely of the home or craft type; the Sarts are known for their work in leather, brass and silver; silk and cotton materials, which in former times went to clothe the whole of the population, but now are giving

way to Russian manufactured goods, are woven extensively in Bokhara, Samarkand and Ferghana. The Kirghiz produce fine felts for saddles and for covering their tents; rugs and carpets are produced in Bokhara and Turkomania. The nomads live by the cattle they breed and their products, namely, milk, and cheese of different kinds. In winter they depend largely for their cattle and camels on the grass that may be found under the snow, as they make no provision for fodder.

The relatively few factories are mostly cotton-cleaning ones, flour and oil-mills, and (alas!) distilleries.

From time immemorial Turkistan has been of first-rate importance for trade between Europe and Asia; it was this fact that attracted many of the peoples who conquered her. It was so especially with Russia, which tried to reach India and China by way of Bokhara. It is not quite the same to-day, since China and India are more easily reached by steamer than by caravan. All the same, a lively trade is carried on with Turkistan and through her: she exports in great quantities cotton (up to 15,000,000 lbs.), millions of pounds of dried fruits, especially apricots and raisins, also oleagenous products; Santonine for medical use, etc., etc.

There is one railroad built between 1880 and 1888, which starts from Krassnovodsk on the Caspian Sea, and runs due east to the furthest part of Ferghana; a line branches off north to Tashkent and Orenbourg, uniting Turkistan with European Russia; lately a southern branch has been built for military purposes, which unites the main line (from Bokhara) with Termaze on the Afghan frontier.

THE HISTORY OF TURKISTAN

The history of Turkistan is one of exceptional interest, as this country was from time immemorial the natural basin into which poured time and again the hordes of Mongolian and Aryan invaders, before they continued their devastating march into India, Baktriana, Iran,

Asia Minor, Russia and Europe. We can only give a bird's-eye view of these happenings. Tradition tells us that Merv and Balkh—"the mother of cities" were built by Adam. History records (Babylonian Tablets?) that about 2200 B. C. the Assyrians conquered south Turkistan; about 800 B. C. Pharaoh Sesostris the Great owned it; when in the 6th century B. C. Cyrus founded the Persian Empire, Turkistan formed part of it. From that time on we see the fight between the settled agricultural South under Iranian influence with the Turanian nomads of North Turkistan. At the end of the 4th century B. C. Alexander the Great (Iskander Dhu 'l-Karnain) passed through Turkomania, Baktriana, as far east as Ferghana, and swerved off south to India. Henceforth the Persian aborigines, weakened by the Greek invasion, found themselves helpless against the Mongolian invaders, and until the 3rd century A. D. the Parthians and other Turkish nomad tribes held sway over South Turkistan. At the end of the 4th century A. D., the Huns destroyed Turkistan and continued their march through South Russia into Europe. About 600 A. D. China owned all of Turkistan, and after that the Persian Dynasty of the Sassanides. In 666 A. D., East Persia and all Turkistan as far as Kashgaria was conquered by the Mohammedan Arabs. This conquest was finished in 711 A. D., and from that time till our days, even when in about 900 A. D. the Arabs themselves were driven out of Turkistan into Mesopotamia, Islam has remained the religion of Turkistan.

The following centuries witnessed a continual warfare between the Persian settlers and the Turko-Mongolian invaders; Sultan Seljuk's hordes came and went, and moved on westward as far as Byzantium; there followed two centuries of internecine war between Khiva, East Persia (now Afghanistan), and West Persia (Iran). In 1218 A. D., Timouthine or Djingiz-Khan appears on the scene; this prince of Mongolian shepherds, after having conquered and boiled in 70 cauldrons all his relatives,

and become lord of Mongolia, Tartaria and China (Peking burns a whole month!), turned westwards, and with his millions of Mongol horsemen brought devastation over all of Turkistan and Persia, down into India, where he died in 1226 A. D. In 1333 A. D. was born at Shakhrizab, from a Turkish Sultan and his Turkish wife, Timor or Tamerlane, who inherited from his parents a hatred of the Mongols.

After an adventurous life he was elected in 1369 A. D. Emperor of all Turkistan: he swept into Russia, over Iran into India, then back again into Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia; defeated the Emperor Bayazet at Angora, and returned to Samarkand to die in 1405 A. D. From him came the great Sultan Babur, whose mother was descended from the Mongolian Djinghiz-Khan, so that in this exceptionally gifted and great man the lines of both Tamerlane and Djinghiz-Khan met. Babur's career was first bound up with Turkistan; but when in the beginning of the 16th century the Mongolian Ouzbeks appeared for the first time in Turkistan, Babur was defeated, left the country to the Ouzbeks, and ended his life as Emperor of India—"the Great Mogul" in 1530 A. D. From now on, the Ouzbeks ruled over Turkistan as far as the river Amou-Darya, which became for a long time the frontier between the Turanians and the Iranians.

This state of things continued for well-nigh 300 years: Ouzbek Sultans established themselves in Bokhara and Khiva, and fought for their thrones against Hindus and Persians, and also between themselves. At the beginning of the 18th century, Khiva and Bokhara come into contact with Russia, making friendly overtures to the Emperor Peter the Great. At that time Russia had already pushed her dominions southward to the river Oural, but traffic between her, the Khanats, India and China was made unsafe or even impossible by the nomad Kirghiz, whose three "Ordahs" or hordes swarmed over the immense steppes, from the river Volga to the middle of Siberia, separating Russia from her aim in the south.

It was only in the middle of the 18th century, when one after another these brigand "Ordahs" were tamed and brought into subjection by Russia, that the southward route seemed free and open for traffic. In Turkistan by this time a third power had risen besides Khiva and Bokhara: the Khan of Ferghana, Khoudoyar-Khan, who claimed to be and probably was, a descendant of the Great Babur's son, ruled his people in a spirit unfriendly to Russia. Towards the middle of the 19th century Russia realized at last, that in order to keep the way southward open, the untamable Kirghiz had to be isolated from all other influence but hers. About this time Russia's southern neighbors had all established themselves firmly: China had conquered Mongolia, Dzungaria and Kashgar; Great Britain had taken the rule over India from the East-India Company; Afghanistan was being united under Dost-Mohammed, and was open to British influence; Persia alone was friendly towards Russia. The time had come for her to lay her mighty hand on the fickle and treacherous peoples of Central Asia, who for centuries had stood between her and her natural southern frontier—the wall of snow-capped mountains north of India and Afghanistan. And so from 1853 to 1891, Russia conquered one by one: the Chinese, west of Mongolia—now the Province of Semiryetchinsk; the Khanat of Khokand—now the Provinces of Ferghana and Syrdarya; the Khanat of Bokhara—now the Province of Samarkand and the vassal state of Bokhara; the Khanat of Khiva—now the vassal state of Khiva; and the steppes inhabited by the Turkoman robber-hordes—now the Trans-Caspian region. About this time the Oases of Tedjen and Mourg-ab, the frontier post of Koushka, and in 1891 the Pamir, were taken over from Afghanistan—Russian Central Asia as we know it now, had at last come into existence.

Whatever our neighbors might have thought of it, the peoples of Turkistan themselves quieted down quickly, and made the best of the peace which for the first time

since they settled here thousands of years ago, spread her wings over them all, guaranteeing to each one protection, justice, and the "lawful pursuit of happiness." Only one uprising, instigated by a fanatical Ishan at Andijan, is recorded; and although the Mohammedans will never really love their Christian conquerors, yet they cannot but acknowledge and appreciate the immense difference between former times and now. The Russians are not foremost as colonizers, but quite a bit has been done: a railroad crosses the whole country and facilitates trade; roads have been laid out; some feeble attempts at mining have been made. Agriculture has progressed notably through the opening up of new systems of canals for irrigation, through importation of grains and plants and the introduction of machines; the markets for agricultural products have increased in number, and include such far-away cities as Moscow and Petrograd. Agricultural and commercial banks have been opened in every town; the country is dotted with schools and hospitals, of which we shall say more later on. With all that, and though making the most of what Russian civilization offers them, quite a number of better class Mohammedans of Turkistan dream of Pan-Turanianism.

We cannot pass by without a word the dark side of Russian conquest and management; drunkenness has greatly increased, and the law of Mohammed is not strong enough to keep his followers from the charm of liquors. Other evils of civilization, alas! have followed this one, and old people find that the younger generation is less fervent in its Faith—yet the intervention of the Russian Government and its influence on the life of its Mohammedan subjects stops short at Islam itself; bound by her promise to the native on conquering the land, not to interfere with his Faith, nor to make or allow Christian propaganda, nothing has been undertaken by Orthodox Russian priests or laymen to bring the claims of Jesus Christ before the Mohammedans of Turkistan.

(To be concluded in April.)

Samarkand, Central Asia.

JENNY DE MAYER.

DERVISH ORDERS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

It was a great surprise to me to find in Constantinople the large number of Tekkés (Tekiyas or Zawiyahs), which a recent investigation revealed. There are now according to official information 258 Dervish Houses in the city. A few years ago there were 319. The great fires have wiped out 61 Tekkés within a period of ten or a dozen years.

The following list to date comprises 17 different Orders:

<i>Name of Order</i>	<i>Former number of Tekkés</i>	<i>Tekkés destroyed</i>	<i>Present number of Tekkés (July, 1921)</i>
1. Bairamiyeh	4	2	2
2. Bektashiyeh	8	0	8
3. Bedaviyeh	8	0	8
4. Djelvadiyeh (Hudaiyeh) .	22	6	16
5. Djerahiyeh	14	4	10
6. Gulsheniyeh	3	1	2
7. Helvadiyeh	13	9	4
8. Kadriyeh	57	15	42
9. Mevleviyeh	7	0	7
10. Nakshiyeh	65	5	60
11. Rufa'iyeh	36	7	29
12. Saadiyeh	23	7	16
13. Shabaniyeh	25	0	25
14. Shazaliyeh	3	0	3
15. Simbaliyeh	23	5	18
16. Sinaniyeh	3	0	3
17. Ushaghiyeh	5	0	5
(Total, 17 Orders).....	319	61	258

We have the addresses of each of these establishments.¹

The Bektashis, included above, do not appear in the Imperial Government records, since, as is well known, they are not considered within the Orthodox ranks of Islam, and are anathematized by the *Ulema*.

Besides these official Tekkés, most of which receive more or less aid from the Turkish Government, there are

¹These will appear in the "Survey of Constantinople" soon to be published by a committee representing the American Philanthropic, Educational, and Missionary organizations operating in Constantinople.

said to be a considerable number of Dervish Orders which have Houses, or which meet in private homes, of which the government takes no official cognizance, or which receive no financial aid but are supported privately by members and adherents of the Orders.

It is rather strange that but seventeen Orders appear in the above list. One would expect to find in the political capital of Islam a Tekké representing every Dervish order.

II

Through the courtesy of an honored member of the Imperial Government Board of Dervishes, the writer obtained a list of what was said to be all the Dervish Orders known. This includes the names of 161 Orders and Sub-Orders.²

This number is incomplete, for the writer has found the names of sixteen others, which bring the list up to 177. There is considerable difference of opinion among Dervishes themselves, and also among scholars, as to the exact number of Orders and Sub-Orders. Canon Sell quoting Rinn states there are 88.³

D. B. Macdonald gives the number of Orders as 32, and remarks that there are "innumerable" Sub-Orders.⁴ Petit claims there are "several hundred" Orders and Sub-Orders in Islam, and it may be true⁵ The author of the pamphlet entitled "The Dervish" (himself a Dervish) claims there are twelve "distinct" Orders, and gives them as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1. "The Bedevi | 7. The Nakshi |
| 2. The Bettushi (Bektashi) | 8. The Rufa'i |
| 3. The Kadri | 9. The Sadi |
| 4. The Dussuki | 10. The Salmani |
| 5. The Idrissi | 11. The Shazali |
| 6. The Mevlavi | 12. The Sumbuli" |

The Salmani Order mentioned as number 10 in the list just given (we are informed by the writer of "The Der-

²The Senussi among others were omitted entirely from this official list.

³Religious Orders of Islam; page 35 (1908). *Vide* Rinn, "Marabouts et Khouan,"

pp. 26-51.

⁴Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Ed. *vide* article "Dervishes."

⁵La Confrérie Musulmane—R. P. L. Petit, Paris 1902.

lish"), has no definite teaching, nor is it an organized body of dervishes. "During the performances of religious ceremonies of other Orders, when the names of the founders... are recited, the name of "Salman the Pure" is also mentioned." He is considered as patron saint by Mohammedan barbers, and they "are regarded as his dervishes."⁶

No Tekké nor organization of the Senussi has been found in Constantinople, although diligent inquiries have been made. The relations of the Senussi dervishes with the Turkish Government in Asia Minor seem very cordial at present, although they were formerly strained enough. Last spring the Sheikh of the Senussi, on his way to the Holy cities, telegraphed Mustafa Kemal congratulating him on his victories over the Greeks.⁷ This is natural in view of the Pan-Islamic aspirations of his Order.

The list of 177 Dervish Orders is given herewith.⁸

Ahmediyeh	Byumiyeh	Gharibiyeh	Khafriyeh
Ansariyeh	Djesniyeh	Ghazaliyeh	Khafifiyeh
'Azimiyeh	Djemaliyeh	Ghavsiyeh	Khilvitiyeh
'Adiliyeh	Djundiyyeh	Gulsheniyyeh	(Khilwatiyya)
'Ashuriyyeh	Dedjaniyyeh	Ghaysiyeh	Khavajagan (?)
Abbasiyyeh	Derdiriyyeh	Haririyyeh	Kazrouniyyeh
Adjliyyeh	Dermirdashiyyeh	Haqiyeh	Kasaniyyeh
'Arusiyyeh	Debiyyeh	Hukmiyyeh	Kayaliyyeh
'Aziziyyeh	Djelvetiyyeh	Hakimiyyeh	Kubreviyyeh
'Aliyyeh	(Jalwatiyya)	Halabiyyeh	Kumeliyyeh
'Ashkiyyeh	Esaviyyeh	Hereviyyeh	Medadiyyeh
'Afifiyyeh	(Christian	Hilaliyyeh	Minhajiyeh
'Akiliyyeh	"Jesus"?)	Hamadaniyyeh	Membouliyyeh
'Aleviyyeh	Edhemiyyeh	Hevariyyeh	Mujedtdidiyyeh
'Amudiyyeh	(Adhamiyyeh)	Hutjajiyyeh	Mouhasibiyyeh
Abdurrussiyyeh	Erdebilyeh	Idrisiyyeh	Mahboubiyyeh
Aperiyyeh	Essediyyeh	Ishakiyyeh	Medariyyeh
Ahrariyyeh	Eshrefiyyeh	Ibadiyyeh	Medeniyyeh
Bahshiyyeh	Euveysiyyeh	Ilmiyyeh	(Madaniyyeh)
Bedriyyeh	(Uwaisiyyeh)	Jebriyyeh	Mudayniyyeh
Bedeviyyeh	Ehdiliyyeh	Jirahiyyeh	Muradiyyeh
Bistamiyyeh	Ekbiriyyeh	(Djerahiyyeh)	Meshishiyyeh
Bekhtasiyyeh	Ferdeysiyyeh	Jesveliyyeh	Musriyyeh
(Baktashiyya)	Futuniyyeh	Khalvetiyyeh	Mustariyyeh
Bekriyyeh	Fatliyyeh	Khatriyyeh	Muslihiriyyeh
Behaiyyeh	Faydiyyeh	Khalidiyyeh	Mazheriyyeh
Bairamiyyeh	Ghaziyeh	Kharaziyyeh	Melamiyyeh

⁶New York, 1895; translated by Dr. Avac Cutujian. This number was confirmed in a conversation recently with a Rufa'i Sheikh, who stated also that there are 18 Sub-Orders.

⁷Orient News—Constantinople, May 1921. It seems the Sheikh has been in Turkey since he was brought from Africa in a German submarine during the war.

⁸The writer would be glad to have his attention called to any duplications, omissions or errors, in this list. He has not yet been able to consult Rinn's list.

Mevleviyeh (Maulawiyya)	Qarabashiyeh	Senaniyeh	Sufhiyeh
Mihdeviyeh	Qashberiyeh	Sinbaliyeh	Seiyadiyeh
Mejousiyeh	Qasriyeh	Sehrverdiyeh	Tajiyeh
Nasriyeh	Qatnaniyeh	(Suharwardiyeh)	Taziyeh
Nussusiyeh	Rashidiyeh	Sehliyah	Taghraliyeh
Nuzamiyeh	Reslaniyeh	Shazilyeh	Teyfutiyyeh
Nakshbandiyeh (Nakshbandiyya)	Rufaiyeh (Rifaiyya)	Shahalimiyeh	Ushakiyeh
Nurbahshiyeh	Rukniyeh	Shernubiyeh	Unsiyeh
Nuriyeh	Ramazaniyeh	Shatariyeh	Yafeiyeh
Nouviyeh	Revsheniyyeh	Shabaniyeh	Yesefiyeh
Qalanderiyeh (Wanderers)	Rumiyeh	Sharaniyeh	Yemeniyeh
Qadriyeh (Qadiriyya)	Seraniyeh	Shabiyyeh	Yunisiyeh
Qasmiyeh	Sutusiyeh	Shemsiyeh	Zahidiyeh
	Saadiyeh	Sheybaniyeh	Zurnkiyeh
	Sehaniyeh	Sadberiyeh	Zehriyeh
	Seyariyeh	Saviyeh	Zelivah
		Salabiyeh	Zainiyeh

In addition to the above list furnished by a member of the Board of Dervishes, I would include the following:

Alwaniyeh	Dousukiyeh	Rahmaniyyeh	Sennussiyeh
Amirghaniyeh	Darqawiyeh	Siddiqiyeh	Salmaniyyeh
Bakayiyeh	Hansaliyeh	Shadhiliyeh	Tijaniyeh
Chishtiyyeh	Karzaziyeh	Shaikhiiyeh	Taibiyeh

III

During the war a manual of instructions and regulations was published by the Ottoman Government for the use of government officers and the Dervish Orders. A summary of the important points in this pamphlet may be of interest.

There is a Board of seven Dervishes called the Mejlis al Meshaiyé, appointed by the Sheikh of Islam, which sits in Constantinople daily, except on Fridays and holidays, and has the supervision and control of all Dervish Orders and all official Dervish Tekkés in the Ottoman Empire. In the Provinces there are similar Boards having the same functions, except that they are subject to the Board in Constantinople. These Provincial Boards are called Enjamin Mejliss. The duties and powers of these Boards are described in the manual of Rules and Regulations published in A. H. 1334 (A. D. 1918).

The Board has a president and two secretaries. There is also a sub-committee of three inspectors. This Board is appointed by the Sheikh of Islam on the approval of H. M. The Sultan. The duties of the inspectors are to visit the Tekkés, to see that government regulations are kept, and to investigate reports of infringements.

The members of the Board receive salaries from the Turkish Government. The President's salary was fifty Turkish liras per month; and the other members, twenty liras per month, before the war. This has now been considerably modified and food allowances also made.

To assist this Board, a committee of three in each Tekké district has been appointed. This committee consists of the Sheikh of the Central Tekké, of which there is one in each district; and one dervish from each of two other Tekkés in the same district. Such committees have the direct oversight of all Tekkés in their own districts.

The functions of the Central Board and Provincial Boards are in detail as follows:

1. The appointment of new sheikhs as heads of the Tekkés, after due examination as to the fitness of the candidates for office. When an appointment is made, the name of the new Sheikh must be reported to the Ministry of Evkaf (Pious Foundations or Endowments) for financial reasons, e. g. the payment of the Sheikh's monthly stipend; his grant of food; the collection of rents from any part of the Tekké property which may be let to others (such as a room, office or shop), since the Tekké is Dervish property administered by the government for the benefit of the Order.

2. To fix the rank of each Tekké in its district, e. g. The Central Tekké.

3. To exercise control over Endowment Funds.

4. To keep Tekké records. (Evidently membership statistics are not included.)

5. Publicity and Propaganda.

Three members of the Board are appointed to publish articles on Sufism, or the peculiar mystical beliefs of Dervishdom and on the religion of Islam. Formerly there was a Dervish periodical published by the Board called "Sufieh," but it has now been discontinued. A monthly periodical called "Jerideh al Miyeh" is published by the Turkish Government's Ministry of Religion

(under the Sheikh of Islam) which frequently contains articles of interest to the Dervish Orders and their affairs. These articles are contributed by members of The Board of Dervishes (Mejlis al Meshaiyé).

6. *Discipline.* There are official Tekkés and private Tekkés. The Board has entire control over all official Tekkés and their members, can remove a Sheikh for cause, and discipline any member. This is evidently exercised very rarely indeed, and the official Orders are practically free, except in financial control, unless excesses in practice are brought to the government's notice.

7. *Private Tekkés.* The Board of Dervishes has no control over private Tekkés; save over the rites and ceremonies conducted therein (to guard against excesses or irregularities).

Private Tekkés are self-supporting and receive no government aid. The members of private Tekkés choose and support their own Sheikhs and meeting places. They often meet in private houses.

All private Tekkés (or organizations) must report when organized to the Board of Dervishes regarding their organization, ceremonies and practices. Also they must give assurances that their faith and practice accord with the tenets of Islam.

8. *Hygiene.* Sanitary regulations exist for the proper cleanliness and ventilation of all Tekkés; and for the prevention of infectious and contagious diseases. Some of the Tekkés visited by the writer left much to be desired in respect of cleanliness and good ventilation; while some others were very clean. Hygienic regulations were introduced by the late Government of the "Party of Union and Progress" during the war, so they are very recent.

IV

An earnest effort was made to obtain membership statistics, but without success. It developed that some local Orders keep careful lists of members, while others do not. The Board of Dervishes claims to have no record of the

number of members of the official Tekkés; nor does it have a record of private Tekkés. Of course it should have knowledge of the new organizations when reported, but not necessarily a record of memberships. Old private tekkés may not be registered at all. Only a strict official government census can obtain this information; and even then it would hardly be accurate unless the Tekké records were examined, showing the names of all members and adherents.

So far as can be learned, all official Tekkés perform their ceremonies once a week, and these are usually crowded with devoted worshippers. No fixed day is chosen for all orders, but each chooses the day and hour to suit its membership and clientèle. Some meet in the afternoon, and others at night. In Constantinople one can attend dervish ceremonies every day in the week.

Out of 250 official Tekkés in Constantinople (excluding the eight Bektashi Houses) the following figures show the days the Dervish Orders meet:

33	meet on	Sundays
25	meet on	Mondays
17	meet on	Tuesdays
25	meet on	Wednesdays
76	meet on	Thursdays
52	meet on	Fridays
22	meet on	Saturdays

Total 250 hold meetings every week.

The Bektashis are said to meet irregularly (i. e. on call) for their ceremonies.

The performances of the Tekkés visited by the writer have all been well attended, showing much popular interest and sympathy, especially from the common people and some from the middle classes. Our data are not complete enough to give reliable attendance statistics for many Tekkés in Constantinople.

The cause of popular interest in dervish ceremonies and mysteries is no doubt due to the deep seated dissatisfaction of many Moslem worshippers with the ordinary forms of their religion. The discussion of the philosophy

of Sufism has no place in this paper. But several conversations with Dervish Sheikhs in Constantinople Tekkés confirm the previous conclusions of eminent scholars, viz., that the Dervishes themselves believe they are able to penetrate divine mysteries and to come into communion or attain union with God through their system and ceremonies, which experience it is impossible otherwise for the ordinary worshipper ever to have.

One prominent Sheikh told the writer that he divides the people of all religions into:

1. The Common People, or the Ignorant.
2. The Select People, or the Educated or Learned.
3. The Elite, or Enlightened or Illumined ("Gnostics").

He stated that only the latter ever know God or attain to divine knowledge and thus get complete satisfaction in life. At any rate the Dervishes teach this, and many Mohammedans believe it.

It is not at all probable that the private Tekkés are as numerous as the official Tekkés. Estimating then 300 Tekkés in Constantinople with an average weekly attendance of fifty (50), which does not seem unreasonable, we get a monthly attendance of sixty thousand (60,000) persons or seven hundred and twenty thousand (720,000) per year. It is safe to say that many thousands attend these ceremonies annually in Constantinople alone, which certainly indicates that they exert a very wide influence in this city. On the whole, the writer thinks that these may be a liberalizing influence, and much broader than that affecting the ordinary worshipper through Orthodox channels. This makes the minds of such devotees more open to new religious ideas.⁹ Dervish influence would naturally be much greater if it affected more of the middle and upper classes of society;¹⁰ and a larger number of *different* individuals, at least in Constantinople.

There are of course regions such as North Africa and

⁹Of course Orders such as the Senussi are exceptions.

¹⁰The Mevlevis have exerted considerable influence on the Turkish government in the past through their Head, the "Tchelibî" in Konia, who ordinarily girds the sword of Osman on the new Sultan when he ascends the throne. The Sheikh of the Senussi, however, performed this service for the present Sultan. Formerly the Bektashis were very influential at court through the Janissaries, until 1826.

Arabia where practically the entire Moslem population comes under the influence of the Orders or Brotherhoods like the Senussi.¹¹

Once obtain the acceptance of any religious doctrines as divine truth from other than Koranic sources, and the minds and hearts of the Moslem world will begin to be open to Christ's teaching. If only the Sheikhs can be persuaded to study the Scriptures, the light will break through. Recently the writer offered a prominent Sheikh of the Mevlevi Order a copy of the New Testament in Turkish. He gladly accepted it, said he would read it carefully, and suggested he would be glad to get one in Persian also. Another Sheikh (a Rufa'i) refused a copy very courteously, with the statement that he had read it.

While it was true in the early history of Christianity that the movement spread from the "lower" to the "higher" layers of society (and this has been true also in the modern history of Christian Missions), yet leaders like Paul were raised up to blaze the way. May it not be that such leaders for the spiritual conquest of Islam can be won from among these Dervish Sheikhs whose tremendous enthusiasm for the faith of the Meccan prophet, and for the founders of their Orders, and whose enormous influence among their followers (and it is hard to over-estimate it), might be devoted to the cause of advancing Christ's Kingdom in the world.

SAMUEL ANDERSON.

Robert College, Constantinople.

¹¹The Akhwan of Arabia, however, are not dervishes, cf. Harrison: *Missionary Review*, July 1920, page 599.

MEDICAL MISSIONS IN YEMEN

It is nearly three thousand years since Homer said:—

“The man of medicine can in worth with many a warrior vie,
Who knows no weapons to exercise and soothing salves supply.”

I venture to assert that most mission workers in Moslem lands would hasten to fully approve the “Blind Bard’s” way of phrasing a great truth. For most of the doors that have been open to the Gospel in Moslem countries and in Moslem homes have been unlocked through the medico’s skill.

Certainly, in Arabia, no other servant of Christ has been more welcomed than the physician or the surgeon, though it may be that, like the deaf adder, the Arabs do, at first stop their ears to the Gospel and refuse to listen to the charmer, charming never so wisely.

Of course, the reason for physicians being welcomed is not far to seek, but I feel absolutely certain that even a display of the most wonderful skill would never have passed muster as a valid reason for the doctor’s acceptance as an honored guest in a Moslem home had not Harith bin Kaldah, Mohammed’s friend and trusted adviser, been a Christian physician. Up to the present day the strictest teachers of the Islamic code are bound to confess that the faithful may lawfully follow their great leader’s example in consulting and carrying out the directions of a Christian doctor. The Caliph Mansur, in the heyday of Moslem vigor, was both treated and cured of a serious disease by a Christian physician, who so earned the Caliph’s gratitude that he not only gave him a present of three thousand dinars and three beautiful female Circassian slaves, but also made him principal of the newly founded medical school at Bagdad.

It is, however, more than likely that the latter honor would never have been conferred on him had not his high

moral tone and strictly Christian character appealed to the Caliph's sense of fitness. I believe that it was not until Georgius Bakhtishua had returned the three beautiful slaves, saying that it was not lawful for Christians to have more than one wife, that the Caliph selected him as the one man who was fit to be principal of his high medical school. At any rate the doctor continued to hold that high office until old age and sickness overtook him. For more than three hundred years the Bakhtishua family retained their religion, and continued to teach in the Medical College, as well as to be the most renowned physicians in Bagdad.

Other causes at work in South Arabia have also helped a medical man among Moslems. Just about the time of the Hejira there was a large and flourishing school of medicine in Sanaa, the capital of the Yemen, and as it is generally supposed that the principal of that school not only studied in India, but was himself a Christian, one can understand how it is that in Somaliland surgical operations that would never be attempted in any other Moslem country are still performed by the natives. Crosses are also found at the head and foot of many old graves, showing that, though excluded from South Arabia on account of their faith, yet these old Yemenites gloried in the Cross of Christ. They continued to glory in it until "the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair," and the mixed marriage did what persecution could not effect.

It would scarcely be honest, however, if one did not acknowledge the great debt, which the medical profession as a whole, and medical missionaries in particular, indirectly owe to Bishop Nestorius. It was wholly due to the persecution which arose out of the Nestorian heresy that very many clever and good men turned their attention to medicine, and there can be no doubt about it that the Landispur school would never have had an existence had not the Nestorians been forced to flee from Odessa, and to carry with them into their new home that spirit of research and of independence which could no longer find

a place of rest in a nominally Christian land. All know that it was at Landispur that a license to practice medicine was first granted, and those parchments given which differentiated the regular practitioner from the quacks and mountebanks, who were even more plentiful in those days than they are now. Moreover it was the teachers of this school who first showed the difference between pharmaceuticals and therapeutics, thus clearing the way for a more scientific search.

Still it must be confessed that, though those Christian physicians were chosen to be a light, a leaven and a salt to the world with which they came into contact, they did not rise to the high calling whereunto they had been called. And not until the 16th and 17th centuries do we find the Jesuit missionaries using medicine as an adjunct to their work. It is from them that we got our knowledge of cinchona, ipecacuanha and many other drugs.

The 19th century had dawned, however, before Protestant missionary workers thought of medical skill being employed. Then Dr. John Thomas was sent out to help Carey; Krishna Pal, the village carpenter, was brought into Christ's Kingdom through the medical man's instrumentality, and the holy fire began to spread in Bengal, which no human means could ever put out.

In the year 1822, the need for medical missionary work was urged by Doctor Douglas of Cavers. In 1840 Dr. David Livingstone was sent out to Africa, and ever since the medical missionary's skill has been used in difficult fields, for it became increasingly plain that he could go and be welcomed where any other would only meet opposition.

Ion Keith Falconer knew this, and planned his mission in South Arabia on medical lines, as it became increasingly plain that necessity would draw even bigoted Moslems to the doctor, to whom many opportunities of speaking a good word for Jesus would be given, that would be denied to other earnest evangelists. Events have justified Keith Falconer's plan of action, as a visit to the doctor's

morning clinique in any one of the Arabian mission stations will show.

The present doctor in Sheikh Othman is working alone, and therefore can see only a limited number of patients. He hopes, however, that when the hospital is fully equipped with nurses, and things come back to their pre-war condition, huge crowds will once more be treated in the hospital, and on their sick beds will hear the story of the great Physician's power to heal both mind and body by purifying the soul.

Every morning at 7:30 o'clock there is an audience numbering from 100 to 200 gathered together to hear the Gospel story before the morning clinique. On the preacher's left there may be 40 or 50 women and young children who have come for treatment. These, hidden from the male congregation, hear the wonderful words of Life, and it will always be a pleasure to think that the first convert led to Christ by the writer in Arabia, like St. Paul's first convert in Europe, was a woman.

Many in the audience come long distances, some more than a thousand miles, carrying letters with them from old patients who have been healed in the hospital, telling of their welfare, and praying for a blessing on the mission. One who had been healed in body and cleansed in soul sent a donation of Rs 300 (nearly \$100) when he heard how the Turks had destroyed the hospital, and he prayed that others also might be brought into the light in the house of healing.

After the preaching service is over, the Rev. James Robson, who has now joined the mission, goes among the people and sells Scripture portions, which are carried far into the interior. We pray and believe that the entrance of God's Word will give light, and that Arabia will ultimately be won for Jesus Christ.

JOHN C. YOUNG.

Aden, Arabia.

WHAT TO PREACH TO MOSLEMS

What is said in this paper is based on experience rather than theory. Experience doubtless forms a basis for the conduct of the individual. But the experience of one may have little value in shaping the conduct of another. The personal characteristics of the individual are a very important factor in the success or failure of any missionary in preaching to Moslems. The methods of one, if closely followed by another, may lead to failure. Different methods might lead to success. Parrot-work in preaching the Gospel to Moslems is dangerous. I have been asked, "What is the first thing you do on entering a village? Do you immediately begin religious conversation? What is the first thing you say on approaching a Moslem with the Gospel? Just how do you act and talk?" Not all men have natural adaptability for preaching to Moslems. The personality of the individual is so important a factor that each preacher to Moslems will succeed or fail, to a very large extent, by being perfectly natural. If he succeeds, it will be by being himself, and by shaping his conduct in accordance with the guidance of the Spirit, and by being able to turn to advantage the circumstances of the moment, rather than by imitating some other man's experience, or following too closely some other man's theories.

I have learned some lessons by observation and experience which are useful to me, and I pass them on for what they are worth.

Avoid argument, controversy, and disparaging references to Mohammed, the Koran, and Islam. If reference must be made to the things of Islam, speak of that which is good. Islam is a half truth, and therefore the most difficult religion in the world to combat. But give the devil his due. Never display heat or temper. Never say things simply because they cut. All these things are

suited more to repel the Moslem than to attract him. Avoid argument with individual professed fanatics. Little if any good is accomplished by meeting them. Seldom answer or discuss questions that are asked while preaching. Sometimes they can be answered by a snapshot, but usually, if they must be noticed, invite the questioner to a private interview. Preserve a dignity that is born of the consciousness that we are preaching the truth. Always try to leave the pulpit or bazaar in such a way that you can return without embarrassment, so far as anything you have said or done is concerned. When people curse you, say "Thank you" or "God bless you." I know a colporteur who was canvassing a bazaar in a good sized town, when one shopkeeper called out to another, "There comes the old book-seller your brother. Buy a book from him." The colporteur replied, "I may become a dog, but I never will become your brother." He never sold that man a book. I know a missionary, who in some respects is a very able man. His favorite method of presenting the Gospel to Moslems is by controversial argument. When one of his meetings was finished, the Moslems went away very angry, and one of them was heard to say, "That man has the religion of a beast." I have never heard of that missionary as being the instrument of leading one Moslem to Christ.

There are two general methods of presenting Christ to Moslems, viz., the destructive, and the constructive. By the destructive, I mean setting forth Mohammed, the Koran, and Islam in a disparaging light; saying things about their shortcomings and fallacies which may be perfectly true, but which are unwise to say. By the constructive, I mean presenting Christ and His glorious Gospel in such a way as to attract Moslems. When the purity and beauty of Christ's life, the sublime truth of His teachings, His infinite, eternal, and holy love, and His divine power to save the souls of sinners from spiritual death, are affectionately set forth in the power of the Holy Ghost, the fallacies of Islam will take care of themselves,

and the Gospel will appeal to the hearts of Mohammedans. We are out to *win* men, not to repel them. Preach sympathetically. Regard Moslems simply as lost sinners, whom God loves, and for whom Christ died, and preach accordingly.

Preach on a level which hearers can understand. This does not mean regarding all the people in every group of listeners as uneducated men who can never think for themselves, and therefore talking baby-talk to them. In almost every crowd of men there will be one or more above the average in intellect and education. The skilful preacher will gain that man's ear while causing the less intellectual and educated to understand. The average missionary is incapable of quoting effectively Arabic passages from the Koran or passages from the poets and from Persian literature, and such quotations should be used cautiously. But many good quotations and illustrations can be drawn from Moslem life and thought, and put into such form as to convince and attract. Draw many illustrations from the Bible. Do not try to display scholarship or high attainments in the Persian language. If manuscript sermons are used, it should be very rarely, and then only on formal and stated occasions. Remember it is your business to make as many as possible of your hearers clearly understand what you are trying to say. Make thorough preparation, and then preach offhand with nothing more than notes. Extemporaneous, but not impromptu, preaching is the best method. Keep a few of your best sermons always on tap for emergencies. Repeat them often enough so that you can preach them in the midst of confusion. Theoretically, at least, every clergyman has been trained in homiletics and in presenting the Gospel message, and the general principles of good seminary training, modified in their outward form so as to meet the needs of the Moslems, hold good.

In Persia, preaching to Moslems includes pulpit work, itinerating, bazaar preaching, and social intercourse. Live with the people. Eat, drink, and sleep in their

houses. Learn not to be annoyed by vermin. Go to their shops. Get acquainted with their methods of thought, their life, their difficulties. Learn to observe from their point of view. Never hold the Book behind your back while preaching. Never drop it, or toss it carelessly on to the table or carpet. Manifest a holy reverence for the Book. Emphasize without argument that the whole Bible is the Word of God. Emphasize Bible reading for all who can read, or who can get someone to read to them. Emphasize God's love manifested in Christ. Islam glaringly lacks the fervor of God's love. It is our great drawing card. Preach the simple doctrines of God's love, justice and mercy. Preach the virgin birth, the Trinity, the crucifixion, the atonement, the resurrection, the ascension, the second coming, the day of judgment, heaven, hell, God's foreknowledge, and man's free will. Preach Christ, the only and sufficient Saviour. Preach salvation through the atonement of Christ by means of repentance, faith, and obedience to His teachings.

The following are some of the texts I have preached on in Meshed during the past year:

Col. 3:2, "Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth."

Heb. 11:8, "By faith Abraham, when he was called.....obeyed."

Matt. 7:13-14, "Enter ye in at the strait gate."

Jno. 16:8, "He will reprove the world of sin."

Matt. 7:21, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

Jno. 1:29, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

Isa. 57:21, "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked."

Jno. 3:7, "Ye must be born again." (four times.)

Jno. 6:48, "I am that bread of life."

Lk. 9:56, "The Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

Rom. 3:20, "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified."

Gal. 3:13, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law."

I Tim. 1:1, "Jesus Christ, which is our hope."

Matt. 16:26, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

I Tim. 1:15, "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

The primary object of Christian missions is to spread the Gospel of salvation for sinners through the atonement of Jesus Christ. Medical, educational, literary, and all other forms of missionary work which are not direct

preaching, should aim specifically at this objective, or else they should have no place in mission organization. Every missionary is in a very specific and definite sense a preacher of salvation through Christ. Repeatedly during the past year, I have preached to people on a Sunday who were dead before the next Sunday. In every congregation or group of listeners there are likely to be some to whom we shall never again have the opportunity of preaching the name of Christ. We are dealing with the eternal destiny of immortal souls.

L. E. ESSELSTYN.*

Late of Resht, Persia.

*Since this article was written, Doctor Esselstyn has passed away.

DID JESUS FORETELL AHMED?

Origin of the so-called Prophecy of Jesus concerning the coming of Mohammed.

“And when Jesus the son of Mary said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed.” *Suratu 's-Saff*.

The commentators on this verse bring forward the words of Jesus concerning the Paraclete as being the prophecy referred to in the Koran.

Two things are, however, to be kept distinct—(1) the proofs sought after by those who came after Mohammed, to justify and to authenticate his mission, of which we may say that all was grist that came to their mill; and (2) the idea which Mohammed himself had in bringing forth this supposed prophecy, for it must have been either a pure invention without the slightest foundation, or he must have heard of some supposed words of Jesus, which formed the basis of this so-called prophecy about himself.

He may have heard in some way or other about the words of Jesus referring to the Paraclete, and some one may have been ingenious enough to suggest, as do the commentators, that *Paracletos* is corrupted from *Periclutos*, illustrious, of which *Ahmad* might be considered a translation.

Neander says in his “Church History,”—“Before the time of Mohammed, Mani gave himself out to be the Paraclete promised by Christ. Hereby he in no wise understood the Holy Ghost, but a human person, an enlightened teacher promised by Christ, who was further to develop the religion revealed by him, in agreement with his Spirit, and purifying it from the corruptions of

Ahriman, especially from those which had sprung from its combination with Judaism.”

But is there no other passage in the Gospels, which Mohammed may have heard read and translated into Arabic, and which with a little adaptation may have given him the idea of a prophecy referring to himself?

It is true that “as early as the eighth century we find Mohammedan scholars quoting various passages of the New Testament, particularly the saying regarding the Paraclete in John’s Gospel, which they understood of Mohammed. He himself, however, knew the Gospel narrative from oral tradition only.” (Nestlé, Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament.)

No doubt Mohammed supposed, as do the Moslems today, that the Gospel, after the manner of the Koran, contains the words of God given by the mouth of Jesus. No other would be the speaker in the Gospel but Jesus as the mouthpiece of God, unless Jesus himself referred to the words of a former prophet, as Mohammed is supposed to do here.

If then Mohammed heard read in Arabic, or translated into Arabic, the following testimony of John the Baptist concerning Jesus, as found in the Gospels, he may have considered them to be the words of Jesus, and have readily interpreted them as referring to himself.

Matt. 3: 11. “He that cometh after me is mightier than I.” *Wa lākini ’lladhī ya’tī ba’dī huwa aqwā minnī.*

Mark 1: 7. “And he preached, saying, There cometh after me he that is mightier than I.” *Wa kāna yakrizu qā’ilan ya’tī ba’dī man huwa aqwā minnī.*

Luke 3: 16. “There cometh he that is mightier than I.” *Wa lākin ya’tī man huwa aqwā minnī.*

John 1: 26. “In the midst of you standeth one whom ye know not, even he that cometh after me.” *Wa lākin fī wasatikum qā’imuni ’lladhī lastum ta’rifūnahu huwa ’lladhī ya’tī ba’dī.*

John 1: 30. “This is he of whom I said, After me

cometh a man which is before me; for he was before me." *Hādhā huwa 'lladhī qultu 'anhu ya'tī ba'dī rajulun sāra quddāmī liannahu kāna qablī.*

If to these verses we add the words of John the Baptist, in which he speaks of the coming one as greater and more glorious than himself in every respect, so that he is not worthy even to stoop down and unloose his sandals, we certainly get the idea, if not the word, of one who was *Ahmad*, more worthy of praise, honor or glory than himself.

The chief reason that has led me to ask whether we have not here the ultimate origin of the Koranic verse is the fact that the very words *ya'tī ba'dī*, or, which is the same thing, *ya'tī min ba'dī*, are employed here, as in the Koran; and further that they are followed by a comparative *aqwā minnī*, "mightier than I,"—Greek ἰσχυροτερος. Mohammed may have heard it translated *amjad*, *ahmad* or *afdal*, or some term which would suggest to him the comparative form *Ahmad*, which might be taken as his name.

If he heard these words read, or if they or their equivalent were reported to him, he would most likely have considered them to be *words pronounced by Jesus*, and he had imagination and ingenuity enough to adapt them and interpret them as referring to himself. The Koranic verse would be the result of putting the supposed prophecy into the "perspicuous Arabic tongue."

If he did not mistake the speaker of the words, it may still be possible that the words of John referring to Jesus were deliberately copied and put into the mouth of Jesus as referring to Mohammed. In either case there is a possibility that the words under consideration are the ultimate foundation of the supposed prophecy.

There is no Koranic reference to the special ministry of John the Baptist beyond that contained in the announcement of the angels to Zachariah—"And the angels called to him while he stood praying in the sanctuary, saying,

‘Verily God promiseth thee a son named John, who shall bear witness to the Word which cometh from God.’”

As to the question of Arabic versions of the New Testament, Nestlé refers to F. C. Burkitt in Hastings’ Bible Dictionary, i.136-138. Burkitt thinks that the oldest monument of Arabic Christianity is the manuscript formerly belonging to the convent of Mar Saba, now known as Cod. Vac. Arab. 13, and numbered 101 in Ti Gr. which is generally assigned to the eighth century. It originally contained the Psalter, Gospels, Acts and Epistles, and is derived from the Syriac. Fragments of Matthew, Mark and Luke, and of the Pauline Epistles are all that now remain. (Nestlé: Textual Criticism of the Greek N. T., p. 143.) This oldest monument of Arabic Christianity may have had direct ancestors leading back to the time of Mohammed. At any rate he may have heard one of these verses read and translated from Syriac into Arabic. The nearest approach to the Koranic verse is that in Mark’s Gospel—

(Gospel)

wa kāna yakrizu qā’ilan ya’ti ba’di man huwa aqwā minnī

(Koran)

mubashshiran bi rasūlin ya’ti min ba’di ’smuhu Ahmadu

I make this suggestion as the possible ultimate origin of the Koranic verse, and should like to see if any further light can be thrown upon the subject by the exercise of critical acumen and fuller knowledge than mine.*

PERCY SMITH.

Constantine, Algeria.

*Dr. Duncan B. Macdonald, of Hartford Theological Seminary, writes me in regard to my suggested solution of this question: “Your point cannot, I fear, be proven, but it is I think highly probable. I have nothing here to consult, Syriac version or otherwise, and I doubt if much light would be found there, for I think it is almost certain that the Syrian-Arabian Church used the system of oral translation in its services, that is, the early stage of ‘targums.’

“As to your questions: (1) There is no evidence that Mohammed was ever called Ahmed; as names, the two words are quite distinct. (2) I have no doubt that the Quranic passage you quote refers to a real or supposed passage in Scripture. (3) I have no doubt that Mohammed had often been present at Christian services and had picked up and stored away in his memory recollections, often queerly distorted, of what he heard or supposed he heard. These came to the surface later in his automatic, semi-automatic, and quite conscious utterances.

“As to the connection of your passage with the Paraclete passages in John, remember that the Pericyltos suggestion is due to Father Marracci, and reached the Mohammedan world only through Sale’s version. I have no doubt that your view of Mohammed’s idea of the Injil is correct. He would think of it all as divine utterances through ‘Isa’—just like the Quran. And that is the attitude of Islam after him. It holds that our gospels are parallel to the traditions.”

P. SMITH.

CURRENT TOPICS

A Fetwa Against Bolshevism

"In view of the possibility of a keen Bolshevist propaganda being introduced into Egypt," says the *Egyptian Gazette*, it would be useful if the Government followed the example of the authorities in India, who had the Fetwa of the Sheikh el-Islam against Bolshevism printed and published it throughout India, with the result that the Moslem population was greatly impressed. Bolshevism has for some time past been insidiously propagated there, and the effects of the Fetwa were found most satisfactory in impressing the followers of Islam with the noxiousness of the new doctrines. The Fetwa reads as follows:—

"Bolshevism is at present engaging the attention of those who control the destinies of nations. It is the duty of Islam, which directs a great portion of humanity, and reflects their sentiment, to proclaim its attitude to all Mohammedans, and to the world in general. Whatever may be the basic principles of Bolshevism, the fact that their application is harmful to humanity, to social life, and to the rights of individual property makes it quite impossible to reconcile them with the principles of Islam.

"Since the birth of Islam until now attacks upon life and property, theft, massacres, pillage and rape have always been condemned, and our sacred literature not only condemns but imposes penal sentences for such acts. Islam requires general progress, tranquillity, and happiness. It, therefore, forbids the taking of the life and the property of others, and ensures most emphatically the rights of property of individuals and communities.

"Consequently Islam rules that each individual has a complete right to bequeath his property, during his lifetime or after his death. Islam being unable to tolerate the spendthrift, and with a view to preventing the spendthrift from squandering his riches to the detriment of those who are left destitute, requires that the fortune be divided partly among the relatives and partly among the poor. It is to the interest of Islam that all its strength and influence should be concentrated to oppose the Bolsheviks as a danger threatening civilization, justice, and right."

Mohammedanism in the West Indies and Trinidad

Mr. Thaddeus Neff writes from San Fernando, Trinidad: "It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of adherents to the Mohammedan faith in the West Indies. It is, however, known with certainty that they number up into the thousands and are gradually on the increase. Few followers are gained here through teaching the doctrines of the Koran, but practically all the offspring of Mohammedan families are taught and confirmed in their faith.

"Most of the Mohammedans in the West Indies and British Guiana emigrated from India, or else were born of Mohammedan parentage.

"Almost every community of a score or more of Moslems has a

mosque, where prayers and religious exercises are regularly observed, and where their children are taught the Koran.

"Trinidad and Demerara, British Guiana, S. A., have each approximately forty Mohammedan mosques. Many of these structures compare favorably with the Christian houses of worship of the towns and villages.

"A few Moslems have been converted to the Christian religion in the West Indies, but most of them, though somewhat more liberal in their religious views, are staunch believers in Mohammed and the Koran. The Moslems, here as elsewhere, where opposed, manifest a great deal of zeal in their endeavors to propagate their faith; indeed at the present time learned *maulvies* go about the country attacking the Christian religion and advocating that of Mohammed. Many of the Moslems of the West Indies, though quite conservative, indulge in habits and practices that are forbidden in the Koran; even drunkenness is not uncommon among them.

"The greatest barrier to winning the Moslems of the West Indies to Christ and the Truth is the disgraceful and inconsistent example set by so many professed Christians.

"Please pray that true Christians may win more of the Moslems of the West Indies to Christ and His Gospel."

Hungry for the Bible

Here are two incidents.

At Tangier a Moorish lad said to the Bible Society depot-keeper: "I don't want to forget what they taught me at the Raymund Lull Orphanage about the Saviour, so I have come to buy a Gospel"; and he bought St. Luke in Mogrebi Arabic.

A Moslem *mullah*, who belonged to Nishapur in Persia, gave the following testimony at his baptism: "My grandfather was the head of a certain sect of Islam at Herat, in Afghanistan. When I was a boy, my father once took me to India, where I met a missionary doctor, who talked to me about his own faith, and his words I have never forgotten. As a young man, I felt dissatisfied with my own religion, and searched here and there to find something better—but in vain. Six years ago there came to Nishapur a man selling books. He told me that I should read them for myself. So I bought a large book, and began to read. I had not gone far when I realized that it was for this that I had been looking so long. It satisfied the hunger of my heart; and three years ago I believed in Jesus Christ."

Survey by Aeroplane in Egypt

The *Near East* gives the following news that may hold out a challenge to missionary methods: "The Nile Valley between the Delta Barrage and Aswan has just been surveyed in quite the latest way—by aeroplane. The work was carried out by the Middle East Air Force, on behalf of the Egyptian Government, and it is reported that it has already proved of great use to the Irrigation Department. The value of the aeroplane in the Near East, especially in overcoming difficulties of desert crossings, is becoming more apparent almost daily. Only last month it was announced that the R. A. F. had opened up a practicable route from Jerusalem across the Syrian and Arabian deserts to Bagdad—

the achievement being all the more remarkable because a chain of ground stations has been established, with refuelling and revictualling stations. Although we must certainly expect trouble along this route, its surveying and laying out constitute a fine feat in themselves, and the flights already recorded—one of twelve hours from Cairo to Bagdad by Sir G. Salmond, and three of about fifteen hours each in the other direction—show the value of the route. Another development in Near Eastern travel is promised in the form of a London-Constantinople service to be inaugurated shortly by a Continental firm. We should like to see such a service run by a British firm; for there might then be a chance of British mails and British goods competing on equal terms with those of our Allies and rivals.”

Can Arabic be the Language of Civilization?

Mr. Donald A. Cameron, late H. M.'s Consul General at Alexandria, writes in the *Spectator* as follows:

“Remove every British official from Egypt, put the clock back to 1875, just before Mr. Disraeli bought the Suez Canal shares, regard the Nile Delta as a Terra del Fuego in which we have no interest, no trade, no road to India, nothing but a clean slate. The difficulty of language remains. Forty years' study of Arabic has convinced me that the noble Arabian language is entirely unsuited for modern European civilization—a civilization of finance, banking, shipping, commerce in the fullest sense of the word. The Arabic language and alphabet are almost as useless as Cuneiform Assyrian for modern purposes. Imagine the business of our city carried on in foreign languages with superior foreign competitors, while English was reserved merely for servants. Education is impossible in Arabic. Every intelligent Egyptian lad is anxious to master French (or English) in order that he may qualify in European, foreign, Christian medicine, law, or engineering. Many enlightened natives are sending their sons to be educated on the Continent, and several Egyptian students are to be found in London, working at economics, with a view to a career on their return home. There is little hope of any career, because Egypt, an artificial oasis fed by the life-giving streams of Abyssinia, is occupied by millions of ignorant peasants who can never be educated, and whose trade is in the hands of the Levantines. The Capitulations can never be abolished in substance, because they mean capital and commercial credit, having existed from time immemorial, like the pyramids and palm trees. They will be stronger than ever with the Mixed Tribunals reinforced. New presbyter will be but old priest writ large. The more it changes, the more it will be the same thing. There is no need to quibble over words. ‘*Himaya*’ in Arabic means both protectorate and protection. Abolish the former, if offensive; but we must protect the native Moslems from the Levantines, because the Arabic language is but a clumsy knife as compared with our modern high speed tool of speech in English, French, Italian, or Greek.”

The Fast of Ramadan in Sierra Leone

“Last night the new moon appeared, and with it the end of the Moslems' month of fasting,” writes the Rev. Henry N. Medd. “Today is the ‘Festival of breaking the Fast.’”

"It was during Ramadan that a rare opportunity presented itself. I went to the mud-house of one of the chief men of this place 'to rub his leg with embrocation'—truth to tell! It happened my patient was leaving the house the moment of my approach. He was going to the mosque, which is situated hard by. I rubbed his 'calf' and accompanied him out to the road. Already a large number of Moslems were standing outside the gates of the mosque, awaiting the 'call' to pray. It seemed a glorious opportunity—there was the crowd, and there was the atmosphere! My patient introduced me and the results of embrocation to the crowd. I talked to them on the things about which we are agreed, and finally delivered the Gospel Message of the world's need and its only Saviour. It was an impressive open-air service. The 'call' came, the gates opened, and as those prayer-seekers wended their way to the place of prayer I felt the ground was holy ground. I raised my heart—and my helmet."

"Passing through the town I saw the Moslems gathered from many miles round; dressed in gay-colored robes they presented a gorgeous spectacle in the blazing sunshine. During every day of one whole month these devoted sons of Islam have rigorously abstained from food and drink. If by any chance one of them should be a pedestrian on some parched plain, no matter how burning the sun or how scorching the wind, he must not suffer a drop of water to pass his lips during a long day. He can only look forward for the sunset, when, without compromising his faith, he may slake his thirst and refresh with food his drooping frame. Hence, night after night, during the longest month I have ever known, I have heard unusual noises coming from the Moslem camp situated on the outskirts of the mission compound. To-day the roads are alive with tom-toms, singing, and dancing.".....

Third Moslem Converts' Conference at Zeitoun

During the week previous to the Conference, Marcus went round visiting the converts in the Cairo district. He was greatly impressed with the appreciation shown by nearly all of the thought for them as converts displayed in its organization, and more especially because of the personal visit paid to them. He found several of them feeling intensely the loneliness of their position, and some in great need, and it seemed to him that God was calling him to make it one of his first duties to visit them regularly, to help and cheer them on the way. Letters were also received from different parts of the country, most of them expressing gladness that their spiritual needs were being considered.

The same gladness was evident on the faces of those who arrived on the Monday evening and Tuesday morning. The first two to arrive joyfully set to work cleaning the conference knives and forks and spoons. The second two, tired out with a long journey from the Upper Country, being shown to a place where they could lie down, when seen a few minutes later were pouring out their souls in prayer for blessing on the Conference.

About forty converts attended, but we did not have as much help from the missionaries of other societies as usual. Amongst those who helped in the speaking were Doctor Zwemer, who gave a magnificent address, illustrated on the blackboard, about the causes of Peter's fall;

Mr. Upson, who gave a series of blackboard lessons upon the birth and childhood of the believer on Tuesday morning, the youth and growth of the believer on the Wednesday morning, and on the manhood or perfection of the believer on the Thursday morning; Doctor Phillips, who conducted the united Communion Service on Thursday afternoon, and in preparation led us through the Bible, studying the benefits to the believer of the shed blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. What a blessed time was that Communion Service, when, I think, for the first time in the history of this country, men and women converts from Islam met together round the Table of the Lord; we felt this was full of great promise.

There was a great spirit of prayer in all the meetings, and in some particularly, the hush of God's presence was intensely real. We cannot record any startling emotional results of the Conference, but one felt that a solid foundation was being laid for a steadier and holier life for many.

As in all Converts' Conferences hitherto held, there was a great deal of talk between meetings amongst themselves as to the advisability of uniting together in some way for their common welfare. We rather feared the consequences of this, for some of their leaders were pretty wild in their ideas; but when after the Communion Service Marcus read out what we might call their "articles of association," we at once felt that God had answered prayer and had kept them absolutely moderate in their aims.

This is largely a self-help movement. That is to say, that the converts who are in employment and receiving wages will join together to help those who are in distress. There is to be a committee, composed of four of the converts and two missionaries, to look into all matters that concern the converts and to see that they are visited and cared for. The native members of this committee were elected by ballot, and we felt that the choice of men could not possibly have been better made.

GEORGE SWAN.

How Islam Spreads in Africa

"The way in which Islam is marching southward is dramatically shown by a recent incident. A few years ago the British authorities suddenly discovered that Mohammedanism was pervading Nyassaland. An investigation brought out the fact that it was the work of Zanzibar Arabs. They began their propaganda about 1900. Ten years later almost every village in southern Nyassaland had its Moslem teacher and its mosque-hut. Although the movement was frankly anti-European, the British authorities did not dare to check it for fear of repercussions elsewhere.

"Islam has thus two avenues of approach to the African Negro—his natural preference for a militant faith, and his resentment at white tutelage. It is the disinclination of the more martial African peoples for a pacific creed which perhaps accounts for Christianity's slow progress among the very warlike tribes of South Africa, such as the Zulus and the Matabele. Islam is as yet unknown south of the Zambezi, but white men universally dread the possibility of its appearance, fearing its effect upon the natives. Of course Christianity has made distinct progress in the Dark Continent. The natives of the South

African Union are predominantly Christianized. In east-central Africa Christianity has also gained many converts, particularly in Uganda, while on the West African Guinea coast Christian missions have long been established, and have generally succeeded in keeping Islam away from the seaboard. Certainly all white men, whether professing Christians or not, should welcome the success of missionary efforts in Africa. The degrading fetishism and demonology which sum up the native pagan cults cannot stand, and all Negroes will some day be either Christians or Moslems. In so far as he is Christianized, the Negro's savage instincts will be restrained and he will be disposed to acquiesce in white tutelage. In so far as he is Islamized, the Negro's warlike propensities will be inflamed, and he will be used as the tool of Arab Pan-Islamism, seeking to drive the white man from Africa and make the continent its very own."—From *The Rising Tide of Colour* by LOTHROP STODDARD.

Study Course in Islam at the Cairo Study Centre

The general plan of the course, outlined for three years' work, is to give the missionary student sympathetic knowledge of Islam, its origin and character, its strength and its weakness, as a religious system. The aim of the course is practical, not theoretical. It is to fit the missionary for service as a winner of souls. Each year of the studies includes four parts as indicated. It is very advisable that the work of the first year be done before arrival on the field and an oral examination on arrival should be given the candidate to indicate the degree of progress in knowledge of Islam already attained.

FIRST YEAR:

- (a) *General view of Islam*, with special reference to its two-fold character *Imân* and *Dîn*.
Text books: Gairdner's *REBUKE OF ISLAM* or Zwemer's *ISLAM A CHALLENGE TO FAITH*.
- (b) *Popular Islam*. Macdonald's *ASPECTS OF ISLAM* or Miss Van Sommer's *OUR MOSLEM SISTERS*.
- (c) *Historical and Critical*. Pamphlet published by the Board of Missionary Preparation, New York, entitled *PREPARATION OF MISSIONARIES FOR MOSLEM LANDS* (This is for guidance in the whole course, especially for its bibliography).
- (d) *Method*. Selections from Rice's *CRUSADERS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY*.

SECOND YEAR:

- (a) *General view of Islam* with special reference to its sources and Arabic terms. Text books: Stanton's *THE TEACHING OF THE QURAN*.
F. A. Klein's *THE RELIGION OF ISLAM*, especially the footnotes, *THE REPORT OF THE LUCKNOW CONFERENCE 1911*, and Wilson's *MODERN MOVEMENTS AMONG MOSLEMS* for reading.
- (b) *Popular Islam*. Claude Field's *MYSTICS AND SAINTS IN ISLAM*.
Zwemer's *INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM ON ISLAM*.
Lane's *MODERN EGYPTIANS* (Chapters on Superstition).
- (c) *Historical and Critical*. Margoliouth's *MOHAMMED AND THE RISE OF ISLAM* and his *THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MOHAMMEDANISM*.

- (d) *Method.* Tisdall's MOHAMMEDAN OBJECTIONS ANSWERED using Zwemer's Syllabus Outline.

THIRD YEAR:

- (a) *Special View of Moslem Theology.* Macdonald's THEOLOGY OF ISLAM or Amir Ali's THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM.
- (b) *Popular Islam* (The old Orthodoxy). Kitab Mufid 'Awam al Muslimin by Al Jirjani, Cairo, Al Maliji, 1912. (For Arabic terms and view-point) vowelled text only. (The New Islam) Khuda Bukhsh—ESSAYS INDIAN AND ISLAMIC, and Howard Walter's THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT.
- (c) *Historical and Critical.* Sell's HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE KORAN. Lane-Poole's MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES (London, 1894). Nicholson's LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ARABS (for reading).
- (d) *Method.* The use of Matthew's Gospel with Moslems (Lectures). Also Biographical Studies, e. g., LIFE OF AL-GHAZALI, KAMIL ABDUL MESSIH, A MOSLEM SIR GALAHAD, SWEET FIRST FRUITS, etc.

LABORATORY WORK: Visits to Mosques, Schools, Libraries and Museums, using Lane Poole's STORY OF CAIRO (as Guide book), Funerals, Weddings, Zar, Zikr, 'Aqiqa Ceremony, Schools, Hospitals; beginning with the first year.

N. B. (a), (b) and (d) obligatory courses. (c) optional or recommended except in the first year's course.

The ambitious student will find a larger and more difficult program outlined in the pamphlet entitled *Preparation of Missionaries for Moslem Lands*.

The Redhead Sect

"Dr. N. Daghavarian, a distinguished Armenian physician and author of Constantinople, recently wrote for the *Avedaper* and also issued in pamphlet form an interesting series of articles on the Kuzulbash sect as found in Turkey. His articles are based on personal investigations. The theory of the learned author is that the Redheads are the lineal descendants of the Armenian Paulicians and Tontragists.

"In order to escape persecution by the Greeks and Armenians, some of the Paulicians and Tontragists made friends with the Arabs and entered under their protection, took Arab names and outwardly accepted Islam. They even adopted circumcision, while retaining their old beliefs.

"These nominally Moslem sectaries now live in all parts of Armenia and are known under the name Redheads, (Kuzul bash).

"The Redheads, like the Tontragists and the Arkhvalists, who sprang from the former, have kept in principle three Christian sacraments, for although they have changed Baptism into Circumcision, they have retained Confession, Penance and Absolution, and Communion. Like the primitive Christians they have night watches for singing Psalms, they have preserved the memory of fasting connected with several Christian festivals, they have a sacred staff; some of them believe, like the Manichaeans, in the transmigration of souls, and finally they have adopted some of the beliefs and customs of the Alevi Moslems.

"The Redheads number more than a million. In Sivas vilayet there are about 350,000 and their principal centres are Divrig, Tomes, Yildizli, Zara, Hafik, Zilé, Mejideuzü and Hajikeuy. In Mamuret-ül-Aziz vilayet there are 300,000, chiefly in the sanjaks of Dersim and Malatla. In Erzurum vilayet there are over 100,000, mostly in the kazas of Baibourt, Keghi and Terchan. In Angora vilayet also there are over 100,000, they are found too in the Bitlis and Diarbekir vilayets and in the sandjak of Samsoun. They are an agricultural and cattle-raising people. It is quite exceptional for them to engage in trade. In general they live in isolated plateaus or desolate places, the result of the persecutions to which they were formerly subjected.

"The Redheads practice Circumcision, not Baptism. According to some, they do this from fear, not on principle, but they accept it because even Christ was circumcised.

"The expenses of the rite of circumcision (the fee for circumcision, the clothes of the child and priests, of the other children and sometimes of the adults of the house), are borne by him whom the Turkish Redheads call *babaluk* and the Kurds, *kirva*, who corresponds to the Christian godfather in baptism. During the act of circumcision the child is held in the arms of the *kirva*, just as among Christians the infant is held at baptism in the arms of its godfather. Circumcision takes place in early childhood, sometimes later, but generally is performed before the age of 15; uncircumcised individuals are also found among them."

Condensed from *The Orient*.

Islam in England

The daily press of London is utilized by the Ahmadiya propagandists from time to time as the two following items bear witness:

"To the Editor of the Times:

"Sir,—We, the undersigned, members of the Moslem Ahmadiya Brotherhood, rejoice to observe that the Lord Chamberlain has had the good taste to object to the use of the title *Mecca* regarding the forthcoming production at His Majesty's Theatre. The use of such a title would be abhorrent to all Moslems, who respect their faith and regard the name of Mecca with great veneration. We are grateful to the Lord Chamberlain for sparing us the sight of seeing the name of the Holy City of Islam placarded about London to advertise a theatrical performance, no matter how attractive.

"We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

"F. MOHAMMED SAYAL,

"MOULVI MUBARAK ALI,

"MOHAMMED HUSAIN MALIK,

"OSMAN EFFENDI.

"The Mosque, Melrose-road, East Putney, May 27.

"Yesterday the Muslim world celebrated "Eid," the feast of joy, which marks the closing of the long fast of Ramadan, and there was a large gathering of the Mussulman community in England at the Mosque, Woking, for the event. On carpets spread upon the lawn in the beautiful grounds of the mosque knelt representatives of the faithful from India, Turkey, Persia, Egypt and the Soudan, and Africa. The Turkish Ambassador, Rechid Pasha, was present, together with Shaikh

M. H. Kidwai of Gadia (Indian Muslim delegation), Mirza Hashim Ispahim, and Prince Abdul Hamid. The King's Indian orderlies formed a picturesque group, and there were numerous red fezzes, gaily-colored turbans, and embroidered coats to lend brilliancy to the scene. Mingled in the prayer line or seated round as devout spectators were many English ladies and gentlemen, converts to Islam or friends of the devotees.

"The Imam, Mustafa Khan, who conducted the prayer, intoned the salutations and praises in soft, strange, arresting cadences of voice that seemed to bring the Orient very near. After the fervent prostrations towards the East, when the salutations 'Peace be upon you' had been uttered, the supremacy of Allah proclaimed, and the ears and eyes had been touched in token that the devotee had shut his senses off from all communion but that with God, the Imam delivered a short address on the principles of Islam, showing how Islam was a universal religion, capable of being received by all humanity. The conception of God in Islam was, he said, that of a universal God, and in their belief there was no antagonism between Mahomet and Christ. Islam was a practical religion. The practice of prayer, which brought the king and the beggar shoulder to shoulder in the prayer line, impressed the truth of human fellowship; and the severe fasts taught the rich to understand and to sympathize with the sufferings of the poor.

"The celebration concluded with a luncheon at which the guests took it in turn to wait upon their fellow guests, without distinction of rank; and men hugged one another ceremoniously but heartily in their delight at relief from a season of very real privation."

The Passing of Islam Among the Moros

Mr. O. Garfield Jones, writing in the *New York Christian Herald*, enumerates some of the forces that are disintegrating Islam among the Philippine Islanders as follows:

"Of course, the Philippine government is not carrying on any proselyting campaign. The government officials and the public schools are non-religious. But modern science, western institutions, and an increasing contact with Christian personalities are sure to have a profound effect upon the future of Mohammedanism in the Philippine Islands. It has been said repeatedly by Christian missionaries that Mohammedanism can not survive the critical atmosphere of modern science and western civilization. If this be true, the faith of Mohammed is doomed in the Philippine archipelago, because certain it is that public schools, newspapers and democratic government are opening up every corner of the archipelago to modern science and western civilization.

"However, the Christians in the Philippines are not content to remain silent when the way is open to teach their faith to a people who have never heard it. Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, American, Spanish and Filipino, have gone into this virgin field to spread their gospel, and the presence of an increasing number of Christian immigrants greatly facilitates the establishment of Christian churches. Relieved of the responsibility for public schools and hospitals, since the government provides these, the Christian missions in Mindanao and Sulu should make great progress during the next twenty years, when the

first public school generation of Moros will be coming into full citizenship and when these richest valleys of the archipelago are being settled so rapidly by Christian Filipinos from the north.

"Just one cloud hangs on the horizon and that one is menacing. The spirit of fanaticism is quiescent just now, and the education of all Moro children through the public schools will insure its quiescence in the future. But the lack of adequate funds to provide the necessary schools, a decline in the fairness and efficiency of the government administration, too great a weakening of the military force back of the civil government will pave the way for the spread of some local conflict between Mohammedans and Christians until it becomes a religious war throughout Moroland, reviving fanaticism and Moro solidarity in its ancient form. Such a happening would set back progress in Moroland at least a generation. It would destroy the present bright hopes of a unified Filipino nationality as a possibility of the near future. The avoidance of such a happening depends upon retaining sufficient troops in the southern islands to discourage the few recalcitrant Moros from attempting insurrection, keeping the government in Mindanao and Sulu scrupulously free from partisan influence and impractical theories, and providing ample government funds from the insular legislature until economic development and increasing prosperity make the revenues of these Moro provinces somewhat commensurate to their needs."

Islam in Central Asia

"The political orientation of Islam in Central Asia is said by journalists to be 'kaleidoscopic.' Unfortunately there is little of the *kalos*, meaning beautiful, element coming into view as yet. *Plus que ça change plus que c'est le même*. Till the Russo-Japanese war it was tsarist Russia intriguing against Britain; now soviet Russia fills the rôle faithfully. What the attitude of Moslem divines towards the proletarian form of Russian autocracy will be, it is hard to foresee, for both are in process of reshaping. Officially the Sheikh ul-Islam has denounced Bolshevism without defining it, on the ground that Islam demands the maintenance of public order and recognizes private property. Kemal Pasha, as leader of the Turkish Nationalist Government, somewhat more cautiously remarks that 'the situation of our country and the social conditions of our people do not permit the application of Communism here.' Northern Armenia has declared itself a soviet republic, but how far it has thereby secured equitable treatment of its Christian population we do not know. The situation of the Cilician Armenians is most precarious still. In the confused fighting, sides are fantastically exchanged; while Greek soldiers fight the Turks, Greek merchant vessels carry supplies to them; some Kurds are pro-Ally, some pro-Turk. In Persia it is said that a new and more hopeful party has arisen under the leadership of a brilliant journalist, himself a descendant of the Prophet, whose object is to wrest the guidance of affairs from the hands of the corrupt feudal aristocracy, and put it into those of the new educated generation. It is to be hoped that the results of success, if attained, will be more pleasing than in the case of the New Turks. Much will depend on the Christian influence which mission schools and colleges are able to exert. In Afghanistan the second anniversary of the accession of the Amir was celebrated in February by

a highly modern durbar, attended by all the foreign missions, at which their members joined in games of bridge, the first of which was started by the Amir himself. The reporter does not mention what Moslem divines were present."—*United Empire*.

A Social Survey of Smyrna

It is a hopeful sign for future missionary work that careful surveys are being made of some of the great cities of the Near East. That of Constantinople, recently completed, is now published and will be reviewed in our Quarterly. A Social Survey Committee under the leadership of Professor Birge, which has been at work for over a year on a survey of the city of Smyrna, has now completed its report. The report is being bound and will be on sale presently. It is a volume of intense interest and helpfulness to any persons interested in conditions in the Near East. The report is divided into the following sections: History of Smyrna, the City Government, the Educational System, the Correctional System, Charities, Health, Recreation and Amusements, the Industrial Situation, Summary of Recommendations.

The Independence of the Hejaz

The Ahmadiya community of India prepared an address of welcome to Lord Reading, setting forth their loyalty to the crown, and making certain suggestions regarding the internal government of India. They also refer to the Near East and the Caliphate, and the address goes on to say:

"But more important still, in our opinion, is the question of the independence of Hedjaz, which must remain free from outside interference. When this question arose every Moslem entertained the misgiving that the freeing of Hedjaz from Turkish control might mean the bringing of it under the control of a European power. Hedjaz being a sterile country would, it was feared, be unable to produce sufficient income to defray the expenses of its administration, and the Hedjaz Government would be compelled to borrow money from a foreign country, thus placing itself under the control of a European power. Recent cables tend to strengthen these misgivings. Reuter, the other day, mentioned a scheme outlined by Mr. Churchill, the Secretary of State for Colonies, wherein an annual subsidy is promised to the Hedjaz Government provided the latter should undertake to maintain internal peace and put its foreign policy under the control of Great Britain. This gives rise to certain misgivings and we request Your Excellency to draw the attention of the Home Government to their removal. First, the scheme, coming as it does from the Colonial Secretary, has nothing to do with independent States. Secondly, to put foreign relations under the control of another government is clearly incompatible with independence. Thirdly, the stipulation as to the responsibility for the maintenance of internal peace runs counter to the very conception of independence. The stipulation can only mean that if there is ever any disturbance in the country, Great Britain will have the right to change its government, or interfere with its internal administration, or put the country under military control. Surely this is no independence. It amounts to complete subjection, with this difference, that Great Britain will rule Hedjaz not directly but through a Moslem chief. If

the Hedjaz Government is not able to take care of itself it may better be put under Turkish control subject to the same conditions under which Mr. Churchill proposes to place it under British control."

Islam in South America

Mr. George Assas, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, sends us the following information:

"The present investigation is made in Brazil, and applies to Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic, on a smaller scale. The Moslems in other South American countries are few. The means of investigation are really nil, and for this reason there is hardly a way to obtain complete and detailed statistics.

"There are about 20,000 Moslems in Brazil living in Amazonas, Manaus, Para, Maranhao, Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio and S. Paul States. As you see they are mostly in the North, and occupy specially the seashore, or are alongside the river. All of these Moslems are either 'Shi'ah' or 'Sunni,' and come mostly from Syria.

"Another class of Moslems come from Morocco and adjacent countries, and total about 5,000.

"None of these 25,000 make a special effort to propagate the Moslem religion. They do not have any mosque, nor do they seem to have any special meetings, although they observe, either as individuals or in small groups, the Moslem doctrines and disciplines.

"A third class of Moslems in Brazil are the African negroes,* who, brought in the time of slave traffic, still remember their religion and language. Many of these Moslems still speak Arabic quite well. Their children, of course, show the mixture of both African and Brazilian blood, and of both Moslem and Catholic religions. It is told of these that they go into the Catholic churches and make the sign of the cross, kneeling and bowing their heads like Catholics, while they repeat the Moslem creed: 'There is no god but God.' These negro Moslems are not found in the Argentine Republic. In Brazil, their number is decreasing rapidly, as they are mixing with the natives, and their origin will be forgotten at last by the mass of people."

The Feminist Movement in Egypt

The feminist movement in Egypt, which began in the spring of 1919, has now taken definite form. Many who saw, in those days of excitement and unrest, the native veiled ladies, generally known to Europeans by the name of "harem," going about the streets in their carriages, cheering the demonstrators and shaking their little handkerchiefs to encourage them, and making speeches in Al-Azhar, in the streets and elsewhere, said this augured well for the movement, for they knew that the latent energy in the ladies had at last found an outlet. Indeed, soon after, they saw that these ladies, who had emerged from their seclusion and had shaken off their inactivity, had settled down to more permanent work; in other words, having realized that they are the equals of members of the opposite sex, and have the same rights, privileges and duties—one of which latter is to their country, which the male part of the population is endeavoring to liberate from a foreign yoke—they began to help to raise their country to the desired

level of enlightenment by improving the present condition of the members of their sex. As soon as the situation grew quieter, the native ladies decided that there were two ways to help their countrywomen: to form societies, and to publish magazines entirely dedicated to their own interests, and it was not long before three of these societies were formed, one of which is Al-Nahda al-Nisayia (The Feminist Movement) with a "magalla," or magazine, of its own.

The first number of this magazine appeared on the first of this month, and I learn from it that the editor and manager is Madame Labiba Ahmed, who is also president of the Society of Al-Nahda al-Nisayia. On the cover is given, in addition to a picture of the famous statue by Mahmoud Mukhtar, the noted Egyptian sculptor—known by the name of "The Renaissance of Egypt"—a quotation to the effect that "A nation will not die so long as its men and women work together,"—a very fit dictum! I must here remark that the editor and manager, Madame Labiba Ahmed, spoken of above is the mother of Dr. Ismail Mortada Bey. She is one of the most highly educated native ladies. In a short introduction, Madame Labiba Ahmed says that "If we (native women) have been the object of admiration of the world by the share we took in political matters, from the point of view of our sex we have made the Egyptian woman not only an object of admiration but also of respect, the sense of serious life having penetrated into our souls." In another short article the editor gives us the object of her society, which is to bind the ladies together and to help to raise them to the high level fit for them, to care for the foundlings, and to give lectures on literary and social subjects.

It is worthy of note that each member of the society has, on joining, to take the following oath: "I swear to make chastity my crown, and virtue my guide; to live as a free woman, a good and useful wife and mother; to do my duty honestly to my God, my fatherland and my country; to love others as I love myself, and to hate for them what I hate for myself. So help me God." No better set of rules could be imagined.

As for the contributions to this number, they are a literary feast, for they deal with various subjects of interest particularly to women. Dr. Ismail Bey Mortada, the editor's son, discourses on hygiene from the earliest days of history, and Dame Kamar Abdoh on nursing the sick, insisting principally on the moral influence the nurse should have on her patients, on the cleanliness of the patients, of their clothes and of their rooms, and on how to administer a remedy to a patient. Dr. Abdul Aziz Nazmi Bey, the noted specialist for the diseases of children, deals in an illustrated article, with the care of babies, while Dr. Abdalla Harfush has a great deal to say on a mother's duties to her children. Miss Marie Ziadé, the eminent writer, so well known to *Gazette* readers, has a weighty article on the feminist movement, in which she says: "A day came when woman had to raise her voice, not to give proofs of her political acumen, but to show the world that she is as anxious as a man to attain the national aspirations of the country, and that she does not refuse to give up the veil or apprehend the dangers in the way of the political liberty of the country, and her efforts in this respect were received with admiration. If man admired her, it was not because of the demonstrations in which she took part, but because she

proved to him that she is capable of advancing, and gave him a small example of what she can do. I say 'a small example,' because it is easy for one to imitate others; the great thing that she can do is to return to her home, her little kingdom, to educate herself and her children, to be fit for the two beautiful names of wife and mother, to be the lady, not the slave, of her husband. . . . Political liberty is not the real liberty, for a nation can be free from a political point of view, and yet a slave in its character and disposition; the best liberty is that of the soul, and the best independence is that of thought."—*Egyptian Gazette*.

Letter to Lenin from the Afghan Amir

We have no reason to doubt the genuineness of the following letter published in *The Manchester Guardian*. Although written over a year ago it throws light on the situation as it was and is in Central Asia.

THE AMIR'S LETTER

This letter is dated 9th Kausa, 1299, by solar reckoning, or the beginning of December, 1920:

"To the great, the humane defender of civilization, the sincere protector of Eastern peoples and the friend of the free Afghan State and nation, his Supreme Excellency the President of the great Russian Republic, may Allah preserve him.

"On the occasion of the satisfactory ending of the recent negotiations concerning the establishment of a basis of neighbourly and friendly relations between the governments of the Russian Soviet Republic under your High Presidency and my Imperial Government, and their conclusion by a friendly treaty—I congratulate my high friend President Lenin, expressing my delight in this matter, and I hope that the aforesaid treaty will be confirmed and its provisions enter into force as speedily as possible.

"In view of the fact that the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic has directed its well-intentioned purposes and sympathies towards the overthrow throughout the world of the policy of Imperialism, and especially towards the liberation of the peoples of the East from the despotism of world Imperialists and towards the establishment of conditions in which each people shall itself decide its fate as a State, these matters were in themselves reason for supreme eagerness and for the regulation of relations between my Imperial Government and the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic.

"The mutual obligations, which are in the concluded treaty where it concerns that policy, with regard to the assurance and preservation of the complete independence of the Governments of Bokhara and Khiva, we consider also as a material proof of these freedom-loving ideas.

"From his Highness Jemal Pasha, who has since been in our capital, we have heard of all the noble ideas and intentions of the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic with regard to the enfranchisement of the whole Eastern world, and of the fact that the aforesaid Government has concluded an alliance with the Government of Turkey, which in the present war has suffered attack of the most unjustifiable kind, and

in confirmation of that alliance has given her material and moral help. These explanations and informations strengthen and confirm more than ever our hopes and beliefs in the actions of your Government.

"The Afghan Government has great hopes concerning this common object, to which it attributes very great significance, and places as the very foundation of its policy this aim, humane with regard to all mankind, and is ready by all means and at all times to pursue the continuance of our mutual friendship. Wherefore the Afghan Government hopes that the sincerity of its ideas and hopes will meet with the respect and trust which it deserves on your high part. And I, in the very strongest manner, hope that, for the sake of the realization of these ideas and hopes, you, in a special way, on your high part will facilitate the efforts that are being made in the attainment of certain immediate possibilities.

"The treaty we have concluded established the bases of our sincere relations, and we have no doubt that in future these bases will be still further strengthened and confirmed, and that the attainment of these high mutual aims will justify the desires of both parties.

"Since it is my Imperial wish that certain misunderstandings hitherto caused by officials on both sides in the current relations of the two States should be speedily liquidated, necessary instructions have been given to the proper person. I hope that you, on your high part, will be so good as to give similar instructions to the proper persons with the object of facilitating friendly relations.

"In particular, I beg you not to refuse to give your instructions that the suggestions made by our Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, concerning certain supplementary agreements, economic and with regard to consular representatives, to confirm and regularize the relations between the two States, should be accepted as speedily as possible.

"I hope that the efforts we are making, the object of which is the liberation of the whole Eastern world, will be crowned with success, and I beg you to accept the expression of my extraordinary respect.

"Your friend,

"AMIR AMANULLA."

The Afghan Press

We learn from *The Times*, London, something of the new journalism in the great closed land. Perhaps through the printed page the message of the Kingdom may first cross the borders:

"Fleet-street may well envy the young Afghan editors. It is the golden age of journalism when a nation is beginning to think, and truth is as fresh as dew, and there is no bugbear of banality.

"Under the progressive Ameer, Amanullah, Afghanistan is rousing herself from her sleep, and the two Nationalist journals, the *Aman-i-Afghan*, of Kabul, and the *Ittihad-i-Mashraqi* (Eastern Unity), of Jalalabad, aim at reflecting the national enlightenment. The *Aman-i-Afghan* and the *Ittihad-i-Mashraqi* date from October, 1919, and February, 1920, respectively. Both journals are published in Persian, and claim to be unofficial, though the inspiration and control of the Ameer's Government are obvious, as is the Bolshevist hand be-

hind it. Subscription to the *Aman-i-Afghan* is obligatory upon officials of a certain grade, and is deducted by the Royal Office from their salaries.

"Politically one learns a great deal about the revolt in the East from the new Afghan journals. They help one to understand the anti-European sentiment, which has been brewing all over Asia for half a century, and which has been brought to a head, not so much by the war, as by the suspense and uncertainty succeeding it, due partly to the Allies' long indecision, partly to the Bolsheviks' insinuations as to our exhaustion and impotence. It would be impossible to gain so clear a reading of the heart of the East from the Indian, Persian, Arabian, or Egyptian vernacular Press. The modern, progressive, constitutional Afghan soul is naked in its simplicity, and it is the soul of the East in embryo, an East which is growing more envious, resentful, and contemptuous of its Western neighbours, and more impatient of interference, every day.

"There is a human and pathetic side to the Afghan Press with which one must sympathize, in spite of its unfairness of judgment and distortion of fact. The Moral Reader vein, which the Americans would call 'high-browed,' is very engaging in Afghanistan. The leader-writers of Kabul and Jalalabad generally introduce a brief dissertation on the value of knowledge, the advantages of unity, or the danger of the neglect of education. 'Be firm in adopting good habits and in shunning bad ones,' Kabul warns its readers. 'If in your youth you do good, in your old age you will not be sorry for your mis-deeds.' Maxims like this carry conviction to the simple-minded of the genuineness of the printed matter in which they are interspersed. 'Knowledge is the most precious of jewels,' reflects Jalalabad. 'Knowledge gave the Allies strength. Through unity they won the war'; and the conclusion of these moralizings is the up-to-date simile that knowledge without unity is like a motor without petrol."

The New Woman in Egypt

The spread of education among men and women in Egypt has had great influence on their ideas of marriage; now young men are not satisfied with the choice of their wives by their parents, and young women, too, wish at least to see what their future husbands are like. This change in the social life of the natives is noticeable wherever one goes in Cairo and Alexandria; while in past time man and wife were very seldom seen together in the streets, we now see them in the same box in theatres, and the women, at least of the upper classes, who were never seen alone in the streets, have dispensed with the services of a servant to protect them when they go visiting or to make purchases from the large stores. In former days all that a man expected of his wife was that she should be good to look at and know all about housekeeping. Now he wants this and more, as the author of *Kaifa Takun Zawgaty* (How I should like my wife to be) tells us. The author of this book is Abdul Adiz Emin el Khangy, who translated the works of Princess Kadria Hussein from Turkish to Arabic. He details the qualities which should adorn his future wife, and which he considers essential for his and her happiness which can be easily imagined by the reader. But the author does more than that. He condemns many habits, principally the wearing of the

veil, consulting a fortune-teller before signing the marriage contract, and many others. He considers it very strange that native women and young ladies should hold long discussions with men-assistants in the stores, with tram-conductors and others, and yet a man refuses a wooer permission to see his daughter before he marries her. As for consulting fortune-tellers, it often happens, says the author, that the father consults a half-made sheikh as to the future in store for his daughter before giving her in marriage. "Our marriage affairs," cries the author, "are like most of our interests; we entrust them to fate and destiny."—*Egyptian Gazette*.

The New Woman in Constantinople

"It is impossible to be in Constantinople for more than a few hours without noticing the entirely new position now occupied by the Moslem woman, who is commencing to assume her position in work, in politics and in society," writes Mr. H. C. Woods in the *Fortnightly*.

"They now act as hospital nurses, they serve in shops (even the famous Turkish Delight establishment has a woman cashier), and they work in the telephonic exchange. In addition, I went to several men's houses and offices where women brought in the coffee, tea or cigarettes and made up the fires, which would have been impossible a few years ago. Such a development means that, over and above its effect upon the lighter side of life, at present and still more in the future a man is and will be possessed of a friend, a companion and an assistant.

"Even now one meets the Turk walking or driving with his lady relations, and already women of the upper class are beginning to do their own housekeeping and to help their husbands to entertain. But, perhaps most important of all, this innovation will have vital results for the future of the race in that the child of today and tomorrow will be brought up, not in the retrograde atmosphere of a closed harem, but under the influence of women who know at least something of the outer world. This emancipation of women makes itself apparent to the visitor by the fact that men are now quite widely received in female society and by the modern costumes which are disported in the streets. For instance, I myself went to a fashionable tea party where my hostess welcomed her friends of both sexes. Turkish ladies, some alone and some accompanied by their husbands came and went. Their conversation (all those with whom I spoke talked English and French perfectly) was such as to prove that they had been educated, not as described in the modern novel, but rather in accordance with the better and truer principles of the twentieth century.

"I lunched at the house of a rich, middle-aged widow, who spoke nothing but Turkish, and who received her party, consisting of an English lady, a Turkish Pasha and myself, in her bedroom. Here one was completely in the East, and there was nothing modern in the establishment except the mind and soul of the woman—a mind and soul the like of which may yet be responsible for the regeneration of the Turkish nation."

Literature in East Africa

Speaking at the London School of Oriental Studies: Miss Alice Werner said that the Islamisation of East Africa was not due to any great movement of conquest or invasion. The settlers brought their re-

ligion with them, and their children by native wives grew up in it, while the slaves adopted it as a matter of course. At present "Swahili" and "Moslem" were practically synonymous terms, and the members of the inland tribes who were Islamised usually called themselves Swahili. Practically all Swahili Moslems were Sunnis, and most of them belonged to the Shafi sect. It was uncertain how long ago the Arabic character was first applied to the writing of Swahili—no manuscripts more than a hundred years of age appeared to be in existence; but some of the poetry extant was known to be of great antiquity. The Inkishafi was certainly earlier than the advent of the Portuguese in 1498, and some verses attributed to Liongo Fumo were dated by some before the thirteenth century. A great body of Swahili verse was in existence; much of this was written, and fresh manuscripts were continually being brought to light. Much of it was oral, being either handed down by tradition or continually produced afresh, for song and improvisation were as much a part of the people's life as they were, or used to be, in Italy. Most of the popular poetry and all the written poetry differed from the non-Islamised Bantu by possessing a distinct system of rhyme and metre. A feature entirely due to Moslem influence was that much of the poetry was of a religious character. Some of the poetry was by women.

Miss Werner gave extracts from or translations of some of these poems. One was a variation of the story of Job; others had been derived through the Koran ultimately from the Talmud or the apocryphal gospels. Another, of which she did not know the origin and which had not previously been published, was briefly as follows: The archangels Michael and Gabriel disputed as to whether there was any longer any compassion left on earth. Michael said that all men had become entirely hardhearted and cruel; Gabriel took a kindlier view. To settle the point they took human shape, and Michael, as a very sick man, sat at the door of a mosque in Mecca, attracting the attention of the people as they passed in and out. Gabriel appeared then in the form of a doctor, and was asked what would cure Michael. He replied that there was only one possible remedy. A man and wife must be found who had had seven children and lost them all excepting one, then, if they would sacrifice this one, Michael could be cured. It happened that a man, wife, and child fulfilling the required conditions were to be found in Mecca, and, being asked, all three were quite willing that the sacrifice should be made. In a great many stanzas and with much weeping the poem then related how the child's throat was cut, after which Gabriel appeared in his own shape and restored the child to life.

Letters of a Javanese Princess

Under this title a book has recently appeared from the press which transports us to the inner life of women in Java, and shows the struggle between the old Islam and the new civilization in vivid outlines. Kartini the daughter of a Javanese Regent is the author of the letters. A writer in *The Nation* summarizes the contents of this most interesting volume as follows:

First she had to effect her own emancipation. She found courage and means to resist the Mohammedan code in order that no parents might ever again be able to quiet their daughters' longings for independence by saying, "There is no one now who does it." Forbidden

by law to learn languages, Kartini and her sisters did learn Dutch at the free grammar school for Europeans, the only school to be found for girls. They saw with clear eyes the task they had set themselves: "We know what awaits us. We three are going hand in hand through life that for us will be full of struggle and disappointment . . . it leads toward freedom and happiness for millions." She realized that the first step forward for the Javanese woman lay in economic independence. "Teach her a trade, so that she will no longer be powerless when her guardians command her to contract a marriage which will inevitably plunge her and whatever children she may have into misery." Though most of her friends and advisers were Dutch and she had a vast respect for "Western civilization," Kartini kept singularly pure and native ideals for herself and her people. "We do not wish to make of our pupils half Europeans or European Javanese. We want a free education, to make of the Javanese, above everything, a strong Javanese." Her death in 1904 put an abrupt end to her work, but she had lived long enough and passionately enough to set a vast impulse on foot, as a result of which most of the ideas for which she struggled are now generally accepted among her countrymen. Kartini schools exist throughout Java; girls may now earn their living without disgracing their families; and polygamy is rapidly dying out among the younger generation.

What the Near East Relief Committee Has Accomplished

"As required by law, the Near-East Relief has prepared a report for presentation to Congress, detailing the activities of its work. It is shown, according to *The Intelligencer*, that \$14,596,336.89 has been accounted for as receipts and disbursements during 1920. The total cash receipts and disbursements since the organization of the committee amount to \$46,482,924.38, while the addition of flour, merchandise, and items other than cash bring the total valuation of the relief administered through this organization to more than \$60,000,000.

"As to the accomplishments of the organization, Mr. Vickrey's report shows 711 American and Canadian relief workers, including physicians, surgeons, nurses, mechanics, industrial experts, engineers, agriculturists, teachers, administrators, orphanage experts, supply, transportation, and general relief workers employed on little more than a volunteer basis, while 87,291 native workers have been used by the Near-East Relief organization. According to the report, 63 hospitals, with 6,522 beds, 128 clinics, 11 rescue homes, 299 orphanages accommodating 54,600 children in orphanages, and 56,039 children outside orphanages, have been maintained by the Near-East Relief.

"It is reported that approximately 2,790,490 Armenians are still living out of a pre-war population of about 4,000,000. In parts of Cilicia alone it is stated that 65 per cent. of the Armenian Christian population perished from starvation during the war, while in the whole of Syria not less than 25 per cent. perished from the same cause. It is estimated that had it not been for the American relief furnished through the Near East Relief, fully half of the present Armenian population of the Near East would have succumbed.

"The field of operations covered European Turkey (Thrace), Anatolia, Armenia, Cilicia, Kurdistan, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia,

and Transcaucasia. While relief is given impartially to all the needy, without distinction as to race or religion, the greater part of the work is declared to have been carried on among the Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, Syrians, and Assyrians, largely Christian, of whom 651,970 were furnished food during a large part of 1920, and 300,000 garments, comprising 1,500,000 pounds of clothing and shoes, were distributed to refugees."

The Economic Position in Morocco

A valuable report on the "Trade, Industry, and Finance of Morocco" was issued last year by the Department of Overseas Trade. The larger part naturally refers to the French Protectorate and affords interesting evidence of the progress made in the direction of economic development in the comparatively short time since the inauguration of the Protectorate, in spite of all drawbacks caused by the war. The most striking progress is perhaps that in the development of the system of roads. When the war broke out, one road only, from Casablanca to Rabat, had been made, but under the energetic impulsion of General Lyautey the making of new roads was prosecuted so vigorously that a network now extends all over the Protectorate in every direction. The only railways have hitherto been 60-centimetre military ones, but work on the normal gauge Tangier-Fez line (international) has been proceeding for some time, and the Protectorate Government has begun work on the Casablanca-Petitjean section of the general railway scheme now being studied; it will eventually be continued to Marakesh. The principal port, Casablanca, suffers from serious congestion, and it is to be regretted that Safi, with the deepest and best anchorage on the coast, capable of handling up to 1400 tons of cargo per diem with no mechanical equipment, has been unaccountably neglected of late. The agricultural resources include the usual cereals and seeds, and experiments in flax and hemp cultivation have given promising results. The mineral resources are still undeveloped.

—*The Geographical Journal.*

BOOK REVIEWS

West and East. The Expansion of Christendom and the Naturalization of Christianity in the Orient in the XIXth Century. Dale Lectures, Oxford, 1913, by Edward Caldwell Moore, Professor of Christian Morals, Harvard University, and President of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. 8vo. 410 pp. Index. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1921.

"West" is defined as the realm of scientific, political, educational, moral, and religious ideas that have made European civilization, particularly England, her colonies and lands of her predominant influence, like the United States. "East" is the realm of ideas, philosophy, religions, characteristic of Oriental peoples, particularly, Japan, China, India. The impact of the West upon the East, and the reciprocal influence of the East upon the West is studied in eight lectures: LECT. I, Expansion of Christendom, Meaning of Phrase, Motives; LECT. II, Motives, Relation to other movements, Comparison with earlier periods; LECT. III, Relation of Religion and Civilization, in early Catholic missions, early Protestant period, ideals of our own time; LECT. IV, Results in Medicine, Trade, Government, Slavery, Opium; LECT. V, Education, Africa and America, China and Japan; LECT. VI, Education, India, the Press, Women; LECT. VII, Church and Ministry; LECT. VIII, Doctrine and Life.

Encyclopedic in its scope and enormous array of facts, difficult to read because not enough pains have been taken to indicate and summarize its resultant conclusions and principles; yet deserving of the most careful study by every student of missions, religion, and the history of civilization,—by all means a book to be seriously reckoned with.

Among its conspicuous merits are the following: its clear grip of the truth that the history of missions is one of the outstanding phases of the history of civilization, to be comprehended only in relation to the other great movements of history; its exhibition of the various motives, conquest, trade exploitation, civilization, and religion, which have dominated the impact of West on East, particularly the reciprocal influence of the civilizing (or social service) motive and the evangelistic motive; its keen and broad sympathy with both the defects and the merits of both East and West; its thorough acceptance of the principle that the East has a contribution to make as well as the West in the final solution of all our unsolved problems; its noble apology for evangelism as the *sine qua non* of missions.

The work has the merits and the defects of Neo-Kantianism in philosophy and Ritschlianism in religion. The author plays hide and seek with the thought element in religion, at one turn insisting on the inevitableness of metaphysic and theology (p. 362, e. g.) and at the next eliminating them in insisting that our theology, shaped by the thought of Plato and Kant, has no significance for the East. Appreciating the influence on theology of the group-mind and the spirit of each age, there is in the book no intimation of an abiding value in successive interpretations of Christianity. There is defective grip of the concepts of

development, identity, and change, hence the author finds no finality in any Christianity so far known. Korea's conversion, e. g., is an artificial adoption of western concepts and liturgy, a stage to be merged into a naturalized Korean Christianity no living western mind can prognosticate. The missionary's power is neither in his message, nor in his liturgy,—only in his character. Being a Christian is “an inner moral and spiritual experience, an attempt to fashion all life according to certain ideals” (p. 404), but to attempt to run this into any molds of thought, church organization, or liturgy is to lapse into “belief in the exclusive rightfulness of one type of culture which is the essence of provincialism” (p. 3).

As a study in what one might call the *phenomenology* of missions, the book is to be commended especially to conservative students. But it is a good example of the author's own statement that the philosophy of the movement has not yet been grasped.

JOHN E. KUIZENGA.

Travels in Arabia Deserta. By Charles M. Doughty, with a new Preface by the author, and Introduction by T. E. Lawrence. Two Volumes. Medici Society and Jonathan Cape. London. 9 guineas net.

The first edition of this work, which has become a classic on Arabia and the Arab, was published in 1888. It was soon sold out, and second-hand copies rarely came into the market, selling for twenty or thirty guineas. An abridged edition was prepared thirteen years ago, but was unsatisfactory, except to whet the appetite for the original. During the war the only copy procurable in Cairo was taken from a missionary library, and proved invaluable both at headquarters and on the field in Palestine and Arabia.

Arabia Deserta is a triumph both of art and of personality. No one could write as Doughty did, and none have ever had a deeper insight into the Arab mind, or have described so accurately the riddle of the desert. Doughty entered Arabia and penetrated its recesses without denying his Christian faith. His view may sometimes appear narrow, but it is spiritual. He saw Islam as professed by its most fanatical followers, he tasted of their hospitality, their deceits, and hatred of the stranger. In one place he writes, “And as we drank around, they bade me call myself a Moslem, and in my heart be still of what opinion I would, (this indulgence is permitted in the Koran to any persecuted Muslimin)—words not far from wisdom; and I have often felt the iniquitous fortune of traveling thus, an outlawed man (and in their sight worthy of death), only for a name, in Arabia. It had cost me little or naught to confess Konfuchu or Socrates to be apostles of Ullah; but I could not find it in my life to confess their barbaric prophet of Mecca, and enter, under the yoke, their solemn fools' paradise.”

This man had in him the spirit of a martyr. Many were the hair-breadth escapes he endured with stoicism. At Hayl, at Kheybar, at Aneyza, and then the final jeopardy outside Mecca, when even his hidden pistol, Doughty's last resource, was torn away by one who betrayed him. I met this man years afterwards in our hospital at Bahrein, in East Arabia, and read the account translating word by word the story of the journey to Tayif. The blunt Bedouin affirmed with

many wallahs the accuracy of every detail, and yet expressed his admiration for the bold adventurer.

To read this book is to live the life of the Arabian waste, to enter the nomad tents, to share their humble fare, to think their thoughts after them. As Doughty says:

"Oh, what bliss to the thirsty soul is in that light sweet water, welling soft and warm as milk, from the rock! And I heard the subtle harmony of Nature, which the profane cannot hear, in that happy stillness and solitude. Small bright dragon-flies, azure, dun and vermilion, sported over the cistern water ruffled by a morning breath from the *figgera*, and hemmed in the solemn lava rock. The silver fishes glance beneath, and white shells lie at the bottom of this water world. I have watched there the young of the *thob* shining like scaly glass and speckled: this fairest of saurians lay sunning, at the brink, upon a stone; and oftentimes moving upon them and shooting out the tongue he snatched his prey of flies without ever missing.—Glad were we when Jummar had filled our *girby* of this sweet water."

Colonel Lawrence contributes an introduction to the reprint in which he gives his just and full meed of praise to this great masterpiece.

Z.

Studies in Islamic Mysticism. By Reynold Alleyne Nicholson. 24s. Cambridge University Press.

"Mysticism," says Dr. R. A. Nicholson, in the preface of this his latest work on the subject, "is such a vital element in Islam, that without some understanding of its ideas, and of the forms which they assume, we should seek in vain to penetrate below the surface of Mohammedan religious life. The forms may be fantastic and the ideas difficult to grasp; nevertheless we shall do well to follow them, for in their company East and West often meet and feel themselves akin."

The *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* consist of three essays on the thought and writings of three Moslem mystics, famous in the East, but not so well known in Europe and America. Abu Sa'id Fadlu 'llah, the first, was a Persian, born 967 A. D. The stories of his free living and telepathic powers give an interesting picture of one phase of Sufism. The document which contains the short treatise on his life is preserved in manuscript in the British Museum, and has been identified by Zhukoski with the *Halat-u-Sukhunan-i Shaykh Abu Sa'id ibn Abi 'l-Khayr*, a work composed by one of his descendants about a century after his death. The following passage records how Abu Sa'id brought about self-effacement:

"I abandoned my studies and retired into the niche of the chapel in my own house. There I sat for seven years, saying continually, 'Allah! Allah! Allah!' Whenever drowsiness or inattention arising from the weakness of human nature came over me, a soldier with a fiery spear—the most terrible and alarming figure that can possibly be imagined—appeared in front of the niche and shouted at me, saying, 'O Abu Sa'id, say, 'Allah!'' The dread of that apparition used to keep me burning and trembling for whole days and nights, so that I did not again fall asleep or become inattentive; and at last every atom of me began to cry aloud, 'Allah! Allah! Allah!'"

For the last forty years of his life it is impossible to give the events in any chronological order. His mode of life was quite a contrast to that of the rigid asceticism of the Sufis of the old school. "What were they to think of a man," says Doctor Nicholson, "whose visitors found him lolling on cushions, like a lord, and having his feet massaged by one of his dervishes? A man who prayed every night that God would give his disciples something nice to eat, and spent all the money he received on costly entertainments?" Sometimes when he and his dervishes were without funds, someone would present him with a purse of gold containing the exact amount required for a feast, neither more nor less. His powers of mind-reading were a terror to both foe and follower. Hasan, his steward, was in debt a thousand dirhems. Hajib Muhammad came to visit the convent bringing a present of 500 dirhems. The Shaykh said, "God bless him! but he has not brought the full amount, he has left half of it behind his pillow. Hasan owes a thousand dirhems. Let him give Hasan the whole sum that (he) may be free from anxiety."

European scholars have depended almost entirely upon the quatrains which Abu Sa'id is said to have composed for his mystical doctrines. Doctor Nicholson doubts, on very good grounds, whether he is the author of any of these. He was rather the compiler of an anthology reflecting the ideas of Persian mysticism as a whole. Some of the sayings taken from his sermons and conversations reveal in simple untechnical language the common ideas of the Sufis, for Abu Sa'id was neither theologian nor philosopher.

"It (Sufism) is glory in wretchedness, and riches in poverty, and lordship in servitude, and satiety in hunger, and clothedness in nakedness, and freedom in slavery, and life in death, and sweetness in bitterness.

"The Sufi is he who is pleased with all that God does, in order that God may be pleased with all that he does.

"To say 'There is no god but Allah' is not enough. Most of those who make the verbal profession of faith are polytheists at heart, and polytheism is the one unpardonable sin. . . . So long as any one regards his purity and devotion, he says, 'Thou and I,' but when he considers exclusively the bounty and mercy of God, he says, 'Thou! Thou!' and then his worship becomes a reality."

Once a learned theologian listening to a discourse by Abu Sa'id thought to himself that his doctrine was not to be found in the seven sevenths of the Koran. Abu Sa'id turned upon him and said, "Doctor, thy thought is not hidden from me. The doctrine that I preach is contained in the eighth seventh of the Koran. . . . Ye imagine that the word of God is of fixed quantity and extent. Nay, the infinite Word of God that was sent down to Mohammed is the whole seven sevenths of the Koran; but that which he causes to come into the hearts of His servants does not admit of being numbered and limited, nor does it ever cease."

About the pilgrimage to Mecca it is recorded that he said, "Why have I not performed the pilgrimage? It is no great matter that thou shouldst tread under thy feet a thousand miles of ground in order to visit a stone house. The true man of God sits where he is, and the

Bait al Ma'mur comes several times in a day and night to visit him, and perform the circumambulation above his head. Look and see." All who were present looked and saw it.

Doctor Nicholson concludes his essay on Abu Sa'id, "It would be absurd to reproach his biographers with their credulity and entire lack of critical judgment: they write as worshippers. . . . He was a great teacher and preacher of Sufism. If the matter of his doctrine is seldom original, his genius gathered up and fused the old elements into something new. In the historical development he stands out as a leading exponent of the pantheistic, poetical, anti-scholastic, and anti-nomian ideas which had already been broached by his predecessor Bayazid of Bistam, and Abu 'l-Hasan Kharaqani. . . . Although he founded no Order, the convent over which he presided supplied a model in outline of the fraternities that were established during the 12th century."

The second essay is a resume of *al-Insanu 'l-Kamil* by Abdu 'l-Karim ibn Ibrahim al-Jili, another Persian, born about 4 centuries after Abu Sa'id. "As a writer he is not without talent, though his work belongs to mysticism rather than literature. . . . The characteristic of the *Insanu 'l-Kamil* is the idea of the Perfect Man, 'who as the microcosmos of a higher order reflects not only the powers of nature but also the divine powers as in a mirror'. . . . Jili calls the Perfect Man the preserver of the universe, the *Qutb*, or Pole, on which all the spheres of existence revolve. He is the final cause of creation, i. e., the means by which God sees Himself, for the Divine names and attributes cannot be seen as a whole except in the Perfect Man. . . . In the 60th chapter of the *Insanu 'l-kamil* he (al-Jili) depicts Mohammed as the absolutely perfect man, the first created of God, and the archetype of all other created beings. This, of course, is an Islamic Logos doctrine. It brings Mohammed in some respects very near to the Christ of the Fourth Gospel and the Pauline epistles. I need hardly say," continues Doctor Nicholson, "that Mohammed gave the lie direct to those who would have thrust this sort of greatness upon him: his apotheosis is the triumph of religious feeling over historical fact. . . . No one who reads the *Insanu 'l-Kamil* can fail to discern that its author was profoundly influenced by Christian ideas, though it is not always possible to separate these from the Jewish, Gnostic and other elements with which they are intermingled. I need only allude to the Trinitarian basis of the Divine nature, and the prominence given to the Holy Spirit as the source and, in relation to man, the organ and sustaining principle of spiritual life."

Of the philosophy of Jili, Doctor Nicholson remarks, "Jili belongs to that school of Sufis who hold that being is one, that all apparent differences are modes, aspects, and manifestations of reality, that the phenomenal is the outward expression of the real. . . . Essence that really exists is of two kinds: Pure Being, or God, and Being joined to not-being, i. e., the world of created things. The essence of God is unknowable *per se*; we must seek knowledge of it through its names and attributes. . . . Pure Being, as such, has neither name nor attribute; only when it gradually descends from its absoluteness and enters the realm of manifestation, do names and attributes appear imprinted on it. . . . Jili calls the simple essence, apart from all qualities and relations 'the dark mist' (*al-'ama*). It develops consciousness by passing

through three stages of manifestation, which modify its simplicity. The first stage is Oneness (*Ahadiya*), the second is He-ness (*Huwiya*), and the third is I-ness (*Aniya*). By this process of descent Absolute Being has become the subject and object of all thought, and has revealed itself as Divinity with distinctive attributes embracing the whole series of existence. Man in virtue of his essence, is the cosmic Thought assuming flesh and connecting Absolute Being with the world of Nature. The Absolute having completely realized itself in human nature returns into itself through the medium of human nature; or more intimately, God and man become one in the Perfect Man—the enraptured prophet or saint—whose religious function as a mediator between man and God corresponds with his metaphysical function as the unifying principle by means of which the opposed terms of reality and appearance are harmonized. Jili distinguishes three phases of mystical illumination or revelation (*tajalli*) which run parallel, as it were, to the three stages traversed by the Absolute in its descent to consciousness. In the first phase, called the Illumination of the Names, the Perfect Man receives the mystery conveyed by each of the names of God. In the second phase he receives the Illumination of the Attributes and becomes one with them. The third and last phase is the Illumination of the Essence. Here the Perfect Man becomes absolutely perfect. Every attribute has vanished, the Absolute has returned unto itself. Jili also holds that in every age the Perfect Men are an outward manifestation of the essence of Mohammed, which has the power of assuming whatever form it will.”

Two appendices follow this essay. The first consists of extracts from Jili’s *Ayniyya* in the Arabic text. The second is some notes on the *Fusus* ’l-Hikam of Ibnu ’l-Arabi, as the subject matter of this work is closely related to *al-Insanu ’l-Kamil*.

The subject of the third essay is the Odes of Ibnu ’l-Farid, who was a native of Cairo, A. D. 1182-1235. In comparing the mystical poetry of the Arabs and the Persians, Doctor Nicholson says, “The Arab has no such passion for an ultimate principle of unity as has always distinguished the Persians and Indians. Jalalu ’d-Din Rumi writes as a God-intoxicated soul, Ibnu ’l-Farid as a lover absorbed in his own feelings. While the Persian sees a pantheistic vision of one reality in which the individual disappears, the Arab dwells on particular aspects of the relation of that reality to himself. This Reality, i. e., God (or in some places Mohammed, conceived as the Logos) is the beloved, whom the poet addresses and celebrates under many names—now as one of the heroines of the Arabian Minnesong, now as a gazelle, or a driver of camels, or an archer shooting deadly glances from his eye; most frequently as plain He or She. The Odes retain the form, conventions, topics, and images of ordinary love-poetry: their inner meaning hardly ever obtrudes itself.”

The following are interesting specimens of his passionate poetry and his mystical conceptions:

“Beauty itself is mad with passion for him—
O friend that chid’st me, may I lack thy friendship!
Hadst thou his beauty seen—ne’er shalt thou see it—
That me enthralled, it surely had enthralled thee.
At a glimpse of him my wakefulness I pardon,
And ‘This for that’ I say to my aching eyeballs.”

"How wonderful is Time, which lays benefits on a man and proves him by taking the gift as spoil!

O would that our bygone pleasure might return once more! Then would I freely give my life.

Alas, vain is the endeavour, and cut are the strands of the cord of desire, and loosed is the knot of my hope.

'Tis torture enough that I pass the night in frenzy, with my longing before me and Fate behind me."

"All thou beholdest is the act of one

In solitude, but closely veiled is he.

Let him but lift the screen, no doubt remains:

The forms are vanished, he alone is all;

And thou, illumined, knowest that by his light

Thou find'st his actions in the senses' night."

From the Ta'yyatu 'l-kubra, which is also called the Mystic's progress, are the following:

263. I was ever She, and She was ever I, with no difference; nay, my essence loved my essence.
264. There was nothing in the world except myself beside me, and no thought of beside-ness occurred to my mind.
460. I was an apostle sent from myself to myself, and my essence was led to me by the evidence of my own signs.
476. And in myself I beheld those who bowed in worship to my theatre of manifestation, and I knew for sure that I was the Adam to whom I bowed.
642. And in the whole creation there is none save me that speaks or sees or hears.
616. And there was none of them (the former prophets) but had called his people to the Truth, by grace of Mohammed, and because he was Mohammed's follower.
733. And if the niche of a mosque is illuminated by the Koran, yet is no altar of a church made vain by the Gospel.

E. E. ELDER.

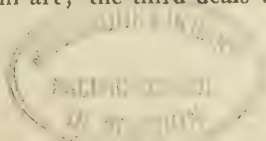
The Four Gospels. Their Literary History and Their Special Characteristics. By Maurice Jones, D.D. pp. 120. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1921.

A scholarly text-book on the Gospels, which we can recommend to those who want to know the results of recent criticism in brief compass. The conclusions are fairly conservative, and the material is presented in such a way as to appeal to the reader. Regarding John's Gospel, Doctor Jones concludes as follows:

"In some respects we have found that the historical value of St. John's Gospel is superior to that of the Synoptists, and, on the whole, I am inclined to think that the Fourth Gospel contains more strict history than it is sometimes credited with, while I am perfectly convinced that any conception of the life, work, and character of our Lord Jesus Christ which does not take into account the Johannine record is woefully incomplete and inadequate. In point of spiritual value St. John's Gospel is unique and unapproachable, and it has, of all the Gospels, made the deepest impression upon the soul of the Christian Church."

Why Men Believe. The Groundwork of Apologetics. By Clement F. Rogers. pp. 103. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London.

Five lectures covering the modern method of approach to those who are asking a reason for the faith that is in them. The first lecture deals with the psychology of faith; the second gives the argument from beauty in nature and in art; the third deals with reason and faith; the



fourth sums up the argument from experience, and the concluding lecture is on the claim of authority. The style is not simple, but the argument direct and clear. We commend the volume to our fellow missionaries. Although perhaps not suitable for translation, it will afford many points for addresses and preaching to educated Moslems.

Aug. Perier. (1°) *Yahia Ben Adi, un Philosophe arabe Chrétien du X^e Siècle*—(2°) *Petits traités apologétiques de Yahia ben Adi avec traduction française.* 2 vol. in-12. pp. 228 et 135. Paris, J. Gabalda et Paul Geuthner, 1920.

A contribution to the history of Christianity in the Near East, and its contact and conflict with Islam. The second part contains eight theological and controversial essays by this Jakobite philosopher of the 10th century.

Ed. Driault. *La Question d'Orient depuis ses origines jusqu'à la Paix de Sèvres* (1920) Paris, F. Alcan, pp. xv-479, 1921.

A summary of the historical events that led up to the present phase of political complications in the Near East. The author in his conclusion expresses the hope that Constantinople may once more come into possession of the Greeks.

Die Christologie des Islams, Ein Versuch über Leben, Persönlichkeit und Lehre Jesu Christi nach dem Koran und der orthodoxen Tradition, Von Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D., vom verfassser genehmigte Übersetzung von Dr. Phil. E. Frick—Stuttgart Christliches Verlagshaus.—pp. 116,—1921.

This is the authorized translation of Zwemer's "The Moslem Christ," published in 1912. The translation is complete, and in the introduction Doctor Frick compares this work with earlier Christologies of the Koran by Gerock (1839) and Sayous (1880). He characterizes it as the first complete account of Christ according to Moslem Tradition.

The Originality of the Christian Message. By H. R. Mackintosh. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 202 pp. \$1.75 net.

A strong and vigorous presentation of the theme that is fundamental to a passion for missions. The Professor of Systematic Theology, New College, Edinburgh, writes with conviction and persuasion. He discusses the ideas common to Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity, such as the ideas of God, Revelation, the doctrine of the Trinity, the divine purpose, sin, and ethical conduct, and shows how the Christian conception excels. The absolutely new in Christianity is clearly set forth, as: the thought of God as a loving father, consciousness of forgiveness, fellowship with God, trust, optimism, hope of immortality, the cross with a power for redemption not possessed by legalism, Greco-Oriental mysticism, and intellectualism. An entire chapter is given to Christianity as the absolute religion. But we marvel at the blind spot of the writer. Neither in the argument nor in the illustrative material, not even in the bibliography, otherwise so excellent, is there mention of Islam. The Christian idea of God is compared with that in other systems of thought, but *Allah*, who supplants Jehovah, is not considered. "The religions of India" apparently do not include Mohammedanism. "Christianity (p. 166) has three great modern rivals." And these are enumerated as Secularism, Judaism, and Buddhism. Has Doctor Mackintosh nothing to say of that religion which displaced

Christianity in its birthplace, destroyed it in North Africa, and defies it in three continents? "Nothing really so confirms a man's antecedent belief in the finality of the Christian faith as the great venture of going out with it in his hand (in his heart) into dark continents to face there the best which other religions have accomplished. Christianity, in short, is absolute if it dares to be so." Why then should the missionary in Africa look in vain for *his* problem in this book?

L'Islam et la Politique des Alliés. By Dr. Enrico Insabato. Paris, Berger-Levrault, 12 francs. 1921.

The writer discusses the political issues at stake for European governments as the aftermath of the war. His earlier book in German entitled "Der Erlöschende Halbmond," 1911, revealed the inner history of the Turkish Empire before the Revolution in an array of secret documents. (See review in the *MOSLEM WORLD*, Vol. I, p. 82.) The present work reveals an equally astonishing knowledge and insight into Islam without much sympathy for Christianity or missions. The *London Times* summarizes the contents as follows:

"The author refers to the innumerable heresies which divide the Dar-ul-Islam—even apart from the differences of the four schools of thought accepted as being still within the pale of Sunni orthodoxy. The aggressive puritanism of the militant Wahhabis, the esoteric leanings of the Yemenite Zeidid, the views of the African Senussis and their opponents, the Abadites, are as much apart from the doctrines of the unquestionably orthodox as are those of the Shiah—to name but a few of those enumerated by Doctor Insabato. And in almost every case a spiritual difference of opinion has led to the establishment of a temporal dominion—often bent upon propagating the special tenets of the heretics at the sword's point, but sadly subversive of any political unity among the Moslems, and distinctly inimical even to the narrower theory of national unity among the Arabs.

"That the Moslems of today should be so prone to take decided views upon interpretations of the religious teachings of their founder is an indication that the driving force of their Faith is by no means exhausted; and in an extremely interesting appendix contributed by the editor of the Cairene journal *El Arafat* a just pride is taken in the remarkable success which has attended Moslem missionary effort in Africa during the last decade in comparison with that made by Christian societies in the same field. Uncritical observers have been inclined to attribute a dry formalism destitute of real spiritual life to Islam of today; but Doctor Insabato produces ample proof of the vigor and depth of the mystical influences which have pervaded it throughout the centuries, and are by no means absent from it now. It must, however, be remembered that this tendency to religious and politico-religious schism, which throughout the pages of this interesting book appears as a constant characteristic of the Arabs, both in Arabia and in the countries of their influence outside it, is a factor making for unrest in the near future. The growth of Islam in Africa, where its combination of mysticism and practicality may fire the tribes of the Bantus to a sudden fervour of race-consciousness, already causes uneasiness among the European administrators in that continent; and, if the fundamental good sense of Moslems, based upon their religious beliefs, acts as a brake

upon the wilder doctrines of the Bolshevists, the divergences of doctrine, even among the Arabs of Arabia, go far to render doubtful the possibility of establishing a unified Arab State even in Mesopotamia capable of holding its own against the political pressure from the North which may be looked for from a revived Russia."

The Inward Way (*at-Tariqat*). By the Rev. J. Takle. 66 pp. Christian Literature Society for India. Madras, 1921.

Another valuable addition to the extensive C. L. S. Islamic series, which every missionary to Moslems should possess and recommend. The author attempts to lead the reader into the mystic way of the Moslem Sufi, and onward to Jesus Christ. The various chapters are entitled: "God Who is Our Home"; "Moslem Mysticism"; "The Stages of the Inward Way"; "Progress toward Perfection"; "The Perfect Spiritual Guide"; "Christ and Mystical Union"; and, "Christian Attainment." In each chapter the Moslem idea and method is used to unfold the deeper and more vital Christian parallel teachings. The final chapter shows Paul as the true mystic, who lived a life by faith, identified this new life with the Perfect Man, Jesus Christ, and so attained by the way of the Cross to true union with God. Mr. Takle has given us all a new method for presenting the old message of reconciliation. The quotations are apt and accurate; the presentation of the subject, clear and succinct—in every way an admirable little book. Z.

The New World of Islam. By Lothrop Stoddard. pp. 362. Price, \$2.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This study of a great world theme, by the author of *The Rising Tide of Color*, is marred as was his earlier work, by excluding from the angle of vision the spiritual forces of Christianity in the work of Christian missions. In every other respect the book is one of prime importance to the student of present-day problems. The entire world of Islam is in profound ferment. Mr. Stoddard believes that gigantic transformations are in progress whose result must affect all mankind. He describes, in his introduction, the decline and fall of the old Islamic world which had sunk to its lowest depth of decrepitude in the eighteenth century. The Wahhabi revival, he believes, was an indication of world-wide reaction and that there is also today a rekindling of the fires of religious faith in many lands. He sketches the rise and progress of Pan-Islamism, traces the influence of the West and the political changes that led to nationalism, as well as those economic changes which produce social unrest and Bolshevik tendencies.

Mr. Stoddard thinks that the Asiatic Nationalistic Movement, at one time fostered and aided by Bolshevism, has lately passed under a cloud. Leaders, like Mustapha Kemal and the Amir of Afghanistan, have no desire to see their own power swept away by Soviet revolutions in their own lands, and the "Bolshevization" of Turkestan, Bokhara, and other territories, has already filled them with apprehension. At the same time, these nationalities are, in Mr. Stoddard's judgment, between the devil and the deep sea. Theoretically opposed to communism, they are being driven into the arms of Lenine by the brutal methods of foreign conquerors like General Gouraud.

Taken in connection with the general awakening of Asia, which has come as the result of Western enlightenment, the recrudescence of Moslem zeal is a portent that cannot be ignored. It may well be charged with consequences vitally affecting the destiny of Europe and Asia alike. Quite wisely, Mr. Stoddard does not attempt to predict the exact course of a movement which is dominated by so many intangible and incalculable elements of religious fanaticism. But he outlines the present realities and future potentialities of a situation that may well lead to another war, and ends by vividly sketching the setting such a new world of Islam might furnish for the possible titanic struggle between East and West.

A large part of the book is however retrospective and, except for some minor inaccuracies, historical. He overestimates the number of Moslems in the world by nearly fifty million. He holds that there is "a widespread conviction among Moslems that Islam is entering on a period of renewed glory." In this we believe he is mistaken. Islam is more than a creed, it is a complete social system, a civilization, a philosophy of life. As a creed there may be in it signs of revival and vitality, but as a social system it cannot stand the light of civilization or the impact of Western culture. The world of Islam has suffered disillusion and has been driven to desperation, by the rumblings of an earthquake and not by the rising of a dawn. It is astonishing that a book containing so vast an amount of material illustrating the intellectual, economic and social changes in the Near East should have scarcely a reference to the work of Christian education. This with Christian philanthropy has transformed the Near East, the Moslems themselves being the judges.

Mr. Stoddard quotes the opinion of Prince Caetani, the Italian Orientalist, as follows: "A convulsion has shaken Islamic and Oriental civilization to its foundations. The entire Oriental world, from China to the Mediterranean, is in ferment. Everywhere the hidden fire of anti-European hatred is burning. Riots in Morocco, risings in Algiers, discontent in Tripoli, so-called Nationalist attempts in Egypt, Arabia and Syria, are all different manifestations of the same deep sentiment, and have as their object the rebellion of the Oriental world against European civilization."

In this volume, brilliant in style and scholarly in substance, there is a vast amount of material illustrating the strength and the breadth of this rising tide of unrest from China to Morocco, from Egypt to Afghanistan. The reader is constantly made aware of the solidarity of Islam, but the outlook is nearly always pessimistic, and leaves out the only factor that can produce a new world of Islam, namely the living forces of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. No student of the Near East can, however, neglect this volume. Z.

Le Dogme et la Loi de L'Islam; Histoire du Developpement Dogmatique et Juridique de la Religion Musulmane. By I. Goldziher. Traduction de Felix Arin. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1920. pp. 315. fr. 25.

The original of this most important contribution to the scientific study of Islam appeared in German and was published in Heidelberg in 1910 under the title *Vorlesungen über den Islam*. The publication of the translation has been delayed on account of the war. Certain additions

and modifications especially in the notes have been made by the author who also read the proofs of the work except of the last portion. The chapter headings are as follows: Mohammed et l'Islam, Développement de la loi, Développement dogmatique, Ascétisme et Sufisme, Les sectes, Formations postérieures. These cover the first 251 pages; the remainder of the book is occupied with critical notes. For the serious student these notes are of the utmost value as they practically open up and index all the recent available material on the sources of Islam and its historical development. The original German edition or this translation should be in the library of every missionary student. S. M. Z.

Le Pilote des Mers de l'Inde, de la Chine, et de l'Indonésie, par Sihab ad-din Ahmad Bin Majid. dit: "Le Lion de la Mer" Texte Arabe. Reproduction Phototypique du Manuscrit 2292 et d'une partie du Manuscrit 2559 de la Bibliothèque Nationale par Gabriel Ferrand. Paris Librairie Paul Geuthner. 1921. Price frs. 180.-.

This first volume on Arab and Portuguese navigators of the 15th and 16th centuries is to be followed by three others completing the work:

Volume 2: Reproduction phototypique des instructions nautiques de Sulayman al-Mahri (traités nautiques en prose du MS. 2559) soit 262 pages de texte arabe.

Volume 3: Traduction avec commentaires des parties géographiques des MS. 2292 et 2559 avec un important glossaire des termes nautiques arabes.

Volume 4: Traduction de quelques anciens routiers portugais.

Burton wrote in 1854 that the sailors of Aden still recited a *fatiha* in honor of Ibn Majid the great navigator, and it is now established that he was the Arab pilot who accompanied the Portuguese squadron under Vasco de Gama in his voyages of discovery. The two Arabic manuscripts reproduced in facsimile from the Bibliothèque Nationale and translated are entitled: "KITAB-AL-FAWAID FI USUL ILM AL BAHR WA 'L-GAWAID," and "HAWIAT-AL-IKHTISAR FI USUL ILM AL-BIHAR." The last named is dated 1462.

The volumes throw much light on the history of navigation and commerce, which under the Arabs even then extended from the East Coast of Africa to China and the whole Indian Archipelago.

Les Institutions Musulmanes. By Gaudefroy-Demombynes. Paris: Ernest Flammarion. 1921. pp. 192.

One in the well known series, Bibliothèque de Culture Générale, by a Professor in the School of Oriental Languages. The ten chapters are entitled: The Extent of Islam, its origin, the Sources of Moslem Law, Dogma, the Five Religious Duties (2 chapters), Family Life, Government, Economic Institutions, and Literature and the Arts. The author has succeeded in crowding much accurate information on all these topics into a small compass without becoming obscure or dull.

His sources of information are given in a carefully selected bibliography, which is limited however, with a few exceptions, to French works. The writer concludes that Islam has had its day of glory. It is a "religion médiocre," and was born among Arabs who have "traditions anarchiques," and carried these with them as the germs of decay. Even as an intellectual movement it is superficial and cannot meet present conditions. We should nevertheless study it with sympathy seeking to comprehend what we cannot destroy. Z.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

EDITED BY HOLLIS W. HERING, NEW YORK

I. GENERAL.

BOLSHEVISM IN CENTRAL ASIA. Ikbal Ali Shah. (*The Edinburgh Review*, London. July, 1921. pp. 136-146.)

A review of what the Bolshevist propaganda in Bokhara and Afghanistan has accomplished, and an indication of how little has been done to combat it. The significant catering by the Bolshevists to the traditions and religious scruples of the Central Asian peoples is noted, as well as the unscrupulous methods used to stir up Moslem fanaticism against Europe.

THE BOLSHEVIST MENACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. October, 1921. pp. 500-506.)

A survey of the methods by which Bolshevism has gained a decided triumph in the Middle East; and an outline of its extent. After a study made during a prolonged sojourn in Afghanistan and Bokhara, the conclusion became inevitable that the intensive propaganda in Ajerbaijan, Bokhara, Turkestan, Persia, even in Chinese Turkestan is successful through lack of a clear-cut policy on the part of the Western Powers towards Turkey, the head and fount of Islam.

L'ENSEIGNEMENT AU MAROC. (*L'Afrique Française*, Paris. September, 1921. pp. 279-283.)

Gives statistics of present conditions, and tendencies in the plan for the future development of education. Considers the general organization of the system; physical instruction; education for the natives, the Jews, and the Europeans; and higher education.

PALESTINE IN RENEWAL. Patrick Geddes. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. October, 1921. pp. 475-484.)

Conclusions reached during a year in Palestine, spent in traveling and planning with an eye to regional development. The discussion centers chiefly on the reconstructive value of better agriculture and its influence on the native Arab and Christian as well as on the incoming Zionist. Closes with a fair analysis of Zionist colonists and their adaptability to changed conditions.

PALESTINE: THE LAND OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE. Mary Mond. (*The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1921. pp. 594-608.)

A study of the various Jewish colonies, and the effects so far of their establishment in Palestine. Describes (a) the land from Egypt to Jerusalem; (b) the colonies and the cities of the coast; and (c) the shepherd country of Galilee.

PEACE AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY. Damon. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. October, 1921. pp. 542-562.)

A rather full survey of the history, the present condition, and the future possibilities of the Bagdad railway. A grip on the line, and its firm establishment as a trade route instead of as a military one are deemed essential to the power which is to control the former Turkish Empire.

SOCIAL UNREST AND BOLSHEVISM IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD. Lothrop Stoddard. (*Scribner's Magazine*, New York. August, 1921. pp. 161-169.)

The second of two significant articles dealing with the present unrest in the Moslem world. Pointing out the two aims of Bolshevism—the destruction of Western political and economic supremacy, and the Bolshevizing of the Oriental masses—the article outlines clearly the various successful moves to stir up political, religious, and racial passions in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and India.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

AMONG THE YEMEN ARABS WITH A CAMERA. Captain Donald McLEISH. (*Outward Bound*, London. October, 1921. pp. 10-15.)

The Arabs were those of the coast town of Loheiya, South Arabia; the pictures obtained were the result of heroic struggles against prohibitive atmospheric conditions. Life in general, education, administration of justice, and religious practices were caught by the camera during visits on shore made at the special invitation of the Great Man of the district.

THE ARAB REVIVAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. F. H. Tyrrell. (*The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1921. pp. 609-614.)

An attempt to indicate the difficulties in the revival of Arab kingdoms. Just enough history of the rise and fall of Moslem power is given to show the significance of the present experiments in the Hejaz and in Mesopotamia.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

THE CALIPHATE OF ISLAM. Clair Price. (*The American Review of Reviews*, New York. September, 1921. pp. 981-985.)

A clear, concise summary of what is meant by the "program of Sherifianism," the events leading to its development, the cause

of the formation of the new Middle East Department of the Colonial Office, and Islam's boycott of the former Sherif Hussein.

MODES OF LIFE IN THE MOROCCAN COUNTRYSIDE. Jules Blache. (*The Geographical Review*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 477-502.)

A fascinating description of the human aspects of countryside life in Morocco as seen from the air, illustrated by aerial photographs. Treats of nomad and sedentary types and their distribution; rural and town life of the Meseta; the south of Morocco; and the use (geographical and human) of the Moroccan mountains.

OFF DUTY IN BAGDAD. Roland Gorbold. (*Asia*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 836-842, 882.)

An interesting study of the impressions made on a member of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force by the city, its inhabitants, and the quaint customs followed there. Aims rather at reproducing the atmosphere of the place than at giving detailed descriptions.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

ENGLAND'S HAND IN THE NEAR EAST. Henry C. Fowler, Jr. (*The American Review of Reviews*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 101-105.)

Purports to be a "clear and simple statement of the actual situation underlying all the intrigues of British, French, Italian, Greek, and Arabian politics in the former Turkish Empire." Summary of an official report made by the author on his investigations into conditions in Asia Minor.

MANGLING ASIA MINOR. George R. Montgomery. (*The American Review of Reviews*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 93-101.)

"A brief account with maps of ten different treaties, all secret, and many of them conflicting with each other, which the Entente Powers have made with a view to dividing up Turkey among themselves."

MESOPOTAMIA'S CLAIM ON BRITAIN. H. B. Usher. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. September, 1921. pp. 322-328.)

Maintains the thesis that Great Britain is completely committed to the tutelage of Mesopotamia until its people are able to fend for themselves. Deals with the political rather than the economic and commercial aspect of the problem, and points out the necessity of coming to some stable understanding with the Nationalist Turks, and of following a clear and consistent policy towards the Arab world in general.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

CHRISTIAN PEOPLES IN MOHAMMEDAN LANDS. Wilder P.

Ellis, M.D. (*All the World*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 210-214.)

The problem of the Armenians of Turkey, the Caucasus and Northwest Persia; and of the Nestorians of Persia and the mountain fastnesses of Turkey. Six years of terrible sufferings and persecutions are briefly indicated to drive home to the great Christian nations that their responsibility to these peoples is still acute and cannot be dropped.

THE DELEGATION TO PALESTINE. E. R. Kenyon. (*The Church Missionary Review*, London. September, 1921. pp. 226-237.)

Written to make clear the general circumstances of C. M. S. work in Palestine, and to depict conditions as they appeared to the Delegation. The relations between the Palestinian Church Council and the C. M. S. are particularly noted, while the importance of a clearly defined policy in regard to medical and educational work is emphasized.

REALIGNMENT IN ASIA MINOR. John E. Merrill. (*Missionary Review of the World*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 755-759.)

After the terrific international and inter-racial upheavals in the Near East due to the war, it is necessary to analyze the missionary situation very carefully. Have the events of the last few years constituted in any sense a preparation for a spiritual advance? The attempt is here made to answer this question by considering (a) the Christian suffering and its effect on the home church as well as on the Christians of the Near East; and (b) the cause of and the help for Moslem dissatisfaction.

SYRIA: SUFFERING—SACRIFICING—SUCCEEDING. George H. Scherer. (*All the World*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 215-219.)

Reviews the recent work and the present situation of the Syria Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. The author has been stationed at Suk-el-Gharb, Lebanon.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE MOROS? Frank C. Laubach, Ph.D. (*The Envelope Series*, Boston. October, 1921. pp. 3-23.)

The Moros, the virile Mohammedan population of the Philippines, are now open to Christianization thanks to skillful handling by the Americans. A brief history of their contact with civilization is given as a background and justification of the conclusion that the Moros form the key to the Mohammedan problem.

WHAT THE ARAB THINKS OF THE MISSIONARY. Paul Harrison. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, N. Y. October, 1921. pp. 759-760.)

A brief analysis of the attitude of mind of the average Arab of the coast cities, where the missionary is known, and of the inland Arab, who has only heard of him.