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THE UNOCCUPIED AREAS

The map of the Mohammedan World and the explanatory article by Dr. Isaiah Bowman in our January number would lead many of our readers to desire a supplement to its interesting data, with special reference to the measure of Christian occupation so far achieved. A comparison of the survey made for the Edinburgh World Conference in 1910 with the paper prepared by Charles H. Fahs for the Jerusalem Council Meeting in 1928 (but not published in the printed reports) leaves the startling impression that most of the fields described as "unoccupied" two decades ago are still awaiting the arrival of Christ's ambassadors.¹

"In the meantime," as Mr. Fahs points out, "the emphasis on pervasive outreach so characteristic of the modern missionary movement has tended to lose its primacy. The younger churches struggling with problems growing out of the effort to find themselves in the midst of rapidly changing conditions, have apparently had little strength to expend upon pioneering among non-Christians, while the missionaries, seeking to steady enterprises and movements in an era that seemed truly dangerous, if not destructive, have in many cases regarded as their first task the salvaging of results already won."

¹ *World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 98-102; 279-288; 403-405. The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Asia and Africa—S. M. Zwemer, New York, 1911. The Unfinished Evangelistic Task by Charles H. Fahs. Preliminary Draft of paper prepared for the Jerusalem Meeting, 1928, New York.*

But the task of geographical expansion, the call to the regions beyond, cannot be evaded or forgotten in the increasing sense of the requirement for an extensive expansion; and it is to be deeply regretted that the Jerusalem Council, while discussing such important questions as industrialism, rural needs and race problems did not find a place on its program or in its eight volume report for the areas and peoples that are without any witness for Christ and are not yet on the program of the Church save in her prayer—"Thy kingdom come."

There is a statement, moreover, in the findings of Edinburgh to which this editorial may be considered a belated foot-note: "The unoccupied fields of the world have a claim of peculiar weight and urgency upon the attention and missionary effort of the Church. In this twentieth century of Christian history there should be no unoccupied fields. . . . A large proportion of the unoccupied fields are to be found within the Mohammedan world, not only in Northern Africa and in Western Asia, but also in China. *Indeed by far the greater part of the Mohammedan world is practically unoccupied.*"

Is this statement still correct or must it be qualified? Beginning with China, the two provinces that contain the largest Mohammedan population are Kansu and Sinkiang. The former has nearly two and a half million Moslems. Less than one-fifth of the area of Sinkiang has yet been visited by Protestant missionaries. From Tihwafu in the east to the field of the Swedish Missionary Society in the west there is an unoccupied area covered by sixty days of travel through fertile and populous districts.

Miss Cable, of the China Inland Mission, who with two companions traveled from Kansu across Sinkiang to Russia, wrote as follows:

"From Suchow, in Northwest China, to Chuguchak, on the Siberian border, is sixty marches, and on that journey we passed but one mission station, held by two men in the town of Urumtsi. Large prosperous cities

which collect merchants from all parts of Central Asia, as well as men from the eighteen provinces of China, were without witness to Christ. Traveling west from Urumtsi there are fifty-four marches to Kashgar, where the Swedish missionaries have their headquarters. Thus in a journey of ninety-four days, over the great main trade route of Central Asia from Suchow to Kashgar, Urumtsi is the only mission station" (World Dominion, April, 1927, p. 99).

Forty per cent. of the area of Kansu or 55,000 square miles is unclaimed by any Protestant mission, although some of the territory is very sparsely populated and difficult of access. Kansu is one of the most neglected provinces of China. It is also true that Moslems generally are still a neglected class of China's population, and that the chief centers where in 1922 it was suggested that work should be begun are still wholly unoccupied by specially qualified workers.

French Indo-China and Siam have together nearly a million Moslems with no definite Christian work among them and no specially qualified missionary to interpret the Christian message.

Afghanistan, with a population estimated at about 8,000,000, and with Islam as the one predominant religion, is not only unoccupied but is also a land long closed to Christian entrance, and still continues to be so. On the Indian frontier are the Church Missionary Society hospitals, which with their healing ministries serve many Afghans who find their way to India through the passes. On the Persian side is the American Presbyterian station at Meshed.

Regarding the districts of Persia that are still unoccupied we learn from the joint report prepared by the All-Persia Missionary Conference in 1926 that the most neglected portions of north-west Persia are the Shah Suvan tribes in the north-east corner of Azerbaijan and the Kurds along the Turkish border. Large centers and districts of Central Persia are as yet quite unreached.

"Such is the extreme western section along the Iraq border; such is Kurdistan with its capital at Sehneh; such is Luristan with the two cities of Burujird and Khurramabad; such is the region to the southeast of Teheran containing the four cities of Sultanabad, Saveh, Qum, and Kashan; such is the Talesh district along the western shore of the Caspian; such is the populous province of Mazanderan with the four cities of Amol, Barfush, Sari, and Ashraf; such are the districts of Damghan and Shahrud on the road from Teheran to Meshed, and the three districts of Asterabad, Bujnurd and Kuchan along the Turkestan border."

In regard to South Persia (where the opportunity and the results of evangelistic efforts are so remarkable) the following areas are still untouched:

"The Bakhtiari country, including such important centers as Ahwaz, Abadan, Masjid-i-Suleiman, Shusher, Behbahan, Khurramabad; the whole of Persia south of Shiraz and Kerman, including such important centers as Kaxerun, Bushire, Bander Abbas, Niriz and Bam; while the rest can only be said to be very inadequately occupied, with only five stations separated by at least two hundred miles from each other."

South of 30° north latitude practically the whole of the Arabian interior is without Christian work. The population is sparse, mostly nomadic, and entirely Mohammedan. There are stations at Aden and Sheikh Othman in the extreme south, at Muskat on the Gulf of Oman, and at Bahrein and Kuwait, on the Persian Gulf. A rough estimate of the population is 5,000,000, all but 1,500,000 of whom dwell along the Red Sea slope and the littoral of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. The interior from the west coast (Hejaz and Yemen), the interior south coast (Hadhramaut) and the Sultanate of Nejd, are all unoccupied.

"Moslem India is in a very real sense an unoccupied field." This quotation from the findings of the Jerusalem Conference in 1924 was perhaps an over-statement.

But it is still true of many of the provinces, and especially of the Moslem population of some of the great cities. When we study the map of India showing the distribution of foreign missionaries to each million of the population by provinces it is evident that the Mohammedan sections are the most sparsely occupied. This holds true, province by province, with few exceptions. In Bengal and also in Northwest India there are whole districts wholly or predominantly Mohammedan without a single foreign missionary resident. In the proportion of workers to the density of population the neglect of Moslem areas is also evident. Take for example the Lahore district and the Dacca district in comparison:

	Area in sq. miles	Total Pop.	Moslem	Christian Workers
Lahore	2,691	1,131,336	647,640	105
Dacca	2,723	3,125,967	2,043,246	10

Such disproportion needs no comment.

The Moslems of Burmah number over 500,000 and a recent report states that "in respect of Christian enterprise on behalf of this 3.84 per cent. of the population, Burma is an unoccupied and neglected field." The 1,500,000 Mappilahs in Malabar, South India, are almost untouched by Christian missions; while the Tamil and Telugu-speaking Moslems of South India are largely unreached by special missionary effort.

Another unoccupied area is the Eastern side of British Malaya. The large Malay states of Pahang, Kelantan and Trengganu have no resident worker. We might add Johore and Kedah as other states where the population is overwhelmingly Moslem and where little or no missionary work is being done. In the Netherlands Indies the kingdom of Achin in the northernmost part of Sumatra must be counted among the unoccupied fields, and there are "whole areas in Java with which missions have not yet come into touch but which are all related to districts in which missions are already at work."²

² M. Schlunk, *Niederlandisch Indien als Missionsfeld*, Basel, 1922.

Regarding Islam in Southwestern Europe it is a startling fact that there are over 3,500,000 Moslems in the Balkans, within forty-eight hours of London by rail, and that they are practically, if not technically an unoccupied field.³ According to recent statistics the total number of Moslems in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is 16,800,000. There is no organized Christian work among them.

Turning to Africa we mention first the Moslems of Madagascar who, according to Louis Massignon, number 669,000. They constitute three groups: the Comores in the North, the Sakalaves in the Northwest, and the Moslem tribes Antaisakas, Antaimoros, etc., in the extreme southeast of the island. These are a wholly unoccupied field, although as early as 1891 Gabriel Ferrand published a two volume work on the Moslems of Madagascar.⁴

One of the major unoccupied regions of the world is French West Africa, also largely Moslem. Concerning one part of this territory Mr. W. J. W. Roome, in his volume "Can Africa Be Won?" says:

"Passing from Nigeria westwards we can travel through the hinterlands of Dahomey, Togoland, the Gold Coast, and the French Ivory Coast without finding a representative of the Cross for the whole distance. The first break in this immense area is the recent effort of the Gospel Missionary Union amongst the great Bambara tribe. A station has been opened at Bamako on the Niger River, and northwards Timbuctoo has been reached. Southwards, along the route from the coast, stations have been opened at Siguiri and Kankan, amongst the Malinke tribe, by the Swiss Independent Mission. These stations are the pioneers in this immense area, where Islam and paganism have confronted each other for centuries. Amongst these tribes that have held their own for so long, we have the Mossi, numbering over

³ Cf. *The Moslem World*, October, 1927.

⁴ *Les Musulmans à Madagascar et aux îles Comores*: Ernest Leroux, Paris. See also a very valuable paper on The Arab Immigration into Southeast Madagascar, by Rev. George A. Shaw in the *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, vol. xxxiii, 1901.

1,500,000, and still (1926) unreached by any messenger of the Cross. They form probably the largest unit along this whole line, entirely neglected." (Fahs)

According to Mr. Gilbert Dawson, General Secretary of the Sudan United Mission, writing in *The Light-bearer*, for July and August, 1926, "The really untouched field of northern Nigeria is the Mohammedan emirates in the north. In two provinces alone, Kano and Sokoto, there is a population of over 5,000,000 in which no direct Christian missionary work is permitted—even although in these provinces there are large pagan tribes. In Bornu Province there are 500,000 Mohammedans and a considerable number of pagans cut off from contact with Christianity. The Government of Nigeria has for a number of years prohibited missionary work in these provinces, on the ground that the Mohammedan Emirs were told, when their countries were brought under administration, that there would be no interference with their religion by Government, and that all men were free to worship God as they pleased."

In French Equatorial Africa there are twelve Moslem tribes, according to Mr. Roome, numbering over 500,000 with no Christian worker among them. The nearly three million Moslems of Abyssinia are among the most neglected part of the population in a land still very inadequately occupied by missionary forces. With the exception of one small Swedish mission at Massawa, British, Italian and French Somaliland are unoccupied.

As a whole, North Africa cannot be called an unoccupied field, but there are portions of this vast territory without any witness for Christ. In the whole of Tripoli, with over a million Moslems, the capital city alone is occupied by one missionary!

Various agencies are at work in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, but it should be noted that "on the main railway line of communication from Fez to Oran, three hundred miles; between Algiers and Constantine, another three hundred miles; and from Constantine to Tunis,

again three hundred miles, there is not a single mission station. Similarly on the railway lines from the coast to the Sahara there is no mission between Oran and Colomb-Bechar, a distance of four hundred miles, or between Constantine and Touggourt, another three hundred miles, except one independent mission at Biskra. Dotted along these railways and away on both sides of them are French settlements and colonists amid the native population, all of them reachable also by excellent French roads. Schools, commerce, and other factors and influences make these native populations entirely accessible.

"Likewise the Aures Mountains present (except for the town of Tabessa) another great unoccupied field, as do the high plateaus, the Saharan Atlas ranges, and the central populous mountain region of Morocco. Moreover, save two outposts in Tozeur in Southern Tunisia, and Tolga, near Biskra, the immense Sahara, with its many oases and nomad tribes is entirely unoccupied."

"The great Sudan appears destined to be opened up, developed, and civilized from across the Sahara rather than from across the seas with the deadly coast climate blocking the way. The significance of this prospect for missionary effort in North Africa is indeed great and startling. The Sudan will constitute a base for advance into Central Africa, and afford a training ground for indigenous missionaries, while at the same time the Moslem forces in North Africa are being checked and placed on the defensive.

"It is especially to be noted with gratitude that because of the enlightened policy of the government, there is genuine freedom of action throughout the vast reaches of French North Africa." (Fahs)

The Rev. J. J. Cooksey in his book, "The Land of the Vanished Church," points out the pressing claims of tribal remnants of the white Berber nation, once Christian and now Moslem. They are found all over North Africa, the Riffs, the Tuaregs, the Kabyles, number several millions, speak fifty Berber dialects.

"With these we couple a large but unknown number of people in that great and populous system of oases, which stretches across the Saharan depression from Morocco to the Egyptian border. The veil of mystery which enshrouds them has been partly lifted by recent explorations to the oases of Siwa, Jaghbub, Jalo, and Aujila, in Eastern Cyrenaica, on the western Egyptian border. In their entirety they form a kingdom to be possessed by an adventurous band of Christian missionary travelers."

Such is the challenge not only of these unreached tribes of North Africa but of each of the unoccupied lands in the whole needy world of Islam! In this number of our Quarterly, there are special articles on Arabia, Timbuctoo and Meshed which should appeal strongly to those who have the pioneer spirit.

The challenge of the unoccupied fields in the world of Islam is one to great faith and therefore to great sacrifice. Our willingness to sacrifice for an enterprise is always in proportion to our faith in that enterprise. Faith has the genius of transforming the barely possible into actuality. The plea of destitution is even stronger than the call of opportunity. The open door beckons; the closed door challenges Him who has a right to enter. These unoccupied fields therefore have a claim of peculiar weight and urgency.

"It is a horror," said the late Bishop Charles H. Brent, "to think of facing human need—sooner or later every serious-minded man is forced to face it—without vision or vitality. The sole thing left for such a one is to break his heart across the bars of the prisoners' cage before which he stands, impotent though compassionate, and die. He might clothe himself in apathy, it is true, but it were preferable to die. God, however, requires neither tragic alternative, for He has clothed His humblest servant with power."

Princeton, N. J.

S. M. ZWEMER.

WHO WERE THE HANIFS?

The word *hanīf* which occurs twelve times in the Koran—ten times in its singular, and twice in its plural form—is puzzling, and the manner of its use is also puzzling. Moslem tradition tells of various individuals who were *hanīfs*. Western scholars have been critical of these stories, and rightly so. But though various theories have been put forward as to their real identity, no satisfactory solution of the problem has yet been given. One hesitates to add to the ink which has already been spilt over the question, but a solution on somewhat new lines has lately suggested itself to me, which seems worthy of a short explanation.

The suggestion came to me from reading a discussion of the word *hanīf* in a thesis by Dr. Arthur Jeffery, of Cairo, on *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Koran*—a valuable work which it is to be hoped may soon find a publisher. Dr. Jeffery there makes it clear that the derivation of the word from the native Arabic *hanafa*, to incline, or lean away from, which I had formerly adopted, was very improbable; and gave his vote in favor of its derivation from the Syriac *hanpā*, heathen. He also stresses the fact that as used in the Koran the word is closely associated with Abraham, who at a particular stage in Mohammed's career plays an important part in his thought. All our *hanīf* passages, he points out, belong to the period when Mohammed was claiming that he went back to a revelation earlier than either Judaism or Christianity, the *millat Ibrāhīm*, which he was republishing to the Arabs. There in a nutshell, it seems to me, we have the whole secret.

With regard to the derivation of the word, the long

vowel of the second syllable of *hanīf* is fatal to its derivation from Syriac *hanpā* in its singular form; but this objection vanishes at once when we look at the plurals. For the Arabic *hunafā'* is as close a reproduction of the Syriac *han^ephē* as there is any need to demand. We may therefore assume that the word was borrowed in its plural form, and that the singular *hanīf* was formed from that in accordance with one of the rules of correspondence between singular and plural forms in Arabic. If now we ask who the *hunafā'* were, it strikes us at once that in the language of the Syriac-speaking Christians, the unconverted Arabs would be referred to as *han^ephē*, heathen. As a first step, then, we may conclude that the *hunafā'* were the Arabs who were neither Jews nor Christians, but who continued to follow the ancient native religion.

But how then comes the word to be used by Mohammed as the very antithesis of polytheist, and as practically equivalent to Moslem? For whenever in the Koran Abraham is said to have been a *hanīf*, it is also added that he was not one of those who associate (other gods with Allah). The answer to this question requires some wider consideration of Mohammed's ideas and their development.

Mohammed began his religious mission as the messenger of God to his own town of Mecca. He believed, probably sincerely enough, that God had called him to proclaim the great doctrine that there is no god but One, and to combat the old polytheism. Mecca had risen in comparatively recent times to wealth and prosperity. On the material side of life it was in touch with the lands of culture which lay just beyond the bounds of Arabia. But it was almost untouched by the spiritual side of the life of these countries. Any influence which that had exerted had probably been negative, tending to undermine the old religion. In any case the new conditions of wealth were playing havoc with the kindliness and equality of the old life. Mohammed saw his people materially prosperous,

but spiritually backward. He set himself therefore to transplant into their minds some of the "knowledge" of things religious which those who dwelt in more enlightened lands possessed. His own acquaintance with that "knowledge" was limited enough; and the opposition of the Meccans to his fundamental doctrine of Monotheism gave a denunciatory cast to the bulk of his deliverances there. But a certain amount of positive teaching he had acquired and promulgated in the Koran before he migrated to Medina. For this he had looked to those who had been Monotheists before him, *i. e.*, to Jews and Christians. It is almost impossible to decide in particulars whether he drew upon Jewish or Christian sources. Nor does it greatly matter. For he does not in the early stages appear to have distinguished between them. All religion was for him revealed religion, and the content of the revelation given by the one God must be one. In any case, he had been in the habit of looking to previous Monotheists as the source of his knowledge, and he naturally assumed that they would agree with him.

When now he came to Medina, he was brought into close association with Jews. Some passages in the Koran seem to suggest that before he went there he had received some promise of support from them. He accuses them afterwards of having broken the covenant of Allah, but it is not clear whether that refers to some definite pledge, or to some theoretical moral obligation under which they lay, as followers of a former prophet, to support a new prophet when he came (Surah III, 75). It is, however, fairly clear that the Jews, or some of them at least, did support him to begin with, and that he was quite disposed to accept, and did accept, certain practices from Judaism, the *qibla* or direction of prayer towards Jerusalem amongst them. Differences, however, soon began to develop. Islam had already to a certain extent taken shape in Mecca, and did not quite agree with Judaism. Perhaps too Mohammed, ready as he was to borrow from the Jews, had functioned too long as an independent

“messenger” to brook with patience the tutelage to which at close quarters his mentors were probably disposed to subject him. There is some petulance in the remark that neither the Jews nor the Christians would be satisfied with him until he followed their form of religion (II, 114). Worst of all, he had schemes of his own, involving hostilities with the Meccans, from which the Jews shrank. His hopes of support from them were disappointed.

The outward sign of a new orientation on Mohammed's part was the change of *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca. This was not carried through without difficulty, as the confusion of the passage in the Koran (II, 136ff.) dealing with the subject, shows. But it was important, and he pressed it. It was indeed a momentous change.

But why Mecca? The town which had rejected him, against whose inhabitants he was planning revenge, the center of the religion which he had hitherto been combating!

It was not only his own differences with the Jews which had been troubling Mohammed. He found also differences between Jews and Christians. How was this possible in religions which professed to be founded on revelation from the one God? He had found, too, in the course of his enquiries into the histories of former prophets, that it was not a case of one messenger being sent to each people, as he had at first apparently assumed. The Bani Isra'il had had a whole succession of prophets sent to them. Of the great prophets not only Moses but Jesus also had been sent to the Bani Isra'il. Their having once received the revelation, therefore, did not preclude the necessity of another prophet being afterwards sent. His answer to the problem of the differences amongst those who had received the Book, as formulated in Surah III, 17 (a verse older than its present setting) is: “Religion as it is with Allah is Islam; those who have been given the Book did not differ, except after the (revealed) knowledge had come to them, out of hatred

among themselves." That is: the original revelation had been the same, but in course of time Jews and Christians had both departed from the purity of the Faith, and had gone their own ways. The basic content of true religion was always the same—the necessity of surrender to the one God—but religions degenerated and needed to be restored.

Now Mohammed had to do with another religion besides Judaism and Christianity—the religion of the Arabs, or in the language of those from whom he had hitherto taken his information on religious matters, the *hunafā'*. That also must be the degeneration of a pristine pure revelation. Further, Abraham through Ishmael was the progenitor of the Arabs. He therefore must have been the founder of the religion of the *hunafā'*. He was the *hanīf*, *par excellence*, but as Mohammed is always careful to add, in order to prevent misconceptions, he was not one of the Polytheists. The *hanīf* religion as he founded it, was, like all other revealed religions, a pure monotheism; and as Abraham was earlier in time than both Judaism and Christianity, his religion was purer than either of them had ever been. It was nearer the origin of things. It was "the religion upon which Allah created the people" (XXX, 29).

This was the religion, then, which Mohammed now conceived himself as commissioned to restore. His face is henceforth set, not towards Judaism or Christianity, but towards the assumed pure original of the Arab religion. That is why he chooses Abraham as his prototype, makes Mecca, the center of Arab religion, his *qibla*, and from now on deliberately incorporates into Islam such portions of Arab practice as seemed to him consistent with Monotheism.

To sum up: the *hanīfs* were the followers of the ideal original of Arab religion. They were no sect or party of historical people, but the product of Mohammed's unresting mind.

Edinburgh.

RICHARD BELL.

IS TURKEY A MOHAMMEDAN COUNTRY?

Article I of the Turkish constitution, promulgated March 3, 1924, reads as follows: "the Turkish state is a republic." Article II of the same charter is couched in these terms: "the religion of the Turkish state is Islam; the official language is Turkish; the seat of government is Angora."

It would mean a great deal to the chancelleries of the West to know what is the real significance of these words. The Ottoman empire was the main pillar of Mohammedanism. If its successor is still a Moslem institution, the mere fact that a throne has been overturned is but of secondary importance to the Occident. If, on the other hand, Angora typifies the scrapping of the religious structure of the past, the innovation becomes of great moment. As long as Mustafa Kemal remains at the helm, what has or has not happened may, perhaps, have but little bearing upon the maintenance of law and order. The *Ghazi*, however, is but mortal. The question is therefore destined sooner or later to force itself to the fore.

I shall not ask whether the abolition of the khalifate answers my inquiry. Words of themselves mean nothing. It is substance, not form, that counts. I shall consequently pass at once to the legislation promulgated by the new commonwealth, and seek to ascertain whether or not it involves a war upon Islam. I shall not deal with laws that may be hidden away in dusty archives and remain unenforced. I shall not speak of statutes which regulate such exceptional matters that the public may be ignorant of their existence. On the contrary, I shall confine myself to enactments which are rigidly applied, and which bear upon subjects of daily interest to every man and woman.

I shall first speak of the law of November 25, 1925, which made it compulsory for a man to wear a hat. Such legislation may strike an Occidental as being a meddlesome interference with individual liberty, but as having no religious import. Its significance, from a social point of view, means more than such an enactment would imply to an Anglo-Saxon. I shall explain this before I speak of its ecclesiastical aspect.

The Turk is the most polite of men. Etiquette plays a large part in his life. Moslem tradition demanded that his head remain covered in token of respect. An Ottoman gentleman of the old school, whether in or out of doors, would never have thought of removing his *tarbush* when in the presence of any one. His salutations, be they of friendship or of reverence, were performed by a most exquisite and expressive gesture of the right hand and of the covered head. An earlier law of September 4, 1925, had ordained that hats should be taken off indoors. It had further decreed that salutes out of doors should be carried out by removing the hat. The statute that made the hat the compulsory headwear of all men was therefore bound to have a psychological effect of moment.

It dealt with essentials, because, under the old Ottoman order, the differentiation of head-gear had been carried to great lengths. One could at one time practically tell a man's religion, occupation and social standing by observing what he wore on his head. As Islam is a water-tight compartment type of society, the eradication of all of these marks of distinction was intended to convey a far-reaching lesson. It was, however, forgotten that all hats are not alike. The reform in this respect has, accordingly, missed fire.

But it is the religious signification of the change that is of even more compelling interest. Islam insists that the faithful shall pray five times a day. It establishes a rigorous formulary which cannot be deviated from in the slightest manner. No authority may validly modify this ritual or change the hours of prayer. Both were ordained

by the prophet. They are immutable. Men, in the old days, prayed in the orthodox style wherever they were when the *muezzin* called to them from his minaret. One of the most inspiring sights in Ottoman Turkey was to see red-blooded men praying in the public streets totally oblivious of the passing throng.

These rites put the devout Moslem through a "daily dozen" that should keep his liver in order, make his muscles flexible, and strengthen his back. One of these exercises forces him to kneel, bend forward with folded arms and to touch the earth several times with his forehead. My Mohammedan gardener is very proud of the roses that adorn my flower beds. But he is still prouder of the callous black spot that stands out upon his forehead. He says that it proves that he is a true believer. I tell him that it shows that he loves ostentation.

Be all this as it may, were my gardener in Turkey he could not pray. He could not pray out of doors because the new law would compel him to wear a hat, and because its brim would prevent his forehead from touching the ground. He could not pray out of doors without a hat, because Islamic tradition looks upon a bare head as being a sign of disrespect. Nor could he obey the law and put on a turban when praying within doors, because the act of September 4, 1925, forbids him to wear any head-gear when within four walls.

All of this may seem to an English-speaking man to be nothing but a tempest in a teapot. But it is all very serious to a Moslem. The problem thus presented is said to have almost wrecked the Turco-German alliance of the Great War. It appears that the Teutonic high command wanted the Turks to wear spiked helmets. Enver Pasha was prepared to do almost anything that Berlin wanted. He, nevertheless, balked at this. It was inconceivable to his mind that his men could pray with uncovered head. The spike would have prevented their foreheads from striking the earth. He knew that the ritual could not be altered. He would, therefore, have

jettisoned the alliance rather than have changed the head-gear of his soldiers.

I should, perhaps, here say a word about the innovation which decreed that women should no longer be veiled. I shall not do so, however, for the reason that the Koran nowhere prescribes that woman's face should be covered. I shall, accordingly, pass at once to the new laws which deal with family life, marriage and divorce, inheritance, and guardianship. These assuredly are matters of every day importance to the average citizen.

The Ottoman Empire did not legislate upon these points. It left them to the *sheri'a*. It did so notwithstanding the law-making propensities of many recent Sultans. This "hands-off" policy was respected throughout the ages, and from one end of Islam to the other, because such questions were considered as having been definitely settled by the divine will, and as having long since received their unalterable expression. I am afraid that I cannot drive home my meaning unless I go back to fundamental Mohammedan principles.

The skeleton of Moslem law is sketched in a conversation that took place between the prophet and Muadh, one of his companions. There were no lawyers in the Islam of those days. Mohammed wanted to know how his followers would decide cases after he had gone to the great beyond. He, therefore, asked his *sahib*:

"According to what shalt thou judge?"

The man answered:

"According to the Word of God."

"And if thou findest nought therein?"

"According to the tradition of the messenger of God."

"And if thou findest nought therein?"

"Then, shall I interpret with my reason."

And thereupon the prophet said:

"Praised be God who has favored the messenger of his messenger with what his messenger is willing to approve."

Into less than seventy words are thus boiled down the kernel of Islamic law. As Mohammedanism is preëminently a lawyer's government, or more accurately a lay-

man's state ruled by laymen and for laymen, these few questions and answers are the *Magna Charta* of Moslem institutions.

All of this means that the primary source of all Islamic law is the Koran. It will be recalled that this holy book is the word of God transmitted to Mohammed from on high through the angel Gabriel. It is, therefore, more than the Bible of the Moslems. It is their Bible, their constitution, their civil code, their code of practice, and their revised statutes.

But these sweeping terms must not be misunderstood. The Koran does not present a systematic set of "thou shalt" and of "thou shalt not" similar to the *Tora* of the Old Testament. There are strictly speaking no enactments in the Moslem scripture. Out of its seven thousand odd verses not more than approximately five hundred may be considered as laying down the law. And these are not expressed in terms that one associates with legislation. Nevertheless, these messages from heaven are the brick and mortar which are embedded in the soil, and upon which the superstructure of Islam is built.

Muadh answered the prophet that if he found nought in the word of God he would judge "according to the tradition of the messenger of God." This tradition is called the *sunna* or literally the path. It covers all of the sayings and doings of Mohammed. The words and actions of the chosen one are looked upon as elaborating and explaining the Koran. The books are full of these traditions. Many of them are apocryphal. Out of the score of thousands of these more or less authentic *sunna* it is said that about one thousand may be considered as embodying a law. And here again the enacting clause is missing. These interpretative sentences and gestures make up the steel construction of the Moslem edifice.

The prophet foresaw that when he should have passed away new conditions would beget a need for new legislation. He was, however, determined that everything should repose upon the Koran as its foundation, and that

all laws should be inseparably attached to it or to his *sunna*. He, therefore, accepted Muass's reply, which made clear that in the event these two exclusive sources should leave a *lacuna*, the latter would "interpret with his reason." Thus did Islamic exegesis come into being. It follows as a corollary to this that Mohammedan hermeneutics constitute the curtain walls, the woodwork, the hardware, the laths of the Moslem structure.

But if Mohammed thus accorded to his Companions the prerogative of interpreting the *sunna* "with reason," this concession was not vouchsafed to successive generations of true believers. On the contrary, not only was the doctrine of the infallibility of the Moslem community evolved, but a system sprang into being which eventually closed the door to all further interpretation. In other words, the husband of Khadija felt that the men who lived in touch with him could construe the *sunna* because they might be considered to have first-hand knowledge of its intendment. When these companions had passed away, their immediate descendants were presumed to have been in touch with those who had been witnesses of the great epic. But when one generation after another had disappeared, the element of hearsay became so predominant that it was deemed impossible to allow any further interpretations.

It thus came to pass that by the time that the ninth century of the Christian era appeared above the horizon, the façade of Islam had not only been completed, but had received all of the ornamentation and gargoyles that it could carry. It was then that four Mohammedan lawyers made themselves immortal. They are: Abu Hanifa, Malik, Esh-Shafi, and Ibn Hanbal. They gave their names to the four Orthodox schools of Islamic law.

To understand how they won their niche in the Hall of Fame one must return to the conversation between Mohammed and Muadh. It will be recalled that the latter said that should he find no precedent in the Koran or in the *sunna* he would judge according to his interpre-

tation of these repositories of truth. His master did not ask him: "And according to what principles wilt thou interpret?" Abu Hanifa and his emulators put this question. They evolved an elaborate system of hermeneutics. Its keystone is the Moslem dogma of infallibility. This tenet is encompassed in the categorical assurance given by Mohammed that his community, taken as a community, can never err.

The rules of interpretation laid down by these four doctors propounded the following syllabus:

- (1) When there is a Koranic text, the door is closed on human reason;
- (2) A like situation obtains when there exists a saying or an act of the Prophet;
- (3) It is closed on historical exegesis,
- (4) It is closed on allegorical exegesis.

The only door left open was that of criticism. But this had its catch lock. It had no key, and could not be picked. Whenever the Islamic community, taken as a whole, had registered a decision, it was hermetically sealed. This supreme exponent of Moslem thought could not err. And because it could not make a mistake, it could not reverse itself. It could not even grant a rehearing, because once its decree had been handed down the subject was considered to be exhausted.

From this it follows that Islam cannot have a reformation, in the sense of purifying itself and readjusting itself to changed conditions. Reformation implies that an improvement has been made. Obviously a work which bears the *imprimatur* of Allah himself cannot be made better. It is, therefore, impossible to look upon Mustafa Kemal as a Martin Luther. If what the *Ghazi* has done has modified anything which was incorporated into Islam, his work must, according to Moslem authority, be considered as destruction and not as reformation.

And right here I must hasten to say that the voice of the Mohammedan community is not that of a tribunal or of a conclave. It is rather the reasoned opinion of the

Moslem Bar, backed up by the approval of the contemporary *intelligenza*. In other words, Islam is deemed to have expressed itself *ex cathedra* whenever the doctors of law of a given epoch have manifested unanimity on a specific proposition, and have had their point of view either tacitly or expressly approved of by the Bar of the day. A proposition thus formulated and thus ratified is held to incarnate the divine will.

These four builders of the law drew up commentaries. They form digests of the law. These schools of thought were not always in agreement. There were certain points about which each had its own theory. Islam considers these four rites as being equally orthodox. But a true believer is not permitted to be eclectic in his taste. As a practical proposition it is geography that now fixes the collegiate group to which a man owes allegiance. All of this occurred centuries ago. It would serve no useful purpose to point out the fine shades of distinction that exist. All four have what the West would call the same creed. It is only in details, which the Occident would not consider as bearing upon religion, that there is any difference at all.

The four builders of the law, in setting up the door of criticism, patterned its hinges somewhat upon the lines governing the closing of the door of interpretation. They worked out what is known as the doctrine of "the Layers of Jurisconsults," or the table of precedence of the builders of the law.

First rank was given to the four founders. They thus became, as it were, the Mohammeds of Moslem hermeneutics. Second place was assigned to the doctors of the law who lived shortly after that epoch. They may be said to belong to the Companion class. These learned men could not tinker with questions of substantive law. They were, however, permitted to speak as regards matters of practice. Abu Yusuf, known to all lovers of the Arabian Nights, was in this category "B". The doctors of the third battalion, who may be assimilated to the

immediate descendants of the Companions, were allowed to deal with questions of procedure not solved by the *ulema* of the two senior contingents.

It is said that when the battle of Hastings was being fought the last of this last group was closing his eyes. This may be an exaggeration. It seems, however, to be well settled that before the first of the Edwards had mounted the throne of England Islam had hermetically sealed its door upon all interpretation and criticism. This implies that the divine will had expressed itself upon all problems then known to man.

I do not go so far as to say that every subject that may arise at the present moment is thus definitively adjudged. I do insist, however, that such matters as family relations, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and guardianship have long since been given their authoritative and unalterable substance and form. I do urge that it is anti-Islamic to touch a letter of the law thus expressive of the Almighty's pleasure. Angora has thrown overboard the entire Moslem legislation and jurisprudence. It has adopted in its place Swiss codes, which smack of scenery, hotels and chocolate rather than of the Koran, the *sunna* and the wisdom of the past.

The same line of argument applies to the abolition of the capitulations and of the various religious tribunals.

It will be recalled that Islam is, as I have already said, a water-tight compartment type of State. True believers who inhabit a territory governed by a Mohammedan sovereign do not think of assimilating the Christians and Jews who may owe obedience to the same crown and live in the same village as they do. The dogs of unbelievers are segregated from the dominant religious group. And the various Jewish sects and Christian denominations are insulated the one from the other. These non-Mohammedans have their own laws, and constitute separate ethnical and juristic communities. In a word, the Moslem world is regulated by "personal" and not by "territorial" law. This principle also applies to for-

eigners, whether they be domiciled in or be merely passing through an Islamic State. They are amenable to the legislation of their fatherland and are justiciables of their own consuls.

This scheme of society is foreign to the genius of the West. It is, nevertheless, the quintessence of Islam. It was written into its body politic not by pressure from the Occident but by its own unconquered leaders. Its first application goes back at least as far as the days of the Companions of Mohammed. It has, therefore, received the benediction of the Mohammedan community. It is, accordingly, woven into the web of the Moslem fabric. To tear out such threads is to destroy the symmetry of the design approved by Him whose workmanship cannot be gainsaid.

Such appears to have been the opinion of the Islamic doctors of law of the pristine days of Ottoman supremacy. I refer to the reign of Sultan Selim, the father of Suleiman the Magnificent, a sire worthy of such a son. The Christian patriarchates and Jewish rabbimates of that epoch seem to have got on the nerves of Selim. To rid himself of such an incubus he decided to ordain that all of his subjects should either embrace Islam or die.

He was an autocrat. But before he could legislate, the judiciary committee of his realm had to pass on the constitutionality of his fiat. This body was composed of certain higher *ulema* or doctors of law of that epoch. They were learned, dogmatic and fearless lawyers. They knew their business. They had the courage of their convictions. When their opinion was called for, they did not press a button and dictate verbose harangues to court stenographers. On the contrary, if they considered the measure constitutional, because not opposed to Moslem precedent, they merely said: "*Olur*," which translated into English means, "it may be done!" If they found the proposal anti-Islamic, they replied: "*Olmaz*," or "it may not be done." When the *ulema* took cognizance of Selim's ukase they answered: "*Olmaz*." And the Sultan

knew better than not to accept this *Olmaz*. He was a true believer, and respected the inviolability of Mohammedan institutions.

The years passed. The star and crescent ceased to be symbolical of victory. The successor of Mohammed the Conqueror, of Selim and of Suleiman became the Sick Man of Europe. The ambassadors of Christendom dictated to the Sublime Porte. Islam lingered at Constantinople merely because the Occident could not decide who should inherit Byzance. But the Sultan knew that he was there merely on sufferance.

Mahmud II, who reigned from 1809 to 1839, got badly frightened. It was largely a case with him of "help me, Cassius, or I sink." He broke into the edifice of Islamic law. He proposed certain reforms known as the *Hatt-i-Sherif*. They were followed in 1856 by an analogous measure styled the *Hatt-i-Humayun*. Between 1869 and 1877 statutes were promulgated which were drafted along European lines. They bore a striking resemblance to the codes of France.

It has been advanced that these measures show that the citadel of Islam had been stormed long before the advent of Mustafa Kemal, and that, therefore, it is not he, but the Ottoman Sultans of the nineteenth century, who destroyed the Mohammedan ark of covenant. I am perfectly willing, for the sake of argument, to admit the truth of all this. The question to which I have sought to give an answer is not, who killed Cock Robin? It is, is Turkey a Mohammedan country? I am afraid, however, that analysis will show that the old dynasty bequeathed to Angora a substantially unimpaired Islamic heritage.

I say this because all of these nineteenth century breaches in the wall were enacted under duress. The Sultans had recourse to wax and parchment just as modern surgeons do to saline injections or to oxygen. They never meant a word of what they wrote under the dictation of Europe. They used ukases as sawdust with

which to blind the eyes of the sailors who otherwise might have bombarded Constantinople. All of this red tape went into the waste paper basket for which it was primarily destined. It is true that certain of the provisions of these codes, as opposed to the "*Hatt-is*," were very probably enforced. I can, however, visualize Turkish judges crossing their fingers when doing so, and mumbling to themselves: "May Allah forgive me. Allah is merciful. Allah is clement. He knows that if I have apparently applied this law I have ignored it, and that I have judged as it is written in his holy book."

And it should not be forgotten that this mundane Ottoman legislation steered clear of the fireside. It did not invade the home of the Moslem. In the obviously essential relationships of life it allowed Mohammedan civilization to remain inviolate. To the man in the street and to the peasant in his field an unenforced *Hatt-i* or an elaborate code of obligations was what the Arabs call *kalam fady*, mere empty talk. He had no knowledge of such enactments. They meant nothing to his philosophy. It is because Angora has carried its decrees into the family circle, has dealt with marriage, divorce, filiation and inheritance, in a word has trespassed upon subjects that touch every man, woman and child, that the Turkish republic may be said to have rushed in where Sultans feared to tread, and where the *ulema* of old would have cried out: "*olmaz!*"

I do not blame the *Ghazi* for applying a desperate remedy to a hopeless situation. To my mind he is, from the standpoint of accomplishment, the biggest man in the governmental firmament of this day. I have Mussolini, Poincaré and Stresemann in view as I write these lines.

Mustafa Kemal was unknown, except in a restricted circle, when the Allies dictated the Treaty of Sèvres. He told the Sultan and the Occident to take that pact and to go with it to a resort paved with good intentions. His sovereign put a price upon his head. He plunged into Anatolia. When he emerged from it the frontiers of

Turkey were made what they now are. The chancelleries of Europe were forced to break to smithereens their choice bit of Sèvres, and Turkey was a nation and not a geographical expression.

The old Ottoman empire of the effete decades of the nineteenth century posed as the champion of Islam—and went upon the rocks. It dreamed of the khalifate—and counted for nought. The great national assembly has departed from all of this. Whether it has or has not acted wisely time alone will tell. It is, as a general proposition, dangerous to make light of tradition. Tradition crystallizes the aggregate wisdom of the past. It is a bulwark of law and order. With Bolshevism so near, Angora has taken almost reckless chances in making a holocaust of yesterday.

Whether the future will or will not justify the hazard, it must be said that the mere fact that the new constitution declares that "the religion of the Turkish State is Islam" of itself means nothing. Precept, practice and dogma, not a label, make a creed. The institution which is now in the crucible is not the Islam of the fathers of the faith. Allah gave to the followers of Mohammed an infallible doctrine. It cannot now be reformed. The Phoenix which has arisen in Anatolia is an innovation, not a reformation.

Cairo.

PIERRE CRABITES.

THE SINLESSNESS OF JESUS

[This article meets some of the recent attacks of the Moslem Ahmadia press, and shows that scholarship is on the side of orthodox Islam and historic Christianity in its affirmation of the sinlessness of Jesus, according to all the records of the Gospel.—*Editor.*]

The Hon. Bertrand Russell is so entirely opposed in his whole philosophy, his views of religion and morals, to all that is distinctively Christian or even theistic, that no value can be attached to any judgment he may offer on the person of Jesus, and in what he says he shows that he has not kept himself abreast of modern exegetical and critical knowledge; but bases his censure on popular impressions. One might just as fitly ask a blind man to offer an authoritative criticism of the merits or defects of a picture he could not see. It is otherwise with Mr. J. Middleton Murry; he does show such appreciation of the person of Jesus, that his judgment deserves consideration. It is true that the attention given to his "Life of Jesus" was not due to its intrinsic merits, but rather to the accident that he was not a biblical scholar or theological thinker, but a literary man, a poet, a novelist, and a critic. For in the sphere of theology the amateur is always regarded as of more importance than the expert. Mr. Murry has not shown either the wide range of knowledge, or the sound quality of judgment, which would invest his views with authority among those who both know and understand. His judgments are often quite arbitrary, or based on critical opinions which are not generally accepted. To give one instance before concentrating on the subject under discussion. He assumes that the eschatological school alone is, and can be, right, and that only the apocalyptic conception of the Messiah holds and can hold the field; and he concludes accordingly that Jesus

cannot have regarded Himself as the Messiah, but can only have anticipated that He would become the Messiah. "The thought that a living man should become the Messiah was terribly hard even for Jesus—for the ordinary Jew it was impossible—but that a living man should *be* the Messiah was simply unthinkable" (p. 29).

No theologian was ever more dogmatic on insufficient grounds. Mr. Murry does not argue, but asserts, as in this passage on the Baptism. Jesus "had come to be baptised by John as a sinner, among a crowd of sinners. He had come as more than a sinner, but as a sinner he had indeed come. Whatever this man was, he was the incarnation of honesty. He would have sought no baptism for the remission of sins, had he not been conscious of sin. He came out also to see and to hear a prophet; he would have seen him and heard him, but he would not have sought his baptism for no cause, and become one with the outward ritualists whom he so passionately condemned. In his later words we hear beyond all doubt the voice of one who had known sin, and the consciousness of sin, and the joy in Heaven over the sinner that repenteth" (pp. 30-31). At the close of the chapter on the Temptation, however, he indicates that Jesus gained a final and decisive victory. "The word of victory was spoken. The Spirit of Evil, who is the Spirit that for ever denies, left him and never returned" (p. 41). In these last words he goes beyond the record in Luke; "when the devil had completed every temptation, he departed from him for a season" (IV. 13). Temptations recurred throughout the ministry, "yet without sin." He does not use, as might have been expected, the answer of Jesus to the rich young ruler, "Why do you call me good? No one is good save God" (See page 222) in confirmation of his ascription of sinfulness.

To deal first with a minor criticism; it is surely forced exegesis to find in Jesus' words about the "joy in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth" a reference to His own past experience of sin. Is it not rather the joy of the

Saviour in saving, which He had experienced, which He regards as showing the heart of God as Father? The assumption that Jesus did not regard Himself as Messiah, as based on inadequate grounds, we may set aside. He did so regard Himself; but He did not share the popular expectations. There is ample evidence, however, that He thought of His vocation in terms of the suffering Servant of God of Isaiah 53; and it is from this standpoint we must regard the Baptism. The Baptism was His self-dedication to His vocation as Saviour from sin by a self-identification with sinners, but not as a sinner. I have worked out this matter fully in my book "The Inner Life of Jesus" (chapter IV); and I need not repeat the argument here for my immediate purpose, which is to show that the other abounding evidence of the Gospels precludes Mr. Murry's view.

It is generally admitted, and we may assume Mr. Murry would admit, that Jesus had a moral sensitiveness and a religious intensity transcending that of all other men. He had a repulsion to evil, and an attraction to God, altogether unique. The history of Christian saintship would lead one to expect that, if he had any consciousness of sinfulness, there would have been recorded some confession of sin, and some prayer for pardon in the presence of God, which He was ever realizing. Even if Mr. Murry were ready to concede that there was no present experience of sinfulness, but only a past, the remembrance of sin should have been sufficient to forbid His "holy boldness" in His communion with God. The inclusion of such a saying as Jesus' answer to the rich young ruler proves that the evangelists had not the wish, still less the skill, to exclude any sayings, if such there had been, which betrayed a consciousness of sinfulness. The total impression of Jesus' attitude to God in a world of sinners, of the sin of which He was acutely sensitive, excludes the possibility, unless he was a moral and religious abnormality, of any consciousness of sin, past or present. No less does His total attitude towards sin-

ners. Deep as was His compassion, and wide His sympathy towards sinners, He never puts Himself among them as a fellow-sinner. He judges sin, condemning or forgiving, as no sinner ever could, but only as one who knew Himself to share the mind and the heart of God concerning sin. The claims He makes on men for faith, submission, sacrifice, not for a cause above Himself, but for Himself, would seem extravagant from a fellow-sinner, but not from the sinless Saviour of sinners. The whole Christian conception and estimate of Jesus tumbles in ruins, if His sinlessness is withdrawn from its foundations.

As I have myself referred to the saying of Jesus in answer to the rich young ruler's greeting, it cannot here be passed over in silence. It is no confession of sin, but an expression of His humility. He was still conscious of being tempted; He was still straitened till He had drunk the cup, and had accomplished His baptism; He had not yet fulfilled His vocation, nor completed the work His Father had given Him to do; so He did not here claim equality in perfection with His Father. It is not necessary to deal with this or that word or deed of Jesus, with which fault has been found; for in every case a closer scrutiny shows full justification in view of His vocation, or the circumstances, or the character of those with whom He was dealing. Even if we could not in every case satisfy our own moral judgment, in view of the total impression Jesus makes, the more modest and reverent attitude of distrust in our own judgment would be fitting.

A word or two may, however, in closing be added as to the state of critical opinion. As far as I am aware, no assured result of the literary or historical criticism of the Gospels has substantially altered the situation. Those who so deal with the evidence before them as to exclude on critical grounds the support for the Christian belief in the sinlessness of Jesus, continue their denial. Those who hold that in the light of historical and literary criticism, there remains still adequate ground for

their belief have as much justification as ever. The opinion of a philosopher and mathematician, such as the Hon. Bertrand Russell, who is anti-Christian in his whole philosophy, need carry no weight. The view of a literary man like Mr. Murry, resting on an arbitrary handling of the sources, is interesting, but not authoritative. Opponents of Christianity will make the most of such support. But the Christian apologist can still confidently, so far as assured knowledge goes, confess Jesus as "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners" as regards personal transgression, but in grace identifying Himself with them as their Divine Saviour.

New College, Hampstead.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

MOSLEM MENTALITY IN THE SYRIAN PRESS

The following pages give a very brief statement of the result of a study of Damascus papers during a period of nearly four years. The thing that in many ways is the most interesting of all, must be omitted here, namely, the wording of the papers themselves. Space allows us only an outline, or the digest, of the topics and the principal opinions.¹

A. THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

No one will deny that there has been hitherto a great difference between Moslem women and the women of the West. The veil has been the symbol of the difference, and its mere existence has been taken as a sign of the inferior position of the Moslem women.

When reading what the papers tell about the position of women, we are astonished to find comparatively few expressions of the old-fashioned ideas, or rather, what we think are the Moslem ideas on this point. One thing of course must not be forgotten here, a thing that is evident to all who know the daily life in a Moslem community, namely, that the people with old-fashioned ideas do not make the same use of newspapers as the modern. Most of them do not read newspapers, simply because they cannot read, and their religious leaders reach much further through the sermons in the Mosques than through the papers. And also it should be noticed that when the conservative Moslems write in the papers, they generally do not use the rough and low expressions, which may be heard among common people and perhaps even are in the mind of the writer, *e. g.*, that a woman

¹ [For a full statement the reader is referred to Mr. Nielsen's book just published: *Muhammedansk Tankegang i Vore Dage*, Copenhagen, 1930. Ed.]

has no soul and will not enter paradise. Probably the old-fashioned writers feel that, in a discussion with the modern, such ideas and such expressions must be avoided.

But of course the standpoint is there, that women are to keep away from public life, not only from taking up public works in the market or in the offices, but ought not even to walk with men in public places, and all the time they should wear the veil when out of the house. And it is no wonder that these Moslem writers point to the modern extravagant customs of the West, and praise the old position of women in the Orient in comparison to it.

But most of the writers are not at all satisfied with the state of things in the Moslem community. They understand and admit that Moslem women are treated more as slaves than as free personalities, and they also admit that in spite of certain deplorable modern usages in the West, the position of women there is much higher and nobler. But they do not find fault with Islam for it, on the contrary, they maintain that if Koranic instructions were followed according to their spirit, things would not only be all right in the Orient, but even better than in the West. An old-fashioned Moslem professor of law once gave a public lecture in the Scientific Society of Damascus about the position of women in the three great religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and his argument was that the rights of women are nowhere better guaranteed than in the Moslem religion. Probably we are inclined to meet such an argument only with a smile, thinking that it is very far from reality, and that it is easy to contradict it from the Koran itself. But at any rate we should know that not only the old-fashioned Moslems use the Koran to prove their ideas, the modern Moslems do the same thing.

Even as to the question of the veil this holds true. Most of us, perhaps, believe that the veil of the Moslem women has its origin in the Koran, and the conservative Moslems will argue so, quoting, for example, as the *mufti*

of Beyrout in one of the articles, "When you ask of them any goods, ask of them from behind a curtain, this is purer for your hearts and their hearts"—"O Prophet! say to your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers, that they let down upon them their overgarments, this will be more proper that they may be known, and thus they will not be given trouble"—"They should guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands. . . ."

But the modern Moslems will tell us that not only have the village women and the Bedouin women never worn the veil, which shows that it is no common Islamic duty, but they also try to trace the veil back historically to a non-Islamic source, and they use the same Koranic verses in quite another sense, *e. g.*, a Moslem theologian writing against the *mufti* says: "All theologians and commentaries maintain that the words, 'what appears thereof' mean the face and hands, and some even add the feet. Theologians have even declared that the whole arm can be left bare when a woman has to perform work that needs the help of an uncovered arm. Of course it should only be done combined with the veil of education and bashfulness, and with all the other parts of the body covered as it is without any need to show them bare."

As to the possibility of putting aside the veil in a town like Damascus, much has been written from both sides. Even many of those who do not find any Koranic support for the veil, want to retain the veil under the present circumstances, until girls in general have been well educated so that they are able to understand and to fulfill their rights and their duties. And you may even find the very sound idea that not only women need more education before the veil can be put aside, but the men too.

The articles about the position of women are more than seventy. Quoting their titles here will be sufficient

to indicate the subjects dealt with, and the trend of thought expressed: What the Women of Egypt claim from the Minister of Justice—Let Schools be opened to us Women—Polygamy—Lectures for Women—Marriage—Open letter to the Minister of Education about the question: Whether men can be teachers in a girls' school—The harm of Western Culture—Our Women and those of the West—A Female Moslem Ambassador—About the Education of Women—The Duties of Women towards Community and Country—Are Men and Women Capable of the Same Work?—Open letter to the *mufti* about the question: Whether Moslem women can attend theatre plays—The Moslem Club for Women in Beyrout—The Queen of Afghanistan Unveiled—Three Female Moslem Students in the School of Medicine—Secondary Schools for Girls in Turkey.

B. SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

The Social Question in the West is generally taken to mean the relation between workers and employers and all that is connected with it. A social question in this sense is not yet found in a country like Syria, and the papers do not deal with it. But many other social questions we miss in the daily press because the social life is so far behind that the questions have not been tackled yet, nay, have often not even appeared to people as existing, *e. g.*, all questions of insurance, of public care for the poor and crippled, laws of prohibition against misuse of women's and children's work, etc. A few problems have just been taken up or touched upon, as the public health department, prohibition of cruelty to animals, etc., but in the papers, and in daily life, you miss a note that is sounded so strongly in the West, the note of mutual help and care in the public life. The great question is whether all this can be combined with the spirit of Islam, or whether, as Moslems generally say, Islam itself is blameless, while its followers are to blame. The future will show us whether the spirit of Islam is able to produce

and to preserve the common love of the neighbor which is at the bottom of all the social undertakings mentioned.

A collection of such titles as may be counted as belonging to the Social Question will show how accidental and how insignificant they are: Fatalism—Bolshevism—Genii—Mean Newspapers—Mode and Character—Purity—Swindlers—Merchants and Artisans—The Duties of Youth—Immorality and Gambling—The Functionaries of the Mosques—Foreign Languages—The Social Benefit of Religious Feasts—Tramps, Beggars, and the Lame—Slavery—Lies—Philanthropy—Kindness to Animals—Economizing—If an Oath has been Forced—Brothels—Our Prisons.

One important subject has attracted more attention than previously, *i. e.*, the sanitary regulations, hospitals, etc., but still much is lacking. The two social subjects that are treated more than others, with the exception of the position of women as seen above, are the question of public education, and the question of religious institutions and endowments. The latter problem is of immense significance, for immense values are tied up in this way, or rather are at the mercy of religious leaders who direct their administration generally to the benefit of Mosques and themselves. It is interesting to notice how numerous and how sharp are the attacks of many writers against such religious leaders and the authorities responsible for those endowments; sometimes they even accuse them of using the means, quite unlawfully, for personal use, and at any rate they maintain that the will of the donors has not been fulfilled by using the income for strictly religious purposes, in building and repairing Mosques, etc.; the money ought to be used for orphanages, hospitals, schools, etc., it is even claimed that all these endowments should be put under the direction of the Ministry of Education. And if such enormous sums were put at the disposal of the public authorities it might be hoped that many social questions would be solved which are now hardly put forth.

The second important subject mentioned is the question of public education. A violent criticism is being directed against the old-fashioned Koranic schools, both against their poor unhygienic localities, against their unsatisfactory way of teaching, and the subjects taught. Elementary schools are demanded for towns and villages, and reforms are asked for in the religious schools, so that the pupils are taught not merely the explanation of the Koran and other religious disciplines, but useful subjects such as geography, history, and natural science. Through a number of articles you get a most vivid impression of the fight that is going on between the old and the new in Islam, and the fight is fought with violent expressions, the modern-minded are accused of heresy, and unbelief, and they in their turn speak of the stupidity of the conservatives and their bigotry and total lack of understanding of the spirit of Islam.

A special point of interest of course is the way in which foreign schools are being mentioned. The high educational standard of these schools is admitted, and on that background a sharp criticism is directed against the native schools.

C. RELIGIOUS TOPICS.

When we try to gather the articles dealing with strictly religious topics we soon find that, of the five pillars of the Moslem religion, the pilgrimage is the one that draws the attention of the papers. Probably the number of articles about it has been specially great these four years (1924-1928) because great political changes have taken place in the Hejaz district, but in itself the pilgrimage still evidently plays a great rôle in the Moslem world.

Some of the articles just describe the pilgrimage itself, its localities and customs, its difficulties and problems, and this in itself is interesting enough, as Christians must generally draw all their information about the sacred places from Moslems, as they cannot go there themselves as

Christians. Some of the articles contain criticism, but very little, if any, of the religious institution itself, only certain performances and rituals which seem to be heathen, and which no doubt historically have been taken on quite unchanged from the ante-Islamic time of ignorance. The enormous difficulties and dangers connected with the pilgrimage for its pious performers are not passed by tacitly; the terrible death-rate is mentioned, the lack of drinking water and the enormous price often to be paid for it, as for other necessities; the people of Mecca seem simply to live on the pilgrims, without much thought of the sacredness of the place.

Besides the merely religious description, another side of the pilgrimage is being mentioned in the papers, namely, the political side. Moslems are spread over many countries, and belong to many tongues and races, but the great majority in our days are subjects of "Christian" governments, *e. g.*, the British in India, the Dutch in the East Indies, the French in North Africa, etc. Many great problems therefore arise, especially when peace and tranquillity are threatened in the sacred district. When the Wahhabis took the Hejaz country in 1924-5, it made a stir in the whole Moslem world, for the Wahhabis were known to be Puritans, and to hate the tombs of the saints and several other things specially significant in the pilgrimage. Many Moslems thought that the Wahhabis might prevent other Moslems from visiting Mecca and Medina. But the Wahhabis did not go so far, they only insisted on the pilgrims not smoking tobacco and omitting other anti-religious things, but perhaps they also demolished some of the holy tombs.

At any rate what they did was enough to make Persia and Egypt quite hostile for a time, so that these countries for some time officially advised their subjects not to undertake the pilgrimage. But things were settled again, and it seems that the pilgrimage is being kept up from all sides, even under the rule of the Wahhabis.

When we pass on to the other religious topics, we

find that they are comparatively more than we should probably find in the daily papers of the West.

A characteristic common to most of the articles about the Islamic religion is pride, nay even self-satisfaction, and probably this pride had its root far back in Islam itself; in the Koran God speaks thus to the Moslems: "You are the best of nations raised up for the benefit of men, so enjoy what is right and forbid the wrong and believe in God."

A subject often dealt with in the papers is the fast and the religious feasts. It is worth while to study what the Moslems bring forth in order to show the benefit of these institutions and their heavenly wisdom; but at the same time they do not conceal that reality is far behind the ideal. One article says: "Certainly, there is a deep meaning in the feasts, but the Moslems have not cared for it, they have unfortunately used the feasts only as an opportunity to eat and drink excessively and to listen to singing and music. Their mutual visits and their gatherings in the Mosques are mere bluff and hypocrisy. Most of them use the days of the feast to find out how they can suppress their neighbors, and satisfy their desire for power and influence, and their cupidity for the trifles of this world. . . ."

A peculiar thing in the question of religious feasts is the way of fixing their time according to the moon. Often it happens that the fast (or the feast) begins on a different day in two different countries, nay, even in two neighboring towns, because the new moon has been seen in one place and not in another. Moslems are beginning to abandon this old literal understanding of the Koran on this point, and to be "content" with scientific statement about the time of the new moon.

Another interesting question is whether the Moslems will ever give up the fixing of the number of days in the year according to the moon, and accept instead of it the solar year like the West. Hitherto no sign of it has been found; on the contrary, last year the Moslem Prime Min-

ister in Damascus reminded all officials that after having put on documents the date of the calendar of the West, they must add also the Moslem date.

Many articles are worth reading in themselves, and often open up vistas into the Moslem way of thinking. Here are only some of the titles that can be mentioned: The Restoration of the Mosque Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem—The Pilgrims' Railway from Damascus to Arabia—The Reform of Clerical Courts—The Moslem Young Men's Union—Superstition, Witchcraft and Charlatanry—A Protest from Moslems in Berlin (against the performance of Islamic prayers in the Zoölogical Gardens).

No doubt the chief subject here must be the Arabian prophet himself, especially on the occasion of his birthday feast. The praise and eulogy of the "lord of men" and the "chief of all creatures" comes near to deification, and the *maulid* (history of birth) that is read aloud hundreds and thousands of times, in private and in public, is filled with miracles. All of it seems so contrary to the simplicity of the Koran, where Mohammed is spoken of and spoken to as a man like others, and where his highest epithet is the final prophet. And it must be admitted that a criticism is found among some Moslems on this point, and it even finds expression sometimes in the papers. Not of anything in the Koran, or of truly traditional descriptions of the prophet, but of the irrational, and often quite childish, exaggeration as to miracles, together with carelessness as to the moral and ethical values. Perhaps one can hope that such a beginning of criticism may lead on to a real and true presentation of the life of the prophet based upon a critical examination of all the sources.

And the same is true about the Koran. Whenever the papers publish articles about the Koran, they are void of criticism or real historic sense. Sometimes the works of Western philologists are mentioned, but they are rejected as fanatic without any real examination. Translations of the Koran into other languages for non-Arabic speaking Moslems are not admitted; its excellence in

linguistic correctness and its eloquence are emphasized, and if by chance a Moslem scientific man should happen to get at results which seem to contradict the Koran on any point, he is furiously attacked. One good example is the case of Dr. Taha Hussain's book about the pre-Islamic poetry. Even newspapers which otherwise boast of being liberal and modern did not reach the point of defending his right to independent scientific research, but only protested weakly against his being persecuted for it before the courts.

D. ISLAM IN ITS RELATION TO SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION.

When you get to the question of whether Islam can maintain itself in our modern world, one of the answers is to point to the progress of Islam, its progress in its first century with all the cultured splendor of Damascus, Baghdad, Spain, etc., and its progress in our own days here and there. Even here we generally find a very uncritical spirit, which denies certain facts and keeps silent about others, when they do not fit into the system.

Of course the papers will announce the fact if a Christian or a Jew becomes a Moslem, especially if it happens in the West. Sometimes it really seems that an honest conviction is behind the conversion. But more often it is easy to see that only quite exterior reasons have called forth the conversion, and in such a case of course it sounds ridiculous to boast of the superiority of Islam, and it is quite a relief if a paper honestly, after the announcement, adds these words: "Our correspondent has understood that Mr. — has sent in his application for becoming a Moslem only in order to get away from his matrimonial relations." And you may even find a paper make the sarcastic remark that all the public fuss made about Mr. — becoming a Moslem is not worth while, as probably Christianity has lost nothing, nor Islam gained anything thereby.

Another sphere where it is possible to emphasize

Islam in our days is when publishing reports about Islam in other parts of the world, especially of course in Europe and America. But it must be admitted also that often articles about Islam in China, the East Indies, etc., mention the low state of these Moslems in science and culture.

When the newspapers mention Western scientific books about Islamic problems they are generally very uncritical and superficial. If such books contain any praise of Islam, in some respect or other, it is emphasized, and often the reader of the paper is led to suppose that the author of the book is in full sympathy with Islam. On the other hand, if a book criticises anything in Islam, it is generally described as fanatical and abusive.

But as to the question itself: What is the position of Islam towards modern science and civilization, it is well worth studying the press. Of course we may find quite an old-fashioned fatalistic way of thinking, which is not ashamed of calling modern inventions anti-religious. But in such a case generally the educated Moslems will make a powerful retort. And of course we must admit, not only that Islam has had a culture, but that some Moslems in our own time are striving honestly to reconcile religion and science. Whether they will succeed, is quite another question. At any rate they should not be mocked by Christians. But on the other side there are Moslems who uncritically boast of the relation of Islam to civilization as if all modern European culture, since the Crusades, nay even the Lutheran Reformation of the Church, is due to the influence, direct and indirect, of Islam!

It is a favorite experiment of a certain kind of Moslem to find deep wisdom, often in quite a superficial way, in the Koranic and other Islamic regulations, as if they had foreseen all modern science. When, for instance, the United States of America prohibited the sale of liquor, it is taken by some Moslems as an acknowledgment of an Islamic principle, nay of Islam itself. Quite ridiculous is the effect when certain modern inventions, made by non-Moslem scientists, are traced back to obscure pas-

sages in the Koran, which now after the invention is made, are explained as pointing to this very thing.

E. THE DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY.

Many of the problems mentioned will be seen most clearly when we concentrate our attention on the state of things in Turkey, or rather on the way in which Arabic newspapers judge these. So many things have been changed in Turkey these few years, nay even revolutionized, that to most Arab-Moslems, especially the conservative, it seems like a great and intentional blow to Islam. Many articles have been written in this spirit, especially by the well-known Libanese, Amir Shakeeb Arslan, who spends most of his time in Europe. He not only fights against the Turkish innovations, but he tries to prove that they are not only irreligious or un-Islamic, as the Turks will hold, but that they are anti-Islamic, because they are drawn partly from Christian sources, as, for instance, the Swiss civil code introduced into Turkey, nay even intended by Mustafa Kemal to kill the spirit of Islam in the Turkish people, because Mustafa Kemal considers Islam as an enemy to real progress.

Of course this view is what we would expect to find in Arabic newspapers. The interesting thing is that not a few articles are sympathetic to the Turkish reforms, even if the writers do not go just as far as the Turks, or dare not speak out their full convictions for fear of public opinion. But at any rate many writers try to see things and understand them from the Turkish point of view, and to defend the Turks against bitter conservative attacks. "Why are the Turks accused of atheism?" one of the articles asks. And the answer of the writer is characteristic of many others: It is a foreign power, in this case Great Britain, that has interests in making strife and hatred and envy among Moslems, in order that she may herself more easily control the affairs of the Islamic world.

A number of articles about the Turkish reforms deal

with the question of the veil or the hat, the translation of the Koran into Turkish, the closing of the shops on Sunday instead of Friday, etc. But the two reforms that have aroused more emotion than anything else in the Arabic world, are no doubt the separation of religion and politics ("Church and State"), and the introduction of the Latin alphabet instead of the Arabic one. Of course the latter is felt as a direct blow against the Arabs, as a means of widening the distance between the Turks and the Arabs, and even against Islam, because the Arabic letters are the letters of the Koran.

But perhaps of even greater importance is the first problem, the separation of "state and church" in Turkey. For Islamic politics and religion have always been closely connected. It has never been an Islamic idea that the *khalif* should be a merely spiritual head, a pope without any worldly power; on the contrary, the *khalif* ought to be the commander of Islam's army, he should be able to supervise the execution of the holy law, and above all, he should be powerful enough to protect the holy cities, and when needed lead the holy war.

And so when the Turks deposed and banished the *khalif*, it was a hard blow against Islam. The Moslems of the different countries could not agree upon another prince to take the place of the Turkish *khalif*. Then Turkey went on another step. They declared Turkey a republic, a thought quite embarrassing to ordinary Moslems, and finally they removed the paragraph of the Constitution stating that Islam is the religion of the state. The government of Turkey has no longer as one of its objects the protection or defence of Islam against any other religion.

On this point it has been very hard for the Turks to find any supporters or any sympathy among Arab-Moslems. One single man, a well-known Egyptian professor, Ali Abd-el-Razik, has tried to show his sympathy for this reform. Already he had aroused against himself the conservative Moslems by a book about Islam and the form

of government, in which he had tried to show that Islam historically and religiously is not bound to any fixed form of government.

But of course he is being violently attacked also for his sympathy with the Turks, especially by the above mentioned Amir Shakeeb Arslan, and very characteristically, the latter makes use of his good knowledge of European affairs and tells the Turks that it is no sign of progress or modernism to be irreligious, or to separate politics from religion, for in Great Britain, the most modern and progressive nation, there is still the closest connection between state and church. He reproaches the Turks for not having imitated such a nation, or at any rate the French nation where religious teaching is removed only from the government schools, but still allowed in private schools. Instead of imitating such nations, Turkey has imitated Bolshevik Russia; "and," says Amir Shakeeb: "they have imitated the Bolsheviks only in one thing: the removal of religion."

F. THE RELATIONS OF MOSLEMS TO OTHER PEOPLE.

The articles show us that the Moslem unity which is so often emphasized is not perfect. Even inside Islam there are parties and sects, and intolerance is found there as elsewhere, even if Islam has not had any official inquisition.

One of the modern phenomena which have shown the spirit inside Islam is the Ahmadiya movement. Its representative in Damascus has had the opportunity of writing several articles in the papers about the ideas of the movement, but still more has been written by his opponents, either the old-fashioned Moslems, or the other branch (Lahore) of the movement, which is bitterly opposed to the Qadian branch. The Ahmadiya missionary found very few supporters, but many enemies in Damascus. That is no wonder. But that some of his enemies took their revenge by attacking him in a dark street and trying to assassinate him is no sign of tolerance. At any rate there

should be no doubt, in the minds of the conservative Moslems that the Ahmadiya Moslems count themselves true Moslems, and regard the Koran with just as much reverence as other Moslems.

Of course the criminal attack on the Ahmadiya missionary was not approved of by any paper, even if it was by many privately.

On the surface it seems as if the Sunnites and the Shiites live peacefully together in a town like Damascus, but sometimes you get a glimpse into their hearts and you understand that the relation between them is not any better than between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Sometimes articles in the papers on certain occasions show the same thing; as, for instance, when Professor Anis Nusuli's book appeared about Ali and Muawiyah. But at the same time there were also articles against fanaticism and sectarianism.

The party, or sect, in Islam that has aroused the greatest stir in our time is the Wahhabi, not because the movement is new, but because they have got into political prominence by conquering the holy cities. There is a difference of tone in the articles between 1924 and 1928. In 1924, the Wahhabis had just begun to rise against King Hussain. Their Sultan declared that he did not want to make any conquest, only to fight according to the wish of the Islamic world. As soon as he had deprived King Hussain of his usurped power, he would leave to the Moslem world the decision as to the rule and form of government of the holy district.

Most Moslems were perplexed, at any rate those in Syria. Would nobody make peace? Should the holy district be soiled by the blood of true believers fighting one against the other? On which side should one place his sympathy? Even the Moslems, who had excited the Wahhabi Sultan to turn out King Hussain, began to mediate. And when King Hussain had given up the title of *khalif*, and left the kingdom to his son Ali, the Indians were quite satisfied. But the Wahhabis would not stop.

And shortly after King Ali had been obliged to flee from Jedda, his last place of refuge, the Wahhabi Sultan, Ibn Sa'ud, nominated himself King of the Hejaz.

Now many Moslems, especially the Indians, protested. But the Wahhabi Sultan and king boldly invited all Moslem powers to send representatives to a conference in Mecca in order to discuss the future arrangement of things in the holy district. About the same time, influential Moslems in Egypt arranged a conference in Cairo in order to discuss the question of the *khalifate*. But the Cairo conference was a total failure; its attendance was small, and the positive results none, so great was the confusion of the Moslem world with regard to the *khalifate* question.

The Mecca conference in the summer of 1926 was more successful, at any rate at its commencement. It seemed quite possible that this conference would be followed by others of the same kind from year to year, nay that it might be the beginning of a League of Moslem Nations, which was being discussed in many articles. But soon it became evident that not even the Mecca conference would succeed, because the Indian Moslem opposition was too strong, and it was never followed by any other conference of the same kind. The idea of the League of Moslem Nations never materialized, and that seems to mean that pan-Islamism cannot succeed in our days, at any rate not of the old kind. The hindrances and the difficulties are too many, even for pan-Arabism; and these arise from the Western powers, especially Great Britain and France as mandatory powers, and also from inside, from the Moslem nations themselves, because nationalism is growing steadily in the Orient. In countries like Turkey and Persia, it even seems as if nationalism will separate the people from Islam itself; at any rate everywhere the nationalistic ideals seem to counteract the old pan-Islamism.

Hundreds of articles deal with all these questions and others of the same kind, and perhaps the only result that

is certain, is that no one can tell at present what will be the final result, and what will be the future relations between the Moslem nations. And one other problem is akin to this, namely: what are, and what will be the relations between the Moslem and the non-Moslem nations, or rather what do the Arabic papers say about the Western ideas about Islam, and what do they think themselves about the Occident, not religiously or ethically, as we have already mentioned, but politically. Again here we notice that self-criticism and meekness are no characteristics of Islam. Time after time we meet with the accusation against the Occident for not having understood Islam and wishing to destroy Islam, and especially against the missionary societies for being instruments and agents and forerunners of greedy colonizing powers.

On the other hand there is no doubt that many in the Occident are afraid of Islam, especially in the shape of pan-Islamism, and a league of Moslem nations. Most of the Arabic papers assure the Western nations that this fear is quite unfounded, and it should not be doubted that there are educated Moslems in our days who want to live in peace with the Christian nations, and who only wish for a cultural league of Moslem nations, no anti-Christian military union. But what about the great multitude of Moslems, those who cannot even read and write? Do they feel as the educated? *Can* they feel like them? Are they not born with the idea that Islam must be a fighting religion until all the world is obedient to Islam? At any rate, so much is certain, that if there are difficulties for Orient and Occident in understanding each other, the existence of Islam has not lessened the difficulties.

G. THE RELATION OF A MOSLEM MAJORITY TO A CHRISTIAN MINORITY.

If we can really get to know Islam's position here, it will enable us to answer the question whether Islam is intolerant, as most Christians think; or tolerant, as most Moslems will maintain. For according to the Oriental

proverb, it is in the test that a man will get honored or dishonored, or as Moslems themselves often say: "Only the one who is in power knows how to forgive!" (This sentence is often used by Moslems to prove that the Arabic Prophet is more perfect in character than Jesus Christ, for the latter preached kindness and forgiveness, no Moslem denies that,—but, adds the Moslem, Jesus had no possibility or no opportunity to use physical strength, and so he could not show in practice that he would always stick to his own rule; while the Arabian prophet had the power, and in the midst of his power knew how to show kindness and forgiveness.)

No doubt our common feeling in the Occident is that Islam has always been intolerant towards non-Moslems. We would think of the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks, and many examples from history where Christian or Jewish minorities in the Orient have been ill-treated by the ruling Moslem race. And we would probably quote several passages from the Koran about killing the unbelievers.

But it is easy in a Moslem community to find many sincere Moslems who do not think of killing unbelievers, and would never do it even if they could. They will not approve of atrocities towards the Armenians or the Jews, or at any rate they will find fault with the Armenians, if not with the Turks themselves, but not with Islam. They will remind us of many events from the history of Islam, where single Christians and Christian minorities of a nation have been treated quite fairly, and they will tell us that this is the true Islamic way of acting.

The difficult question for the Christian minority is, after all, whether they dare trust the modern Moslems who say that there should not be any mention of the religious majority or minority in the country, because all are equal citizens. Or rather, the question is whether the Christians dare trust that these modern Moslems will be able to make these thoughts penetrate the great bulk of the Moslems who are certainly still far from such

modern ideas of equality between Moslems and non-Moslems. Their thoughts are generally much nearer to what was said once by a Moslem editor of a newspaper—although he did not print it—"Our Islamic ancestors made one great mistake in this country, namely, that they left one single Christian here; if they had got rid of all of them, we should have had no trouble now for their sake."

H. ISLAM AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

It is a rare thing in the articles about Christian missions to find any sympathy at all, or even to find honesty and uprightness enough to give space for protests from missionaries when they have been attacked very shamefully. Generally when the papers publish articles about missions, they are full of disgust and indignation, and quite unwilling to admit any fair motive on the side of the missionaries. And therefore often the papers take refuge in appeals to the government to stop mission work, instead of asking their own theologians to discuss the matter openly with the missionaries, or to go and do mission work themselves in non-Moslem countries. This last idea is to many Moslems quite an absurdity, as in their pride they always boast that Islam has spread, and will always spread, without missionaries, as it is the natural and rational religion.

Of course this does not mean that all Islamic criticism of Christian mission work is unjust and without any reason. No doubt some mission work needs criticism, perhaps even sometimes the motives of the missionaries need it. At any rate a missionary will never lose anything by testing fairly what is said against him and his work.

From the Islamic point of view, which considers Islam as the last word from God in a long series of revelations, of which Judaism and Christianity were important links, it must look quite irrational that Christians want to make Moslems follow the Gospel, just as it would to a Christian if a Jew tried to make him give up Jesus Christ in order to be content with Moses. Moslems do respect

Christ in their way, and hardly ever is there found any attack on Christ's person, or on His true religion, however bitter the attacks may be against Christians and Christian missions. Very few Moslems will get as far as to believe that Christian missionaries have pure motives, and that it is natural for all religions, even for the Christian religion, to have missionaries among non-Christians. Generally the motives are looked upon as political, private ambition, or thirst for gain, hatred of, or even envy of Islam, etc.

Not only the motives are attacked, but also the different kinds of mission work, and that without any perspicuous logic or consistency. If one Moslem attacks a certain kind of mission work, pointing to another one which would be more acceptable from a Moslem point of view, another may bring just the opposite criticism. If a missionary chooses educational or medical work in order to show Moslems Christ's love, he is accused of being shrewd and cunning; but if another one tries directly through books or by words to inform Moslems about Christian principles, he is accused of presumptuous disdain of the Arabian prophet and Islam. If a missionary tries to work among the ignorant and needy classes, he is disrespectfully told that he is a coward, not daring to meet the educated Moslems; and if a missionary directs his work towards the learned Moslems, he is turned off with the remark that he may go to the ignorant heathen if he wants to proclaim his Christianity. Mission schools are attacked both for the reasons mentioned above, and because they alienate the young Moslems from their faith and nationality. And of course there exists a difficult problem for mission schools, if they call themselves educational institutions, but are working as missionary institutions; and another problem is whether it is fair and wise of missionaries, when they have induced people to come to schools and hospitals seeking knowledge and cure, to use the opportunity to give them sermons which they have not been asking for.

One other point is often mentioned in the attacks on Christian missions, the dissension and disintegration they make in a country like Syria where Moslems are living side by side with Christian churches. This point was strongly stressed in the violent Moslem attacks on the Jerusalem Conference in 1928; and it is well worth noticing that the Oriental churches as a rule agree with Moslems on this point. This may often be from fear of Moslem reprisals against them if they side with the missionaries, but more often probably because they are afraid of the Protestant mission work being directed against themselves, and because they do not understand at all the deepest motive of Christian missions, namely, to share with others the riches of the Gospel. To them the Gospel has often become the same as the Church, a kind of national inheritance which they would not think of sharing with Moslems, and at the same time the Moslems have often become to them like swine to whom they would not throw their pearls.

There is a stumbling-block to Moslems in the Gospel which never will nor can be taken away, but for that reason we need not put other stumbling-blocks of our own in their way. Even if mission work among Moslems should become no easier after the removal of all unnecessary stumbling-blocks, still we ought to remove them if we are working in the spirit of Jesus Christ Himself, Who was never seeking His own.

Jerusalem.

ALFRED NIELSEN.

THE INDIAN HIJRAT OF 1920

The following notes are mainly written from the point of view of an eye witness, but a certain amount of second-hand information has also been included for the sake of completeness. The writer was living in Peshawar at the time of the occurrences to be described, and saw something of them in Peshawar itself, in trains carrying the *Muhajirin* to Peshawar, and up the Khaibar Pass as far as Landi Kotal. The information that is not first-hand was gathered by him in conversation with various people who had returned from their disastrous journey, and from the Assistant Recruiting Officer, Peshawar.

In 1920 the Non-cooperation Movement was at its height. Early in the year the Khilafat Committee, backed by Mr. Ghandi, urged Moslems to leave the "Satanic" Government of India under which, contrary to the teaching of the Koran, they were living, and to settle in a land ruled by one of the faithful. Afghanistan was the land chosen. Exactly what Mr. Ghandi had to do with the business, and his motive, has never been discovered. The view of many of the disappointed *Muhajirin* who returned to India was that he had embraced this chance to get rid of as many Moslems as possible from India. This is scarcely credible, but, whatever his motive, he certainly gave the scheme his blessing.

Agitators in various parts of the country urged Moslems to go on *Hijrat* (voluntary exile). They were told that Afghanistan awaited them with open arms; that the Amir, then just settled firmly on his throne after the third Afghan War, had promised to give them a tract of fertile land, and that all the way from the frontier to Kabul they would be helped and fed by their co-religion-

ists. Whether the Amir had made any such promise is very doubtful. Possibly he did not even know anything about the proposed invasion of his land. Certainly the people on the way from the Frontier to Kabul had given no promise to feed the multitude that was to come. Even if they had made such a promise, they could not have fulfilled it.

There was a considerable response to the preaching of this *Hijrat*. From various parts of India, but notably from Sind and from the North West Frontier Province, men and women began to concentrate on Peshawar before setting out for Kabul. For days every passenger train arriving at Peshawar was full to overflowing with enthusiasts who had determined to go to Kabul. At every station the platforms were crowded with villagers from the neighborhood, who offered food to the *Muhajirin*, and repeated the *Kalima* over and over again. The numbers have been variously estimated between five hundred thousand and two million. The latter estimate is certainly beyond the mark, but there is little doubt that the numbers were considerably over the lower estimate.

Comparatively few town-dwellers joined in the *Hijrat*, but the ranks of the *Muhajirin* contained every type of agricultural Moslem. In many cases whole families, and in some cases whole villages went on *Hijrat*. Some were too old and infirm to walk, and these were carried in bullock-carts. Walking by the side of the carts could be seen mothers with babies only a few days old. The headmen of some villages regarded the movement as a godsend, for the idea of adventure appealed, on the whole, to the young and unruly rather than to the older and steadier portions of the populace, and one headman expressed his opinion of the whole business to the recruiting officer in the following terms: "Sahib, this is the best thing that has happened for a long time. All the bad characters of my village have gone to Kabul."

For more than a week the *Muhajirin* were setting off in companies of varying strength from Peshawar. More

than half of them passed in front of the writer's bungalow. The vast majority were on foot, but a few bullock-carts carrying the old and infirm accompanied them. Nearly every company was headed by a musician. One large company was played out of British India to the tune of the British Grenadiers, played on an old fife!

Up to Peshawar the behavior of the *Muhajirin* had been quite sober and law-abiding. The writer travelled from Nowshera to Peshawar in a train so full of *Muhajirin* that men were travelling on the footboards and the roofs, but had found them perfectly courteous and well-behaved. But in Peshawar they seem to have come under some lawless influence, for the hordes marching out of Peshawar were no longer well-behaved, and shouted insults to every European they passed. The writer had occasion to go up the Khaibar to Landi Kotal while the *Muhajirin* were passing through, and not a single company failed to hurl insults and stones at his car.

Up to Peshawar the journey had been something in the nature of a large scale picnic. Beyond Peshawar it became a *via dolorosa*. The men who had stirred up others to go on *Hijrat* had been careful to stay behind themselves. They had not even attempted to make any provision for the members whom they had sent off into a barren land. The time of the year was the end of May and beginning of June, *i. e.*, the height of the hot weather. Once the *Muhajirin* had passed Peshawar they entered a barren land, in which neither food nor water was procurable in any quantity, and where the burning sun struck down on naked rock and turned the whole countryside into one vast oven.

At Jamrud a little water can be procured. Ten miles further on at Ali Masjid the stream had not quite run dry. The *Muhajirin* had a little food with them. So the various companies, still fairly cheerful, made their way up the Khaibar, very hot, beginning to get hungry, and distinctly thirsty. But once they had left the sphere of British influence at Landi Kotal they found that mere

hunger and thirst were replaced by the realities of starvation.

Starvation and heat-stroke claimed their victims. Disease broke out. And now to these miseries were added the attacks of various frontier tribes. The *Muhajirin* were not rich, and they did not offer any very rich plunder. But they were many, and they had all a little money, the price they had been given for the homes they had left. So to the predatory trans-frontier people they seemed a windfall. The tribesmen stripped them of everything, to the very clothes they wore. To robbery they added a good deal of rough horse-play. In particular they took three of the *Muhajirin*, who had demurred at giving up their small property, and branded them on the hind quarters.

Deciding that the evils they knew, in the shape of the British Government, were almost certainly less than those before them, numbers of *Muhajirin* began to turn round, and make their painful way back to India. Amongst them were those who had been branded. As soon as these latter arrived at Landi Kotal the British authorities saw to it that they were delayed at every large halting place for long enough to tell their story to those who were still on the earlier stages of the journey. Thus the hordes of *Muhajirin* began to melt like a snowball, and a continuous stream set down the Khaibar back to India. Their appearance was very different from the light-hearted people who had set out on their travels.

A remainder, however, still persevered, and, in due course, came to Kabul. There they discovered that the fair promises of rich lands with which they had been lured on were but an idle tale. The Amir said that there was a desert which they might occupy and cultivate, if they could, but that was all he gave them, and probably all he had to give. The majority of those who had reached Kabul turned back from there, but a few, obstinate, stupid, or stout-hearted, call them which you will,

still went on, and are still living on that barren land that was given to them.

Those who came back were penniless. Before they left India they had sold all they had, and the price had been taken from them by robbers beyond the border. However, help was forthcoming from the British Government and the returned *Muhajirin* finally settled down again in their old homes, having in their minds grave doubts as to the wisdom of the Khilafat Committee, and feeling that the British Government was not, perhaps, quite so "Satanic" as had been asserted.

The story of the travels and trials of the *Muhajirin* must make all those who have the highest interests of Moslems in their hearts think. Some of the *Muhajirin*, doubtless, went on *Hijrat* for the sake of adventure and in the hope of gain. But the vast majority were certainly moved by an ideal. Many of those people who survived the journey are still alive. And if there is in them a capacity to give up their homes and suffer for an ideal, then it is surely a not impossible thing that some day a higher ideal may so be put before them that they who bore the hardships of that journey in a burning and foodless land may exhibit the same courage in obeying the commands of Him Who said "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow Me."

Ghazipur, U. P., India.

F. S. BRIGGS.

TIMBUCTOO

The curious history of this little-known town of the Sahara where I spent two months recently, selling and circulating Arabic and French Scriptures, possesses peculiar interest for those concerned in the evangelization of Moslems.

About the ninth century, an old Tuareg lady of importance in her tribe named *Buctoo*, coming from the north, settled on a green patch of desert seven miles from the Niger. With her many children and veiled warriors she made a camp. There she settled with her flocks and herds and camels. This temporary camping place became permanent.

She did much trading with the nomads of the Niger. Her veiled sons and menfolk were all renowned warriors of the great Sanhadja race of Tuaregs. The place came to be widely known. Others came and built around her, and the camp grew. Many groups of Tuaregs joined her, with the result that the place assumed both importance and permanence. It thus became known all over the desert, and along the Niger as *Tin-Buctoo*, or *the town of Buctoo*. This is the origin of the mysterious city of the Sahara, as given me by Abd el Kader, who was born there.

Among the early settlers from the north, there were numbers of Christians who had fled from the Islamic conquests of North Africa, but these gradually lost their faith as the city sprang from the ashes of the camp, and Moslem teachers advanced from Mauretania. At one time, perhaps for several hundred years, it was an important seat and center of learning, possessed three famous mosques that exist today, numbers of Koranic schools, and prayer places.

Though Timbuctoo was founded by Tuaregs, it changed hands many times. And while the veiled men never ceased to overshadow it and levy taxes, it was captured at different periods, and ruled over by different Moslem conquerors. At one time it was reduced after hard fighting, and ruled by a band of Spanish renegades sent by the Sultan of Morocco, whose light-colored descendants are found in Timbuctoo today. These—called Arma—ruled over Timbuctoo for many years, but the Tuaregs eventually reasserted themselves, and reoccupied the city.

It has always been a turbulent city, many times given to massacres, and its final occupancy by the French cost a big price in men and money. It is held by strong military forces posted on two sides of the city, and these dominate the situation. The government has large well attended schools for the study of French and Arabic, controlled and maintained by the authorities, and these are gradually moulding the masses after the French fashion.

The young people are breaking away from religious restraints, many are openly avowed sceptics, while there are a few Christians, and quite a number of enquirers. Islam has entirely lost its hold on the masses, drinking is not uncommon, and I have come across drunken Moslems in the streets several times. I said to one fellow: "Why do you drink? I thought you were a Moslem." Said he: "I'm a Moslem when I can't get drink, but when I can get wine and other drink I'm no longer a Moslem."

The Christian and Missionary Alliance have two missionaries here with their wives, splendid pioneers, and regular services are held in the city. Messrs. Kurlak and Martin are doing a splendid and efficient evangelistic work. They are soul-winners, and this quiet Holy Spirit work is bearing fruit. They have another station at Gao on the Niger. They use the widely spoken Sonrhail language.

Timbuctoo has at present a population of some five thousand inhabitants. It is joined to the Niger by means

of a canal, dug by slaves. This artificial waterway is the chief means of communication between the Niger and Timbuctoo. The city is built in the open Sahara, and lies among a world of sand dunes. It has a big open market. Salt, brought on camels from the mines of Taodeni, is the chief article of commerce. Camel caravans come and go, to and from Araouan, Taodeni, the Tafilalet, and Marrakech; others come and go from Colomb-Bechar. Twice a year the *azalai*, or salt caravan makes Taodeni, with from two to three thousand camels. I met one of these on my last journey to Araouan.

The Berabich Arabs control the desert between Timbuctoo and Taodeni. Major Gordon Laing, the Scottish explorer, was murdered in 1826 by the chief of these, named Ahmadou Labeida. I saw his grandson, now an old man. The Scottish explorer was the first European to enter Timbuctoo, which he did in 1826, after a terrible journey across the Sahara from Tripoli.

Timbuctoo is a city of flat-roofed houses, with Tuareg camps on the outer edge. The houses are made of small mud bricks, such as are in use all over the Sahara, save in Air, and the Hoggar and Iforas mountains, where stones are used. Many houses have upper stories, small latticed windows and large studded doors. I found them quite comfortable. The narrow, smelly lanes and streets that intersect the city resemble a maze, and are irregular, and often are blocked by women and children, who lie about in the sun.

Donkeys, goats, sheep and camels lie about in the large inner courts; while crowds of grubby, tow-haired, unwashed children, with eyes surrounded with flies, play around, quite naked up to thirteen or fourteen years of age. There are butchers and bakers, gold- and silver-smiths and blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and camel drivers, who ply their various trades, and seem to earn a living. Water-carriers supply the city's needs at one penny a *gherba* (goatskin) of water; owing to the

water in the pools being infected with guinea worm, I got mine from the school well, kept for the use of Europeans.

Timbuctoo is being deserted daily for fresh fields and pastures new. Only the old and feeble live on, and I found the three mosques sparsely attended. Vice and immorality are rampant, and the city is given over to indifference to all religion. Courtesans of light color are forever on the prowl, venereal diseases abound, and children bear the marks of sin on their young bodies.

Roman Catholic missionaries entered Timbuctoo at the French occupation, but have long since given up, though their priest lives on still in the city, as "a citizen of Timbuctoo." From Segou on the Niger to Niamey in Niger Colony the Roman Catholics are conspicuous by their absence. The Christian and Missionary Alliance is the only missionary agency at work between Bamako and Gao on the Niger. They have four stations: San, Mopti, Timbuctoo, and Gao. They propose starting work among the Tuaregs at an early date, and I would ask prayer for this special effort.

I will finish with a few lines from my diary while at Timbuctoo:

When I reached Timbuctoo I was troubled as to where to put up, as I knew no one. I felt God had some special place arranged for me. Going through the city in search of a hired house, I ran into an old Moor and his son. He greeted me and asked if I were in need of a lodging. "Yes," I said. "Come and see my house, Christian." We went in. The house was in a dingy lane with a goldsmith's shop on the ground floor, opposite. We went upstairs to a flat roof with two rooms and a passage attached. "You can have that, Christian." "How much do you want per month?" I asked. "Give me what you think just, or take it and use it freely." It suited me. The Moor and his son interested me, so I closed, and got my baggage brought from the *chaland* that had brought me up the Kabara.

I settled down, and my old Moor and his son did everything to make me comfortable, brought me wheat bread, ordered a Tuareg woman to fetch me a bottle of milk daily, and made me feel at home. I invited him to Arab tea, and we talked on into the night hours discussing the Gospel, and reading the Arabic Bible. He ran down to his locked room, and brought up a copy of the Arabic New Testament in large characters, while I pressed immediate acceptance of the truth. To the Moor and his son I pressed home the Christian message daily.

The sequel: Salah bin Cherouf—for that was his name—was about

to leave on a trading trip for gum arabic and skins. Before leaving he tried to get at me privately. The devil always seemed to bring something or someone to interrupt. Finally he got me alone, shut the door, and throwing his arms around me, said: "I want to tell you that I have become a Christian now. I believe in Jesus the Christ." He hugged and kissed me and with tears in his eyes, said: "I am now a believer in Jesus the Christ, but I fear the people in Timbuctoo, who, if they know, may kill me." He could hardly leave me, and when we parted I gave him words of encouragement, and exhorted him to cleave to God and the word of His grace. He turned and pointing to his son, said: "I want him also to be a Christian." Surely this is evidence of divine leading.

I am now in my fourth long journey into the Sahara, and am at present among the Oullimeden Tuaregs. This is my fourth dash into the desert along the camel trails hitherto untrodden by any Christian. I had interesting times in Mauretania, and throughout various parts of the Sudan and the Sahara, during the past fourteen months. My recent trip to the Ifoghas mountains and Kidal resulted in the sale and circulation of fifteen Arabic Bibles, many Arabic New Testaments and thousands of Arabic Gospels and other literature. I have also seen a few Moslems accept Christ.

DUGALD CAMPBELL.

CHRISTIANITY AT MESHED

Meshed is well known to the readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD as the only one of the great shrine cities of Islam in which permanent Christian missionary work has been established. Situated in the north-western corner of Persia, with a population of perhaps 100,000, Meshed is the principal city of the great province of Khorasan. Because of its nearness to the Afghan and Russian borders it has become a political and military center of strategic importance. But it is because of its being a holy city, the place of martyrdom (*mashhad*) of the Imam Reza, who was poisoned here by the caliph Ma'mun (A. D. 833) that Meshed owes its chief fame and influence. Even today when Islam is fast losing ground in Persia, and multitudes have given up the performance of the outward ordinances of religion, there are still scores of thousands of people from all over the Shi'ite world who pour into Meshed every year, traveling by automobile or caravan or on foot, to make the pilgrimage to the golden-domed shrine. It is not difficult to understand why Meshed has always been one of the chief seats of Mohammedan fanaticism.

After several unsuccessful attempts had been made to gain an entrance here for the Gospel, the late Dr. L. F. Esselstyn, of the American Presbyterian Mission in Persia, finally succeeded in establishing a station in Meshed in 1911, and for four years he labored alone in the city and province. In 1915 a hospital was opened. Later other evangelistic and medical reinforcements were sent out, land was purchased (not without great difficulty) within the city walls, and a large and efficient hospital and several residences were erected on this holy ground.

In 1926 a school for boys was opened, for which an attractive home has just been completed. At the front gate of our compound is a reading room, where Scriptures and more than a hundred different varieties of Christian books and pamphlets are on display, and many men drop in each morning to read and talk.

What have we to show for the labor of these eight years? Has anything been accomplished? We read of mission stations in other lands founded more recently than our station which are able to report thousands of converts and numerous churches as the fruit of their labors. We regret to say that we have no such report to make. The soil in our field was not in condition to produce an immediate harvest. Yet as we compare the situation today with that of eighteen years ago, we are conscious of a great change.

First of all, the people of Khorasan know much more about Christianity than they did in 1911. During these years thousands of copies of the Scriptures have been sold, not only in Meshed but also in all the cities and many of the villages of the province, by the missionaries, and by the agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Many thousands of copies of Christian literature have been distributed free of charge to people who could read. More than 100,000 sick people have come to our doctors for healing, and the majority of these have heard at least a few words of the Gospel, and have seen something of the spirit of Christianity in our hospital. While it has not been possible to preach publicly to large audiences or in the bazaar, yet many thousands of men and women have had intimate talks about Christ with missionaries and Persian Christians. There is now a large and ever increasing body of people who know the essential facts of the Gospel, and who have been attracted more or less to Jesus Christ.

In the second place, along with this knowledge there has come a great deal more of tolerance towards Christianity than there was at first. Colporteurs are able to sell

Scriptures openly in the streets of Meshed without opposition. A missionary has distributed hundreds of books and pamphlets in the avenues and public gardens of the city, and no one questioned his right to do so. Bible lessons are given every morning in the reading room to all who care to be present, and there has never been any interference. Not only are foreigners allowed to talk with people and distribute literature as they wish, but Persians who want to become Christians are able to do so without any official opposition. Several converts have publicly confessed themselves as Christians in the army and the police headquarters and other government offices, and they were told that their religion was a personal matter which did not concern the government. Moreover, the *mullas* do not now have the influence to put into effect the law of Islam regarding apostates. It is generally known that there is in Meshed a body of converts from Islam to Christianity, and the people have gotten somewhat used to the idea, and no longer consider it an impossible thing that a Moslem should become a Christian.

And what of this group of converts? They now number about one hundred adults and children in Meshed, while there are twenty-five or more in other cities in Khorasan. None of the great or mighty are to be found among them, and there are but few who have much book-learning, but almost all of them are earnest, hard-working people who are living worthy Christian lives. For instance, the elder who had charge of the Sunday service yesterday morning is a tailor, who does a flourishing business among army officers, and never attempts to conceal his faith from his customers. Another elder is a skilled carpenter, a man who used to keep a sword in his shop in readiness for the coming of the Mahdi, who rejoices now that he follows the same trade as his Saviour. It would make an interesting book to tell the life stories of the various members of the congregation. There sits a big policeman who, after having been dragged by a horse and almost killed, became a Christian through a dream

that Christ would heal and save him. Here is a boot-black who has recently come to believe through the influence of his wife, who is a nurse in the hospital. There is a young man who studied in Europe for five years, and who, after almost losing his mind from depression and despair on returning home, found peace and joy in Christ. His parents have put him out of his home for becoming a Christian, but to show his gratitude to his Saviour he is cheerfully nursing the sick in the hospital.

The smiling young man in uniform, who adopted the name "Hopeful" after reading *Pilgrim's Progress*, is now a sergeant in the Persian army. When conscripted last year he refused to lie or give bribes to get exemption, and boldly told the authorities that he was a Christian. In the school for non-commissioned officers he was at first persecuted by his fellow students, but in the end won the admiration and friendship of most of them, and was able to lead several of them to join him in following Christ. He is now endeavoring to control the sixty men under him by the Christian principle of love, and is succeeding. His wife and baby sit on the women's side of the church. Lack of space prevents me from telling the stories of the well-dressed young teacher who is just now being disowned by his family for following Christ; of the Pathan who used to beat his wife for becoming a Christian, and now himself takes care of the church rooms and puts three cents into the collection box every Sunday; of the Hajji who first saw the New Testament in Bombay sixteen years ago, and last year entered the church with five of his children; and of the mother and father who after years of unhappy married life have recently discovered what the love of Christ can do for their home, and who are now rejoicing that one of their sons has just become a Christian too. These and others like them are the first fruits of the gospel in Khorasan.

A great opportunity faces this little band of disciples. All about them are fellow countrymen who need Christ, and who in many cases are ready to listen to one who can

tell them the Gospel. There are also now in Meshed a large number of Afghans, who had to flee from their country because of the disturbances there, and who have taken refuge in Persia. They are appreciative of friendship, and open to the Christian approach, and the Persian Christians especially have the privilege of going to them and sharing with them the new life which they have found in Christ, until such time as they can cross the border and give their message openly in Herat and Kandahar. We believe that the future of Christianity is bright in this Land of the Sun, and we ask for the continued prayers of the friends of Persia for the Meshed Church and Mission, as we try to give our testimony in this day of new opportunity.

Meshed, Persia.

WILLIAM McELWEE MILLER.

OBJECTIVES IN ARABIA

Arabia must still be counted among the unoccupied mission fields of the world. By far the largest part of the peninsula is still untouched by messengers of the cross, because the presence of such messengers is neither desired nor allowed. The Arabian side of the Red Sea coast, from the Gulf of Aqaba to Aden, a distance of about 1,100 miles, does not have a single permanent missionary at the present time. The three provinces of Hejaz, Asir and Yemen, each with a population of approximately one million have never been permanently occupied by any missionary or Christian organization. Not only is this fact true of the past and present, but there is not much likelihood of any change in the near future, certainly not as long as the Wahhabis rule the Hejaz, part of Asir and the Nejd. On the Arabian Sea, Aden is the only port where there is a mission station, and all the vast interior, with about half a million population, is without a single voice to proclaim the word of life. From Aden to Muscat is a distance of about 1,000 miles along the coast, and there is no voice between these two ports crying in the wilderness of Hadhramaut.

It is not until we reach the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf side of the peninsula that some slight semblance of occupation appears. Yet how inadequately! Muscat, the first station we come to of the Arabian Mission of the Reformed (Dutch) Church of America, is supposed to reach Oman. But Oman has a population of about half a million people and a much larger area than any single missionary could possibly manage to work. When travelling he is dependent on sailboats, donkeys and camels. But at the present time no permission is obtainable to enter the greater part of the province.

The distance from Muscat to the next station, Bahrain, is 500 miles, and between the two stations lie the Pirate Coast and Quttar, with a combined population of approximately 100,000. Quttar with its population of about 20,000 could hardly be occupied permanently, for the villages are very scattered. The Pirate Coast, however, should have a permanent station located at Debai, and that as soon as the relentless council of that fast-closed town becomes more lenient to the admission of foreigners.

Two hundred miles of coast line separate Bahrain from Kowait, the next mission station, but between and behind these two places are the rich provinces of Hassa and Katif, and beyond them the Nejd, including Washm, Kasim and Hail. These provinces with Bahrain and Kowait must have a population of well over one million. Yet these far-flung stretches are seldom visited. Even Hassa and Katif are only rarely visited by our missionaries, and only by the medical men, who are kept so busy with medical work that there is little time for preaching or distributing the printed page.

Our greatest task in Arabia at present is to obtain open doors. To obtain these openings is chiefly the task of the medical men, backed by the prayers of our entire force and our Christian supporters. And I believe that we should concentrate our prayers and our efforts particularly for open doors on three places, the hinterland of Oman, the Pirate Coast and Hassa.

Our early missionaries had little difficulty in getting permission to tour all over Oman. Several of them reached Jebel Akhdar and the town of Baraimi. Dr. Cantine even managed to buy some property in Nakhil, and one of our colporteurs made himself and his books well known in many towns. True, they could not always go where or when they wished to go, for often there were raids or tribal warfare. About eighteen years ago such intense rivalry broke out between the coast and the inland that even the Arabs from these two rival factions considered it unsafe to venture into each other's territory.

Our property in Nakhl was lost. Not until three years ago, and then only with great difficulty, did two of our men succeed in getting permission to go as far as Somail. While there, trouble was stirred up by the *Mullahs* and the missionaries were ordered out of town, though just a few hours before they were to depart messages from the Sheikh saved the situation, and they were allowed to remain. However, no other visit has yet been permitted inland, but the coast has been freely visited. It is hoped that the missionaries now located at Muscat and Muttra will soon succeed in obtaining permission for another tour inland.

The Pirate Coast presents a different problem. There are about a dozen towns stretched along the coast approximately ten miles apart. Each town is an independent sheikhdom. Wars are frequent. Assassinations of sheikhs by rivals is common. The people, however, are extremely hospitable, and always give us a cordial welcome. Perhaps nowhere does the Gospel receive such a frank reception, or are the Moslem religious teachers so little inclined to stir up trouble for the infidel. When I was there eight months ago the rulers of three different towns invited me to come and stay for a time to treat the sick among their subjects. I had spent a month in Ajman, and of the three other invitations chose for my second month's stay Debai, the largest and most important town in the area, and also the port for calling mail steamers.

The Arabs here are extremely jealous of their independence. They have treaties with the British government, and British gunboats patrol the Persian Gulf; but the white man is not wanted as a permanent resident. Therefore all modern inventions are kept out, lest they should give the *sahib* a wedge to get in. Motor cars, launches, auxiliary engines, windmills, as well as political agents, quarantine officers, steamship agents and missionaries are all kept out, except in case of emergency visits.

We admire, of course, this intense desire for liberty and independence, and realize also that many of the

wealthier class really make a sacrifice to maintain the *status quo*. We would have more sympathy with them, however, if the institution of slavery were not at the bottom of this policy of exclusion. It is a queer fact that their intense desire for liberty extends only to themselves, and the black man has no share in it. Moreover, this same desire to keep their independence is mainly for the purpose of keeping their slaves from securing freedom. That there is a certain amount of slave trade still going on is unquestionable. That there are several thousand negro and Baluchi slaves is a fact. That the bulk of the slaves crave freedom is evidenced by the many attempts to escape, and the rigid guarding of slaves by their owners, whenever there might be an opportunity for them to get away. Likewise everyone knows that Muscat, Bahrain and Kowait are places where slavery is a thing of the past, and where slaves can secure manumission, and in these places white men live without hindrance, and the British government maintains political agents. Hence their determination to keep the white man out.

Nevertheless there is evidence of a definite current of dissatisfaction. Many rumors have come to us recently. It is hard to learn what is true or what is false. It is evident that some of the wideawake and perhaps more humane Debai merchants are aware of the increasing prosperity of Bahrain, and they wish a similar prosperity to come their way. We have heard that admiration has been expressed at the new system of treating pearl divers in Bahrain, and some have even expressed desires for a post-office and wireless station in their town. The Sheikh himself has had an auxiliary engine put into his sailboat. Several times some of the larger Bahrain launches have gone to Debai with and for cargo.

Surely if any place in Arabia needs Christian help, guidance and influence both politically and religiously it is the Pirate Coast.

Hassa is important for its own sake, but also because it is the gateway to Nejd and all the interior of Arabia.

It is a large oasis, with six large springs and many small ones. The largest three springs give a tremendous flow of water; the main stream leading from each is as large as many a small river. When I was there three months ago we had fresh dates, peaches, grapes, figs and melons, as well as a good assortment of vegetables.

For centuries Hassa has suffered either from the aggressions of Bedouins or from high taxes. When the central government is strong and the Bedouins are kept in check, the taxes are high; and when the government is weak, the Bedouins are a constant source of annoyance, usually taking what they want. During the reign of King Ibn Saoud, Hassa has been very prosperous; Bedouins have been law-abiding, but taxes are high.

For the past year, however, a cloud has hung over this province as well as over Nejd. The King, with his free use of the automobile, telephone, telegraph and printing press has become too liberal to suit some of his ultra-conservative and fantic Wahhabi leaders and Ikhwan tribesmen. Several indecisive skirmishes have taken place between the two opposing factions, but no clear-cut victory can be claimed by either party. A few months ago, when visiting Hofhoof, the capital of Hassa, the whole town was in gloom, because in a skirmish the governor's oldest son had just been killed. Great activity was evident everywhere, as the city walls were being hastily repaired and a new army was being equipped. Two months later when I was in the city again seven banners were on display, which had just been captured from a troop of rebel Bedouins whose forces had been scattered. But it looks as though there will be much more bloodshed before the issue is settled. We fervently hope that the King will succeed in keeping the country under control, for he has brought order out of chaos, and if the government should slip from his power, there will again be division, raids, tribal warfare, insecurity of life and property. The advance made in the past quarter century

would be wiped out, and the hands of the clock again be turned backward.

It has only been during King Ibn Saoud's reign that our medical missionaries have been able to visit Hassa and Nejd, staying for a month or two at a time, sometimes more, in that forbidding land. The last visit to Nejd was made five years ago, but several visits have since been made to Hassa. No doubt the lack of invitations by the King is due to the influence of the ultra-conservative, trouble-making element of his subjects. His is a difficult position, and we pray that God may so guide him and his country that its doors may be opened to the light of Christian influence.

Our objectives then are—the hinterland of Oman, the Pirate Coast and the province of Hassa. Each one presents a different problem of access. All are similar in the fact that at present they are keeping the missionary out. By steadfast faith, constant prayer, and earnest effort these obstacles must be overcome. In Oman the rivalry between the coast and the interior was the cause of the present restriction. That rivalry has greatly diminished, and we look forward to complete harmony and freedom of travel soon. We have strong hopes that the influences at work in Debai and the Pirate Coast may gather momentum, and the selfishness of a few of the leaders may give way to greater freedom and a more generous policy. May God so overrule the events in Nejd that there may be no let nor hindrance to our frequent visits among both townsmen and Bedouins.

Bahrain, Persian Gulf.

LOUIS P. DAME.

BELIEF IN JINN AMONG THE PERSIANS

The majority of Persians believe in hosts of strange beings, visible and invisible. These are the *devs*, the *ghouls*, the *shaitans*, the *peri* and the *jinn*. Imagination has had such scope that indefiniteness has arisen regarding these various classes, so that in the minds of many there is no clear-cut distinction between *jinn*, *peri* and *shaitans*. Notwithstanding this confusion, the *jinn* are a reality in the minds of the great mass of the Persians, and the women say they are much more powerful than *devs* or any other beings, and therefore are more to be feared.

The following has been gleaned almost entirely from conversations with those who believe in them, and is indicative of the ideas current among all but a comparatively small educated class.

The traditions referred to are accepted as true by the Persians, who are Shi'ite Mohammedans, and are often quoted as the basis for belief, since they have come from the lips of the Imams, and therefore are not to be doubted.

"The *Djinn* for Moslems are airy or fiery bodies, intelligent, imperceptible, capable of appearing under other forms and of carrying out heavy labors."¹ This is practically the Persian idea, with the exception that they believe they are visible at certain times and under particular circumstances.

Jinn are made of fire and are of *latif* (delicate) body, so they can pass through any substance. In their ordinary form, they have cloven feet, triangular-shaped eyes, unsightly long hair, usually braided, and they wear

¹ Dr. Duncan B. Macdonald in Art. *Djinn*, Encyclopedia of Islam.

long pointed caps. They may take the form of any created thing, and what makes them most dreaded is that they can make themselves small enough to go through the eye of a needle, and "what injury is not wrought by them then," remarked an informer.

Or they may take the form of hairs, and be swallowed with one's food. Many internal troubles are attributed to such.

Most of their time they assume the forms of cats of one color, especially all black or all white. A woman will endure the depredations of a thieving cat for fear it may be a *jinn*, and if she attempts to strike it, she will first say "Bismillah" (In the name of God). If it be *jinn*, it will run away; but if not, it may be struck without danger. The most fearful usually say "Bismillah" whenever a cat approaches.

The Imam Jafar Sadiq said that dogs that are all black or all white or all red are of the *jinn*, and that spotted dogs are those that have been expelled from the *jinn* tribe. He also said that Asam, a messenger of the *jinn*, usually has the form of a dog, but changes to a bird when an important message must be delivered quickly.

Jinn are most numerous near water, among ruins, in graveyards, kitchens, latrines, places where the dead are washed, baths and deserts. Some say those in the deserts are *ghouls*, and others say they are *devs*.

Such stories as the following are numerous. It is related that a man went to the bath in the middle of the night, thinking it was near morning. When he arrived, the bath was full of people, and most of the attendants busy. Finally a barber came to serve him, and while he was shaving he chanced to look down and saw he had hoofs. He called another barber and he also had hoofs. He scanned the crowd, which was made up of people whose faces he knew, but they all had hoofs. He became frightened and fled to the room where he had deposited his clothes. He began to quarrel with the bath keeper for letting in the *jinn*, when behold he saw the keeper

also had hoofs! At this he said "Bismillah" and fainted. He lay unconscious until morning, when the keeper of the bath came and discovered him there. He found that he had a triangular shaven spot on his head.

The *jinn* are not always present, for they go to cool places in the summer and to warm places in the coldest weather. In the spring, just after their return, they are most numerous and most active.

Tuesday and Saturday nights belong to the *jinn*, and this fact is taken into account in all plans made for those nights. Twilight is the time they love and are most active.

There are good *jinn* and bad *jinn*; Moslem *jinn* and infidel *jinn*. Every person has a *hamzad*, or twin *jinn*, supposed to have been born or created with him, and which always stays with him.¹ This *hamzad* may be a Moslem or an infidel, one never knows. The Moslem *hamzad* will give no trouble, but an infidel one will. Consequently, when one is ailing or is constitutionally frail, it is suspected that the *hamzad* is an infidel and is troubling him. The ordinary procedure, after this decision has been reached, is to try and make peace with him. The afflicted one goes to a prayer-writer, who assures him that his suspicions are correct, and that the infidel *hamzad* may be appeased. For a given price, he writes three prayers, and instructs the sufferer to sew one up in a case covered with green cloth, and tie it to the right arm; to take the second to a graveyard and bury it; and to burn the third one on Saturday night. Health is sure to return.

There are hosts of *jinn* besides the *hamzads*. In fact they are so numerous that a person never knows when he may injure one. When he steps out at night, or pours hot water on the ground, or spills coals of fire from pipe or brazier, he must say, "*Bismilla, dur sho, r'ad sho,*" (In the name of God the merciful and compassionate, depart, get out of the way). The *hamzads* never get in

¹ Cf. Chapter on *The Qarina* in Zwemer's "Influence of Animism on Islam."

the way of people, but the other *jinn* are everywhere. If a child is playing and suddenly begins to cry or act afraid, those present conclude he has hurt a *jinn* baby with whom he has been playing, and the *jinn* parents are retaliating. If the mother is present, she will hastily milk some of her own milk on the spot where the baby was sitting, believing her generosity will please the *jinn*. Or some one will pound a nail in the ground and the *jinn* baby will play with that.

Jinn children like to play with human children. The Imam Mohammed Baqir said it was well to keep pigeons, chickens or goats in the house for the *jinn* children to play with. And the Imam Hasan said that in every house where pigeons are kept the dwellers therein, especially children, will not be troubled with the *jinn*, as they prefer to play with those of least brains.

A child in a fit is believed to be tormented by an infidel *jinn*. Perhaps at some time one of the child's forebears killed one of the *jinn* children by pouring hot water on it, and this is an act of revenge. To cure it a special prayer must be said. Some of the verses of the Koran may be written and kept on the child's person, for further protection.

Not only are children troubled by *jinn*, but adults as well. Many and elaborate practices for driving them away or appeasing them have been worked out, and the charms for protection against their evil influence are plentiful.

A prayer written with the blood of a black or yellow hen, according as the *fal*, or divination, indicates, if bound to the part of the body in pain, will drive away the *jinn* that is causing the discomfort, and relief will follow. (In the meantime the prayer-writer eats the hen.)

A tiny baby with fever will be given several deep scratches on the abdomen to let out the *jinn* that is causing the fever.

Pigeons are not only good to keep for *jinn* babies to play with, but they are also a protection. It is related

that Ali dug a well; after a time people came and told him the *jinn* were throwing stones into it. He came to the well, and said to the *jinn*, "Withdraw your hands from this work, or I will bring pigeons here." The sound of pigeons' wings is supposed to disperse *jinn*. It is told that the Imam Musa Kazim always kept a pair of pigeons in his house, and took care of them himself, because whenever they moved their wings at night, the *jinn* and devils that had come into the house were driven out.

The Imam Husain said, "Don't clean all the meat off the bones when you eat, for what remains is the portion of the *jinn*. If you do clean the bones, the *jinn* will take from you more and better things than these remnants of meat."

If a baby becomes weak and thin, the parents pretend it is a *jinn* baby that has been brought and left in place of their own healthy child. They decorate this frail child with paint, blacken its eyebrows, dress it in clean new clothes and put it in the corner of the courtyard. The *jinn* are attracted by the decorations on the child, and will bring back the one they took away in exchange for this more attractively dressed infant.

A prayer written on a small piece of paper, and put into a tiny silver shoe, will keep away the *jinn*. Silver, as well as iron and steel, is believed to have power against all evil things.

But the most potent protection is afforded by portions of the Koran. The sixth verse of the Sura *Jinn*, "There are indeed people among men, who have sought refuge unto a people among *Jinn*: But they only increased their folly," if cut on a piece of black iron, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, before noon, and bound on a person, will keep the *jinn* away from him. And the Sura Al Imran, verses 1 and 2, is most effective, "God! there is no God but He, the living and merciful! In truth He hath sent down to them the Book, which confirmeth those which precede it: for he hath sent down the Law and the Evangel aforetime as man's guidance; and

now verily hath He sent down the Illumination, (*Furqan*)!" These verses must be written with musk and saffron and rose water, put into a skin bottle, and tied up till before sunrise, in which case the writer will be kept from every kind of danger or suffering, and especially those caused by *devs* and *jinn*.

The *jinn* also have no power over the person who reads verse seventy-seven of the Sura Al Imran: "Other religion than that of God desire they? To Him doth everything that is in heaven and in the earth submit, in willing or forced obedience, and to Him do they return."

There are those who claim to be able to see the *jinn* and to summon them. The brain of a fly and an egg of an ant, when dried, powdered and rubbed on the eyelids, will give one this power of sight.

Prayer-writers are supposed to have the power of summoning the *jinn*, and are therefore called "*jinngir*." Sometimes the *jinngir* will summon the *jinn* to be visible, and at other times only to give evidence of their presence. In the first case the usual method is as follows, and is done upon the request of a family that has had a series of misfortunes, or continued illness. If there is a child under nine years of age in the family, preferably a daughter, she is chosen to sit on the floor and bend over a bowl of water, while the *jinngir* sits on the other side. He then strikes the ground all around the bowl, making as much confusion as possible, and calls on the *jinn* to come. If the child is easily excited, her imagination may at once create for her a tiny creature in the bowl. If not the *jinngir* may have to ask several times, even threatening to summon his army of *jinn* if this one does not appear. When the *jinn* has been seen by the child, the *jinngir* commands him not to molest the family any more, scratches on the bowl and interprets this as the *jinn's* answer. Then he gives the child a piece of rock candy and some salt to eat, and some for her to put into the bowl for the *jinn*. When this is done, peace has been made, for they have eaten salt.

There are scores of things done by people who are in trouble to appease the *jinn*, usually with the help of a prayer-writer. The following is typical. A woman had lost five children, and at the time was childless. She and her husband decided to call in a noted Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, to make a prayer that they might have a child. He came and told them that the reason all their children had died was because the mother had at some time poured out boiling water on the ground and had killed *jinn* babies, and the big *jinn* were killing her children in retaliation. He said the Moslem *jinn*, the infidel *jinn*, the Zoroastrian *jinn* and all kinds of *jinn* had formed themselves into a veritable army against her, and were doing this according to the orders of their king. The only hope was for them to make peace with the king, and persuade him to implore the others to give up this work of destruction. A banquet for the *jinn* king would be necessary. The woman prepared the banquet according to the instructions of the prayer-writer. She spread a cloth upon the floor, upon which she put a bowl of water, a loaf of bread, some cheese, a dish of flour, three eggs, a dish of salt and a plate of greens. She also put beside the table one of her own best garments, her husband's best clothes and an outfit of baby clothes. The money they were to give the Sayyid for his services, one *toman* (about one dollar), was put into the bowl of water. A sheet was then spread over all and the prayer-writer began his incantations, occasionally passing his hand under the sheet as well as over it. At last he lifted the sheet and showed the mark of the *jinn* king's finger on the smooth surface of the salt. Partaking of salt thus by the *jinn* king meant that the banquet had been accepted and that reconciliation had been accomplished. The Sayyid then wrote seven prayers—one to bind on the woman's neck, to hang down over the breast; another to be washed in a saucer of water, and the woman must drink the water; a third to be washed on Friday noon under a water spout which faced Mecca; the fourth to be put into

a small water pot with a piece of black money, and taken to a graveyard and buried; the fifth was to be burned with some cat's fur, garlic skin and seven wild parsnip seeds; while the sixth and seventh were to be burned. When all this was done, the Sayyid demanded more money or the *jinn* would not keep the contract, then took the clothes and eggs to bury, and the other food to give to the poor. Notwithstanding all these efforts, their next baby was born dead!

Some human beings are said to have married *jinn*. A very handsome youth is sure to be loved and pursued by female *jinn* and it is easy for them to get power over him. They arrange a big reception to which he is invited. He sees his relatives and friends there, and the priests and other people whom he admires. A marriage is arranged with a beautiful damsel, who, as he discovers when he takes her to his home, has cloven feet. Then he knows that all the people at the reception were *jinn*, who had taken the forms and likenesses of his friends and relatives. He becomes frightened and would flee, but she threatens him, saying she will kill him if he leaves her or tells anyone. As a reward for his forced silence she gives him command over all her servants, so he too can do marvelous things.

It is related that in Nishapur there is a man who says he has a *jinn* wife. He was taken by the *jinn* because he was exceptionally handsome. He claims to do most wonderful things through her. If a friend has a difficulty to meet, or a sick friend he wishes healed, or needs advice in some trying ordeal, he will apply to this man for assistance. The man goes to his wife, where he always finds the solution. He says this female *jinn* troubled him for three years. She made parties for him time and again, from which he fled. He refused repeatedly to eat salt with her. But at last he succumbed. People sometimes laugh at him, but he never seems to be ashamed of the story, and never denies it.

If one does not have a *jinn* wife, there is a special

ceremony he goes through to get control of *jinn* and have them at his command. First he must get permission from the *ustad*, or master of the *jinnigirs*. Then he goes to an old graveyard or a cave in the mountains where he will not see anyone. He must eat less and less until his daily ration is one almond, at which time he draws a circle around him and sits there for forty days, reading the prayers from the Koran or other prayers which the *ustad* has given him. On the fortieth day the king of the *jinn* with all his great ones will come and eat bread and salt with him, and make a covenant with him that whenever he may need them he can call the army of *jinn* to his help.

In the Mohammedan traditions there are many references to the times when the *jinn* wept for human beings. It is related that when Amina, the mother of Mohammed, died, the voices of the *jinn* could be heard weeping for her.

The Persians defend their faith in *jinn* on the ground of the numerous references to them in the Koran, showing that their prophet believed in them. Also the traditions are full of references to them, showing what a force they were in the lives of the Imams. The following story, related by the Imams, and therefore not to be questioned, is often quoted as the reason for their belief.

On the tenth of Muharram at Kerbala, when Husain was surrounded by the enemy and most of his people had been killed, he struck the ground with his sword, bowed and said, "I am a stranger and have no one left. If there is one who knows me come and help me." The angels came, but Husain did not accept their proffered aid. Then God sent down from heaven a paper, on which was written the promise that He would destroy the entire army of the enemy if Husain so desired. Husain said that he did not care to live, since all his brothers and relatives had been killed, so he did not accept God's offer. Za'far, the king of the *jinn* was reclining on his throne engaged in amorous pleasures, when he noticed under the throne two of the *jinn* weeping and throwing dust on their heads. The king asked them why, when he was enjoying himself, they should be weeping. They answered him, "Husain is at Kerbala alone and calling for help." The king arose, prepared his army and went to say farewell to his mother. His mother said to him, "Go, and go quickly." At that instant the *jinn* were at Kerbala. Each one crossed his arms and bowed his head as the king addressed Husain, saying, "I am your servant, the king of the *jinn*, and have

come with my army to help you. If you give me permission I will kill all your enemies at once, I have a sword that kills like a butcher's knife." But Husain was a mine of kindness, and would not give permission, saying, "Your army is invisible, but it can see the enemy. Since they cannot be seen by the enemy, it is not an even contest." Then Za'far said, "Let my father and mother be your sacrifice, we will take the forms of humans." Husain said, "No, be gone, for since all are killed I do not care to live." Za'far returned, and his mother asked him if he had killed Husain's enemies. When he replied that he had not been allowed to do so, his mother became angry and said, "The breast that nourished you is not pleased with you, go and fight with Husain's enemies until they are killed or you are killed." Za'far quickly returned with his army, but Husain was already dead and his head exposed upon a pole. Za'far returned weeping and mourning for Husain. He still weeps and throws dust on his head, and will continue to do so until the day of resurrection.

Thus in every phase of the family and religious life of the great majority of the Persian people, the *jinn* are still real and ever present. They are with them as a baneful influence from childhood to the grave. And the belief in *jinn*, with all its ramifications, is not a superstition that has survived from the "days of ignorance" in spite of the influence of Islam, but it is a belief that the Koran and the Prophet Mohammed and the Imams have repeatedly accepted and confirmed. Hence it has become an important factor in the psychology of all Shi'ite Mohammedans.

Meshed, Persia.

BESSIE ALLEN DONALDSON.

CURRENT TOPICS

Notes on the Pères Blancs in North Africa

In 1868 the Archbishop of Algiers, M. Lavigérie, afterwards cardinal, founded the Missionary Society of the Pères Blancs (Headquarters at Maison Carrée, Algiers). In 1869 he founded the order of the Sœurs Blanches (Headquarters at Kouba, near Algiers).

The Mission's first effort was in Southern Algeria, in the Laghouat Oasis in 1872. The following year the first stations in the Kabylia were opened; then other stations in the northern oases of the Sahara.

One of the special aims of Cardinal Lavigérie was the penetration of the Continent of Africa and the evangelization of negro tribes of Central Africa, in order to protect them from the yoke of Islam. In 1875 three Fathers left Metlili in the Chamba district, in an attempt to cross the Sahara to the Niger and the Soudan, but were massacred not far from El Golea. In 1881 three other Fathers set out from R'dames with the same object, but met with a similar fate. It was not until 1894 that the Pères Blancs entered the Soudan, by way of Daker and Senegal. Ever since 1879 they have occupied the regions of the great East African Lakes, where their most prosperous work is.

I. THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA.

A. The Pères Blancs are established:

1. In Kabylia, in nine stations, among the Ouadhia, the Beni-Ismaïl, the Beni-Mengallet, the Beni-Yenni, the Beni-Fraucen, the Beni-Iraten and the Beni-Abbes.
2. In the Sahara and Southern Algeria, at Ain Sefra, at Geryville, at Djelfa, at Laghouat, at Ouargla, at Ghardaïa Mzab, and at El Golea.
3. In the town of Algiers and the villages of the Attafs.
4. In Tunisia, at Thibar, at Carthage and Tunis.

B. The Sœurs Blanches have convents in nearly all the places where where the Pères Blancs work, and also in several European districts, they work among the native women and girls.

NOTE.—Morocco has always been and still continues to be outside the field of the Pères Blancs and the Sœurs Blanches.

II. MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL WORK.

1. The Sœurs Blanches have three important hospitals, frequented by natives, both men and women. In the Plain of the Chelif, at St. Cyprien of the Attafs; in Kabylia, among the Beni-Mengallet; and in the Constantine Sahara at Biskra. They also have considerable dispensaries in all their stations where many sick folk are cared for each day. And in all their stations, several times a week, they visit the surrounding villages and attend the sick in their homes.

2. The Pères Blancs, like the Sœurs, attend the natives in the dispensaries at each of their stations, and visit them in their homes.

NOTE.—The Pères Blancs during their years of training at Maison Carrée and at Carthage, receive some teaching in the elementary, though sufficient, practice of medicine and surgery. And as for the Sœurs Blanches, a great many of them take the necessary diplomas, in Algeria, or France, or Belgium, to enable them to carry on their infirmaries and hospitals.

III. EDUCATIONAL AND SUPPLEMENTARY WORK.

1. *Boys' Schools.* When the Pères Blancs first went to Kabylia, there was no school there. They founded them. And later, the French Government followed their example. Today the Pères Blancs have eight schools in different Kabyle tribes. In spite of many difficulties in starting (and these continued through many years) such as the misunderstanding of the parents, the irregularity of the children, the hostility, open or covert of Marabouts and Khouan, etc., the scholastic work has continued in Kabylia, is organized and developed. The curriculum is the same as that at the Government Primary Schools. Instruction is free. Besides ordinary school and book learning, the Pères have attempted in several schools to give practical agricultural teaching. In one station, among the Beni-Mengallet, it seems to be in a good way to success. They specialize in arboriculture, Kabylia being a region particularly favorable for the growing of trees of all sorts.

In the official examinations, the pupils of the Pères Blancs take a good place. As a rule they are distinguished from the pupils of the Government schools by their better theoretical and practical knowledge of the French language, a tongue which Kabyle children, particularly the Christians, speak as easily as their own Kabyle.

The highest prefects in the Government schools have come from the schools of the Pères Blancs, and from among them many of the teachers have been taken. And amongst the boys of these schools are found lawyers, officers, *caïds*, secretaries of companies and interpreters in Morocco, and tradesmen. And, as in Kabylia, so in their stations in the Sahara, the Pères Blancs have opened schools for the natives in all their stations.

The immense majority of children in all these schools being Mohammedans or belonging to Moslem families, the programme does not contain any real religious teaching, but courses of ethics are given to the pupils.

2. *Girls' Schools.* The Sœurs Blanches work primarily amongst the native girls in all their stations. In the beginning the Kabyles were greatly opposed to the education of their daughters. The Sœurs had to manage to get the little girls together and give them practical teaching on cleanliness, hygiene, housework, and then little classes for reading, writing and arithmetic. Then they started girls' and women's workrooms. Today they have several properly organized schools; in other places they are leading gradually up to it. But everywhere their chief aim is the moral education of the girls, who have much need of it, and the Moslem parents themselves own that the results obtained are remarkable.

IV. SOCIAL WORK.

1. *Workrooms for Women.* The Sœurs were careful to procure healthy and wholesome work for the Kabyle Christian women,

to occupy their abundant leisure. Later, Moslem women came of their own accord in large numbers, to join the Christians. Today the Sœurs in Kabylia have two sewing rooms, two for carpet-weaving, and four for fine basket-work. The women find remunerative work in them, and there are many hundreds of workers. The moral effect upon the feminine population is very remarkable, and is testified to by natives as well as Europeans. These workshops appear to prosper in Southern Algeria and in all the Stations of the Sahara, as well as in Tunisia.

2. *Society for Mutual Help.* The Pères Blancs founded two of these in Kabylia: one a society for pension and endowment, and a society for cheap dwellings. Both are progressing, though slowly, developing in the population a spirit of prudence and economy.

NOTE.—We can only name, in this short résumé, the Christian villages in the Chelif valley, at St. Cyprien and St. Monique, created by the Cardinal Lavigérie himself, and organized into parishes, which the Pères Blancs direct to this day. One must also include among the Social works, the Christian native village established at St. Joseph de Thiher in Tunisia, near the big Missionary Model-Farm. And again the new village for Christian half-breeds in the oasis of El Golea in the Sahara.

CONCLUSION.

It is very easy to enumerate works, it is more difficult to estimate results, and still more difficult if it is a question of works undertaken amongst a people as resolute and as stubborn as the Moslem population of North Africa. Truth to tell, the object of these works is not to obtain individual conversions to the Christian religion. However, conversions do take place, at least in Kabylia, so much so that the Pères Blancs can count today about a thousand living converts.

But the real aim of the Pères and the Sœurs is to cause to bud and then to grow around them, amongst adults and children, men and women, confidence and respect for the appointed representatives of the religion of Jesus. The aim is also to spread, by means of the daily and increasingly intimate relations with the natives around them, a higher conception of individual and family morals, purer and holier ideas of religion. This was the general programme imposed upon the missionaries by Cardinal Lavigérie. It is, without any doubt, on the way to being realized, through the mercy of God, and thanks to the indefatigable perseverance of the missionaries. And one could fill a large volume of typical and by no means unique experiences which would prove to the most sceptical, the reality of the results obtained.

—CORRESPONDENT OF THE PÈRES BLANCS.

The Story of a Crimean Moslem

[Sent to our Quarterly by one of his intimate friends, a missionary in Turkey.]

I was born in one of the villages of Yalt in 1891.

My father was a tobacco seller, a very religious and superstitious man. I was given to a Tatar school where I was taught every point of my religion and tried to be one of the best followers. I prayed always for comfort and peace and learned by heart all the prayers. One day one of the teachers told us a story about the "Dove and the Skylark," and told us that there was a legend among the Russians about these two birds: "When the sinners crucified Jesus the dove stood on a fence and cried 'Dead, dead' but the skylark cried 'Alive, alive.' Therefore

the dove was said to be a holy bird because it wanted to end the sufferings of Jesus, while the skylark wanted Him to be tortured a little more." The *hoja* told us that Christ did not die, but went to heaven, and the Christians say that he died, was crucified and remained dead for three days and then rose from the dead and went to heaven. Of course the *hoja* thought the Christians were wrong and his opinion was right.

This story caused me great perplexity, because I thought that it was very strange that the life of such a great person should not be known by men in a correct way. So I thought I would not rest before I learned the truth about this. Some time passed and I was sent to another school. In the evenings I used to walk about the town. I often thought of that story and wondered how I could learn the truth. One evening I saw two men reading a large book in the *Sehir meydanı*, so I was curious to know what they were reading, and as I approached I heard them read in the Russian language about God and his mercy to mankind. I at once had the desire to go near them and talk to them and ask them many questions, but was not able to do so, but I always thought and thought, and wondered why these men were always reading this book. So one day I spoke to one of my friends about this, and he said: "Of course men who have such ideas must have a gathering place also."

Again some time passed, and one day as I went to this *Sehir meydanı* I saw a very painful sight. Some people were beating and torturing these two men whom I secretly loved. The poor men were pale, their faces were stained with blood, they were suffering, but not a bad word, not an oath did they utter, and they praised God. The government did not seem to care what became of these men. This was in 1907. After this I was convinced that these men had a different belief, and decided that I must surely see them and talk with them. So the next day I went to them and told them my story, and they gave me a Bible in my own language, and asked me to go to their meeting. I for the first time in my life felt that I was in a strange place, because of the love and joy I saw there among the people who belonged to different races, as Russians, Greeks and others. "What a strange brotherhood," I thought. I was one of the listeners now. A hymn "Light is coming from far to us" was sung. Then the preacher read the 42nd chapter of Isaiah, and then began to preach. He spoke about the life of Jesus and how he came to the world, etc. I was feeling very badly as I listened, because the more I heard the words, the more I felt what a terrible sinner I was. So I suffered very badly all through the sermon, and at the end when the preacher said that He is calling all the nations and is ready to forgive all the sinners, I fell on my knees and confessed my sins to the Owner of Mercy, and found my salvation and the peace that I had never before found. In 1909 I was baptized, and became one of the members of the Christian community. My salvation did not bring joy to our enemy Satan, who kept attacking me. The people many times persecuted me, I was beaten and tortured and several times they left me bleeding and half dead. They broke my teeth, they tore the hair of my head, and they gave me the severest of punishments, but my belief was not shaken, and my faith was made firmer, and the truth stayed deep in my heart, and I praised God for all these. And now I pray that many people may find the peace that I have found.

Crimea.

ABDULLAH M. —

The Stuart Memorial College, Isfahan

The following remarkable letter appeared in *The Times* (London) October 14, 1929. It is a well-deserved tribute to one of a score of similar missionary institutions in the Near East.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

Sir,—Persia, once the most powerful empire in the world, has long stood isolated and aloof from the main stream of progress. Today we are watching what can only be described as a national renaissance under the wise and energetic leadership of Reza Shah Pahlavi. It finds its natural and most creative outlet in a new eagerness for education. The Persian Government is already developing a wide and comprehensive educational scheme for boys and girls, and scores of students are being sent annually to foreign countries for higher education.

The Stuart Memorial College, Isfahan, was reopened by the Church Missionary Society after the War, in memory of Bishop Stuart. It is the only English institution in Persia which offers education on the lines of an English public school. The Persian Government officially recognise and strongly approve of the school. The fostering of games and athletics and the introduction of the prefect and house system have worked wonders in the development of sound character among the boys, of whom 50 are boarders. The headmaster, who is a Cambridge man, is supported by five other English university men, in addition to Persian masters; and the boys are prepared not only for the Persian Government examinations but also for the London Matriculation.

In addition to the fees which are charged to all boys, the expenses of the college are partly met by grants from the Church Missionary Society. For the past six years the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Imperial Bank of Persia have also very generously supported the college by grants amounting to £750 per annum (the A.P.O.C. having given a further sum of £3,000 for capital expenditure on new buildings in 1923). These latter grants have enabled the college to reach a standard of efficiency and education which would otherwise have been impossible. They are now, however, being withdrawn, the A.P.O.C. being obliged to confine their educational expenditure to their own area in Khuzistan, where they are developing new schools.

We share the opinion which has been expressed by many of the leading Persians and Europeans now resident in Persia, that the closing down of this school would be a very grave handicap to the country at this critical stage in her history. Yet expenditure cannot be reduced; and the only alternative is the raising of an endowment fund of at least £15,000 to enable the college to continue its valuable work. This is the only college in Central or Southern Persia where, through the medium of the English language, a sympathetic understanding of Western science and knowledge and Western literature is being encouraged, and experience all over the world shows that such literary and cultural connexions have an important repercussion upon international relationships.

We venture, Sir, to appeal to your readers, and especially to those who are interested in the great and ancient country of Persia, or indeed in India and the Middle East as a whole, to contribute generously to this fund. An account has been opened at the Imperial Bank of Persia, King William Street, E.C. 4. Contributions, payable to the "S.M.C.

Endowment Fund," may be sent direct to the bank, or to the Headmaster, the Rev. W. J. Thompson, M.A., at 6, Salisbury Square, E.C. 4, who will be pleased to answer any requests for further information about the College.

We are, Sir, &c.,

C. A. ALINGTON.

P. Z. COX.

FRANK FLETCHER.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

LAMINGTON.

PERCY LORAINÉ.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CHARLES M. MARLING.

E. DENISON ROSS.

P. M. SYKES.

A Moslem High Priest on Tour

His Holiness Sardar Syeda, High Priest of the Dawudi Bohras, is on tour in Sind and Baluchistan. He resides in Bombay (formerly at Surat) has some 500,000 followers scattered over India, Africa and other countries. He came to the throne in 1914, having been chosen by his predecessor, who selects the one to succeed him, just before death. The one succeeding conducts the funeral service of the deceased High Priest and thereby declares his right to the Gadi. The office of "Sardar" was conferred upon His Holiness by the Nizam of Hyderabad State. One who knows Sardar Syeda very well says he is a man of peace. He urges upon his people to do good works, observe their religious duties and help the poor, and not to expose a brother who is in fault, but keep quiet and let others find out for themselves. On this point they would differ with many Christians, who feel it their duty to expose evil for the good of all. The Golden Rule implies clearly that we should protect others from an evil person, as we ourselves wish to be protected. We can only do this by reproof, rebuking and exhorting with patient teaching. The followers of His Holiness yield absolute obedience to him. My friend, who has attended a Roman Catholic School, and was for ten years a Municipal Councillor, speaks good English and is an Honorary Magistrate, says he respects His Holiness so much that he would kill himself if told to do so by the High Priest. The High Priest has a special *Bogi* carriage for himself, two wives (one wife not on this trip), one elderly European nurse, several children along (ten altogether), his secretarial staff of several persons; several other carriages are reserved for men members of the Bohra community, who are accompanying His Holiness from Karachi and Hyderabad and Quetta. He must stop ten days in each place where there are a large number of Bohras. I am glad that our Bishops are not required to stop ten days in each of our stations at one time, as it would be too hard on the Bishops. However, they do as a rule average as well if not better than the visitations of the Bohra High Priest, as he only tours three months in a year.

The Bohras, like the Mehamans, are converts from Hinduism. The Bohras claim to have come from the Rajputs. Many of them descended from the Gujeratis, and, like the Parsees, speak Gujerati. Quite a large section of the Bohras live in Burhanpur, Central Provinces, and have broken away from the authority of Sardar Syeda Sahib, not being willing to accept the teachers he appoints. He is kind towards them, and hopes for them to return to his authority. He has several charities, among them a hospital in Bombay which has eight nurses.

It is believed that he gives away much that is given him. All gifts on tour are his own, however. He looks simple and devout, about middle age, unspoiled by western dress. The train was held up for evening and morning prayers, while one hundred Bohras joined their High Priest in prayer to the God of Mohammed.

Karachi.

G. B. THOMPSON.

An Indian View of Mustafa Kemal

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the counterpart of Mussolini. His régime smacks of Italian Fascism. Turkey owes her present position to the sterling services of Mustafa Kemal. It is he who saved his motherland from lapsing into the abysmal abyss of thralldom.

His present behavior is irksome, rigid and creative of great resentment. His peculiar notions which he is imposing on Turkey, are gall and wormwood to the Muslims at large. They are based on western scepticism, which is eating into the vitals of Islamic ideas and ideals. He is making short work of Islamic institutions and replacing them by western codes of morality. He is so inebriated with the nectar of European materialism that he cannot see anything before his nose or monocles. The beauties of Islam have no charm for him. He looks upon Islam as a bundle of obsolete out-of-date rules, which hamper the onward march of a progressive nation. This is why he is bent upon cutting a cloak from the cloth of westernism. He rejects Islam "on the basis that it is Arab and not Turkish; mediæval and not modern; nomadic and not civilized. *He* wants to be westernized completely so that his country will no longer have the Arabic alphabet, the Arabic language, Arabic customs, Arabic religion, Arabic mentality." These sentences sum up his present attitude.

His ban on the use of the Arabic alphabet is a great incubus on the progress of Turkish literature. During the year, when the Latin system was in vogue, only one book was published. The new script has not found favor with the people. If the ban continued in force, it would inflict an intellectual paralysis on the country, which once was famous for its literature and its prolific authors, who vied with each other in contributing to the progress of literature.

Although it appears to be one of the links of the chain of reform, yet it is far-reaching in its effects and pregnant with fatal results. It is the skyey portent which foreshadows the ultimate extinction of the Islamic institutions from the soil of Turkey, which for centuries was the seat of Islam's spiritual and temporal power. It is flagrant injustice to posterity, who will be deprived of the great boon of Islam.

If the high-horse of these iconoclastic reforms is suffered to walk roughshod over the religious susceptibilities of the people, it is likely to give rise to bacteria of faction and discontent, and the edifice of reforms which stands on the flimsy basis of impulse, will topple down with its own weight.

—*The Sunrise* (Qadian) Nov. 7, 1929.

Pan-Islamism and Indian Nationalism

S. M. Rahman, of Akola, India, writing in *The Islamic Review*, says: "Pan-Islamism, or the extra-territorial patriotism of the Moslems, has been the supreme political menace to generations of his-

torians since the novel doctrine of Islamic brotherhood was preached from the deserts of the Hedjaz. European students of history could easily unravel the knotty proposition of the unity of Anglo-Saxon races and the unity of Slavs. They could realize the implications of Pan-Hellenism and Pan-Teutonism. They could understand the unities of a common language, of a common culture and a common race. But the problem of extra-territorial unity presented by Islam was a veritable riddle of the Sphinx. They could not comprehend it, for the simple reason that it was unprecedented in the history of mankind."

He then goes on to say that "The bogey of Pan-Islamism was created by the Chancellories of Europe, solely with a view to keep down the East under the iron heels of European domination. Of all contemporary Indian politicians, C. R. Das had understood the secret. As a far-sighted statesman, who had made a careful study of the history of 'peaceful' penetration of Britain in Asia, he had fully realized that the Crusade against Pan-Islamism was a political subterfuge of the British Foreign Office to perpetuate British domination in India, which could only be achieved by undermining the strength of Islamic powers in the Middle and Near East. It was he who had the perspicacity of vision to foresee and the courage to declare that certain British statesmen had raised the war-cry against Pan-Islamism not only to domineer over Turkey, and Egypt, and Persia, but also to keep India secure under British tutelage.

"This has really been the *rationale* of the Pan-Islamic activities of the educated Indian Moslem. His Pan-Islamic sympathies, which are looked upon so suspiciously in certain quarters, have mainly been calculated to achieve the end which has been so near and dear to the heart of Indian Nationalists. He has persistently advocated the cause of the Islamic countries, not only for the liberation of his co-religionists abroad, but also for the emancipation of his own Motherland. Even a cursory study of the political awakening of the Moslems in India will disclose the startling fact that since the days of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who dissuaded the Mussulmans from sympathizing with the Turks, in any tangible manner, during the Turko-Grecian War, and refused to countenance the transmission of subscriptions to his downtrodden brethren, engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Greeks, the loudest repudiators of Pan-Islamism, among the Moslems, have been the staunchest supporters of the bureaucratic system of Government in this country, and that the so-called Pan-Islamic 'Fanatics' have always been in the thick of the battle for India's freedom."

Tribal Customs in Oman

Southeastern Arabia has never had its Burckhardt or Doughty, and much remains to be discovered and recorded of the tribal life of its mixed races. Mr. Bertram Thomas, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, has an interesting paragraph on the subject:

"At the dawn of history South Arabia had settlements of the Sabæans dotted about it. Inscriptions of the earliest period are sometimes known as Minnæan, but whether this term is racial or merely linguistic is unknown. The Sabæans were in due course overthrown by the Himyarites, and these in turn were absorbed by the Arabs. Are the tribes of my journey one or other of these? Or are they descendants

of African invaders into Arabia, for history records an Abyssinian invasion of Arabia, and it is reasonable to suppose that there were others in prehistoric times. It is interesting, too, to remember that the Queen of Sheba (Sabæans) is claimed both as an African and an Arab queen, and it is not improbable that the same race was found on both sides of the Red Sea. Be that as it may, these tribes—with the exception of the Harasis—have a tradition of an African origin, the order of their local antiquity being Shahara, Bautahara, Mahra, Qara. They are not, however, negroid. They have many customs which are not only peculiar to themselves, but the exact opposite of those of their neighboring Arabs of 'Oman. Circumcision is one. With this group female circumcision, which is a major operation, takes place on the day of the girl's birth, and adult male circumcision is practised when the boy is about fourteen years old. In 'Oman female circumcision is a slight operation carried out when the girl reaches the age of ten, and male circumcision takes place when the boy is about six. With the Qara, death is accompanied by wholesale sacrifice of animals, cows, camels, and sheep, and the flesh is given to the poor—the survival, it would seem, of a cult of propitiation. With them the cow is greatly revered; no woman is allowed ever to touch its udders, and its sacrificial value is seven times greater than that of a camel, though the latter is intrinsically the more valuable animal. With the Arabs of 'Oman, on the other hand, the cow is a degraded animal; its very name 'baqara' is never mentioned in polite society; women do the milking, and no man would demean himself by such an operation. With the tribes of the Central South, ordeal by fire is universal; sheep are milked into a receptacle into which a heated stone has first been placed, and there are two breeds which may only be slaughtered after nightfall. Spirit exorcism is practised by Bait Shaitana and Bait Qawas, and there are other unique customs."

Islam in Lithuania

An interesting communication received through Dr. Paul Sandegren of Stockholm from a Moslem friend gives the following facts regarding the Moslem population of Lithuania:

"According to the census of 1923, Moslems number between 1,100 and 1,200. There are three mosques, viz., at Kowno, Winkschnupe and Reishach. Each has a *mullah*. The largest congregation is at Reishach, and numbers over nine hundred.

"There is no compulsory religious education, but Moslem parents are eager to have their children learn the elements of Islam. The result has been that, after six hundred years, this small minority living among the Christians of Lithuania has not lost its religious heritage. There are no purely religious schools for teaching Islam. The reason is that the Government gives no support to such schools, the Moslem population is too scattered in most cases. Where the population is more concentrated, as is the case at Reishach, there is one good school supported by land belonging to the community. In other parts of Lithuania the principles of Islam are taught in the homes by specially appointed local teachers. The course of study includes a simple knowledge of the Arabic character for reading the Koran, the prayers according to the ritual, and the duties of a believer. It is true that scarcely anyone

understands the Arabic language, but this is not so strange in our community, for the Catholics do not understand the Latin speech used in their Churches, nor do the Hebrews understand Hebrew.

"The Lithuanian woman among Mohammedans has never been a slave. The *harim* life and polygamy does not exist. Woman is perfectly free in every walk of life, and the Moslem women cannot be distinguished from the women of Poles, Tatars, and Lithuanian Christians. It is true that the latter are more intelligent, but this is due to the fact that they belong to a higher class of society.

"To understand this group of Moslems it is necessary to go back to their early history. Our forefathers settled in Lithuania in the thirteenth century at the time of the incursion of the Tatars into Russia. At first they were only a few military prisoners, but at the time of the Vytautas several thousand came and settled in the Provinces. They became soldiers for the Lithuanian princes until later the command of these Tatar troops was in Moslem hands. There were three chief divisions: Bek, Mirsa and Ulan. The first-named was at the head of the military division; the second of the Officers' Corps; and the third-named was the chief of the Cavalry. It is by these chiefs that the celebrated Ulan regiments were recruited. These mercenary troops at the close of the campaigns received lands as a reward for service, and the Russian Government, after conquering Lithuania, did not sequester these possessions.

"I could give a detailed history of Islam in Lithuania, but the above is sufficient for the present."

Islam and Socialism

As for those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend it in Allah's way, announce to them a painful chastisement.—Al-Quran.

Words of wisdom uttered thirteen centuries ago but so remarkably fitting in with the modern times. As if seeing with his prophetic eye the capitalistic society of the present day, and all that it stands for, that Great Socialist of the desert fore-warned mankind against it. What prophetic ring! Did not the Great Czar and his numerous satellites furnish a most tragic commentary on the immutable truth contained in the warning and does not each and every capitalistic state or society of the day feel and feeling, tremble at the approach of the same "painful chastisement"? What is Bolshevism, that red rag to the Western bulls, but just one dread shape which that doom foretold by the Seer of Arabia has assumed?

The great calamity known in the literature of Islam as the calamity of the *Dajjal* (anti-Christ) which, according to another prophetic utterance of the Prophet was to befall mankind in the latter days is none other than this same calamity of capitalism. Literally, the word *Dajjal* signifies a group of individuals who form themselves into companies, societies or associations. And a man who runs can see that the reference is to this modern age of our own which may appropriately be called the Age of Companies. Money, money and more money! This is the guiding principle of this system, resulting in the common calamity that a vast section of humanity are bled white of their very

life blood and reduced to the state of worst slavery known to history. It is a system in which money is the be-all and the end-all of life and which sacrifices man, the Lord of creation, the image of God, at the altar of Mammon. What is this abject slavery of the 210 millions of Indians due to, in the first instance, but to the East India Company, the first *Dajjal* that came out to India and ever since it set its ominous foot on this unfortunate soil, penury, starvation, slavery and the host of low morals that inevitably follow in their wake, have marked them for their own.

Islam thus is socialistic in its outlook, if socialism means a revolt against the inhuman machinery of capitalism which, day in and day out, is busy grinding vast masses of humanity with inexorable severity.

We are surprised when we see so many socialistically-minded friends rave and rail at God. Of the gods in other creeds their fury and rage may be justified—of the God of the Church, for instance, who has ever been an ally of the Czars, or the God of the Brahmin who revels in trampling upon millions of His own creation as low contemptible untouchables. But certainly not so Allah, the God of Islam, to whom a pariah by the road-side is as dear as a Prince on the throne. The God of Islam is a socialist God.

—*The Light* (Lahore, July 4, 1929.)

Borneo

This island is a neglected part of the Moslem world. What Mr. F. J. Stileman writes of Dutch Borneo emphasizes the importance of all Christian work done for the Malays; it also indicates Ahmadiya activity:

“It is by tracts, papers, business men, and Malay merchants that the rapid growth of Islam is effected. At Samarinda a religio-political paper is published in which articles are issued which falsely purport to have been written by Christians. To these, smashing replies are published, exposing Christianity to ridicule. One of the Basel missionaries, Schreiber, sent in a genuine article, but this was not published. They delight to publish accounts of the spread of Islam in Europe and of the mosques being built in England, Germany, etc. But perhaps the greatest propagandism is carried on by Mohammedan business men and Malay merchants, who come in contact with more Dyaks than any other section of the community. On a three days' journey from Kandan, one of the Basel missionaries found only three heathen villages, with an aggregate population of eight hundred, the other villages having gone over to Islam. Then again, on a fifteen days' journey up the Mentaja river in a rowing boat, he found Islam had everywhere taken possession.”

BOOK REVIEWS

The History of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan. By Abu Bakr Ibn Tufail: Translated from the Arabic by Simon Ockley: Revised with an introduction by A. S. Fulton. Chapman and Hall Ltd., London, 1929. pp. 181. 21/-.

This celebrated philosophical romance is issued under "The Treasure House of Eastern Story" series and deserves many readers, although the price seems prohibitive. The work is notable as an example of the philosophical speculation permitted at the court of the Caliph Abu Ya'qub at a time when it was frowned upon, if not actually forbidden, in circles farther removed from the commander of the Faithful, in the Moroccan capital of the Almohad dynasty, during the lifetime of the author. It was written in Mohammedan Spain towards the end of the twelfth century by an Arab of Granada, who died in the city of Morocco in 1185. It is a tale of two islands, one is uninhabited, and a child appears there, either spontaneously generated there by the sea waves, or floated there in a box. This child is called "Alive Son of Awake." He is suckled by a gazelle, and then like Robinson Crusoe, left to his own resources. By innate intelligence he dominates his brute companions, develops manhood, and by ceaseless observation and reflection discovers the existence of a Creator. Then he seeks, by discipline of mind, union with this Eternal Spirit and at last reaches ecstasy. At this stage he is amazed one day to discover, walking on his island, a creature shaped like himself. This proves to be a Moslem dervish named Asal. We quote the rest of the story as summarized in the Introduction. "He teaches Hayy language, and is astonished to discover that the pure Truth to which Hayy has attained is the same as that symbolized by the religion which he himself professes. On learning the condition of the people on the other island, Hayy is moved with compassion, and determines to go to them and offer them the benefits of his knowledge. Accordingly the worthies set out together, Asal acting as the introducer of his distinguished friend. But the mission is a dismal failure. Hayy's exposition of the Truth is far above the heads of the vast majority of his audience, who regard it with hostility as a dangerous innovation. Enchained in the fetters of the senses, their intelligence can respond only to concrete imagery, and their moral nature is in most cases amenable to nothing higher than a crude system of rewards and punishments. Hayy soon sees enough to convince him that Mohammed's way with them as expressed in the Koran was the only effective method. He apologizes to them for his intrusion, exhorts them to be faithful to the religion of their fathers, and returns with his friend Asal to the uninhabited island."

The name of the hero used by Ibn Tufail is borrowed from Ibn Sina, who died in Persia in 1037, and wrote an allegory with the same title.

Ibn Tufail's story has been frequently translated (or adapted) into Latin (1671), Dutch, German, French, and Spanish. Z.

Attitudes to Other Faiths. By Daniel J. Fleming, Ph.D. Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York. pp. XX & 166. \$1.75.

The author was a missionary in India for some twelve years, and is the happy possessor of a good style, which makes the reading of the book easy. He has also been fortunate in finding an attractive title which draws the attention of anyone interested in other peoples and faiths.

Undoubtedly the book is the product of much thought and considerable labor, and the author has not relied entirely upon his own mental processes and reactions. (Preface xiv.) Some fine things are said and well said; suggestive thoughts are scattered through its pages; its plea for the cultivation of first-hand knowledge of "Other Faiths" and of personal friendships with their adherents, and of practical manifestation of Christian love towards them in their personal and social problems will meet with the approval of most. Yet the book does not satisfy. Why?

The purpose of the book is declared most clearly in the Preface, pages xiii ff. "This book has a positive constructive purpose. It does not touch some of the major themes in the usual consideration of Christianity's world program, such as message, motive, or promotional inspiration. Nor does it deal at any length with that most urgent task which faces professing Christians of the West, viz., intelligently to grasp, vitally to experience, and clearly to demonstrate the heart of Christianity. But it does recognize that one of the most serious questions confronting the missionary movement today is the relationship between Christianity and the non-Christian faiths. Believing that the essential nature of the Christian God leads His children to lives of positive love and sharing, this book attempts to deal with certain attitudes which may do much to make or mar the results of the great outreach of Christianity. For we are learning that the main motive and the central message are not the only things which must be considered in Christianity's approach to other faiths. . . . In short, the object has been to consider actual situations which face those who stand at the crossroads of religions." What is a "positive constructive purpose"? Surely, at the very least, it should mean the gathering together of material according to a well defined plan which would issue in a clear and unmistakable judgment. This appears to be recognized in the Introduction (page viii) where Dr. Fleming says, "It seems the reader has a right to know what may be the considered judgment on the part of some who have given thought to these questions;" and yet a little further on he says (page xix) "In spirit this book is not propagandist. . . . it does not aim to determine where the reader shall come out."

This spirit prevails throughout the book. All sorts of problems are raised; all sorts of experiments made in religious fellowship with adherents of other faiths are recorded; occasionally some hint at preference on the author's part is given: but on the whole there is a lack of clear-cut decisive judgment which, in my opinion, to say the least, leaves the reader perplexed and dissatisfied, and gives a sense of disconnected and contradictory thought.

According to Dr. Fleming all religions are more or less on the same basis. "Every religion has truth in it, though demonstrably different

degrees of clearness and worth. Each is the combined result of God's approach to man and man's receptivity of God" (page 159).

This is not altogether true. Christianity is *sui generis*, and differs from all other Faiths in nature and degree both. Other Faiths are not the "combined result" of "God's approach" and "man's receptivity" but the very reverse. The fragments of truth in them are the debris of a faith that once was revealed but has been lost. Rom. 1: 25 and 28 are still the truth concerning these. . . . "They exchanged the Truth of God for a lie, and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator . . . and as they refused to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up unto a reprobate mind."

There is no space in a brief review for reference to many other points in the book which cry out for comment and criticism. The book is useful as providing statements of the actions and attitudes of some, but, as a book of "constructive purpose" it is most unsatisfactory.

W. T. FAIRMAN.

The Koran Translated Into English from the Original Arabic. By George Sale with explanatory notes from the most approved commentators and with an Introduction by Sir Edward Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D., etc. Warne & Co., London and New York. pp. 608. 10/6.

This excellent reprint of a translation that first appeared in 1734 is issued by the publishers in two editions, both with and without the Preliminary Discourse. The latter is of more value than Sale's version, which has now been superseded by Palmer's. The explanatory notes, however, remain of the greatest importance. In the introduction Sir E. Denison Ross calls attention to the sources of both the version and the notes:

"I have therefore been forced to the conclusion that with the exception of Al-Baidhawi, Sale's sources were all consulted at second hand; and an examination of Marracci's great work makes the whole matter perfectly clear. Sale says of Marracci's translation that it is 'generally speaking very exact; but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood . . . by those who are not versed in Muhammadan learning. The notes he has added are indeed of great use; but his refutations, which swell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unsatisfactory, and sometimes impertinent. The work, however, with all its faults is very valuable, and I should be guilty of ingratitude, did I not acknowledge myself much obliged thereto; but still, being in Latin, it can be of no use to those who understand not that tongue.'

"Such is Sale's own confession of his obligation to Marracci—but it does not go nearly far enough. A comparison of the two versions shows that so much had been achieved by Marracci that Sale's work might almost have been performed with a knowledge of Latin alone, as far as regards the quotations from Arabic authors. I do not wish to imply that Sale did not know Arabic, but I do maintain that his work as it stands gives a misleading estimate of his original researches, and that his tribute to Marracci falls far short of his actual indebtedness."

Christ in Islam. By Rev. James Robson, M.A. John Murray, London. pp. 128. Price 3/6.

The Wisdom of the East series, to which this little book belongs, has a definite object, namely, to present in condensed form the best oriental

literature for the western reader. The present volume gives an account of Jesus as He appears in the Koran, Moslem Tradition, and later historical writers. As the author points out in his introduction: "Professor Margoliouth collected seventy-seven passages, seventy-one of which are from Ghazali's *Ihya 'Ulum id Din* (Revival of the Religious Sciences), and six from other sources. These were published in five parts in Vol. V of the *Expository Times* (1893-4). Michael Asin y Palacios, the professor of Arabic in Madrid University, has published a work in two parts, entitled *Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos Scriptores, asceticos præsertim, usitata*, which contains 233 passages. It is published in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vols. xiii and xix." He fails to mention other collections of this material, as for example, in the papers published in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, and in Zwemer's "Moslem Christ."

The contents of the book include Koran passages, some of the traditional stories and sayings of God to Jesus occurring in the Traditions, miscellaneous passages, and a few of the stories indirectly connected with Jesus. The material is divided in this topical way, which has advantages and disadvantages. The book has no index, and the passages from the Koran are given in the order in which they occur, which is neither chronological nor logical.

Le Coran. Traduction nouvelle par Edouard Montet, Professeur de langues orientales, Recteur honoraire de l'Université de Genève. Payot, 106 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris. 1 vol. 8vo. 896 pp. 75 frs.

This volume is well printed on good paper, and has two indices, one for the foot-notes, the other for subject matter.

Sixty pages are given to the Introduction, which treats about (1) Arabia before Mohammed; (2) Mohammed; (3) Origins of the Koran; (4) Contents of the Koran; (5) Collection of the Koran; (6) Chronology of the Suras; (7) The language and text of the Koran. Its literary form; (8) Some editions and translations of the Koran; (9) Koranic exegesis; (10) Muslim theology.

Professor Montet acknowledges in foot-notes, both in the Introduction and throughout the translations, the authors and their works which have enabled him to come to his conclusions, but seems specially to have been influenced by Nöldeke, of whom he says:

"*Introductions au Coran.* Nous ne donnerons qu'un simple aperçu du sujet, et nous ne signalerons que deux ouvrages, tous deux de grande valeur. . . .

Le second est moderne: c'est l' 'Histoire du Coran' de Th. Nöldeke. Cet ouvrage célèbre est tout à fait remarquable, et nous faisons souvent appel à la science de son auteur dans la traduction du Coran."

Though we have the advantages of Nöldeke's scholarship presented so concisely and just where we would choose to have them, in the short introductions to each Sura and in the foot-notes, yet Prof. Montet does not slavishly follow Nöldeke, and where he disagrees, frankly says so and gives his reasons.

In the reviewer's opinion there is one point which mars this work, and that is the author's unqualified admiration of the Koran. He does not take the place of the unbiased scholar, he is frankly an apologist. For example the Arabic commentators on Sura el Baqara, verse 223 (221 in Arabic editions) give a monstrous meaning to the verse, shocking

his Western sense of decency, so he has no hesitation in saying that this cannot be the correct interpretation.

His admiration of the Koran seems to have blinded him to the essential differences between Christianity and Islam, or how could he say:

"Cette communauté de pensée religieuse existant entre l'Islam coranique et le Christianisme est telle, qu'on a peine à comprendre que les Chrétiens et les Musulmans aient été si longtemps ennemis, et qu'ils aient entrepris, les uns contre les autres, ces luttes vraiment fratricides, qui ont ensanglanté les siècles passés."

GEORGE SWAN.

The Islamic Book. A Contribution to its Art and History from the Seventh to the Eighteenth Century. By Sir Thomas Arnold and Professor Adolph Grohmann. The Pegasus Press. £9.9.0.

This sumptuous volume deals with the history of book-making in Islam. The reverence for the written word, especially for the Koran, led the calligraphic artists to elaborate and beautiful designs in book embellishment. All those who have seen the examples of calligraphy in the Arabic Museum in Cairo will appreciate this volume. The earlier chapters are by Professor Adolph Grohmann. He points out the Coptic and Greek influence on decoration and color scheme. Regarding the later chapters we quote from the Literary Supplement of the *London Times*:

"Sir Thomas Arnold's chapters, on the period from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth, make easy reading. Taking the exquisite fifteenth-century Timurid book of Persia as his central point, he sketches, in vivid summaries, the series of historical and cultural movements which culminated in the masterpieces which adorned the libraries of Herat, Tabriz and Ispahan. Chapters on the graceful virtuosity of the earlier Safavid artists and the decline of book-illustration in Persia, and on the new forms which painting assumed in India and Turkey, lead up to an account of the chief features of Islamic bookcraft, notably binding, of which some beautiful illustrations are given. Sir Thomas Arnold has devoted many years of study and observation to his subject, as every page of his writing, filled as it is with little-known facts gathered from his researches, reveals; but he has successfully avoided the over-elaboration in minor points which would have overweighted his brilliant, but all too brief, survey.

"The book is fully documented, and very finely, indeed gorgeously, produced. The collotypers, Messrs. Bruckmann, of Munich, and Max Jaffe, of Vienna, are to be congratulated on the quality of the illustrations, over a hundred in number. The collotype, when it is of this standard, reproduces the texture and line of Oriental paintings better than any other process, and three of the ten colored plates are quite extraordinarily successful."

Z.

Aggrey of Africa, A Study in Black and White. By E. W. Smith, Student Christian Movement, 1929. pp. 292. 7/6.

An African of the Africans, son of a Gold Coast chief, with twenty years' study and teaching in the United States, Mr. Aggrey brought to his native land experience and knowledge which fitted him to serve on Mr. Phelps Stokes' Education Commissions and to play an important part as a senior member of staff of the new government school and college of Achimota in the Gold Coast. He stands as a prophet of the possibilities of his people, the Africans, and as an interpreter of Black

to White and of White to Black. When men knew him, they trusted him, whatever their race or creed. Pagans and Moslems, as well as Christians, flocked to hear him preach in the great Cathedral in Uganda. Europeans and Indians asked to meet him. On racial questions he did not ignore failings on either side, but he looked at racial strife in the light of great principles, and led others to do likewise. Indian politicians in Zanzibar, hearing of slights to which he had been subjected by Europeans, tried to win him for anti-European agitation, but he replied, "It is only through whole-hearted coöperation that wrongs can be righted and men can be helped." The Indian politicians could find no reply but, "You remind us of the teaching of Christ." "That is because I am one of His disciples," said Aggrey. Here was the secret of his power. Men who heard him in heated meetings, those who lived with him and worked with him, through his spirit came to know more of Christ. He led men to believe in the power of love to overcome hate, by the life he himself lived, by his behavior in the face of insult, by his fearlessness, by his selfless devotion. The lines of development he advocated for his people, his treatment of interracial questions, the part he played at Achimota are vividly set forth in these pages, which commemorate one who has been called "the finest interpreter which the present century has produced of the white man to the black, of the black man to the white."

M. WRONG.

The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat al-Qulub of Hamdullah al-Mus-taufi al-Kazwini; edited, translated and annotated, by Lieut.-Col. J. Stephenson. London, 1928. 8vo. xix, 100, 127 pp. Royal Asiatic Society. (74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.)

This last volume of the Oriental Translation Series published by the Royal Asiatic Society, contains the Persian Text and English translation of what is perhaps the earliest Islamic treatise on Zoölogy. There were, it is true, earlier Islamic books dealing with animals, but these early books such as al-Asmai's *Book of Beasts* or *Book of the Horse*, are philological works dealing with the explanation of curious words found in the early desert poets. The later well known works on animals such as the *Kitab ul-Hayawan* of al-Jahiz, or the *Hayat ul-Hayawan* of ad-Damiri (partially translated by Jayakar) belong to Belles Lettres not to Zoölogy, for the animals mentioned are only so many points around which to gather literary material, anecdotes, traditions, folk lore and folk medicine, grammatical and legal discussions, and poetical extracts, so that Qazwini's work is probably the first known to us in which the interest of the writer is primarily scientific.

Naturally the author's science is as crude as his age, and he has incorporated much fanciful and mythological material into his work. His plan is to give the Persian name of the beast, then its name or names in Arabic, Turkish and Mongol, where he knows them, and then to describe the beast and note its useful properties for domestic, magical or medicinal use. Incidentally this reveals to us the diseases that were the most common in the Persia of al-Qazwini's day, and indicates that Moslem mentality was much the same then as now, for the aphrodisiac uses of drugs from these beasts are given great prominence.

A. J.

L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire, par H. Lammens. Beirut, 1928. 8vo. iv, 344 pp. Imprimerie Catholique.

The volume consists of reprints of six Essays that were published in various learned Journals between 1916 and 1925, and which are

here gathered together, revised and provided with an Index as a further contribution to those studies in the life of pre-Islamic Arabia immediately before the appearance of Mohammed, which were begun in his "Berceau de l'Islam," and continued in his monographs on "Ta'if," "La Mecque" and "Les Sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale."

In these essays Père Lammens follows the same method as in his previous studies. A careful combing of the early poetry, the Books of Traditions and the early *Sira* material, provides him with material which is subjected to minute and sometimes drastic criticism, and made to yield up its precious scraps of historical information from which we can reconstruct a more or less faithful picture of the conditions in Arabia at the time of the coming of Mohammed.

The Essays comprised in the present collection are: I. Christians at Mecca; II. Jews at Mecca; III. The Cult of sacred stones and religious processions among the pre-Islamic Arabs; IV. The religious character of the vendetta among the ancient Arabs; V. The *Ahabish* or the military organization of Mecca at the time of the Hijra; VI. The ancient Frontier between Syria and the Hijaz.

It has not been the purpose of the author to make an exhaustive study of any of these subjects, rather he has emphasized facts or aspects of the problem which have been neglected by previous scholars, and in many cases he has been able to correct false views and to make considerable contributions to our knowledge. Especially is this true in Essays III, IV and V. In Essays I and II we are inclined to think that he has made too much of Jewish influence in the environment and too little of the Christian.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature. By Rabbi Leo Jung, Ph.D. The Dropsie College, Philadelphia. pp. 165.

This thesis was prepared for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, and is now reprinted from the Jewish Quarterly Review. We regret the long delay in securing the book for notice as it is of considerable importance to all students of Islam. The author discusses the nature of angels, the two Satans (for he distinguishes the Satan of the New Testament from that of the Old), objection to the creation of man, the Fall of man, Ashmedai, the Fall of the Angels. Each of these sections of the book gives successively the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan views on the subject. The work is well documented, and though we do not accept all its conclusions, there is no question of able research. There are appendices on Jewish and Christian lore regarding Adam before the fall, The consequences of the Fall and Azazel. The bibliography is full and there is a good index.

Z.

Christianity and some living Religions of the East. By Sydney Cave, M.A., D.D. Duckworth, London. 222 pp. 5s.

The President of Cheshunt College, Cambridge, who in his earlier volume in the same series, "Studies in Theology," gave an introduction to the study of some living religions, here compares them with Christianity. The dominant conceptions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Zoroastrianism and Islam in regard to God's nature, manifestation, man's redemption, duty and destiny are passed in review in seven chapters. The writer does not claim that kind of impartiality

which comes from holding that all religions are equally true or untrue. He believes in the finality and universality of the Christian message; not, with Troeltsch, that "Christianity is the highest of extant religions," "but that Christ is the one perfect and universal Saviour." The book is carefully documented, clear in style, and generally accurate in its conclusions. We note two slips regarding Islam. The sinlessness of Mohammed is taught not by "many" (p. 100) but by *all* orthodox Moslems. The Wahhabi sect are *not* "content with the teaching of the Koran alone;" they belong to the Hanbali rite, and follow Tradition as well.

Z.

Seventy Years. A Short History of the British Syrian Mission from 1860 to 1930. By J. D. Maitland-Kirwan, British Syrian Mission, London, S. W. 1., pp. 96.

This is a simple and interesting story of a work begun under circumstances which appealed to the sympathy and love of a woman whose life was wholly given to good works. The condition in Syria in 1860 was a call for devoted service, and from relief work there have grown up many Christian schools, reaching all classes, with most encouraging results. The book is in the nature of a report of seventy years' work in this corner of the Moslem world.

A. E. Z.

Le Sahara. By E. F. Gautier, with 36 illustrations and maps. Payot. Paris. 24 fr.

A scientific yet popular description of the great Sahara by a professor at the University of Algiers since 1900. More and more the French public are attracted by the idea set forth so eloquently in this volume that the desert, instead of a barrier may become a bond, uniting the tropics to Europe by new methods of transportation, and may have new life by the wonders of irrigation. Artesian wells already produce artificial oases, and French engineers have solved the problem of transportation across these vast areas. It is a fascinating study and the photographs are superb.

Al-Babu'l-Hadi'Ashar: a Treatise on the Principles of the Shi'ite Theology. By Hasan b. Jusuf 'Ali Ibnu'l-Mutahhar Al Hilli with commentary by Miqdad-i-Fadil Al Hilli—Translated from the Arabic by William McE. Miller, M.A., B.D., London, Royal Asiatic Society. pp. xiv and 104.

All students of the Shi'ah Theology are indebted to Dr. Duncan B. Macdonald for suggesting the translation of such a compact treatise, and to his pupil for its successful accomplishment. Mr. Miller lives at Meshed, and therefore knows the heart of the Shi'ah world. After a sketch of the life of the author (A. D. 1250-1326) and a brief introduction, there follows the translation of this scholastic treatise, called "The Eleventh Chapter" because it was the final chapter of the celebrated book on Shi'ah worship and prayer. The seven sections are: on The Proof of the Self-Existent; His positive qualities; His privative qualities; Allah's justice; Prophecy; The Imamate and the Return, i. e. on Eschatology. Only section six is distinctly Shi'ah. The notes are few but discriminating, and the work is excellently printed.

Z.

The Heart of Libya. By G. E. Simpson. H. F. & G. Witherby, London. pp. 207. 7s. 6d. net.

This is another book on the oasis of Siwa, of no scientific value, but giving an interesting account of the writer's experiences and contacts with a people who have lived for centuries far away from all contact with the outer world and undisturbed by its progress. The illustrations from photographs are excellent. There is a brief Siwan vocabulary, but the sketch map might as well have been omitted.

Z.

Zaka Ullah of Delhi. By C. F. Andrews. W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge. pp. 156, 7s. 6d.

We welcome this biographical sketch of a Moslem of the old school, and one who had broad sympathies and a loving heart. The author is well-known as an intimate friend of Tagore and Gandhi, and one who has done more than any other Englishman to produce goodwill among the people of India. In this volume he tells a deeply moving story of one of his old Delhi friends noted for the originality of his educational ideas, his enthusiasm for Aligarh University and his desire for unity between the racial and religious groups that divide India. The background of Delhi before the mutiny and that of the foundation of the Aligarh movement are of interest, and the portrait of Zaka Ullah with his religious devotion, Old World courtesy, and gracious hospitality stands out clearly and vividly.

Z.

Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions. Par H. Hubert et M. Mauss. Felix Alcan, Paris. pp. 236.

This is the second edition of a reprint of three important articles on the History of Religion, which appeared originally in *L'Année Sociologique* founded by Emile Durkheim (1899). The questions discussed are (1) the origin, nature and function of Sacrifice in primitive religion, (2) The origin of Magic and (3) Primitive ideas of time measurement as related to Magic and Religion. Under the last topic, the interesting conclusion is that time was first measured qualitatively, as having sacred values, before it was measured quantitatively. The chapters on Sacrifice and Magic indicate how in France, as in Germany, the pendulum is swinging back from the theories of Tyler, Frazer, and Robertson Smith to a position much more in accord with Biblical teaching.

Z.

Grundsteine zu einer Mittelländisch-Asiatischen Urgeschichte. By Dr. J. Karst. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig. pp. 247, price 20m.

An attempt to prove on philological evidence that before the arrival of the Semitic and Hamitic migrations a civilization existed around the Mediterranean basin. These people were the ancestors of the Hittites, the Phrygians, and the Armenians. The argument seems fanciful.

L'Hellénisme et l'Egypte moderne. By Ath. G. Politis. Paris, Alcan, 530 pp. 50 francs.

An account of the Greek contacts with Egypt from the earliest period and their growing numbers and influence since the days of Mohammed Ali.

l'Algérie. Par Augustin. Bernard, professeur de Géographie et Colonisation de l'Afrique du Nord à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Librairie Felix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint Germain Vie Paris, 1929. 522 pp.

Professor Bernard has some twenty books on North Africa to his credit. This new book is intended to supersede the handbook of Professor Maurice Wahl, to whom our author makes generous acknowledgment. This volume is divided into five books: I. Les conditions géographiques. II. L'Algérie jusqu'à la conquête française. III. L'Algérie depuis 1830. IV. La démographie et l'organisation. V. Le mise en valeur. In Book II, ch. 3, the author describes the rise and fall of Christianity, considering that the victory of Islam was facilitated by the spread of Donatism amongst the Berbers. Book IV, ch. 2, deals very briefly with religion. Having emphasized the rigidity and immobility of orthodox Islam, and how it is inextricably woven into the civil life of the nation, and also the influence upon them of the cult of saints which he says is "une véritable anthropolâtrie," he proceeds to say "L'islam nord-africain se caractérise aussi par le développement extraordinaire qu'y ont pris les confréries religieuses, sorties d'une réaction mystique contre le froideur de l'islam." There follows a concise view of this aspect of Islam in Algeria. Historically he does scant justice to the British bombardment of Algiers, in 1816, considering the objective to be the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean, deeming it a waste of life and ammunition, whereas the objective was the liberation of Christian slaves, and this was completely accomplished, 1,211 being delivered on the flagship, and later the Deys of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli consenting nevermore to hold Christians in slavery, and it did actually bring to an end a particularly cruel and vile bondage. It is well to remember, too, that not one of the first 1,211, delivered at the bombardment, was British. A. J.

Die Türkei seit dem Weltkriege: Geschichtskalender, 1918-28, von Gotthard Jäschke und Erich Pritsch. Berlin, 1929. 8vo. 154 pp. 6 Mk. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde.

This *Abdruck* from the newly revived Journal *Die Welt des Islams* provides a useful summary of the last decade of Turkish history. It is the barest summary, but sources are indicated. Each year is taken up month by month and a catalogue of the important events of that month is given in roughly chronological order. The Appendix gives the composition of the Cabinet and of the National Assembly. Such a succinct summary makes it a valuable work of reference. A. J.

A History of Nationalism in the East. By Hans Kohn. Routledge, London, 1929. pp. 476, 25 s.

A long review of the original German edition of this work appeared in our Quarterly for January last year. This translation by Margaret M. Green is unabridged and for the most part carefully and correctly made. The bibliography, to which we have already called attention, and the index, make the work of permanent value as a book of reference. The author has succeeded in bringing together in one truly fascinating volume a mass of information hitherto scattered and partly unavailable. In his Introduction he sums up the general situation. He tells us that the War produced three great communities of interest, distinct and, to some extent, mutually antagonistic. The first is that of the continent

of Europe, barring Russia, which is faced with the necessity for the gradual breaking down of national boundaries, for political, financial, and economic reasons. The second is that of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. This has to face Soviet Russia on the one hand, and the Orient, the third community of interests on the other. Here he sketches for us suggestively the development of the nationalistic movement in Islam, India, Egypt, Turkey, Arabia and Persia. The diagrams he uses to illustrate his theme are somewhat crudely drawn, but significant.

As the book was published in Germany in 1927 the events recorded are not wholly up to date. Ibn Saud in Arabia has lost some of his prestige and power; Egyptian nationalism has passed through a second crisis, and the chapter on India already requires revision. Nevertheless, the book is of great and permanent value.

There are a number of misprints of Arabic names and Islamic phrases due to double transliteration. For example, "*Idshma*" for *Ijmaa*, and "*Junji Saidan*" for *Gergis Zaidan*, etc. Z.

Agricultural Afghanistan. By Prof. N. I. Vavilov and D. D. Bukinich. Institute of Applied Botany, 1929. Leningrad. pp. 610 and 75.

This book is written in Russian but contains an extended English summary. English titles and brief explanations are also given for the tables, maps and the 318 photographs. The work is based upon the data and materials obtained as the result of two expeditions (1924 and 1926-27) of the Institute of Applied Botany (Leningrad) to Afghanistan.

The opening chapters deal with the physical aspects of the country, the people, the types of agriculture both nomadic and sedentary, irrigation, and the methods of cultivation. But the greater part of the work consists of descriptions and classifications of the cultivated plants. Some of the most important plants of the world were found, both wild and domesticated; and the exceptional diversity of forms and characters of wheat, rye, beans, peas, melons, and carrots, to mention only a few of the cultivated plants, indicates the "exceptionally important rôle played by Afghanistan and the adjacent regions in the genesis of a series of crop plants."

The final chapter deals with the prospects of economical relations between Afghanistan and Russia. It is pointed out that northern Afghanistan is not only much richer in agricultural resources but is also much more accessible to commerce than is the mountainous and semi-arid southern portion. The conclusion is drawn that "only through the development of the natural productive resources of this rich region, under the stimulus of trade with U. S. S. R., the economic development of Afghanistan becomes possible." M. C. Mc FEETERS.

Jérusalem musulmane d'après Max Van Berchem. By Gaston Migeon. Paul Geuthner, Paris.

This is a reprint from the *Revue Syria*, 1928, and consists of an appreciative criticism of the labors of Max Van Berchem (1892-1921). As his work was largely an epigraphic study of the monuments, this paper deals with the Sakhra, the Haram al Sharif, etc., the mosaics and inscriptions.

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Deals critically with the Egyptian modernist writers. The third chapter of a continued piece of work.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IDEAS AND IDEALS OF MODERN ISLAM. D. S. Margoliouth. (In *The Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1930. pp. 55-68.)

Examines the various Moslem countries for their attitude of mind, especially towards Christians, as seen through recent publications, both Christian and Mohammedan.

THE MOHAMMEDANS OF CHINA. Isaac Mason. (In the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Shanghai. Vol. LX., 1929. pp. 42-78.)

A critical examination of traditions and historical records dealing with the questions of when and how the Moslems first came to the land.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PINE-CONE DECORATIONS OF THE IMAM-ZADEHS OF KHUZISTAN. J. M. Unvala. (In *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, London. Vol. V., pt. III., 1929. pp. 587-590.)

Traces this decoration directly to the *nefeshes* of the Nabataeans, and considers it due to the Jewish influence which was preponderant in Khuzistan up to the twelfth century, A.D.

PERSIAN SUIFISM. (In *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, London. Vol. V., pt. III., 1929. pp. 475-488.)

A translation of the preface to the late Professor Zhukovsky's edition of the Persian text of Hujwiri's *Kashf al-Mahjüb*, published posthumously in Leningrad in 1926.

IV. KORAN—TRADITIONS—THEOLOGY.

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ISLAM AND OURSELVES. Arnold J. Toynbee. (In *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston. January, 1930. pp. 114-121.)

A rapid survey of the Near East countries, showing their absorbing passion for independence, and their adoption of everything Western, not because they like it, but because they realize that it is necessary unless they are to go under.

TURKEY IN TRANSITION. Kirby Page. (In *The World Tomorrow*, New York. December, 1929. pp. 498-501.)

After a glance at the tremendous reforms which have been crowded into the last decade, note is made of some of the perils yet to be overcome, resulting from a military dictatorship, a dearth of stern moral fibre, and an excessive spirit of nationalism.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN EGYPT. Daisy Griggs Philips. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December, 1929. pp. 908-914.)

Describes some of the traditions and customs which have a hold on Egypt, and indicates how the more enlightened women are themselves leading in the reform movement.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE ARAB STATEMENT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE. Jemal Bey Hussein. (In *The Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1930. pp. 93-97.)

An excellently clear, concise, topical summary.

ARABS AND JEWS IN PALESTINE. Henry W. Nevins. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1930. pp. 225-236.)

An ardent espousal of the cause of the Jews as over against that of the Arabs, an indignant protest against the recent massacres, and a firm conviction of the necessity for all parties concerned for Great Britain to remain in the country as a mandatory power.

CONFLICT IN PALESTINE. Kirby Page. (In *The Fortnightly Review*, London. December, 1929. pp. 733-739.)

A presentation of both sides in the present deadlock (of which the recent massacres are but surface incidents), with a glance at a possible way out from a highly dangerous situation.

THE IRAQ-NAJD FRONTIER. (In *The Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1930. pp. 77-92.)

An unsigned article describing briefly the ground and its inhabitants, the Iraq-Najd relations of the past few years, with the various causes of the troubles, and the situation as it stands at present.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT UNDER THE PALESTINE MANDATE. Chaim Weizmann. (In *The Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1930. pp. 23-42.)

A sketch of Zionism up to the establishment of the mandate, with a description of the work accomplished since then, and an outline of plans for the future.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

THE CRITICISM OF RELIGION IN ISLAM. Lootfy Levonian. (In the *International Review of Missions*, London. January, 1930. pp. 87-97.)

A discussion of the new outlook in the religious thinking of the Moslem peoples, their fundamental questioning of religion *per se*, the inevitable slant given to their thinking by generations of the Islamic impress upon their souls, and the problem presented to Christian missions by this new attitude of mind.

THE CROSS IN ARABIA. Olive Wyon. (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1930. pp. 63-76.)

After a brief history of Christian work in Arabia from the earliest times, indicates the present situation, the inherent difficulties, and the general temper of the people.

THE KURDS OF KHORASAN. Dwight M. Donaldson. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*. New York. December, 1929. pp. 929-937.)

An excellent brief history of the relations between the Turkomans and the Persians, and an indication of the strategic position of Kuchan for the spread of the Gospel in Central Asia.

LANDS WHERE WOMEN AND GOD ARE VEILED. Charles R. Watson. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. February, 1930. pp. 107-111.)

A glimpse of what is veiled in the Moslem woman's life, of how God is only seen through a glass, darkly, and of how, now slowly, now rapidly, the veils are being lifted.

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