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OUR PLANS FOR THE QUARTERLY

In the leading article of the July 1947 issue of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* Dr. S. M. Zwemer published what he thought of as, but which we hope is not, his valedictory message to the readers of the Quarterly he founded and edited so long and so devotedly. Dr. Zwemer described the difficulties met and overcome in the publishing of the magazine and ascribed its success largely to the faithfulness of the secretaries who served at its home office. He attributed the value of the Quarterly to the many leading scholars and missionaries who wrote for it. He restated the principles and aims that impelled and guided his own labor of love and expressed his hope and prayer for the future service of *THE MUSLIM WORLD* with its new name and without his personal direction.

It is perhaps not entirely pointless to say that the present editor is not another Zwemer, nor an Elisha to his Elijah. But the aims and message of *THE MUSLIM WORLD* are those of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*. Our first suggestion to new subscribers, including libraries that wish to serve the increasing interests, in America and elsewhere, in the Muslim Orient, is to secure as many separate issues of the back numbers of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* as may be available. Those back numbers are not "back numbers" in the colloquial use of the term. As Dr. Zwemer mentioned, nearly all the great Islamic scholars and missionaries to Muslims of the past forty years published articles in *THE MOSLEM WORLD* on their own special subjects and fields. What they wrote has permanent value. It would be well worth while for any student of Islam to collect the articles of the former and present-day teachers of Islamics that have appeared in the

earlier and current volumes of the Quarterly. There is practically no subject of Muslim interest, and only one country with a sizeable Muslim population, about which THE MOSLEM WORLD has not published useful information. Practically all the important books on Islam published in English, French and German, as well as some works in other languages, have been reviewed or noted in the Quarterly. The editors have endeavored to secure scholars whose reviews of new publications would be contributions to the subjects.

Professor H. A. R. Gibb has paid a notable tribute to the service of our Quarterly in the Foreword of his *Modern Trends in Islam* (University of Chicago Press, 1947; reviewed in our July issue, pp. 232 f). He says, ". . . the present religious attitudes and movements of the Muslim peoples is the least-studied and most treacherous field of all" subjects connected with Islam. He states, ". . . never before has the Muslim world been in such close contact with the Western nations and . . . never a year passes without the publication of several books, both in Europe and in America, dealing with one or other of the Muslim countries and peoples. To the Western student of the specifically religious aspects of modern Islamic culture, however, most of them offer little satisfaction. The fullest documentation is to be found in the quarterly issues of the *Moslem World* since 1910."

Yes, the previous numbers of the Quarterly are still useful. It is not surprising that libraries and individuals here and abroad continue to order specific issues, "runs" and "all available numbers." Subscribers having former volumes no longer needed by them may render mutually beneficial service by communicating with our business office.

For its value in the coming year and years, the Quarterly does not intend to depend upon its worth and repute in the past. The present and the future also demand our devotion. Indeed, our major concern for what is past will be to preserve and improve its lessons for people now and later. We expect each new issue to provide information important for our various types of readers. Islamdom, like

Christendom, is a comprehensive term. It includes a distinctive culture pervading the many departments of human activity and interest. Teachers of the history, philosophy and psychology of religion, as well as missionaries concerned with the practical values and the personal implications of different systems of religion, students of cultural interchange and the trends of racial movements, government officials, social workers and evangelists, in fact, all who are or should be interested in the thought and activity, the literature and life of the nations and individuals of the past and present of Islam should find this Quarterly indispensable.

In the coming five or six volumes we plan to continue what Dr. Zwemer has called "our university extension course in Islamics," presenting the subjects that professors currently teach in their undergraduate lectures and their advanced seminar courses. We expect to publish research studies in special aspects of Islam not adequately understood as yet. First class articles presenting first hand investigations and experiences of missionaries and others living in contact with Muslim people will be published. There is a program of post-war surveys of the major Islamic countries. There will be translations of important Arabic and other works by Muslim leaders of the present and the past. Some articles will be presentations, forum-fashion, of problems and topics about which there are varying views in scholarly and missionary circles. Subjects about which Muslims and Christians have different convictions will be discussed in the most friendly manner, tone and spirit, and with the best of goodwill. It is intended that, with complete sincerity and honesty, nothing inaccurate, unfair or ill-mannered shall ever appear in the Quarterly.

There will be, *in shā' Allah*, an editorial series of Christian Messages to Muslims. It is hoped that these may be translated later into Arabic and other Eastern languages. Another series will be addressed to missionaries to Muslims. As before, the Book Review and Survey of Periodicals departments will be bibliographies, not exhaustive but nevertheless adequate, of the new important books and articles

on Islam. The Current Topics will be continued. In short the Quarterly is planned to be what it has been, with whatever benefit there may be in planning ahead for the cooperative production of desired material.

The readers of our magazine are people with a special interest in Islam. So writers with special knowledge of some particular subject or area of Islam are invited to share their information with readers who will appreciate it most. Former contributors to THE MOSLEM WORLD will find that their articles are still cordially welcomed. Authors new to our pages will find, we hope, that THE MUSLIM WORLD will give great and lasting influence to their contributions.

In this last issue of the Quarterly under its present name we express our hope and prayer that, with the blessing of our One Lord and Saviour and with the active participation of the Associate Editors and the newly enlisted Advisory and Corresponding Editors, (and Dr. Zwemer himself, we hope, for many years,) the succeeding volumes of THE MUSLIM WORLD will attain to the excellence, the circulation and the influence for good of THE MOSLEM WORLD at its best.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Hartford, Conn.

A METHOD OF PRESENTING JESUS CHRIST TO MOSLEMS

How can I best present my Saviour to my Moslem brothers and sisters? This has been the question every missionary must have asked from the earliest days of missionary work. Many methods have been tried with the utmost devotion. Yet we still must all confess with heartfelt regret that the results so far have been very meagre. In spite of all the missionary work of the Christian churches, yet proportionately how little, Islam still exerts its influence over three hundred million people created in God's image, Who will-eth that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, Who is the express Image of God, the only Way to the Father.

We can all put our finger on various reasons hindering and discouraging Moslems from confessing Christ as their Saviour and many of us are sure that many who have been buried in Moslem graves died with the love of Christ in their hearts, as well as we know that there are many living today among us outwardly as Moslems who are only waiting to profess openly their faith in Jesus as their Saviour and Lord. Apart from the natural fear of persecution, ostracism, disinheritance and the like, there is another reason discouraging them. The Churches, Eastern and Western, are not showing any desire, in the main, that Moslems should be won and weaned from the power of Satan into fellowship with the one true God. In fact, in some quarters efforts are made to prevent converts from being drawn into the fold of the Good Shepherd and even in well-intentioned Churches few are the workers in Moslem lands doing pioneer medical and educational work. Still fewer are the pastors and evangelists, both men and women, available and offering as recruits ready to bring promising enquirers into full fellowship with us. One missionary society has announced that there can be no recruits for the next two years and meanwhile the harvest is languishing for want of workers. Work among pagans seems to offer more inducements and mass

movement areas make a strong appeal. They all certainly need their reinforcements, but in modern warfare does not the successful general put his best troops and strongest battalions in the stiffest part of the line?

Apart from the futility of much in Moslem apologetics and the fact that Arabic is considered a difficult language, although for a person of average intelligence the main difficulties are soon overcome, when we have a love for the people who speak it and a spice of determination, there is a way that leads us to their hearts, the way of pity stimulated by love for them and love for our Lord, that they should not know who He is and what He has done for them and His great provision in the Holy Spirit enabling them to understand and to accept the great facts of Christian revelation and truth. Then as a great complementary motive in our love for our Lord, we should share His concern that what He has done for them shall be faithfully revealed to them by us His servants.

Our concern that the three great foundation truths of the Christian Faith are denied to the Moslem comes as a great stimulus. How can we remain silent to Moslem youth to-day when he is taught that Jesus is not God, that He was not crucified and that Mohamed, not the Holy Spirit, came after Him? He is entitled to know these facts as facts, not as theories, whatever use he makes of them ultimately.

I have not found that the method I feel God has led me to use during the past four or five years has aroused antagonism; on the contrary it has aroused considerable interest and I believe it is producing fruit "unto life eternal."

In view of the fact that Islam was founded largely as a result of ignorance of the Christian scriptures and continues in the same ignorance, we lay it down as an essential that all contacts and conversations shall be based on a Bible, a New Testament or at least a Gospel Portion being in our hands and if possible in the hand of the Moslem brothers or sisters, if they can read, and the end of the conversation should result in their buying or receiving as a gift one or other. The Bible Society portions are useful, in fact, essen-

tial for this. A missionary's car should always contain a good supply. There should also be some in every department of our hospitals, waiting room, consulting room, wards, X-Ray department, as well as a supply in every Christian Worker's house. Our own words, however true, however clever they may be, are of little avail in comparison with the written word in the Moslem's hand and the Holy Spirit's guidance being sought when he reads it at home, followed by the prayers of the worker.

The following is an account of the type of conversation that has been repeated many times:

Good afternoon. Welcome. etc. What is your name?

Ahmad.

You are a Moslem, then?

Yes, praise God.

(With the utmost tenderness) Why are you a Moslem? Why do you say, Praise God?

Oh! (with surprise) Do you want me to be a Christian?

Well, you would be if you were wise and knew what is in this Book (offering a Gospel Portion).

But we are all the same, and all religions come from God.

Yes, in one respect we are all the same. We are all sinners. Otherwise there is a great difference between us.

What is the difference?

A great difference. You are trying to save yourself by your works, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, saying, 'There is no god but God and Mohamed is his apostle' and going on pilgrimage to Mecca. I am trusting for my salvation from my sins by accepting what Jesus did for me when He died on the cross. You do not even believe that He died at all.

No, we honour Him too much to think that He died. God put someone else in His place. If you had a son would you allow him to suffer if you could prevent it?

Do you know that Islam really dishonours Jesus very much?

It does not.

My brother, if I were you, I should not say, 'It does not,'

like that. I should have said, 'I do not agree with you. But please tell me how you think that we do not honour Jesus.'

I beg your pardon. Please tell me.

Do you know that Islam denies every thing important about Jesus and the three chief foundational features of the Christian Religion?

Do we? How?

You do indeed, and it is a shame that you should not have known about them a long time ago.

Well, what are these things?

First of all, let me mention them all together and then we can go into the evidence proving their truth one by one, Are you ready?

Yes. Please go on.

The three things you deny are, first, that Jesus is God. You only allow that He is a spirit from God. Next you say that Jesus was not crucified. You have it in your Qur'an, 'They did not kill Him, they did not crucify Him. It was someone like Him.' Thirdly, you say that Jesus prophesied that Mohamed would come after Him: 'And there will come after Me one named Ahmed,' when He really promised that God would come in the third great way of His self-revelation, in the Holy Spirit.

What proof have you of all these things? Please tell me.

First of all I shall not attempt to persuade you that Jesus is God, and I do not now expect you to agree with me. Only the Holy Spirit can convince you, and you may ask Him with confidence to show you all in good time. But something has to happen to you first. Jesus said that 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God' and 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.'

Nice and charming as you are, you are an unforgiven sinner. Your sins are still on you because you have not accepted for yourself that Jesus died for you.

No. I tell you that our books says that He did not die. Do you not believe that our book is from God?

You believe that the Injeel—Gospel—is from God, do you not?

Oh yes, it is one of the heavenly books.

How can both the Injeel and the Qur'an be from God? Did God change His mind between the two books and say in the first that Jesus died and in the second that He did not? Do you know that the verse in the Qur'an was what the Nestorian monk Buhaira told poor Mohamed when he was searching for light? He believed it, when all the time it was a Gnostic heresy of the second century and it is perhaps the biggest lie that was ever let loose on the simple folk of those days and these.

Was Mohamed a liar then?

A man is not a liar when he believes what he is saying is true. But the people who propagate the heresy to-day are the liars. But they have not the courage to acknowledge the historical truth of the crucifixion. They know they would lose their positions as sheikhs if they did.

Excuse me. (Here in play, with my friend's permission, I may give him a smack, perhaps even on the face. It helps to lighten the atmosphere and is a useful illustration. If he is some one with whom I could not take such a liberty, I may tap him on the knee, or if I have performed a surgical operation on him it is a better illustration still.)

You will forgive me, won't you?

Of course. I know you did not wish to hurt me. If you had, I would have hit you back.

Yes, and according to your religion you should have repaid me threefold and where does that sort of thing lead us?

To the hospital and then the Law Courts.

Now, if any one were to deny that I hit you, what would you say?

I would say that he was a liar. I shall never forget your smack all my life.

Well, do you know that it is as true to say that Jesus was crucified as it is to say that I have hit you. Both are historical facts and all the prophets in the world cannot change either. Again: You consider Jesus was a prophet, do you not?

Certainly.

Well, if you look here in Matthew, Mark or Luke you will find they record at least four times when Jesus warned his disciples that He must go to Jerusalem and die. In John He refers at least twenty two times to his death.¹ If He did not die and deceived the Jews by slipping in some one else (some say, Judas Iscariot), what would He have been?

Of course He would have been a liar. (Usually a very grudging admission.)

And if God planned all this, what then? We should have to call Him a deceiver. How terrible that would be!

Far be the evil!

Yes, but your religion leads us to that inevitable conclusion. Can that be from God? Is that honouring Him or Jesus?

You are right. It does not. But tell me why did He die, when He could have saved Himself?

If you fell down a well and were badly hurt, good advice would not help you to get out, would it? Someone must get down to you and lift you out, perhaps at great risk to himself. All mankind has fallen into the pit of sin and is under God's death sentence. Only a sinless Saviour can help by coming down right to the lowest level man has reached and taking our sins upon Himself. The Cross was the death of the worst criminals and Jesus chose that death willingly and defeated it by rising again three days after, that we may all live again in fellowship with God. Will you accept his work for yourself now before we part?

I must think about it. But I wish to know what proof you have that Jesus is God?

How do you know that I am a doctor? Can I expect people to believe that I am a doctor when I so often wear a shirt and shorts, as I am doing now? Should not a doctor always wear a proper suit with collar and tie?

¹ Matthew 16:21; 17:12, 22; 20:17; 20:2.

Mark 8:31; 9:12, 31; 10:33; 14:27, 28. N.B. These references are especially easy to find, being in consecutive chapters.

Luke 9:22, 31, 44; 17:25; 18:32; 22:15, 37.

John 1:29 (the Baptist's prophecy); 3:14-17; 6:51; 8:28; 10:15-18; 12:32.

That does not matter. We all know you are a doctor by the work you do. I know because you operated on me and I got better.

Exactly. So we can believe and understand that Jesus is God not only because He said He was, but also by all the wonderful things He did, in His teaching, His wonderful cures and most wonderful of all after raising the dead to life He rose Himself from the dead. All through the Gospel as we read it, we feel 'that is God working,' yes, 'He is God,' and we know Him still more when we admit Him into our hearts and experience what He does with us, making all things new. Let us read together 2 Cor. 5:19 for St. Paul's opinion. There was a time when he fought tooth and nail against the idea that Jesus was Emmanuel, God with us. Now he tells us that God was IN CHRIST, in the form of a man, reconciling the world unto Himself. It is His work for us that matters, not perplexing theories. Yet this one is true and works gloriously.

What was the third point you mentioned?

You may well ask. The Divinity of Jesus, His being called the Son of God and His crucifixion are so strange to the human mind that it is not surprising that they are difficult to understand and not surprising that Mohamed and countless others with their limited knowledge have refused to accept them. All down the ages people and even sections of the Christian church have been and still are ignorant of God's love and wisdom in His great provision of the means whereby we can understand these things and live the life He has planned for the world in the faith and beauty of the Christian religion. Yes, He has planned that there should be one flock and one Shepherd, one religion and One Saviour from sin, the Lord Jesus Christ. So, for the co-ordination and assimilation of these things in our hearts and minds, He planned to come to us in a third way. He came first as Creator, then as Saviour, and lastly, ten days after Christ ascended back to Heaven, He came in the form of the Holy Spirit, as we can read in Acts 2.

But we have it in our Qur'an that Jesus said Mohamed

was to come. Is that not true? No? Who did Jesus say would come?

We must take the Gospel of St. John to find out about that, but Matthew tells us (24:24) something, I am afraid you will not like, but you want to know the truth whatever it costs, I am sure. Here it is. False Christs, false prophets, deceivers. St. Luke tells us He said (16:16) (N.B. Both easy references to remember and find. We must not keep our pupils waiting while we find our clues. Half a minute at most should suffice). No prophet from God after John the Baptist. The King came then and planned a complete universal organization through the Christian Church under the control of this Holy Spirit.

Now let us go to St. John to find what Jesus actually said. He gives us five sayings all written close together, spoken during the evening before He gave Himself up to be crucified, in order to cheer His friends who naturally were very down-hearted. Here they are: Chap. 14:16 and 26; 15:26; 16:7 and 13. Each verse shows the different sorts of work He was to do. The word He is mostly called in Greek, *Paraclete*, is a very comprehensive one and is only partially translated as Comforter both in English and Arabic. In 16:8 we see that He is the Discomforter and I have no doubt that you will feel most uncomfortable when He shows you your sinful state in the sight of God. Perhaps you are feeling uncomfortable now. But look on; Jesus promises that He will guide you into all the truth (v. 13) and the truth shall make you free. Look too at 7:39 and Acts 1:4 and 9.

Actually there is some justification, or at least explanation for the verse in the Qur'an, as there is a word in Greek which a mischievous person some time or other must have used. The word is *periclute*. If we write the two words side by side, first in the Greek letters and then in Arabic, they appear to have many points in common, especially if we do not use the Arabic vowels. *Paraclete* takes *fatha*, *fatha*, *yā* for its vowels, while *periclute* takes *kasra*, *kasra*, *wōw* for its vowels. These, you will agree, make all the difference. But

when we come to the original meanings of these words we shall see what a great difference there is between them.

Paraclete is the one who is beside you and talks, the coach in a race, the officer in the army, the schoolmaster who sits beside you at your desk to correct your work and to help you with your difficulty so that you can do better.

Periclute is the one about whom people speak, the famous one, the *mashhur*, the praised one, *el mahmud*, *el muhammad*, the most praised one *el ahmad*. He may be alive or dead. We can think of many examples from history. Mohamed your prophet is certainly one. He is very famous for many things. His memory is a strong uniting force among Arabs. But no one can say that he helps people with their moral difficulties and temptations even from his recorded utterances in the Qur'an. He is dead and it is recorded that he died confessing his sins. On the other hand the Holy Spirit is constantly with us as Jesus promised (John 14:15) and as we Christians know from our own personal experience.

Now please do think that I am trying to point out to you where Islam has attacked the Christian religion at its foundations. If Islam is right about these points, there is nothing left in Christianity more than some delightful stories and a system of moral teaching which no one living can carry out, and we are all left under the condemnation of God.

We can take a simple illustration from the human body. We stand on our two legs. What is happening when we stand? We are using our bones, our muscles, our joints, our arteries and veins and our nerves. What else? Our brains. What if I were to cut off one leg? I should have to limp on the other. What if I cut the other off? I could not walk at all. What if I cut my head off? I would die of course. And then I would be of no use to anybody.

Do you realize that that is exactly what Islam does to Christianity?

Its two legs on which it stands are the Divinity of Christ and the Death of Christ. Instead of His being the Living

God, you make Him a spirit from God, like putting a wooden leg instead of a good living part of the body. His death you say was a sham and a deceit. So you put a sham contraption, a device of man instead of the other good leg. To crown all, instead of having the Holy Spirit to guide and control every member of this body, you put Mohamed, like one who chops off a perfectly good head and puts instead a large doll's head full of sawdust, leaving a poor specimen fit only for a museum, without any life.

I hope I have succeeded at least partly in showing you from this New Testament how true and valuable, yes, and how indispensable these three points are for us all.

Thank you very much. Things are very different from what we have been taught in school. We are told that your scriptures have been tampered with, that they are not the true Gospel and that we should not believe them. What do you say to that?

I could say a great deal to show that any one who teaches that is an ignorant and malicious fool, who ought to be ashamed of himself. They only tell you that so as to discourage you from finding your true heritage in the Christian faith. It is a very serious matter and, like every difficulty that occurs to you, I hope you will tell me about it and I shall be only too pleased to do my best to explain it to you. Please be sure to tell me, however trivial it may seem. But just a few points in answer to this old bug-bear. There was no doubt expressed until the days of the Crusaders. We all now admit that the crusades were a discredit to the Christian Church and due to a mistaken sense of devotion. Undoubtedly some of the crusaders were devout Christians like some of the soldiers you have in this country lately. These men did their best to make friends with the Moslems near their castles and encampments and told them about Jesus. The result was that a number of Moslems wanted to accept the Christian faith, as I hope you will when you know more. One of the ways the Moslem leaders dealt with the matter was to discourage the people from reading the Bible by telling them that it had been tampered with. So

generation after generation has been told this without shame. Mohamed gave his testimony to the scriptures and this Book you have in your hand is a very careful translation from the best manuscripts we have which existed three hundred years before your prophet. If you could find older and better ones, you would become famous in a day. If any one had tampered with them he would certainly have removed a verse like Romans 3:23 which says, 'All have sinned and come short of the glory of God,' with many others like it. The whole idea is merely one of the devil's dodges to keep you in ignorance of this wonderful Book and its wonderful and glorious message, how you can get victory over sin and deliverance from his clutches.

I do feel that is a shame that these things should have been kept from you and your people all these years. You have been deprived of your rights. You are *mozlum*.

Now will you accept this Book from me and take it home and read it carefully, looking for more evidence of the two great facts about Jesus. Do not attempt to understand it in your own strength, however clever you may be. Only the Holy Spirit can make things clear to you. Ask Him every time you read to teach you. The promise is clear in Luke 11:13, 'Your heavenly Father shall give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him.'

God bless you. Goodbye. Come again soon.

A. R. HARGREAVES

Gaza, Palestine

EVANGELISM AMONG WOMEN AND GIRLS IN URBAN ALGERIA

The work of evangelism among women and girls in the city of Constantine has completely changed since I first arrived to begin my work in October 1922. During the years we have been adapting our programme to changing conditions, and seeking to render service in the ways most urgently needed by the people.

I found my senior in the midst of a most flourishing work. She had a large class once a week for women who loved to meet together to sing hymns and to hear the Gospel story she would tell so graphically, using a picture when possible to help them visualize better the story. Even this was difficult and became part of their education as they were not used to pictures and could see absolutely nothing in them! After the class they talked about their troubles over a cup of coffee and the missionary looked for opportunities to serve them in Christ's name, and try to make their unhappy lot a little easier to bear. It was a joy to me to sit in their midst, listening to the Arabic and airing the few words I had picked up during the week! How they laughed at my mistakes and teased me for years after about them! Those were happy days.

The children too came to classes where they learned to sew and make garments for themselves. The older girls enjoyed their class because it was their only amusement, even though they came carrying heavy babies on their backs. As with the women, all hymns and Scripture passages had to be learned by repetition as not one of them could read. All lessons were in Arabic as they spoke no other language and the question was not raised in anyone's mind.

Many of the children in our classes went to the Government school for Arab girls and were supposed to learn all that is given in primary education. They were not interested in knowing how to read so they closed their minds during those classes and opened them again when sewing, knitting, crocheting, weaving, and carpet-making came

along. Some learned to sing, with more noise than music, the French action songs, marches, and patriotic songs they were taught but with no knowledge of what they were singing, and no desire for knowledge. They went to school mostly because they were given new garments on the fête days, and sometimes if their mothers were widows, a small subsidy was given to them to help them. Only thus could France prevail upon a few to accept the privilege of going to school and receiving this very elementary education. The public schools right through normal school were open to them free if they wanted to accept; the lycées and the University would have been glad to have them. The very few girls whose fathers were strong enough to brave public opinion and send them to the lycée, did not find much happiness, for after their graduation they were secluded with all the other women and not permitted to use the education they had obtained. The only books their husbands brought to them were current novels which only added to their disgust and disillusionment. There just was no opening for girls anywhere twenty years ago.

As we neared 1930 changes began to be felt. A terrible depression had fallen on France and was falling on other countries. Misery and hunger began to be felt as the men began to lose their work and could find no other. Then some of the women began to go out to work in French families, doing housework and laundry. Until this time it was considered very degrading to work in homes. The scene began to change very rapidly, however, for the women were finding many benefits. The women who had never had enough to eat, and lived in constant dread of being superseded in the home and sent away, found suddenly that they were now bringing in the money, and left-overs of food from the tables of their "patrons," and husbands were very thankful to have a good meal in the evening. The women found they had money to spend on things every woman longs for, without having to spend hours doing embroidery or lace-work to earn a few sous. A new independence made itself felt in the women. When they were widowed or di-

vorced they no longer had to distribute their children amongst friends and relatives and submit themselves to another arranged marriage. They could work, and raise their own children. In the French homes they began to pick up some French speech and began to understand enough to learn many things from these wise women! Their eyes were opened to many possibilities.

They began to realize that if only they could read they would be much more valuable, for often ladies who worked in offices, and were gone before their maids arrived, left written messages for them. These had to be taken to the butcher or the grocer or perhaps some kind person in the shop if it was full. This was not very acceptable. Also if several recommendations had been given, the woman often forgot the most important, and trouble ensued. Little girls were therefore told that they must learn to read as quickly as possible so that they could have good places and earn good wages. The long uncomfortable dresses of the little girls began creeping up. The women began to learn from their employers the possibility of leaving their babies in day nurseries under supervision, where they were well fed and were given necessary clothing. They learned about the pre-natal clinics with all their advantages, and found that even French people went to the hospital and that they were not chopped up and made into medicine as they had learned from their old women.

I wish I could say that the same revolution came in the better class homes. Propriety forbade these women to leave their homes, and, to eke out their dwindling resources they began to sell their trousseaux, and to seek more than ever to do embroidery to sell. I began to help my senior in the task she had had for many years; tracing beautiful designs on materials and taking the work with the necessary silver thread and the needle to the homes of these women who so needed help. When we returned to get the embroidery which we hoped to sell to tourists or in our home-lands we paid them for their work and left another piece.

The women who were working in French homes were

seeing the great possibilities of the sewing machine. Only the well-to-do ladies had had sewing machines, but now these working women began saving their money to buy second-hand machines! They made their own clothes, and gradually began to sew for friends, until a new way of earning money came into many homes. Soon they were being given lots of garments by the merchants who sold ready-made garments of all kinds. Before long we could not prevail upon our friends to do embroidery! Why sit for hours and hours over an embroidery frame, getting aching shoulders and aching eyes, when you could run things up quickly on a sewing machine and earn more money more quickly?

The early thirties brought us a great deal more social work as the women began to realize all the advantages which were available. The babies born after their mothers had been cared for in the government pre-natal clinic, and who were closely supervised after their birth led the way to healthier babies, and other mothers who could not go to the public places came to us seeking advice. We took them to whichever type of dispensary they needed, thereby offering them our protection and ensuring good treatment at the hands of the door-keeper!

Our classes dwindled to nothing during this period because the women were employed until two or three in the afternoon and then had to return home to prepare dinner for their families. Our only chance to "evangelize" was in personal touch with each woman according to her need as she came to us. It is our hope that the service offered in love will open their hearts and understanding to the few words we were able to give them, and help them to realize the wonderful love of God as manifested in Jesus Christ our Savior.

These active days of getting the women used to going to milk stations and dispensaries brought yet another field of service. In order to be admitted and have any care it was necessary to have a birth certificate! Such a thing had never been demanded of them and many had not the remotest idea how to set about procuring one. How I marvelled at

the patience of my colleague as she sat quietly with them and tried to draw out the necessary information! Fear and suspicion were so deeply ingrained in them that it seemed impossible for them to give any accurate information. She would follow a false lead and then have to return to the woman's home to ask her to begin again. Many knew the given name of their parents but had forgotten family names, or got them mixed up. None had any real idea as to their age. Some knew in a general way where their families belonged but were hazy about names, about far away hamlets, fearing probably to expose them to something unknown! When the information was obtained letters were written to the administrators of the communes where they should be registered, and in a few rare cases this gentleman would reply by sending the birth certificate required. In most cases however, the answer came that she was not registered.

If we were sure that the woman had really given us the best information she had we next went out to the commune if it were in any way attainable. There we stated our case and usually we were graciously permitted to help the clerk look through ledgers to find any family affiliation which would help us. Sometimes we were rewarded by finding what we sought, and went home triumphant with the certificate of birth. In other cases we procured marriage certificates of the parents, or their death certificates, in order to have something to work on. Then with several witnesses and this information the French authorities could make her out a legal paper to serve as birth certificate. Much time was spent, but it was spent for Christ and we believe it will bring fruit. Contacts were made which we should not have had otherwise, and we were able to come nearer to the woman and have more of her trust and confidence.

We have had no mass meetings; it is difficult to find an opportunity to speak of Christ in the homes, for inquisitive neighbors always intrude; but we know that the spirit of Christ has been felt and recognized. Perhaps the future will hold the possibility of more widespread evangelism.

Great changes came in our work with the children also. For years they were satisfied to come and pass a quiet afternoon sewing and listening to Gospel stories and singing. The advent of the sewing machine, however, made changes here too! They did not see why they should sit week after week sewing long seams on chemises when they could take them home, sew them on the machine in less than an hour and wear the new chemise the next day! Neither did we, so we began to teach them knitting instead. They soon learned to make sweaters for themselves and then socks and baby clothes.

In 1935 some of them were enjoying their class so much that they invited some of their little Jewish friends to come with them. One day when there were about ten little Jewesses in the midst one of them said, "Don't you ever sing the songs in French? It would be so much easier." The following week we were able to procure a dozen French hymn books for children and sang in French the songs we had been singing in Arabic. Then we sang them in Arabic. Then they asked for the favorite one, "Tell me the Old, Old Story," in French just once more. This time we noticed the Arab children looking over the books of the Jewish children and singing with them. Most of them could read French! Another advance! Very soon after, we put the Jewish children into a separate class as we could teach them so much more readily and give them more to do. But our Arabic class remained bi-lingual. Some hymns were in French and some in Arabic; some memory verses were in one and some in the other; the lesson was in Arabic. They found from their neighbors that the Jewish children were doing hand work and keeping note books. Could they do the same? Why certainly they could! And they did!

In 1941 organization of authorized youth groups was stressed by the government. For years the children in the Home had been Cadettes, this being the junior organization of the French branch of the Y.W.C.A., a very spiritual group. The Jewish children wanted to be in the parades which were being organized so they too were formed into

a circle and adopted the national Cadette uniform. One day as we were returning from a hike we met some of the Muslim class who stood and stared after us. Half an hour later they were at the house. Who were those girls with me? What was the uniform? Was it like the boy scouts? Could *they* be Cadettes? I said I did not think so, as being Muslim girls they could not be in parades in uniform. Well, if their parents accepted, could they? My enthusiasm matched theirs but I dared not let them see it. No, I said, I did not think it would be possible. We could follow the programme, but no uniforms, no parades, and they must not count on going to any camps in the summer, for I was quite sure their parents would never permit it. Something had evidently been happening in the families too during the years, for next day they came to class resolved to be Cadettes. I did not believe them when they said their parents were willing but visits to their homes showed that it was true. And so began a new day of active participation in an organized group. The following summer a number were permitted to come away to camp with us and we spent three happy weeks in the forest studying the Gospel of Mark as well as engaging in all the usual activities. We thanked God for a new day when apathy had given way to enthusiasm and when the children really wanted to learn, and to try to put into practice the things we were teaching. Alas! in the spring of 1943 the death of the missionary in charge of the Home for girls made it necessary for me to close up my work and go to the orphaned children. The following year failing strength made it necessary for my colleague to lay down her work among the women, and the visiting. And so the evangelism came to an end. It can only be taken up again when workers are found who have adequate preparation for the task.

What has been the value of all this work through the years? We have often wondered if we were being drawn into too much activity, and not having enough time for the things of the spirit. But as I look back and see it all in perspective I realize that we were playing a very important

part in bridging the gap of centuries, helping these women to come out of homes where they lived as their ancestors did in the Middle Ages and before, and to adjust themselves to the organized life of a modern community, where social service and an opportunity to work out their own salvation has altered the whole tissue of their lives. The women are still illiterate unfortunately, and have a materialistic philosophy which makes it almost impossible to reach them spiritually. Their only concern is making money, and getting all they can from life. It is a natural reaction from the centuries when they were absolutely dependent and helpless. We must now meet them where they are, and in some way bring to their knowledge and understanding the true values in life.

The rising spirit of nationalism in the country is a strong factor in changes which are coming to pass. All classes, men, women, boys and girls, are very much alert on the question of their "rights." For centuries they have been content to live the quiet, passive life of submission, which is the traditional attitude of the Muslim peoples. As they have met Western peoples and have learned their attitudes, they are becoming aware of the fact that they have missed much in life. They want now to catch up as quickly as possible and be like other people. They want their place in the world. We are greatly needed at this time to help them conserve the best in their culture and yet advance in their ideas sufficiently to benefit by education and understand the laws of health and hygiene so as to promote better standards of health in their society.

We are greatly handicapped in Algeria in having two vastly different civilizations living side by side, one people being subject to the other; and in having two languages, the indigenous and the government language. The only way for the Muslim to prepare himself for life in these modern days is to have a French education. French thus becomes his language, tension enters his life as he tries to adjust his family and himself to both the Muslim culture to which

he belongs and the French culture which he has adopted. He is not happy in either.

To counteract this, Sheikh Ben Badis some years ago opened a school where the children received their education in Arabic, parallel with their education in the French schools. He was doing a splendid piece of work, and was making the children and their families conscious of their own classical background and giving religious studies which could be translated into life. For some of the children whom we knew their religion of Islam was becoming a living force, and their language something of which they should be proud. Unfortunately he did not live to carry out his project, and I do not know if his successors have the same vision and power.

This question of language is a serious one for us to face as we turn our thoughts to re-opening our work. The rational thing in any country is to give the Gospel to the people in their own tongue. However, when the people are quite illiterate in their own language, and have only a very limited vocabulary, centered around their home life, it is hard to know what to do. The words we must use to speak to the children, for example, of spiritual things, are utterly unknown to them. The texts, the hymns, have to be explained to them word by word, and as they have no incentive to learn anyway they usually go away with very little they can remember. If we teach them in French they understand at once and are able to get concrete ideas which remain with them. This we have proved in these last years. And yet when those children go home they are not able to share the texts and hymns with their mothers! Is it better for the children to learn by memory only messages in their own tongue? Or is it better to study and think out the principles of the lesson in the language in which they have their secular education? We were led to combine the two, using memory work they did not understand perhaps, but might quote to their mothers or other women, and other studies in French. Only time will reveal which will give the best results and be the most acceptable to all concerned.

We must in these times be flexible and not stick rigidly to some method because it works in some other field. Having always the well-being and the development of the peoples whom we serve before us let us be willing to follow God's guidance in the circumstances we meet.

This question of language becomes serious as we work toward a National Christian Church. At the beginning all who came to our services spoke Arabic. Our hymns, liturgy and sermon were all in Arabic and the members participated in the service. Today we are confronted by an entirely different situation! The people who come to our Church service are all French-speaking, with a French education! They themselves do not want an Arabic service. Arabic cannot become the language of the National Church because the Berber peoples would not understand. The educated ones amongst them speak and desire French also. And yet, as new missionaries come and evangelistic work is resumed after all these war years of silence due to lack of workers, they will probably bring in people who have no knowledge of French. As far as we can see now after much thought, prayer, and consultation we must have each group meet to worship in their most desired language with French as the government language to be used in meetings where all come together.

The situation in Algeria at the present time offers a subject for serious thought and prayer. Many forces are contesting and only time will show what the new policy of the country is to be. France has always worked toward the assimilation of the various language groups, so that the nation should be unified. The government has striven to retain the arts and culture of the indigenous peoples by having their beautiful embroideries, lace, weaving, carpet making, brass, wood carving, etc., taught in the schools along with the elementary studies necessary to permit them to live in a modern community, and elementary home-making courses.

The religious leaders naturally view with concern the trend away from orthodox Islam as the young people are

growing up with a French education. We are undoubtedly passing through the most vital period in the history of the country, when the questions of loyalties, of languages and cultures, of religious thought and practice, are being changed and moulded by the politicians of various ideas and aims. The missionary, who cannot enter into the political issues involved, will have plenty to do in the coming years helping the people to make adjustments to the new life of freedom, helping them to retain what is best and stabilizing in their own culture, as they accept the new ways of living. It is indeed sad to see the graciousness, the dignity, of the Oriental people being pushed aside by some of the young moderns, in their effort to live according to patterns which they meet in daily life, in novels, in cinemas, but which do not in the least represent what is best in Western culture. Were they to retain their own culture, adding to it what is best in the education they are receiving, they could do much to help a sick world to find stability and assurance. If they are going to accept license for liberty, if they are going to replace their culture and their religious life by the amusements, low standards, and atheism which are only too prevalent everywhere today, they will only add to the confusion. Is it not our task to show them that only as we put God at the centre of our life, whether it be personal, social or national, and only as we put into practice His commandments and teaching, can we be great? The need is great today for missionaries of strong, personal faith in God and His Christ, of strong moral fibre, whose lives can never be made a subject of gossip or scandal, of great loving hearts who see the need of the sin-sick souls all around them and know that they have the only remedy which can bring relief from suffering.

We have perhaps been going too fast and have had to call a halt in order to get things into perspective. We have been bringing up boys and girls in our Homes and asking continually for someone to care for their needs as they leave us to find their place in the world. Now the Homes are closed save the two in Constantine. But the young men

and the young women are there waiting for us! Our work has been curtailed by our misfortunes, but God is calling us to the task of deepening and strengthening what we have.

We are living in strange days when kingdoms are overthrown and new ones arise; when political changes come so quickly that we are not prepared for their consequences. Perhaps God sees in His infinite wisdom that time is short in our part of the world and is pushing us to an urgent task. If the Church is to remain in North Africa this time, it must be a living church, a church of the people. I have accepted as my task for the coming years the training of the women and girls already converted, for their task in building their own church, hoping that one of the men will complement this by definite men's work. We must develop family life, and make the family a factor in the Church. I hope to form study circles into which we can invite some educated women who are not yet Christian, but until I feel that the church is strong enough to stand alone should we ever be obliged to leave it, I do not plan to continue any evangelistic work outside. I feel that the time has come to train our own Nationals to do this precious work and that our task is to train them. With definite preparation in Bible study, in evangelism, in home nurture, they can be used to the salvation of their own people in natural ways, and we can pray with them and for them that the Holy Spirit Himself will turn men's hearts to God.

E. GWENDOLINE NARBETH

Constantine, Algeria

THE "MUSLIM BRETHERN" IN EGYPT

Among the religious-political groups which have made their appearance on the Egyptian scene in the past twenty years the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn (classical: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn) have recently become the center of considerable attention. Their leader (*al-murshid al-‘āmm*), Ḥasan al-Bannā', conceived the idea of founding the organization in Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1347/April-May, 1929 in Ismā'īliyah, where he lived as a schoolteacher.¹ In the early 1930's he transferred his activities to Cairo. After their first twelve years of existence, the Ikhwān claimed to have five hundred branch organizations all over Egypt, as well as centers in the Hijaz, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, India, and Northwest Africa. They also claimed to have extensive connections throughout the Muslim world.² In 1945, they estimated their own "Sympathizers" in Egypt at 500,000.³

The Ikhwān have never attempted to conceal their ideas and aspirations. On the contrary, they have always considered it essential to make the masses acquainted with the purpose of the organization. They publish a weekly magazine, under the title of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, which made its first appearance as a bi-weekly on 17 Sha'ban 1361/29 August 1942. A daily by the same name began to appear on May 5, 1946. In addition, many pamphlets and monographs deal with their program, activities, achievements, and aspirations. All these publications reveal as the main characteristic of the Ikhwān a tendency to be all-inclusive, i.e., to make the organization attractive to as large a number as possible, and a desire to explain and evaluate modern political life from the point of view of popular Islām. Of course, these basic ideas are not new, although their exposition at the hands of the Ikhwān is often sur-

¹ cf. *Qānūn al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn al-‘āmm*, 4th ed., Maṭba 'at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Cairo, 1361/1942, p. 2.

² cf. *Ta 'rif mūjaz bi-maqāṣid al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, Maṭba 'at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Cairo, s.a. (1359/1940) p. 4.

³ *New York Times*.

prisingly original in details. However, the apparent success that the mode of thinking represented by the Ikhwān enjoys in the Muslim Near East would seem to make a closer acquaintance with their aspirations profitable to all those interested in the intellectual and spiritual forces that shape modern Islām. Among their publications,⁴ a pamphlet entitled *Da'watunā (Our Propaganda Aims)* gives an especially clear picture of their groping toward a Muslim interpretation of present-day political life. A short description of its contents is presented in the following pages.

A thorough analysis of the program of the Ikhwān would require a study of more than this one pamphlet. To judge by it alone, it would appear evident that the Ikhwān advocate the reestablishment of Islām, or, to use the redundant western term, "pan-Islām." According to their interpretation of Islām, "Islām" implies universalism. Political Islām is supposed to include nationalism, which in Arabic translation is split into two parts (*waṭanīyah* and *qawmīyah*), but for the Ikhwān the term *nationalism* has lost nearly all its original meaning.

In spite of the universalism of their Islām, the Ikhwān demand that Muslim religious injunctions be scrupulously observed. They insist that this demand implies no contradiction, because those injunctions are the best laws that could be devised for any human being. In spite of their pan-Islamism and internationalism, they consider pan-Arabism permissible. Again, they contend that the insistence on Arab superiority implies no contradiction, inasmuch as nations, like individuals, are different from one another, and the Arabs are known to be the most excellent of nations. The Ikhwān's program, consequently, is well devised to make the complicated and mutually antagonistic requirements of present-day life easily understandable and readily acceptable to the Near Eastern masses, and to appeal to their confused state of mind. It is another question, which

⁴ *Rasā'il al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn: Da'watunā*, Maṭba 'at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Cairo, s.a. (1943 or 1944).

depends on many different factors, whether the organization of the Ikhwān will be able to make a lasting positive contribution to Egyptian political life.

Our Propaganda Aims. The pamphlet starts out by declaring (p. 5) that it was written in order to make the people acquainted with the goal (*ghāyah*), program (*minhāj*), and propaganda aims (*da'wah*) of the Ikhwān. These propaganda aims, the pamphlet goes on to say, are unselfish (*barī, nazīh*). Their unselfishness transcends personal desires and material gains. They follow the path which God (*al-Ḥaqq*) has prescribed for His missionaries (cf. Qur'ān 12. 108/108). All our people (*qawmunā*)—and all Muslims are our people—should know this. We do not ask anyone for money and do not expect any thanks. Our Creator will reward us.

(p. 6) Our people should know that they are dearer to us than our own lives, which we would gladly sacrifice for their might, glory, honor, religion, and aspirations, if this would be of any use. For a deep feeling of sympathy (*'āṭifah*) makes it extremely difficult for us when we see the present condition of our people, to acquiesce in our shame or to submit to desperation. When we work in the path of God more for others than for ourselves, we do it for you, our friends.

We do not seek aggrandizement or any other benefit (*faḍl, minnah*, cf. Qur'ān 49.17/17). We wish that our fellowmen could scrutinize our hearts, so that they might see for themselves whether there is anything in them but love for them and a deep grief about our present plight.

(p. 7) As to his attitude toward us we expect everybody to belong to one of four groups:

1. Believers (*mu'min*) who fully believe in our principles. They are invited to join us in our struggle, as the ancients joined the ranks of the followers of God's prophets and received their rich reward.

2. The undecided (*mutaraddid*). They are advised to observe the activities and read the literature of the Ikhwān, so that they may eventually be converted. Here again we may refer to the treatment accorded to the undecided

among the contemporaries of the messengers (prophets) of old.

(p. 8) 3. The utilitarians (*naḥ'ī*) who are only interested in the profit they derive from something. To those we say that we have nothing to offer but sacrifice, and we do not hope for any reward but God's favor and His paradise. Maybe they will mend their ways.

4. Opponents (*mutahāmil*) and sceptics (p. 9). We pray that God may guide them in the right direction, and we say: "God forgive my people, for they do not know."⁵

Our people must realize that our propaganda aims require their undivided devotion (*fanā'*) and every possible sacrifice of their person (*nafs*), money, time, and health (cf. Qur'ān 9. 24/24). These aims do not admit of anything else (*lā taqbal ash-shirkah*), since oneness is one of their essential characteristics. Only if a man is prepared to give his all to the realization of our aims, will he be able to live by them, and they will live by him. If he is too weak to carry this burden, he will not receive the reward due to fighters for the cause. God will choose others in his stead to spread His call (cf. Qur'ān 5.54/59).

We ask everybody to believe in a clear and well-defined "principle" (*mabda'*), which will assure his salvation and happiness—a principle whose suitability for life eternal and for an improved (earthly) existence has been established by historical experience.

Both we and our people believe in this principle. There is, however, a certain difference between their belief and ours. Theirs is a belief that is concealed and asleep in their souls and that they are not able to apply. The belief that is found in the souls of the Ikhwān, on the other hand, is a strong and burning belief.

There is a strange trait perceptible in us Easterners. We believe in an idea so firmly that when we talk about our belief, it would seem that we are able to uproot mountains and undergo all kinds of personal hardships in order to practice what we preach (p. 11). But as soon as we have

⁵ cf. Luke 23, 24.

exhausted the passion of the discussion, everything is forgotten, and not the slightest effort is made to act in accordance with our belief. We may even go so far that, consciously or unconsciously, we do just the opposite of what we believe to be right. Is it not ridiculous to see one and the same person in two consecutive hours of the day act both as renegade and as pious believer? Because of this negligence, or somnolence, or whatever you may call it, we have attempted to transform our "principle" into action.

I⁶ repeat that the propaganda aims (*da'wah*) of the Ikhwān are embodied in a "principle" (*mabda'*). In East and West, many different aims, ideas, principles, and so on are alive today which vie for recognition and are actively promoted by their adherents. The propagandists (*du'āh*) of today are different from those of yesterday. They are cultured and experienced specialists (p. 12), in particular those in the West. There, every idea is scientifically analyzed and promoted by all existing propaganda media. An attempt is thus made to find the easiest method for persuading people to accept a particular idea.

The propaganda media (*wasā'il ad-di'āyah*) of today are different from those of yesterday. While in former times propaganda was restricted to an occasional speech, meeting, or pamphlet, today newspapers, magazines, films, and radio are used for the promotion of an idea.

The world today is full of propaganda for all kinds of ideas: political, nationalist (*qawmī, waṭanī*), economic, militaristic (*askarī*), and pacific (*silmī*). But there is no propaganda being made for the aims of the Ikhwān which contain all these elements. The absence of propaganda on their part compels me to explain to the reader in a simple, easily understandable manner, two things: (1) the abstract, positive framework of our aims (*haykal da'watina al-ījābī al-mujarrad*), and (2) our attitude, as conditioned by those aims, toward other aspirations.

⁶ The writer vacillates between the first person plural, the third person plural, and the first person singular. The following paragraph which stresses the value of Western propaganda methods is especially interesting as an indication of the ideological background of the Ikhwān.

Our Islām (p. 13). Our aims include everything that the word *Islām* stands for. The term *Islām* has a very wide meaning and is not adequately defined by that narrow interpretation which is given to it by many people. We believe that *Islām* comprises and regulates all human affairs and does not shrink from new problems and necessary reforms. It is not restricted to religious and spiritual matters.

We understand, however, the word *Islām* in a different sense. We understand it in a very wide sense, as regulating all the affairs of this world and the next. This interpretation of *Islām* is not of our making, but is derived from the study of the Qur'ān and the manner of life (*sīrah*) of the first Muslims. If the reader desires to understand how it is possible for the Ikhwān to claim that they promote an idea which, it would seem, has a wider meaning than that implied in the term *Islām*, let him take his Qur'ān and strip his soul from desire (*hawā*) and purposefulness (*ghāyah*). Then he will understand the actual meaning of the Qur'ān, and he will recognize its identity with the propaganda aims of the Ikhwān.

Indeed these propaganda aims are Islamic in all the meanings of the term. Beyond that, you may see in them whatever you wish, while keeping within the teachings of the Qur'ān, the *sunnah* of the Prophet, and the *sīrah* of the pious ancient Muslims. The Qur'ān is the foundation of *Islām*. The *sunnah* of the Prophet explains the Qur'ān and comments on it. The *sīrah* of the pious ancient Muslims is the practical example of the correct execution of the commands and teachings of the Qur'ān.

Our Attitude Toward Other Aspirations. The various aspirations which are alive in the world of today are weighed by us in the scales of our propaganda aims. Whatever agrees with them is welcome, and whatever does not agree with them is rejected by us. We believe that our propaganda aims are all-inclusive and that they do not ignore any useful part of any other idea but are acquainted with them all.

Devotion to One's Country (Waṭaniyah). The ideas of

waṭanīyah (devotion to one's country) and *qawmīyah* (devotion to one's people) have stirred the people everywhere, but especially in the Eastern countries which are acutely aware of the wrong done to them by the West. Near Easterners realize the necessity of freeing themselves from the yoke of Western occupation which has curtailed their honor and independence and has imposed upon them heavy sacrifices in money and in blood. Leaders, journalists, writers, lecturers, in short all who can make themselves heard, extol *waṭanīyah* and *qawmīyah*.

(p. 15) So far so good—but try to explain to Near Easterners that the teachings of Islām embody the same idea in a form much better and clearer than anything devised by Europeans. They would deny the correctness of such a statement, and maintain that Islām and *waṭanīyah-qawmīyah* are two different things. Some even think that that⁷ weakens the unity of the nation.

In order to combat that erroneous assumption the attitude of the Ikhwān toward the various kinds of *waṭanīyah* and *qawmīyah* is explained in the following pages.

Waṭanīyat al-ḥanīn, i.e., the love for one's country and place of residence, is a feeling which is hallowed both by the commands of nature and by the injunctions of Islām. Bilāl (p. 16) and the Prophet himself approved of this kind of *waṭanīyah* when they expressed their tender love for their home town, Mecca.⁸

Waṭanīyat al-ḥurrīyah wa-l-'izzah, i.e., the desire to work for the restoration of the honor and independence of one's country, is a feeling approved by the Qur'ān (63. 8/8; 4. 141/140) and by the Ikhwān.

Waṭanīyat al-mujtama', i.e., the desire to strengthen the bonds of mutual cooperation between individuals of a re-

⁷ i.e., the identification of Islām and nationalism?

⁸ cf. the references indicated by A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la tradition Musulmane*, s.v. *idhkkhar*, Leiden 1933 ff., Vol. 1, p. 41. The story which is quoted in the pamphlet in this connection is not a particularly good illustration of genuine *Waṭanīyah*. It describes the sufferings from a fever epidemic of the early *Muhājirūn* in unhealthy Madina and their longing for Mecca's healthy climate.

gion, is a feeling approved by the Qur'ān (3. 118/114) and the Prophet,⁹ and also by the Ikhwān.

(p. 17) *Waṭanīyat al-fath*, i.e., the desire of conquest and world domination, has its basis in Islām, which directs its conquerors toward the best system of colonization and conquest, as is indicated by the Qur'ān (2. 193/189).

Waṭanīyat al-hizbīyah, however, i.e., the love for party-strife and the bitter hatred of one's political opponents with all its destructive consequences, is a false kind of *waṭanīyah*. It does not benefit anybody, not even those who practice it.

The foregoing remarks prove that *waṭanīyah* is to be considered one of the teachings of Islām, and that we belong to the most fervent champions of it whenever it serves the people.

(p. 18) In contrast to those who think that *waṭanīyah* is determined by geographic boundaries, we consider it contingent upon religion. Every place where a Muslim says, "There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God," is our *waṭan*. Others try to strengthen one region at the expense of the other, but we seek to promote the strength and welfare of all Muslim lands.

Furthermore, *waṭanīyah*, as it is understood in Europe today, is concerned with the promotion of a country's material well-being. Our *waṭanīyah*, on the other hand, has another aim in addition. It requires us to spread the teachings of Islām over the whole earth with all means at our disposal. It is not lust for power and wealth which incites us to this task (p. 19), but the love of God and the desire to let the world partake of the blessings of His religion. It is the same zeal which inspired the pious ancient Muslims in their unparalleled conquests.

It is not true, what some people say, that our insistence upon Islām injects a disruptive element into our national life, since our nation is composed of members of various religions. Islām is the religion of unity and equality. It guarantees the preservation of unity among all elements of

⁹ cf. the references listed by Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s.v. *akhū*, Vol. I, p. 35.

a nation as long as they continue to cooperate with each other (cf. Qur'ān 60. 8/8).

In sum, deliverance of the country and restoration of its glory is only one aspect of the *waṭanīyah* of the Ikhwān. If these preliminary aims are achieved, we have to go on working toward the final goal, namely, to see the banner of the Muslim world (*al-waṭan al-Islāmī*) rise over the whole world and the flag of the Holy Writ wave in every place.

(p. 20) *Devotion to One's People (Qawmīyah)*. This is the attitude of the Ikhwān toward the principle of *qawmīyah*:

Qawmīyat al-majd, i.e., the pride of the young generation in the glory of their forefathers and the desire to equal them, is a praiseworthy feeling which was approved by the Prophet when he said, "People are minerals. Those who were good in the Jāhilīyah are good in Islam, if they are understanding."¹⁰

Qawmīyat al-ummah i.e., the special interest of a person in his particular group and people (p. 21) is also a genuine feeling.¹¹

Qawmīyat at-tanzīm i.e., the realization that the common aims of freedom and salvation are achieved by the work and struggle of each individual group, is another legitimate aspiration.

All these are legitimate expressions of *qawmīyah*, and are approved by Islām. However, *qawmīyat al-Jāhilīyah*, i.e., the desire to re-establish old "Jāhilīyah" customs and to replace Islām by an exaggerated nationalism and racism, is a highly contemptible and dangerous sentiment. Under its influence some states have destroyed the outward signs of Islām and Arabism and have even gone so far as to change proper names, the letters of the alphabet, and the vocabulary. (p. 22) This kind of *qawmīyah* tends to destroy the heritage of Islām and its most sacred possession, the religion of Islām. It can do no harm to this divine religion

¹⁰ cf. the references listed by Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Jāhilīyah*, Vol. I, p. 394.

¹¹ Here follows the quotation of a verse which is ascribed by Arabic scholars to various ancient poets. cf. A. Fischer and E. Bräunlich, *Schawahid-Indices*, Leipzig 1934 ff., p. 28, col. 1, no. 7, where two references are indicated.

of ours, but it will do harm to you whom God will replace by others, if you forsake Him (cf. Qur'ān 47. 38/40).

Likewise, *qawmīyat al-'udwān*, the desire to gain domination for one's own race (*jins*) over all the others, is a contemptible and false sentiment. It is exemplified by Italy and Germany, and in fact, by any other nation which would claim to be superior to all other nations (*fawq al-jamī'*—"über alles").

The Ikhwān do not recognize such terms as Fir'awnism, 'Arabism, Phoenicianism, or Syrianism.¹² They believe in the statement of the Prophet, "The perfect man, yea, the most perfect one, is the one who teaches mankind to be good"¹³ (p. 23). All men are equal, and it is their task to help each other to be good. Than this no higher heaven can be reached by human kind.

Yet we do not overlook the fact that there are natural distinctions between the nations. Some are better than others, some are worse. We believe that the Arabs are the best nation. We do not believe, however, that the special qualities that a nation may possess should be used for aggression. They should be used for the promotion of the real purpose of humanity. How this can be done was shown in an exemplary manner by the Arab contemporaries of Muḥammad.

(p. 24) The reader will have noticed that people can be divided into two groups as far as their relationship to the Ikhwān is concerned: (1) Those who share the Ikhwān's belief in Islām and are thus bound to the Ikhwān by the most sacred ties. The latter, in turn, will bring every sacrifice for their sake. (2) Others who are not yet adherents of the Ikhwān. If these are not hostile to us, they should be treated with kindness, and, if possible, converted to the aims of the Ikhwān who work for the good of all mankind. However, if they show themselves hostile, they should be

¹² The author refers to well-known schools of particularist nationalism in the various Arab countries.

¹³ This *ḥadīth* is followed by a reference to another, stating that through Islām God has abolished ancestral pride, that all human beings are of one kind, and the only difference between Arab and non-Arab is the different degree of their piety (*taqwā*). cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s.v., *Jāhiliyah*, Vol. I, p. 394.

treated as enemies but most generously. The procedures to be followed have been indicated by Qur'ān 49. 10/10 and 60. 8-9/8-9.

(p. 25) *Our Attitude Toward Religious Differences.* In the first place, the Ikhwān are not sold to one particular sect or shade of opinion. Their aims call for action. They advocate unity and equality.

We believe, however, that differences in opinion regarding religious problems are unavoidable for a number of reasons (p. 26), among them the existence of differences in the intellectual capacity of human beings. Thus, Mālik said to Abū Ja'far that it would lead to a revolt (*fitnah*) if he should try to achieve uniformity of thought among the different peoples conquered by the Muslims.

Different circumstances, too, must be taken into account. Thus, the Imām ash-Shāfi'ī used the old system of giving *fatwas* in 'Iraq and the new one in Egypt.¹⁴ Furthermore, the difference in the character and amount of information available about a person who has handed down a certain tradition creates various views concerning the reliability of the reported statement. And there are also differences originating from a different evaluation of human actions.

These considerations cause us to believe that complete agreement in all religious matters is impossible. Islām, however, destined by God to exist for all times to come, is a very flexible religion.

(p. 27) We, therefore, apologize to our opponents if we differ from them in minor details. We are of the opinion that such minor differences will not forever prevent a rapprochement between them and us. Are we not Muslims as they are, wishing for them the same as we wish for ourselves? Even the men around the Prophet had differences of opinion, but this did not affect their basic feeling of solidarity.¹⁵ Moreover we find differences of opinion even re-

¹⁴ cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *al-Shāfi'ī*.

¹⁵ Here reference is made to the disputed postponement of the afternoon prayer which resulted from Muḥammad's command to fight the Banū Qurayzah and to say the afternoon prayer among them (i.e., not before their defeat), cf. at-Ṭabari, *Annales*, ed. by M. J. De Goeje and others, Leiden, 1879-1901, Vol. I, p. 1485 f.

garding such common things as the call to prayer which is repeated five times a day. Why then should we worry about differences of opinion in minor matters?

(p. 28) Today there is no *khalīfah* to whom problems might be submitted for decision. The Muslims would need a judge to settle their differences of opinion; for without an arbitrator to whom a dispute might be referred, one difference of opinion merely leads to another.

The Ikhwān realize all these difficulties. They know that knowledge is not the exclusive property of one particular group, and that every claim contains both right and wrong elements. They are, therefore, very lenient with their adversaries. They try to convince them. If they permit themselves to be convinced, it is all right. If not, they are still our co-religionists.

The Ikhwān realize that certain social problems threaten the very foundations of Islām, and they wish that they could create a united front of all Muslims against this danger.

This, in brief, is the attitude of the Ikhwān toward religious differences: They permit differences of opinion, dislike partisanship, aspire to the truth, and attempt to lead the people in this direction in a spirit of kindness and friendship.

(p. 29) *Toward a Cure*. Nations are like individuals with regard to strength and weakness, old age and youth, health and disease. A healthy person who has fallen ill and has been cured by a skillful physician who determined the seat and cause of the disease, often finds himself in better health after his cure than he was before his illness. Thus a nation, which in the course of time has become weak to the point where its very existence is in peril and where it is in no position to withstand the greed and violence of outsiders, can be cured, if (1) the seat of the disease is known, and if (2) a skillful physician can be found who will effect the cure with the help of God.

We know from experience that the disease which affects the Eastern nations has many symptoms and shows itself in all aspects of life. Political symptoms are the colonizing

policy of the enemy from without, and the party spirit which causes mutual antagonism among the inhabitants of the Eastern nations. Economic symptoms are the wide spread of usury and the influence which foreign companies have gained over all native resources. Intellectual symptoms are the anarchy and heresy that are destroying our religious tenets. Social symptoms are the laxity of customs and morals, the destruction of the human values which we have inherited from our ancestors, the Western influence that sneaks into the affairs of all the Eastern nations and poisons their blood, the application of man-made laws which are not severe enough with criminals and cannot compare with the divine religious laws, and anarchy in educational policy. Psychological symptoms are deadly desperation, lethal indolence, shameful cowardice, despicable humility, effeminacy, greed, and egotism.

What hope is there for a nation that combines all these diseases in their most pronounced form, if even one of them would suffice to destroy it? (p. 31) However, there is much toughness in the Near Eastern nations, whose enemies have persistently tried to inoculate them with the germs of these diseases. Otherwise, those nations would long ago have ceased to exist, but God and the faithful do not want this to happen.

The Ikhwān work so that God may restore health and youth to the nation which is affected by those diseases.

We do not despair, for we know that despair would prevent us from recovery. We do not give up hope. If you visit a sick person and see him change from speech to silence and from motion to stillness, you know that his end is near. In the opposite case, however, if a person changes from silence to speech and from stillness to motion, you know that he will soon be cured. (p. 32) The latter case applies to the Near Eastern nations at the present juncture. If they were not held down by (foreign) shackles, and (internally) by a lack of direction, the awakening that is noticeable in them would be most significant. Those shackles,

however, will not remain forever, and the confused will not always be confused.

Therefore we do not despair. Statements of the Qur'ān, *hadīth*, and *sunnah* with regard to the education of nations and the revival of peoples after they had been on the point of disappearance, tell us not to give up hope. Read Qur'ān 28. 1-6/1-5, and see how God humbles the mighty and gives victory to the mis-treated. Falsehood tumbles down from its foundations, but truth stands firmly anchored and its adherents are victorious. In view of the aforementioned verse of the Qur'ān (p. 33) no Muslim nation must despair in spite of all difficulties that may confront it.

The following fundamental pillars (*arkān*) provide the Ikhwān with the means of reaching the desired goal: (1) The right program (*al-minhāj aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*), found in the Qur'ān, the *sunnah*, and the injunctions of Islām, (2) the existence of faithful workers (*al-'āmilūn al-mu'minūn*) for the realization of the program of the Ikhwān, and (3) the existence of trustworthy, resolute leadership.

Translated and summarized by F. ROSENTHAL

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MUSLIM PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH AN INDEPENDENT INDONESIA*

The countries of Indonesia are suffering from the birth-pains of their new political state.

This is a process so important and wide-spread that the thoughts of those concerned with it are in danger of being so concentrated on the tensions of every new day and the often unexpected developments, that there is too little opportunity to look forward and to prepare for problems which will exist beyond the natal hour of the new independent states of South Eastern Asia.

Very soon a Federation of Indonesian States will be disentangling itself from the chaos and will communicate with the U. N., probably introduced by the Netherlands, and will ask for recognition and admittance to the "concert" of the independent states.

According to Article 4 of the U. N. Charter, the membership of this organization is open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

The request of the United States of Indonesia for admission to membership will then be considered in the light of the criterion of "being able and willing to carry out its obligations" and the Netherlands will be involved in two respects, i.e.:

According to Article 73 sub e those "members of the U.N. who have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government 'accept as a sacred trust the obligation: to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General, for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to

* Kindly translated by Miss Christine Slotemaker de Bruine.

economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible.' ”

This concerns the Netherlands. The U.N.—according to the right given to them by the above-mentioned Article 73—is already making inquiries as to the Netherlands' stewardship of their more than three centuries old contact with and later government of these countries.

Also it concerns Indonesia, since the inquiry about its education and the expectation to be built thereon as to its future share in the task of the U.N. is in full operation. General Secretary Mr. Trygve Lie circulated letters among the members of the U.N. in which among others he asked for three kinds of information:

1. A statement on the most recent developments concerning economic, social and educational conditions.

2. Information on conditions relating to the previous calendar year or such other period which accords with the administrative practices.

3. You might wish to consider whether, at regular intervals, which might be longer than the interval of one year, a more detailed analysis could be given of economic, social and educational conditions or on some aspect of these conditions, based for example, on any general or particular census.

So the U.N. is preparing a kind of world-judicium on the Netherlands' government of these peoples and the present state of their economic, social and educational development.

In considering Indonesia's request for admittance the U.N. experts will especially take into account several criteria and ask guarantees as to special conditions. Even though most probably the decision will be in favour of Indonesia's request for admittance to the world's organization of independent states, it is of great importance how the discussions previous to the coming decisions will be conducted. Because for the U.N. this discussion will be the moment to make sure of the quality of its future ally and to determine what may be expected of it, either a contribution to the task

of world-government or additional trouble through its membership.

As principal criterion the U.N. will probably consider the quality of the public education in these countries and its influence upon the masses. The U.N. sent a thorough questionnaire on the extent and the quality of public education. From these questions and from their explanation it is clear that those speaking are experts, experienced in public education in countries of various cultural levels.

Also the problem of illiteracy will receive attention, which may reveal shortcomings in this respect. Much will depend upon the question whether the regions of the Republic as well as the so-called Malino-districts will start immediately a spontaneous mass-movement against illiteracy. Now that it is out of the question that such a mass-movement will be used for political action against the Netherlands government (as was the case once before when a rapidly spreading fight against illiteracy had to be stopped by the authorities) such action can enjoy every support of all leading institutions.

If the mass awakes to the longing for a share in a new order, and if the so-long praised and propagated "movement-pergerakan" or "struggle-perdjoeangan" succeeds in setting fire to the masses, spreading as a prairie-fire, then in a short time a miracle may happen without having to cost millions and without needing years for the preparation and training of teachers. Illiteracy may cease to be a handicap just before the U.N. conclusion as to whether Indonesia is a state "able and willing to accept and fulfill the duties mentioned in the Charter."

Other criteria will be: order and safety, to include also foreigners and minorities; and judicial guarantee for life and property. Last but not least, the conditions will be judged offered by the new state for creating, securing and carrying out freedom of conscience for the minorities. This last criterion confronts great and partly new problems. They are seldom discussed and probably seldom considered.

In preparing for the entrance on to the stage of the world it will be obvious that it makes a great difference who is responsible for these freedoms so important to the subjects: a Western Christian government in a Muslim country, or the indigenous oriental Muslim government in a country where an outnumbering Muslim majority on the main islands of Java, Sumatra and Borneo has a very small heterodox minority living therein.

It is these problems, which have had too little attention until now, that I want to consider more fully.

The new Indonesia will become the greatest homogeneous Muslim independent state in the world. If a political division between Hindus and Muslims should take place in India, Pakistan would have 85 million subjects and would outnumber Indonesia, but it would be a group of dispersed Muslim territories, each enclosed by a sea of hostile Hindu people and weakened by the presence within of this declared enemy.

Not only the Muslim world will look upon independent Indonesia full of expectation, but also its own Muslim subjects—in so far as they belong to the uneducated mass of naïve believers—will expect a kind of “millenium.” Until now the uneducated Muslim has been taught by his guru and penghulu that many disappointments in worldly life were due to the domination of unbelievers and to the impossibility of living in accord with the Prophet’s rules for political and social life. If that had been possible, many troubles would have come to an end.

In this sad reality one looked for comfort in reading about Islam’s time of glory, the golden age of the *khulafā’ al-rāshidūn*, the four khalifahs after Muhammad.

This comfort for and explanation of the troubles of daily life—which still are accepted by those parts of the Indonesian population where village children have been given a primitive religious education—lose their ground now. This becomes the first difficulty for the new states in connection with Muslim interests. It will not be obvious at once and everywhere, but where orthodox belief in Islam is

popular, it will show its influence at the background of public life, which cannot be neglected.

The second problem is, that full freedom must be given to Christian propaganda.

I do not expect the indigenous Christians will claim that at once as the right of democracy in a free country, but U.N. interest and control will be directed especially to this part of state-care. Whereas a Christian government, for fear of disturbing an over-powering Muslim majority, could and had to be very careful in allowing Christian propaganda which suggested private or even main intentions of Western imperialism, a Muslim government does not have any acceptable argument to restrict Christian or any other propaganda of faith. On the contrary, in doing so it would raise both national and international disagreeable reactions. The Muslim government of the New Indonesia will have to give more freedom to Indonesian mission work than the Netherlands' government gave and could give to Western missions in the Netherlands East Indies. As much as possible Christian propaganda will pass into the hands of Indonesians and the Indonesian must have freedom of religion over all his country, including freedom of confession also in public life and freedom of propaganda with all legal moral means. When appearing before the U.N. this freedom must be guaranteed, equally for Islam, Animism, Hinduism, Christianity in all its forms, for Theosophy and for Humanism, for all that the present-day world has to offer to appease the hunger of human souls. No "forbidden territories" can be maintained. Bantam, Atjeh, Minangkabau, Djambi, wherever the exclusive Muslim territories may be found, will have to rise to the level of toleration and of respect for one's fellowman's freedom to believe whatever he thinks profitable for his salvation; and to speak of what he sees as the highest fulfilment of life.

Unescapably the governors of the new state will have to satisfy these primary conditions in order to be accepted in the league of modern states.

This opens the possibility for non-Muslim religions,

probably especially Christianity—to apply new ways of propaganda, which may lead to astonishing results. The more the new government claims the name of Muslim, the greater the expectations for new opportunities for heterodox minorities. A government consisting mainly of Muslim ministers will be controlled with critical attention both by foreign countries and by Indonesian minorities. It will attempt to show its ability to satisfy the modern demands of justice. No one will suspect it of not giving full weight to its Muslim subjects. Therefore it will be freer towards the Muslim mass than the Western ruler was; or even freer than would be the case if the number of Christian Indonesians in the new government should be disproportionately great. This case seems quite possible, judging from the first cabinet council of East Indonesia and from the number of Christian Indonesians in the ministries of the Republic, which is out of proportion to the number of Christians in the Republic.

The above-mentioned problem is urgent now that important Christian groups (The Toba-Batak in North Sumatra and the Christian Javanese churches in Central and East Java) are caught between the surrounding hostile Muslims, who proved to them that freedom is not yet theirs and that danger to their lives still exists.

As soon as safety and freedom for expression of opinion are established for the Indonesian Christians in the territory of the Republic, this small but relatively more educated and self-conscious group will manifest itself strongly in public affairs. In both possibilities we see new opportunities for Christianity. But also we expect a new effect on Islam as a world power.

Here is not the place to consider the crisis in Islam as a religious, social and political institution. I only indicate that the symptoms of crisis began to show themselves in the Central Muslim countries, weakening them and crippling them so that they could not absorb the stream of new Western ideas. The countries of the periphery were the youngest, the strongest Muslim ones, the least affected by the sec-

ularizing Western influences which entered with Western expansion. As long as the Muslim countries of the periphery stood under the stern government, Islam was relatively safe. Islam was the fortress the ruler respected, the holy realm which was tabu to him and therefore gave him an abnormally high regard for it. In this connection I mention the pilgrimage to the Holy Land of Islam. It was guaranteed in Islamic countries under Western government. There this cherished privilege was respected, disregarding economic consequences.

In the prosperous years after World War I the pilgrimage from Indonesia to the Holy Land of Islam meant a loss of 50,000,000 Netherlands Indies guilders. Djeddah, Mecca and Medina gratefully wondered at the fact that this was permitted without restriction. The Djawi, i.e., the pilgrim from the Netherlands East Indies was meaningfully called "The bread of the Hedjaz." Also the Wahabi government, led by their King Ibn Sa'ud, expressed repeatedly its appreciation of the Netherlands' government in the Indies, which seemed to have attained to such prosperity and order that tens of thousands of its subjects—well dressed, with large food supplies, transported on beautiful clean ships—could join the pilgrimages as the best-paying "guests of Allah." Once my Turkish colleague in Djeddah asked me why on earth our government allowed this yearly drainage of national capital. Even if Java were very rich, to the Turkish embassy this seemed an unjustified policy in the long run. The government of modern Turkey was wiser. It did not prohibit participation in the pilgrimage, but it asked so much money for a visa to the Muslim Holy Land that only the rich could afford it. In consequence only some dozens of Turks went on pilgrimage. My colleague seemed to be quite satisfied with his government. I replied that only a Muslim government could take this liberty. A Western Christian government in Oriental Muslim countries has to maintain 100 percent. the principle of freedom of religion, especially for its Muslim subjects; if not for moral then for political motives.

In Mecca one had the bitter experience that emancipation of a Muslim country led to declining participation in the pilgrimage. An indigenous Muslim government cannot be deceived as to necessary or non-necessary duties for believers. Moreover in fixing its attitude towards Islam it has to take into account religious motives only, not primarily political ones, as is the case with Western governments.

It is well known that the pilgrimage is one of the five pillars in Islam which is greatly observed in Indonesia. It is less known that from these countries thousands used to go for whom pilgrimage was not a duty (women, and those who could not leave their family behind in good financial circumstances) or who could not fulfil this duty legally (for instance under-aged). No one is obliged to go more than once, nor when the roads are unsafe—which frequently occurred.

Our government never used these religious arguments to restrict the participation in the pilgrimage. An independent Muslim government can do this and obviously does for economic reasons. Because of their experience officials and private people in the Holy Land of Islam anxiously regard the development towards independence of the country which used to have the greatest share in the pilgrimage.

The Muslims who have a sweeping majority in the political building of the new Indonesia will soon perceive that they cannot carry through a classical Islamic government. Whether the experiment of building the greatest homogeneous Muslim state in the world will be successful depends on the separation of Church and State, which is in flagrant opposition to the orthodox expression of their faith.

The contribution of Muslims to the building of the new Indonesia has still to manifest itself. They made a weak effort when the "Republic" was formed. They tried to have Islam declared as the state religion and to stipulate that the President ought to be a Muslim. The orthodox believers were poorly organized and had too few politically trained leaders, causing them to be pushed aside by leaders of the

left wing democratic tendency, well trained by Western education and thinking.

Afterwards this injustice was compensated to some extent by taking into the Ministry some orthodox Muslims, members of the greatest political people's party, "The Masjumi," but they do not officially represent this party in the government.

If these millions are not incorporated into the government in due time and made active in the construction of the political, social and economic organization of the society, accepting their part in the responsibility entailed, they might become a handicap which might give a different development from the one now expected.

D. VAN DER MEULEN

Batavia, March 1947

BOOK REVIEWS

Studies: Islamic & Oriental. By Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar. Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946. pp. xii, 215; two indexes, errata. Rs. 8.

In this volume are collected ten essays written by the author over the past fifteen or so years, and originally printed as articles in Indian journals, particularly *Islamic Culture* of Hyderabad. The subjects are as follows:

The art of warāqat—some observations on paper-making, book-selling, and the profession of copyist in classical Islām (two essays).

Sa'dī's visit to Somnāth—a discussion of the passage in the *Būstān* reporting the poet's alleged adventure in the Gujarāt temple.

A tract of Avicenna translated by 'Umar-i-Khayyām—a short passage, from a MS. in a private library in Gujarāt, purporting to be a translation into Persian by 'Umar Khayyām of an Arabic *khutbah* of Ibn Sīnā. The Persian text, the Arabic original, and an English translation of both are given. The author deems the work to be authentic, but unfortunately does not submit enough evidence for the reader to judge of this.

Shams Tabrīzī—an attempt to disprove that Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī, tutor of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, had Ismā'īlī connections.

The Arabic Poetry of Hāfiz—some examples of Arabic lines and half-lines to be found interspersed in the Persian poetry.

The Tribulations of India—notice of a Persian *mathnawī* "Āshūb-i-Hindūstān," in MS. and print, composed by a court poet of Prince Murād, one of the four rival sons of Shāh Jahān. It is suggested that this should be added to the list of contemporary sources for the fratricidal wars leading to Awrangzeb's accession.

The Saracens—a discussion of the etymology of the term; concluding that the old derivation from 'Sarah' (Abraham's wife) is the correct one, since Mas'ūdī gives it.

al-Māwardī: a Sketch of his Life and Works.

Arabic Sources of the History of the Gujarat Sultanate—an annotated list of nine Arabic sources, two or three of them unpublished.

The papers vary, of course, in quality and interest. The last, for instance, should be consulted by anyone undertaking research on its particular subject; while others add hardly anything fresh. The author is not a professional scholar, and makes no claim to academic distinction for his writings; he is, rather, an Indian gentleman of the old school, enjoying the leisure of private means, familiar with Persian and Arabic, and working from an evident love of his cultural heritage. He has apparently accumulated a considerable library of orientalist works in English, as well as handling the sources themselves with facility. The papers are informal essays, in a rambling and at times distracting style; painstaking references, however, are abundant, and show wide, if unassimilated, reading.

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH

Princeton, N. J.

Some Moral and Religious Teachings of Al-Ghazzali. By Syed Nawab Ali. Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946. pp. 146. Rs. 2.

Here is the "revised and enlarged" edition of a booklet first published in 1920. It is meant as an introduction to the teaching rather than the life of al-Ghazzali. The extracts are worth while, and the Christian reader will note with interest both the direct quotations from the New Testament, and those which betray a New Testament origin, but may have escaped the eye of the Editor. There are also some uncanonical stories of Jesus to be found. All the selections but one come from the *magnum opus* of the Imam's life-time. The closing extract from *Minhāj ul-'Ābidīn* is a fitting epilogue to the "Revival of Religious Sciences," fitting too as perhaps the conclusion of *Hujjat ul-Islām's* entire literary output. An Introduction by Professor Widgery of Baroda follows the Preface. Some of the material seems to appear in both; and we would suggest further that more care should be taken to see that foreign words appear in identical transliteration in the Preface and Introduction. How are the uninitiated to know that "Naishapur" and "Nysabur" are the same place? Professor Goldziher suffers from mis-spelling more than once. There are two misprints on page 12, which make two mistakes in Arabic grammar. These are needless blemishes in what is an interesting book, containing, as it does, a list of Al-Ghazzali's works to the tune of over fifty. The excerpts from the *Ihyā'* dealing with the moral and religious teachings have been chosen carefully, and are all from early volumes. The parables and *ahādīth* which are interspersed will make the paragraphs "readable" if not enjoyable for those who normally would not be expecting to be interested in the work of a scholar who passed away in 1111 A.D. The Editor gives footnotes to Quranic passages and other pieces of literature quoted or used by al-Ghazzali; and offers comparisons of his own from such different people as Shakespeare and Professor Sorley, Hume, Butler and Jalāl ad-Dīn ar-Rumi. Missionaries in Islamic lands, as students of Islamology in the west, should have access to this little book, which should be used after studying the words of Dr. Macdonald on al-Ghazzali, or along with Dr. Zwemer's "A Moslem Seeker after God." It will probably be the middle chapters which will be most read and quoted, and, we would add, rightly so in an age when moral issues are not as vital as they ought to be.

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Hartford, Conn.

Ibn Khaldun, His Life and Work. By Mohammad Abdullah Enan. Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946. pp. xii, 141, and Bibliography. Rs. 4/8.

This work was originally written in Arabic in 1933 and published in Cairo. An English translation appeared in Lahore in 1941; it and a second edition (1944) were quickly sold out, and the present is the third English version. In type and format it differs from the earlier issues (and the change is an improvement; though the book is still not quite up to Ashraf's own pre-war standards, and we may regret the absence of an index, and the only partially accurate transliteration). But the content is unchanged. The author is a Cairo lawyer, intellectual, and government servant; among his pre-

vious writings are a translation into Arabic (Cairo, 1925) of Ṭāhā Husayn's doctorate thesis *La philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun* (Paris, 1918), and an essay on Muslim-Christian clashes, also reprinted in translation in India as *Decisive Moments in the History of Islam* (Ashraf, 1940).

The present study is divided into three approximately equal parts. The first two present the chief events of Ibn Khaldūn's life, in North Africa and in Egypt respectively; the third discusses his writings. The book is primarily, therefore, an outline of his life. The account rests rather squarely on the autobiography (including the Cairo manuscript copy, still asking for publication, that carries the narrative to within a few months of the historian's death), and gives somewhat more detail than the other monographs do; particularly as regards the machinations and vicissitudes of eighth-century North-Africa politics into which his early career fits. The account of the Egyptian period is also fairly extended; and here the author makes use of (and conveniently lists in his concluding bibliography) more Arabic sources than are usually cited. The account throughout is largely a recital of facts (broken only by an occasional adverse comment by the author on Ibn Khaldūn's carefree intrigue and political inconsistency). 'Inān makes virtually no attempt to appraise character or to write an interpretive biography.

Of the five brief chapters on Ibn Khaldūn's 'thought,' three treat his Islamic predecessors, his modern appraisers, and a correlation with Machiavelli. The other two present his extant writings. All five are, at the most, essays. As such, they are fairly competent, and give the reader a not unjust idea of what students have thought of this 'founder of sociology'; including the author's own interesting and quite reasonable estimate. A good deal of the section dealing with modern Western opinion is quotation. (The translator, who evidently was working with at least the English texts before him, should, along with his mentioning of his authorities, have used quotation marks more liberally, to indicate the extent of the verbatim citation.) The general verdict is, naturally, favourable; but the work is an honest study, not an apologetic.

In judging a book, one should presumably measure it first against the purpose for which it was written. That purpose, in this case, is clear. In 1932, the six hundredth anniversary (counting in solar years) of Ibn Khaldūn's birth was celebrated in the Arab world, the fanfare including the publication of several articles and speeches, and two or three books. This work belongs to that spirit. In other words, it was designed to provide Arabic-speaking Muslims with an account of one of the great figures of their past: a figure of whom they knew rather little, but who, they realized, had become particularly famous and admired in the modern West. The English version, brought out by India's leading Islamic publishing house, serves essentially the same purpose for Indian Muslims. That the book fulfils this function fairly adequately, may perhaps be judged from its success.

The question, what is its particular value for those with reader access to the numerous other modern studies on Ibn Khaldūn, is of course a separate one. Of those other studies, 'Inān himself gives a partial bibliography; more complete ones will be found in Brockel-

mann's *Supplementband II* (pp. 342 ff.) (1938) and in the works there listed. The present book was not intended originally even to complement, let alone supersede, these. None the less, there are interesting new references to Arabic sources: the suggestion, for instance, (pp. 96 ff.), that Ibn al-Tiqutaqā should rank as an antecedent of Ibn Khaldūn, for novelly tying his political theories to historical fact, was fresh to at least this reviewer; and the citing (pp. 74 ff.) of the *Ighāthat al-Ummah* of Ibn Khaldūn's pupil al-Maqrīzī, as being one instance where the teacher's theories bore fruit, preceded Ziyādah and al-Shayyāl's editing of that work (Cairo, 1940) and referring (their Introduction, page d) to the same direct influence.

We still await, however, with regard to Ibn Khaldūn,—apart from the critical edition and translation of his writings, to which Nathaniel Schmidt's monograph (*Ibn Khaldun*, 1930, p. 8) looked forward—two projects: both of major proportions, and each requiring the labour of some student of unusual calibre. One is a real biography—not a bare rehearsal of events but a competent appreciation and interpretation of what is surely an interesting personality. It would face such questions as why this man, after so active and fruitful a life in North Africa, should have frittered away his quarter-century in Egypt with nothing much more to show for it than some emendations to his former writings; or why he was almost but not quite a successful politician. The other enterprise is a judicious weighing of his intellectual achievement. Culminating some fifteen years ago, there was a movement to discover in the 'neglected' Ibn Khaldūn the greatest thinker of Islām and the anticipator of a modern approach to the large-scale study of man. Much work was done, some scholarly, some enthusiastic; and it is to this movement of rehabilitation that 'Inān's book, like the others, belongs. But Prof. Gibb called a halt to this trend, in his article in the London *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. vii, pp. 23-31, 1933, claiming that Ibn Khaldūn's originality and secularism had been over-rated. The trend had, in fact, already gone about as far as it could well go. The argument has now been made, with enough force and documentation to be convincing, that Ibn Khaldūn occupies an important position in intellectual history. What now remains is for someone to determine just what that position is.

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH

Princeton, N. J.

The Muslim Conduct of State. By Muhammad Hamidullah. Revised Edition. Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1945. pp. xvi, 253. Rs. 12.

A compendious volume, as befits a book which the author has published in two European languages, and which he now presents afresh with the revision of a decade. The title page further states that the work is:

"A treatise of Muslim Public International Law, consisting of the Laws of Peace, War and Neutrality, together with precedents from Orthodox Practice, and preceded by a historical and general introduction."

The result of this valiant endeavour is a book divided into four main sections, as indicated, which leads on to a sub-division into

forty-eight different chapters, sometimes further broken up; with two appendices, the second being given up to the Bibliography of works not only in European languages but Arabic with a little Urdu, Persian and Turkish. The European material, which the author feels a modest selection, occupies over twelve pages. But a Note at the beginning of the book states that in preparation of the thesis libraries were visited in fifteen countries, including Holland and Afghanistan. After a discussion of the roots and sources of Muslim International Public Law, with which most students of Islam are familiar, the author goes on to a consideration of the relation of Islam to General Law. In passing it is interesting to note his conclusion on page 45 that the question of whether or not the Prophet "nominated 'Ali as his immediate temporal successor" is not "of any practical importance today." In the section on "Peace" the chapter on Diplomacy will be found worth while, and the "Peaceful settlement of international differences" through "mutual negotiation, conciliation or arbitration." How good if one of these *always* worked! We think particularly both of India and the lands of the Near East today. Part iii, "Hostile Relations" takes up well over a third of the book. It is interesting to find one lawful reason for waging war being "idealistic" (page 165). On the next page there is an important statement: "Islam has recognised a certain amount of latitude in personal judgment, and hence the sharp distinction between the Islamic *rule* and the Islamic *faith*. No one is to be *forced* to embrace the Islamic faith . . . yet Islamic rule is to be established by all means." The Chapter on Apostacy should be read. The Apostate *de jure* "is dead" (page 162). "An apostate cannot inherit from his Muslim relatives" (page 164). Perhaps this is a place where, in the interests of true liberty of religious thought, Islam and other faiths, monotheistic and otherwise, should confer in the face of modern world paganism. Mr. Hamidullah would be a valuable member of such a Conference. Chapter xvi of this section is also useful in view of possible developments after the Peace Treaty so long anticipated. (There is an Arabic misprint in the words bracketed on this page 213). Is an Arab State and an Islamic State one and the same in the twentieth century? And what are really the Laws controlling neutrality? The author suggests that Nazi Germany has again thrown these "into the melting pot." And of course the leading question that will occur to many minds will be as to how far the "Muslim Conduct of State" will be found able to apply to Pakistan vis à vis Peace, War and Neutrality.

There is a painstaking index of 23 pages. *O si sic omnes*.

E. F. F. BISHOP

Hartford, Conn.

Sudan Colloquial Arabic. By J. Spencer Trimingham, M.A. Oxford University Press, 1946. pp. vii, 176.

This is the Second Edition of this Grammar dealing with the Arabic spoken in the Northern Sudan. The first appeared some eight years ago, being published by the Church Missionary Society, the Secretary of whose Mission in the Northern Sudan has been the author in each case. Mr. Trimingham has put himself in the debt

both of missionaries and government officers, and perhaps of even a wider circle of learners from the stream of Africans coming northwards for one reason or another. Actually this is the Grammar of "the gradually standardizing dialect of Omdurman" (the last ten pages of the book provide interesting "Dialectal Material"). Omdurman is rapidly becoming one of the leading cities of real Africa.

Four-fifths of the present work is new; the first edition having been largely based on the work on Egyptian Colloquial of W. H. T. Gairdner, to whose scholarly pioneering in this as in other fields different countries in the Near East are still grateful. This Grammar is offered to scholarship in the script of international phonetic (with trifling minor adjustments). This will delight the heart of those who feel that loyalty to the accurate representation of Arabic sounds is best obtained through this medium. It will also (as is recognised today in Egypt at least) enable the foreign student to acquire use of the vernacular rather more speedily than if he had to assimilate the alphabet in the Arabic characters at the same time. It is assumed that such a student will be familiar with the rudiments of "Phonemics." It further brings the dialect of the Northern Sudan into the framework of the various languages of the whole country, whose Southern dialects are expressed in Romic lettering. The Southern Sudanese who wish to become familiar with the *lingua franca* of the North will not be faced with an entirely new script in tackling Arabic; while in addition the bilingual character of this book will help their grasp of English, though this is incidental. The English is interesting and idiomatic, not a too literal version of the Arabic on the opposite page. The inductive method is used throughout. Verb-drills will delight the soul of the teacher who looks on the sentence as the unit of human speech. It is much more worth while to work out your grammar after you have mastered some simple sentences. Other notes occur when necessary: the presence of the word for "Gospel" in Greek is indicative both of painstaking scholarship and printing. There are passages to help "towards Composition" (so necessary a desideratum for every missionary student), as for "Memory Work," and these are not too lengthy. We wonder whether Mr. Trimmingham may not have reached a possible solution of how to explain the "Mudari" (see pages 70, 71). The emphasis on the "shadda" is rightly repeated—though we would think that compound words like "home-made," "one-ness," "wholly" are possible examples, though the one given is more graphic! (page 13). We wish this second edition a short life rather than a long one—its third birthday will not have to wait another eight years. The Classicists (sic) may not feel so happy about this little book, but time and experience will tell—and justify!

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Jerusalem

The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520-1660). By Clarence Dana Rouillard. (*Études de Littérature étrangère et comparée*, vol. 13). Paris, Boivin et Cie., 1940. pp. 700. Large octavo.

To what extent were the French and Ottoman Turkish civilizations in contact during the century and a half preceding the Golden Age of Louis XIV? What was the result of this contact on the ideas

and literature of France up to 1660? Only by painstaking study of every French publication during this period could such questions be satisfactorily answered. Dr. Rouillard has performed this prodigious task and presents the fruit of his labors in a massive volume which enables one to see the Turk, chief symbol of the Orient of those days, as he appeared to Frenchmen of the early modern age. Rarely has a scholar attempted to deal with so great a quantity and variety of materials or more complex problems of organization and presentation; still more rarely has the result been so eminently successful both as learned study and as historical literature.

The organization of the book has the simplicity and clarity which is to be expected of work done under the influence of French scholarship at its best. It is divided into an introduction and four major parts, each of which is topical, but within each of the parts the treatment is chronological. The introduction of forty-seven pages sketches the intermittent and scanty relations between France and the Ottoman Turks before 1520. Part I (pp. 61-165) gives a fairly full account of the historical background and of official relations between France and the Ottoman Empire up to 1660. Part II (pp. 167-286) deals with the portrayal of the Turk in French geographical literature. Part III (pp. 287-418) describes the role of the Turk in the development of ideas in France. Part IV (pp. 419-645) treats of the Turk in French imaginative literature. Three appendices follow: Appendix I (pp. 646-665) lists 291 pamphlets relating to the Turks published in France between 1481 and 1660; Appendix II (pp. 665-670) gives the full texts of two reports from Constantinople published in 1640 by Théophraste Renaudot in his weekly *Gazette*; and Appendix III (pp. 670-672) presents a table of Turkish terms in common use in France in the mid-17th century. An index of seventeen pages in double column lists all significant proper names and titles of works cited. Bibliographical details are given in the footnotes. Twenty-five handsome illustrations, reproduced from contemporary publications, are scattered through the volume.

The wealth of judiciously selected and arranged material is immense. The plots of plays and novels are given in outline and the contents of books on travel and geography are summarized. Every passage of importance is quoted in the original French and its context is made clear. Foreseeing criticism on the ground that too much detail has been given, the author explains: "In view of the unfamiliarity and inaccessibility of many of the sources . . . I have tried less to make an attractive book than to make a complete one and so treated the subject on an exhaustive scale. Scholars in related fields may be so spared the necessity of retracing some of the dustier paths I have explored. I need hardly add that the detailed divisions of the book, outlined in the table of contents, may be found valuable as indications not only of where the reader is going, but also of what he may please to skip over" (p. 10). The reviewer, one of those "scholars in related fields," has been too much interested to skip a single page. He believes that Dr. Rouillard has done the work so conscientiously and has provided so good an apparatus of indices and cross-references that students will judge it unnecessary to retrace his steps and will accept his selection of material as just, his samples as truly representative.

The reader's interest is held not by any thesis well argued but by calm and orderly examination of the evidence. The sketch of Ottoman history which begins the Introduction is one of the very few parts of the book which will disturb the Islamic scholar, for Dr. Rouillard was unfortunately not acquainted with the basic revision of this subject which has been carried out during the last three decades by Turkish, Austrian and German scholars. But this weakness is of relatively minor importance because the misconceptions embodied in traditional accounts were shared fully by Frenchmen of the Renaissance, who had also inherited from the Middle Ages a picture of the Turk as ferocious opponent of their crusading ancestors, as bestial creature fit only to be destroyed by broadsword and theological bludgeon. The one notable exception among early French writers on the Turks was Bertrandon de la Broquière, whose relatively unprejudiced *Voyage d'outremer*, written about 1433 but published only in 1892, "sees through the screen of religion, sees and respects the man beneath the Infidel."

The Renaissance, the development of the French monarchy into a strong national state, and the fall of Constantinople opened a new era. While Ottoman arms were sweeping to the walls of Vienna and dominating the whole Mediterranean, France was being almost encircled by the territories of the Emperor Charles V. Francis I, the "Most Christian King," felt compelled to seek the aid of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent to redress the European balance of power which Hapsburg victories had upset. But the Franco-Ottoman alliance was uneasy, for medieval crusading spirit was far from dead and Francis had to move warily. Consequently, military cooperation was very limited but treaties of commerce were negotiated, French ambassadors made their appearance at the Sublime Porte, Turkish officials and troops were seen in France, Catholic missions in Ottoman territory were expanded, and books of travel and description were published. Many of the books were written by Frenchmen; others were translated from Latin, Italian, or German; all ministered to an obviously growing popular curiosity and thirst for knowledge. To this period belong the fascinating works of Pierre Belon, Guillaume Postel, Nicolas de Nicolay, and Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Nicolay's *Navigations* was admirably illustrated, as were the histories of Chalcondylas, du Verdier and others. Numerous pamphlets reported the latest developments in Constantinople until this function was taken over by newspapers such as *Renaudot's Gazette*. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Frenchman who was interested in learning about the geography, the military and civil organization and administration, or the formal religion of the Ottoman Empire could inform himself adequately without recourse to foreign language publications or to manuscripts. But the available information, though voluminous, included almost nothing translated from Turkish and therefore did not suffice to give an understanding of the spirit of Ottoman society. The great age of translation of Islamic literature and of appreciation of the Moslem Orient was to come later.

Yet appreciation of the Turks and of their way of life was not entirely lacking in the accounts of travelers who tried to describe objectively what they observed. Educated Frenchmen began to

change their conceptions of the Turk; the "varying residue of medieval Christian hatred and blind prejudice against the Turks [was] now generally lifted from the Turks as men and confined to their religious beliefs . . . and elements of Turkish civilization [came] to receive favorable comment or even admiration at the expense of Western contrasts" (pp. 291-2). Especially was this true of the civil and military orderliness throughout the Empire, the absence of duelling, the sobriety and simplicity of life, the speed with which justice was administered, the system of promotion for merit as opposed to hereditary office-holding, the number of public baths, and the tolerance shown to Christians and Jews. Tolerance of competing religions attracted increasing interest as the era of the Reformation developed. Montaigne frequently used Turkish material in his meditations on human nature. Jean Bodin saw much to admire and study in the Ottoman state. Knowledge of the Turk and his ways was helping to soften a most intolerant age.

For writers of imaginative literature Turkish history provided a wealth of grim and tragic episodes: the story of Bayezid and Tamerlane, the slaughter by each new sultan of all his brothers, Sultan Suleyman's reluctant execution of his ablest sons and of his favorite Ibrahim, the murder of Osman II by the Janissaries, the four mutes with their fateful bowstring, and always the dark secrets and passions of the harem. Although no writer of the first rank chose a Turkish theme for a major work, Turks and Turkish plots appeared so frequently in minor works that the French public must have become very familiar with them. Turkish characters and costumes, Turkish words and phrases, Turkish splendor, passion, and cruelty were used to create an exotic and supposedly Oriental atmosphere in plays, novels, poems, and even in the nascent ballet.

Through the evidence which Dr. Rouillard has gathered so laboriously and presented so ably the reader can see the gradual evolution of French conceptions of the Turk. While the well-read Frenchman of 1520 was complacently and provincially sure that all Turks were "evil and ignorant Barbarians and Infidels," his descendant in 1660 knew that the Turks were civilized people, doubtless more cruel, more taciturn, and more amorous than most Europeans but possessed of much that was worthy of serious study if not of imitation. The concluding sentence of the book both summarizes this change and typifies the objectivity with which the author has done his work: "As French intellectual horizons were widened by accumulation of Turkish lore, so her literature was enriched by the beginnings of a genuine Oriental exoticism." This is no impassioned special pleading, no startling overemphasis, but truly sober and well-balanced judgment.

Excellent as is Dr. Rouillard's book, it nevertheless could have profited by the help of a competent Islamic scholar. His neglect of modern studies in Ottoman history may be condoned but his failure to consult a reference work so commonly available as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is hard to forgive. The Orientalist reader is annoyed repeatedly by such obvious errors as the definition of *sufi* as "a Mahometan priest," the explanation that Dragut (Turgut) is in the original Turkish "Jhagud" and by the failure to straighten out strange errors in transliteration of Turkish words and phrases made

by Frenchmen centuries ago. Yet all of these faults are minor and detract very little from the value of a work which is as nearly definitive in its field as any which this reviewer has read.

Dr. Rouillard has shown us the Turk as seen through the eyes of Frenchmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He promises to continue his studies through the eighteenth century, when French interest in the Orient flowered in scholarship as well as in literature. Readers will await this sequel with impatience and will hope that other scholars will be inspired to study the influence of the Orient in other European countries as well as the overwhelming impact of Occidental culture on the Orient in our own times. Such studies should help the peoples of the East and West to understand one another better and should add materially to our meager knowledge of the processes and problems of that interaction between civilizations which modern means of transportation and communication have made inevitable and rapid.

WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR.

Princeton University

Americans in Persia. By Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1946. pp. 293. \$3.

The author served as Administrator General of the Finances of Iran first from 1922 to 1927 and again from 1943 to 1945. An account of Dr. Millspaugh's first mission to Iran will be found in *The American Task In Persia* which was published in New York in 1925; the present volume tells the story of his second mission.

The first mission brought some measure of success and earned for the author the respect and gratitude of the Iranian people whose government did not hesitate to call him again when Iran's finances were disrupted by World War II. The second mission, however, was a failure and created an undesirable bitterness which culminated in the termination of Dr. Millspaugh's contract. It was most unfortunate that this should have happened at a time when Iran needed the services of a financial expert like Dr. Millspaugh, but from all indications the blame does not entirely lie upon the shoulders of the Iranian Government.

First Mission. Dr. Millspaugh's work in Iran will be better understood if his accomplishments there are briefly reviewed. On his first mission Iran was free from foreign occupation although not entirely free from foreign influence. Reza Khan Pahlavi ruled the land, first as Prime Minister, then as the Shah, and there existed an earnest desire to bring about some badly needed reforms. In spite of his ignorance and other shortcomings Reza Shah was most anxious to build Iran along the lines of Western civilization. In the face of opposition from politicians, religious fanatics and the landed class he applied himself most vigorously to this task. He had laws passed and stimulated a great movement towards the progress of his country. He supported the American mission with great sincerity. To quote Dr. Millspaugh's own words: "We had, too, Reza Khan's support. Without that, it is almost certain that Persian criticism and opposition would have made any constructive work impossible and our position untenable" (p. 22).

Again speaking of his first mission, Dr. Millspaugh says: "The Soviet Government did not welcome the Mission; they sniped at us in the Moscow press but gave us no serious trouble in Persia" (p. 22). After World War I the Russians had already renounced their concessions in Iran. Great Britain too, had, to some extent, abandoned hopes of dominating Iran and was willing to let her solve her own problems.

Thus Dr. Millspaugh started his work under very auspicious circumstances. He had the full co-operation and confidence of the government and the unswerving support and sympathy of the Iranian people. Certain financial reforms and some regulations on taxes were successfully put through. The national budget was balanced, the foundations of a national bank were laid and other constructive reforms were introduced. Dr. Millspaugh had become the most popular person in Iran.

Everything seems to have worked according to plan until Reza Khan made himself the Shah of Iran. On his accession to the throne he expected the sort of treatment from his former colleagues which an oriental potentate expects from inferiors even if some of these were Americans. According to Dr. Millspaugh himself the late Shah expressed his attitude towards him in the following words: "There can't be two Shahs in this country, and I am going to be *the* Shah" (p. 26 f.n. 7). The mission was therefore dismissed in 1927. Either Dr. Millspaugh's pride did not permit him to bow sufficiently before the authority of the Shah or he completely misjudged the psychological effect of his behavior towards the all-powerful dictator. Had he been as successful a diplomat as he was a financial expert he might have been able to overcome this difficulty and gain the confidence of the man who had so willingly supported him as Prime Minister.

In the fall of 1922 Dr. Millspaugh was welcomed to Iran by one of the newspapers of Tehran with the following words: "You are the last doctor called to the death-bed of a sick person. If you fail, the patient will die. If you succeed; the patient will live. I do not applaud your arrival. I shall applaud if you succeed" (*The American Task In Persia*, p. 3).

After three years of treatment Dr. Millspaugh gave the following report on the health of the patient: "Three thousand years of existence supplies in itself presumptive evidence of exceptional vitality and recuperative power. Persia, according to the diagnosis of the 'last doctor,' was a case of arrested development with complications. . . . Persia seemed likely, not merely to live but to grow healthy and vigorous if left alone on a simple nourishing financial diet with active economic exercise in the open door" (*The American Task In Persia*, p. 4).

Second Mission. On his second mission Dr. Millspaugh found the country under the occupation of Russian, British and American troops. Conditions were chaotic and the Iranian Government's voice was weak and ineffective. He was naturally faced with difficulties from all quarters. Yet a few months after his arrival he heard a similar welcome, this time spoken through the Radio Tehran by Khadjeh-Nouri, then Director of the Iranian Government's Propaganda Department, who, using again the patient and doctor analogy said:

"Now, we have to tell you that to-day we have brought you a good nice wound worthy of a doctor like you and your American Mission to operate on and cure" (p. 8). These words indicated the official attitude of the Iranian Government and as such openly acknowledged that the country was in a miserable condition and that it needed the services of an able financial administrator. The Iranians had again placed great hope in Dr. Millspaugh, their former physician and surgeon.

Speaking of President Roosevelt's visit to Iran at this time, Dr. Millspaugh says: "At the Teheran Conference in November 1943, President Roosevelt appeared much intrigued by his discovery that Americans employed by the Persian government had already started the job of postwar stabilization and development in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter. He referred to our effort as a 'clinic' . . ." (p. 8). This undoubtedly was a high compliment and all the more proved the importance of the task entrusted to Dr. Millspaugh.

On his second mission to Iran Dr. Millspaugh had to work under more unfavorable circumstances. The most important problem he faced was that of personnel. Most of the Americans who were assigned to responsible jobs were not qualified for these positions and were insufficiently prepared for their work. They were unfamiliar with the language, customs and people of the country and war conditions increased the pressure to act quickly in the face of difficult economic conditions. On his first mission Dr. Millspaugh had surrounded himself with able and experienced men who worked in a country at peace. On his second mission such men were at a premium as they were either engaged in the war effort in the United States or elsewhere.

No matter how unfavorable the circumstances, one thing cannot be denied—that the Iranian Government entrusted Dr. Millspaugh with practically all the powers he had asked for and co-operated with him to the fullest extent possible. The Full Powers Law of May 4, 1943, giving him almost dictatorial powers, is an outstanding example of such trust. This is what Dr. Millspaugh himself says about this law: "The law assigned to me personally the power to control the procurement, importation, exportation, transportation, stocking and distribution of raw materials and finished goods (other than food commodities), and to control rents (in agreement with the Minister of Justice), wages, and other charges for services. In the execution of these powers, the law authorized me to take any action that I might deem useful and necessary for the lowering of prices and stabilization of prices of goods and their fair distribution" (p. 97). With all due respect to Dr. Millspaugh's abilities it seems that the Iranian Government delegated much power to one individual. In spite of the fact that Dr. Millspaugh received all the powers he wished, he was still unable to effect the necessary improvements the Iranian Government anticipated.

Dr. Millspaugh goes to great pains to prove that the work of the second mission was obstructed and was under constant attack by the members of the parliament and government officials. He tries to vindicate himself and his American staff by placing the blame for his failure on the Iranian Government and oddly enough a greater

share of it on the State Department. How could a sovereign state, after delegating such powers as it did to a foreign adviser, regard him as a delegate of the American Government and take orders from him in that capacity? Dr. Millspaugh seems to have forgotten one basic fact throughout his second mission in Iran—that he was under contract to the Iranian Government and not to the Department of State.

What seems to be certain is that Dr. Millspaugh deviated from the original course set for him by the Iranian Government and took a long range view of what he calls the "Persian problem," and, as far as the State Department was concerned, acted *plus royalist que le roi*. Apparently he was not encouraged by the State Department officials in his views, for he admits himself: "One or two of the Department's officials emphasized what was believed to be an increase in the ability and nationalistic feeling of Persians and suggested that I should be 'more diplomatic' than I had been during my previous service" (p. 47). Evidently the State Department realized that the utmost diplomacy was essential.

In his bitterness Dr. Millspaugh goes so far as to say: "Without much exaggeration we can say that the Persian Government is a government of the corrupt, by the corrupt, and for the corrupt" (pp. 84-85). How can anyone accuse a whole nation of fifteen million with corruption and dishonesty? Had one not known Dr. Millspaugh better he would be almost tempted to call him a cynic or a pessimist, and attribute his unfortunate remarks to lack of faith or consider them as the reaction of a disappointed idealist. Apparently Dr. Millspaugh no longer feels that the ancient Iranian race has the same stamina and "marvelous recuperative powers" he observed during his first mission.

Inasmuch as he was unable to find these "recuperative powers," it would seem that his failure to find them might have been due to the inadequate diplomacy apparent in his first mission.

In spite of the foregoing remarks Dr. Millspaugh's book makes a definite contribution to our understanding of the difficulties with which Iran is confronted today. We are indebted to him for an excellent analysis of the character, personality and work of the late Shah, his strength and his weaknesses. A concise but useful review of political events in Iran leading to the adoption of the Constitution of 1906 occurs in the beginning of the book. The three closing chapters are concerned with the policies and attitudes of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States towards Iran. These chapters, although informative, are for the most part based on speculation. So far his predictions in regard to Russian actions in Iran have not materialized.

It is hoped that Dr. Millspaugh's fears for Iran will prove likewise unjustifiable and that uncomplimentary statements about the government and the people of Iran will not add to the ill feeling created by his second mission.

MEHMED A. SIMSAR

New York City

CURRENT TOPICS

The Church Situation in Egypt

A copy of a report to the Synod of the Nile has been sent to THE MOSLEM WORLD from which the following statements are made:

The local church membership numbers over twenty-four thousand, nearly eight hundred more than last year. Though the church is financially independent there is scope for those who would like to support the Evangelical Church of Egypt, which is an integral part of the mother church of North America.

The problem of evangelizing non-Christians is not adequately faced yet. One or two meetings are dedicated to that purpose, usually attended by very few Muslims. The Synod has but one separate worker, a true and honest convert. This year there have been five or six converts, but nearly two thousand have embraced Islam from the Christian minority, almost all of whom came from the Orthodox Copts of the Old Church.

The Muslim religion is progressing through the great movement of the zealous "Muslim Brethren." Islam is not only endeavoring to protect itself, but to propagate itself in many regions and spheres.

Muslim Students in America

Our Quarterly has received a partial file of the MUSLIM NEWS BULLETINE of the "Association of Muslim Students in America," kindly supplied by the Editor, Mohammad Ameen Khan Tareen, 177 College Street, Toronto, Canada, who has graciously permitted our quotations from BULLETINE No. 7 & 8, which are reproduced without change.

Undoubtedly the people of Canada, the United States and other nations, who have long enjoyed the privilege of organizing and promoting religious and social enterprises in many Muslim lands, welcome the efforts of Muslim individuals and groups from Egypt, India, Iran, Turkey and elsewhere, to "facilitate a better understanding between the nations of the world." Fairness and goodwill demand reciprocity and, without doubt, earnest groups in any country who enjoy and value freedom of religion and speech for themselves will always advocate the continuance and extension of those rights and privileges, with due regard to public order, to all citizens and foreigners in all lands.

"The Association of Muslim Students in America, is an organization of Muslim students from various parts of the world. Realizing the urgency for the promotion of understanding between various nations of the world as a necessary step towards the achievement of peace and harmony among the warring elements of the universe, the Muslim students in this country felt the necessity of an organization which could authoritatively explain the Muslim viewpoint before

other nations. The AMSA is essentially a religious and social organization, keeping aloof from the controversial politics of the world. Its only object is to understand the non-Muslims and present the Muslim point of view on various world problems to facilitate a better understanding between the nations of the world.

"The AMSA made a beginning, although it could not properly be put into shape until the end of October last, in September, 1946, when a batch of enthusiastic Muslim students reached San Francisco from India. Since then the student movement started by these handful of Muslim young men, has progressed at a very rapid rate. It is thus necessary to take stock of the situation and to see whether the AMSA has really lived up to its noble aim and whether, on the basis of achievements it has to its credit and the work it has done, it justifies its existence. Basing our answer on the opinions and comments by its members and various other elements connected with it, we can safely state that the AMSA has really done the job in this country. In the same issue we are publishing, as a sample from a multitude of such letters, a few comments that have been made about the Association and the MNB (Muslim News Bulletin).

"The basic aim for which AMSA was started was to fulfil the need of promoting an understanding between the Muslim world and the people of America. A short while after reaching America we had fully realised that our doubts were quite correct and well-founded. Many Americans, due to a lack of information and knowledge about the fundamentals of Islam, considered Muslims as heathens. Other problems were also quite misunderstood and the result was that the Muslims and their ideas and problems were not taken at their face value. The prejudice played its part.

"We do not at all claim that during the last ten months we have been able to absolutely remove such a state. That is a far bigger problem than an organisation like ours can competently and fully tackle. But we are satisfied that we have and we would contribute our honest share towards the solution of the problem. And also we have been successful—very successful, if we may say so—in laying down the foundations for an attack on this problem and from there others construct and develop their solutions.

"The members of the AMSA have worked both individually as well as the parts of the organisation. They availed of every opportunity afforded them, to acquaint the people here of the real problems of the Muslim world. Radio, newspaper, platform and pulpit—every method was utilized to do the job. The task and the responsibility was heavy but the young men, with their inherent zeal and capacity to overcome the hurdles, did a fine job. Various interested elements, who were afraid of the rising movement, tried to stop and hinder our activities but we 'marched forward' with trust in God and confidence in ourselves.

"But these achievements should not dazzle us. They are but a small fraction of the huge task that still lies ahead. We must proceed, like an ambitious army which though pleased with the smaller victories is never satisfied until the final success, towards our final goal. We have still to do the task.

"We would take this opportunity to appeal all the Muslim stu-

dents in this country to get together and organise themselves. Organisation, on a smaller scale though it may be, gives you strength. Wherever there are a group of Muslims they should open a branch of the AMSA. For it is through this that we can be sure of our strength. Cooperation and coordination of our efforts would lead us towards the achievement of our final goal. Through organisation we would be able to promote a better understanding between the American people and ourselves. And promotion of understanding is the only sure way of establishing peace in the world."

The Assimilation of Western Influences in Iran*

A fundamental fact to be noted in any discussion concerning the interaction of Islamic and Western thought in Iran is the ability, proven over and over again in the course of history, of the culture of Iran to conquer her conquerors. From the very remains of pre-historic times we trace in the pottery the fact of incursions of new cultures and other peoples. They unite with the distinctive Iranian rudimentary civilization to form a new pattern adapted to the environment and combining the various cultural streams into the Iranian artistic tradition and culture. When we come to the Achaemenid period we find the remains of Persepolis, as well as other capitals of the period, presenting a distinctive culture and architecture which was moulded by and yet which absorbed the influences of Assyria and Egypt. There are excellent examples of this in the carvings and the architectural remains at Persepolis.

With the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greek culture was deliberately imported and Alexander himself hoped to combine the best from the cultures of the west and east. He founded Greek cities over all of the present Iran and even areas further east. Many elements of Greek civilization entered the stream of Persian culture, yet it finally maintained its distinction. The Parthian dynasty continued the Greek influence very strongly, but when the Sassanian rulers came in distinctly Iranian elements again were able to gain the upper hand.

At the beginning of the Islamic period Iran had suffered from the invasions of the Seljuk Turks and the Mongols, yet in a very short time we find the rulers of these conquerors quite under the spell of the art, literature and culture of Iran.

At the time of the Islamic conquest the conquerors were not used to a high type of architecture, but gradually the mosque plan is evolved from elements present in Sassanian buildings of the third century A.D., some four hundred years before the time of Mohammed.

In all of this we should bear in mind the Persian national characteristic of accepting outwardly the foreign influences, but with mental reservations, and even on many occasions intentional dissimulation. It seems to be a settled characteristic of the Iranian

* Comments on a paper read by Professor T. Cuyler Young on "interaction of Islamic and Western Thought—Iran," at the Princeton University Bicentennial Conference on Near Eastern Culture and Society, March 1947.

mind to accept outward conformity to pressure from outside the country, while at the same time maintaining a certain inward independence of thought and action. It should be added to this, that people in Iran have speculative minds and a great deal of curiosity, beneath which there is an element of conservatism and a love for the traditions of the past. These two opposite extremes are united in the antithesis which is the Iranian character. And when a Persian is forced into a corner he will usually not express all his feelings, but merely question, "Che arz konam?"—What shall I petition?—which means that he does not wish to commit himself on the question in point.

So it was that there came about a very general outward acceptance of Islam in Iran while there were many reservations within the hearts and minds of the Persians. The Mohammedan religion really became national, however, under the Safavid monarchs. They adopted the Shiah faith and bound it up with a real spirit of nationalism and patriotism. These rulers were from Azerbaijan and their native language was Azerbaijan Turkish, yet they were at war with the Osmanli Turks and wished to make a sharp division, so they emphasized the special tenets of the Shiah faith. This method proved effectual in separating the people of north-western Iran from the residents of Turkey across the border. There was great affection and enthusiasm for the Safavids as native Iranian rulers and combined with a fanatical zeal for the faith, Iran came to give from the heart an intense devotion to this type of Islam.

This was true until in modern times a new nationalism came in with its destructive force in regard to other allegiance. The acid of this rather secular nationalism under Reza Shah Pahlavi began to eat into the solid metal of the Shiah faith. The story of Reza Shah is more interesting in many ways than a tale from the Arabian Nights. This man who was born in the most humble circumstances, like Abraham Lincoln in America, rose to be a king and the "king of kings" and sat upon the throne of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes. When he died the *New York Times* said that he had an income before he left the throne of ten million dollars a year. I think this may be quite true. Reza Shah was indeed a genius and aside from what he did for himself he brought his country out from the mediaeval to the modern period in a few short years. In order to make his reforms possible this monarch deliberately set about to undermine the influence of the clergy and he turned popular opinion away from the Shiah faith. At the beginning of his rise to power in a large gathering many people would leave at noon to perform the stated prayers. In the latter years of his reign in a great crowd, and there were many such gatherings, if anyone left to say the stated prayers he would be an object of derision from the crowd.

One of the more spectacular reforms under Reza Shah was the removal of the veil from women in public. Iran wished to follow Turkey in the various reforms that had been put into practice there, but she wished to come along more slowly. The Persian attitude was to grasp after the new with one hand, while holding fast to the old tradition with the other. The removal of the veil was indeed a great change for the women who had never shown their faces to any but

the members of their immediate family. They made a wonderful adjustment, which illustrates again the Iranian skill at adaptation.

Take, for instance, a doctor friend of mine, who had treated a Moslem lady many times when she had been veiled, but had come to know her while engaged in his profession. This doctor met her upon the street after the removal of the veil. She was dressed in European clothes of the latest style and when she met the doctor she smiled and tipped her hat to him! Yes, there were many small points the ladies of Iran had to learn but they made a truly remarkable adjustment to the new conditions. The removal of the veil created a new social revolution among the men of Iran, for now they suddenly were called upon to enter a social life where they would meet both sexes, whereas for centuries men had gathered by themselves. Needless to say this has exerted a restraining effect on the men as well as broadened their social outlook.

For some twenty years I was the guest in Iran of a fine people. My wife and family join in a deep affection for these friends who have treated us over the years with such courtesy and hospitality. We have come to admire many things about Iran. They have a continuous artistic history and tradition of thousands of years, which some think comprise the greatest history of art in the world. If there should be any nation with a longer and greater artistic tradition it would be China. But in many things the people of Iran outrank even the Chinese. They can take colors which others would not think of using together and combine them into a marvelous harmony that reminds one of a great cathedral window, or to change the simile, the musical notes in a great symphony. The Persians have great aptitude and skill in many lines. May they have an opportunity to continue their national life without interference in a political way, and have the chance to make progress along the lines of their great national heritage, contributing their part to the advance and culture of a new and better world!

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A Catholic Cycle of Prayer for Muslims

From an article on "Prayers for Moslems" by the Rev. A. G. Schirmann, S.J., in "Jesuit Missions" for March 1947 the following paragraphs are quoted:

"During the year 1945 our Holy Father Pope Pius XII through the Apostleship of Prayer sounded a clarion call to the Catholic world for a campaign of prayer for the Moslems. This was not his first appeal but it was his most intensive. . . .

"Still another means of fostering zeal in the apostolate among the Moslems is to acquaint ourselves more and more with the problem that confronts the Church in Islamic countries. Besides periodical literature and articles in encyclopedias the first chapter of Sigrid Undset's "Stages on the Road" has a sketch of Raymond Lull. "A Saint under Moslem Rule" (Bruce Publishing Co.) will prove interesting and "Islam: Its Rise and Decline" (American Press) by

Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy S.J. and "God Wills It" (Catholic Near East Welfare Ass'n) by Very Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon will open our eyes to a vast harvest of souls awaiting our prayers for their salvation.

"To add variety to the devotion of those who wish to practice some daily act of mortification or offer some daily prayer for the conversion of the Moslems the author of this article has had mimeographed on a single page thirty-one intentions for our good works, one for each day of the month. These intentions have been drawn from the twelve intentions assigned by our Holy Father for the mission intentions of the Apostleship of Prayer for 1945. It is modeled on a similar prayer league of our non-Catholic brethren known as the "Fellowship of Prayer for Moslems" with the sub-caption "A Cycle of Prayer." . . . I have endeavored to mold on the scaffolding of the Cycle of Prayer the intentions of the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom so that Catholics may join their voices with their non-Catholic brethren in a crusade of prayer that the Lord of the Harvest may bless the labors of those who are seeking to bring the Moslems to Christ."

The Allah of Islam

In the February 1947 issue of *The Review of Religions*, which is an organ of the Ahmadiyya Movement of Qadian, India, there is a ten-page review of the article by Dr. Zwemer in the October 1946 number of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, reprinted from *Theology Today* of April 1946. The review expresses admiration for the tone of Dr. Zwemer's article, quotes largely from it and offers replies to his declaration "that Islam has no true, deep sense of sin, no real soteriology, no adequate anthropology, and a very carnal eschatology." The review further states: "He says that nowhere in the Qur-an or the Traditions is God called Love, nor is He addressed as Father—the two main short-comings of Islamic Allah, nor is He declared holy."

We quote two passages from the review:

"What he means by sense of sin is best known to him, yet elsewhere in the same article he writes, "man's standing naked, defenceless, sinful, in Allah's presence was a dominant idea to the Prophet." "O our Lord, we have wronged ourselves, and if Thou didst not forgive us and have mercy upon us, we would be the utter losers," says one of the well-known prayers in the Holy Quran which the Moslems recite so repeatedly every day. It is true Islam does not, like Christianity, inculcate that man is born in sin. Sin it considers a disease which can be cured by real and sincere repentance. Islam does not minimise sin. It says that it brings about the death of earth, but it says at the same time that there is a divine scheme of things to restore life back to earth after its death through sin by raising Prophets or their Successors. That is the scheme of salvation that has been in operation since man became conscious of good and evil, and as this phenomenon of life and death is always alternating hence there is always need to repent and repent through His Messengers and their teachings and the life-giving waters brought to light by them. "Know ye that God is certainly going to revive this

earth after its death," is the message of the Holy Qur-an at the proclamation of Holy Prophet's mission. That is the message of hope and salvation which runs through the whole tenor of Islamic teaching, and yet the Rev. gentleman says that Islam "has no real soteriology", that is the scheme of human salvation. Maybe, unless it was the pet Christian doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice, which neither reason nor revelation supports, which only occurred to God after a long disappointing experience, which has no basis in human experience or knowledge, and which has no counterpart in the laws governing the universe of man, and which was never thought of by any divine sage or prophet before or ever since and which has fallen flat altogether. . . .

"It is true, and we may at least concede this allegation of the Rev. gentleman, that the Holy Qur-an does not call God Father, for that is not the very appropriate title, especially when we have a better word than that. God is called *rab* and not *ab* (father) for the former is more comprehensive and more suitable as a divine attribute. Fatherly connection is limited to time and place and is moreover material and sensual, whereas *raboobiyyat* conveys Divine connection with man even before his birth and after his death—from eternity to eternity—while the underlying idea is to raise man from a mere nonentity to a perfect being, here as well as hereafter and that God's mercy and love always cover him. Fatherhood is an imperfect idea; that is why some nations call Him mother in preference to father, for apparently if mere love were all, then mother's love shows better than father's. Yet Islam acknowledges that as an elementary and preliminary idea one can think of God as Father, for in some verses the believers are asked to remember God as they would remember their fathers but they should not rest content with that, but intensify it still further. That is only the beginning. Hence Islam accepts its preliminary significance, as the first stage, but propounds a far nobler and more perfect idea of *raboobiyyat*. *Rab* as opposed to *ab* (mere father) is Creator, Developer and Sustainer, who leads man from the various stages of creation, etc. to the highest stage of perfection. Surely one would prefer a *rab* to an *ab* whose connection is only temporary and limited."

✱ Rev. George W. Hunter, M.B.E.* ✱

The name of George Hunter has become almost legendary, so closely and for so long has he been associated with Central Asia. He had become part of it, and the Central Asian picture would be incomplete without him.

He reached China in 1889, returning to England on furlough for the first and only time in 1900, and after fifty-seven years of missionary service in the China Inland Mission he died on December 20, 1946, at Kanchow, a city of the Province of Kansu. Though he was first and foremost a missionary he was also a great explorer, and

knew Turkestan, where he had spent some forty years, as no living man knows it. He was aggravatingly reticent about his findings, and travellers who visited him hoping to learn something of the social and political conditions of the land where he lived were baffled as their questions were met with a courteous phrase which told them nothing, and when the distinguished old man had bowed and bade them farewell at the door of the mission compound they realized that he had imparted but little information and committed himself to no line of judgment. It was passing strange that a man who so resolutely refrained from even normal conversation about political events should in the end have to suffer imprisonment on an accusation of being a British spy. The torture meted out to him during this term of imprisonment told very heavily on his mind and his health.

When first he came to Urumchi, in the early years of this century, the Cossack Consular Guard still rode about wearing scarlet *caftans* and high lambskin caps; but he saw many changes take place, and when he was imprisoned the dreaded secret police were at work everywhere.

The cruelest blow to George Hunter was that on being expelled from the country he was never allowed to revisit his home or even to collect his valuable books and manuscripts. Where they have been scattered no one knows. He died as he lived, a lonely man, far from his fellow-countrymen, and during his last illness he was nursed by Chinese Christians. He was one of the last great pioneer missionaries. It is regrettable that he has not passed on more of the accumulated knowledge which he possessed; but his is the honour which he most coveted, not the M.B.E. which the King was graciously pleased to grant him, but that of being a translator of the Scriptures into the language of some remote tribes who otherwise would not yet have had them.

MILDRED CABLE

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: March 1-May 31, 1947. Documents, Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. July, 1947. pp. 307-333).

JAFFA AU MOYEN-AGE. F. M. Abel. (In *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem. Vol. 20, no. 1, 1946).

A detailed, historical guide to a city full of interest to Christian and Muslim.

JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA. M. Mujeeb. (In the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Calcutta. October, 1946. pp. 111-115).

An account of the founding and activities of the National Muslim University at Delhi.

THE KHABAR VALLEY. J. Rowlands. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1947. pp. 144-149).

Describes the fertile land and its varied population made up of Kurds, Arabs, Assyrians and Turks.

II. ARABIA

A NEW JOURNEY IN SOUTHERN ARABIA. W. Thesiger. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. April, 1947. pp. 129-145).

Follows the author's trip from Salala to Mughshin, north-east across the Sahma sands, and from Salala to Tarim in the wadi Hadhramaut in an effort to investigate locust breeding, seasonal rainfall and vegetation.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF MAHABAD. Archie Roosevelt, Jr. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. July, 1947. pp. 247-269).

The year December 1945-December 1946 saw the rise and fall of an experiment in government which proved a failure because of the disunity of the Kurds and a lack of Soviet support.

MOSLEM MILLIONS ASTIR IN EAST ASIA. Vanya Oakes. (In the *United Nations World*, New York. March, 1947. pp. 29-31).

Deep longing for political freedom is arousing and uniting Islam from Malaya to the Philippines and from Sinkiang to Indonesia.

LES MUSULMANS EN U.R.S.S. ET LA POLITIQUE ISLAMIQUE. (In *Cahiers du Monde Nouveau*, Paris. February, 1947. pp. 15-21).

An analysis of the position of the Moslem states in Russia and of the possibility of their being used as a starting point for Soviet expansion in the Near and Middle East.

NOTE SUR LA CONVERSION A L'ISLAMISME EN 1715 DE LA TRIBU WANDALA. J. Mouchet. (In the *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises*, Douala. Numéros 15-16, 1946. pp. 105-107).

A note supplied by Liman Umaté, the present sultan's marabout.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

THE CONTRIBUTION OF A MEDIEVAL ARAB SCHOLAR TO THE PROBLEM OF LEARNING. G. E. von Grunebaum and T. M. Abel. (In *The Journal of Personality*, Durham, N. C. Vol. 15, 1946-'47. pp. 59-69).

An analysis of the *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim-Tariq al-Ta'allum* of al-Zarnūjī, a work discussing education and psychology as well as presenting cultural history.

ISLAM THE ONLY SOLUTION OF INDIAN UNTOUCHABILITY. M. Y. Khan. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. March, 1947. pp. 90-95).

The true democracy preached by Islam wins innumerable converts from Hinduism.

ISLAMIC AND WESTERN THOUGHT IN TURKEY. Abdulhak Adnam Adivar. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. July, 1947. pp. 270-280).

An historical survey.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AGROCLIMATOLOGY AND CROP ECOLOGY OF PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN AND CLIMATIC ANALOGUES IN THE UNITED STATES. M. Y. Nuttonson. (In *The Geographical Review*, New York. July, 1947. pp. 436-456).

A thorough study of the subject accompanied by a selected bibliography.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF PAKISTAN. Dr. Anwar Qureshi. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1947. pp. 160-165).

Argues that the provinces included in the proposed Muslim State and carefully surveyed in the Natthai-Mody Memorandum can maintain their standards of living and meet their budgetary requirements.

IS ISLAM ANTI-HUMANITARIAN? Mohammed Hafiz Syed. (In *The Indian Review*, Madras. February, 1947. pp. 57-59).

The author claims that the basic principles of Islam disavow criminal and intolerant acts and he urges Moslem leaders in India to work for peaceful accord with the Hindus.

PROBLEMS OF LABOUR ORGANIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. J. H. Jones. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1947. pp. 119-130).

After visiting throughout the section, attending meetings and interviewing leaders, the author finds trade unionism rampant and believes that Britain and the United States should instruct and further the movement out of their experience.

SOME HEALTH PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Sir Harry Sinder-

son. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1947. pp. 131-143).

Hookworm, Malaria, Pellagra and innumerable diseases of malnutrition are prevalent and must be alleviated.

TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA. George Cunningham. (In *World Review*, London. February, 1947. pp. 23-29).

The author, governor of the Province from 1937 to 1946, finds that the natives prefer to be free, undeveloped and unadministered.

TURKISH WOMEN TO-DAY, AND YESTERDAY. Süreyya Ağaoğlu (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1947. pp. 179-181).

The year 1923 saw the birth of constitutional independence for the women of Turkey and from 1934 on they have enjoyed complete freedom of action and political equality.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE EMPIRE AND THE MIDDLE EAST. (In *The Round Table*, London. March, 1947. pp. 103-111).

Considers British policy in the quarter with particular reference to Empire security.

THE FUTURE OF FRENCH NORTH AFRICA. L. James. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. February, 1947. pp. 93-97).

Membership in the Arab League will probably prove more attractive than position within the French Union if North Africa is granted independence by the French.

HINDU AND AFGHAN ON THE INDIAN FRONTIER. William Barton. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. February, 1947. pp. 77-80).

Predicts a Moslem-Hindu clash when British withdrawal from India might permit a million Afghans to rally beside their co-religionists.

PARADOXES LIBANAIS. Georges Jarlot. (In *Études*, Paris. Avril, 1947. pp. 47-60).

Surveys the position of Lebanon since the termination of the French Mandate and finds that her absorption into the Arab League would be fatal to her hard-won independence.

PLAYING WITH FIRE IN THE NEAR EAST. V. Stambulov. (In *Amerasia*, New York. June, 1947. pp. 175-186).

An indictment of Britain's imperialistic policies in the Levant since 1918 when the Arab World was first betrayed by the Sykes-Picot agreement.

UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. W. B. Fisher. (In *The Geographical Review*, New York. July, 1947. pp. 414-435).

A finely documented presentation.

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