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NATIONALISM AND NEO-ISLAM
AS RELATED TO MODERN MISSIONS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE SUBJECT

"Islam" is the more correct word for Christianity's greatest of rival religions, Mohammedanism. It had its origin in the deserts of Arabia in the early part of the seventh century. Its tenets were introduced by the man Mohammed to his fellow Arabs living in the vicinity of Mecca and Medine. It was first promulgated as a corrective to the gross idolatry of the Arabs whose chief shrine of worship was in Mecca. In a little time, however, it grew in strength and Mohammed its originator proclaimed himself the Prophet of God. The Koran was accepted as the revelation of God to Mohammed, divinely dictated and unalterable in its contents, even to the points of punctuation. Under the early Caliphs, the successors of Mohammed, Islam spread through Palestine along the northern shores of Africa, and into Spain and France. By 750 A.D., a little more than a hundred years after its inception, Islam swayed vast territories of Asia, Africa and Europe, and enslaved the hearts of people of hitherto different religions, Christianity included.

The history of Islam is a most fascinating study. The warfare within the Mohammedan groups, the dividing into the Shiah and Sunni sects, the decadence of the Caliphate---all these are of moment to the student of history.

We are interested in this study, however, in a contemporary situation. We are interested in the status of Islam in our day: to what extent it is the Islam of history, to what extent it is introducing new elements, to what extent interpretation has gone. We are interested in examining the contemporary Moslem mind to understand its longings, to note its progress, to find if it is more receptive to the Gospel than the mind of the nineteenth century Moslem. The World War wrought unprecedented changes in the political geography of the Moslem world. Great tracts that were formerly under Turkish, and, therefore, Moslem tutelage, are now under the protection of Christian powers. Coupled with this direct Western influence is the more or less indirect influence of the press, trade, travel, commerce and a reciprocity in education whereby Oriental students come to Western lands for study and Westerners go to the East for oriental research. The impact of Christian Missions, increasing during the century of its contact, is no slight consideration in estimating the influence from the West. In fact, Missions are recognized by political economists, sociologists,

and religionists alike as a disintegrating force in the hitherto solid wall of Islam.

If we can suggest ways and means of suiting our Message to this type of mind for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom we shall in a measure fulfil the aim of our study. We shall seek to answer the questions that thrust themselves to the fore: To what extent has liberalism permeated the modern mind? To what extent can the present Islam, or as we shall call it, Neo-Islam, still be called Islam? What progress are liberal ideas making in the Moslem world? What is the attitude of the Neo-Islamic scholars towards other religions, especially Christianity? What is the status of Moselm ideals in our day? What is the portent for the future of the present Moslem mentality? How shall Christian Missions meet the challenge of this new world of Islam? What change in Mission methods is required? What shall be the heart of our Message? These and many other questions must be attempted if we are to arrive at a solution to our problem.

II. The Justification of the Subject

Missionaries on the field in Moslem lands realize that many of the methods of yesterday will not satisfy the needs of today. They are faced with an unprecedented situation, politically, economically, socially and religiously. The nationalism that has flared up since the war has changed the entire complexion of Moslem life. Education is now

an accepted requisite of the new order. There is a recognition of the success of Western character and enlightenment for making a sound state. And an independent state is the aim of all national groups from Istanbul to Bombay. Youth groups are thinking nationally instead of religiously. Religion must not interfere with the progress of nationalism.

We feel, therefore, that we are venturing in a field that is significantly fertile for the future of the Kingdom. Although, much of our study must necessarily be based on the shifting utterances of a growing East, there is enough of common agreement in the main to justify our use of them.

The justification of the subject lies in its timeliness. The leaders of the church at home and abroad are making the situation on the foreign field a matter of primary interest. Many articles have been written during the past few years as to what our method shall be, but much of what has been written is guilty of vagueness. If we can arrive at some definitive recommendations, we believe that a contribution will be made worthy of the effort of the study.

III. Statement regarding terms used.

The word "Moslem" is used to denote a devotee of Islam. In quotations, no change will be made in the spelling which varies with the author. A common variation is the spelling, "Muslim". The same holds true with the use

of the word "Mohammedanism". In some cases "Muhammedanism" is used in quotations. The transliteration of Arabic terms is given as nearly as possible the English equivalent enclosed within quotations marks.

The term "Neo-Islam" is used to denote the new type of Islam as differentiated from orthodox Islam. The use of this term is justified by its frequent use by W. Graham Wilson in his book entitled, "Modern Movements Among Moslems."

The Arabic names of Moslems are transliterated as nearly as the English language permits.

IV. Method of Procedure.

The thesis begins with a discussion of nationalism in the lands of the Near East. The discussion is purposely confined to Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Palestine and Persia because India has a nationalist situation that involves religions other than Islam. Our interest lies primarily in the post-war situation of these countries. Nationalism is of interest only in so far as it bears upon Islam.

The third chapter is a study of the new mentality resulting from nationalism and the impact of the West. We shall point out what constitutes the new mentality and then seek an evaluation.

The fourth chapter is a study of the liberal tendencies in Islam. In the consideration of the liberal tendencies in Islam we shall not confine ourselves to territory but have made free to include the leading Moslem thinkers.

India, the birthplace of the Ahmadiyah Movement, and the home of 70,000,000 Moslems, is making a pronounced impact upon liberal Moslem thought. It is true that Western Islam, namely, that of Europe and the British Isles, is ultra-liberal in order to entice the loyalties of Christians, yet the contribution in scholarship is negligible. We shall, therefore, refrain from a consideration of the thought of this section of the Moslem world.

In the final chapter we shall consider the various opinions regarding mission method, evaluate them, and seek for a synthesis. We shall attempt to propose what shall be the task of modern Missions and how to work out effectively ways and means of accomplishing this end.

V. The Sources.

Much has been written in this field since the World War. Only a few books, however, have been written which bear directly upon the phase with which this thesis deals. Aside from books that deal with the relation of nationalism and liberalism in Islam to modern Missions, the best guide will be periodical publications such as the Moslem World and missionary pamphlets. Since most of the material for appreciating the political situation is written in Arabic of which the author has only a superficial knowledge, translations will have to be depended upon. These translations will of necessity be considered as primary sources.

The opinions of Dr.Samuel M.Zwemer of Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr.Paul W.Harrison of Arabia, Rev.Edwin E.Calverley, Ph.D., of the Islamic Department of Hartford Theological Seminary and Rev.John Van Ess,D.D., of Basrah, Iraq with whom the author is personally acquainted will be helpful in arriving at a solution to our problem. Letters in the form of questionnaires have been sent out and answers received from leading authorities in Missions throughout the United States. Their contents will be valuable to the presentation in the last chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

NATIONALISM IN THE MOHAMMEDAN LANDS OF THE NEAR EAST

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NATIONALISM IN THE MOHAMMEDAN LANDS OF THE NEAR EAST

I. Historical Background

A. Effects of the World War

The effects of the French Revolution were in the main confined to Europe. The immediate effects of the Russian Revolution were likewise chiefly felt in Europe. In the World War, however, even though the conflict centered in Europe and the question at issue was "between the hegemony of two European groups of powers,"¹ Asiatic and African people were for the first time drawn into the conflict and helped to decide the destiny of Europe.

The repercussions of the War, with Eastern peoples in the conflict, could not but be transferred to the masses of the East at home. "The masses became politically conscious, their sufferings sharpened their ability to detect cause and effect not otherwise observed in everyday life, they came in contact with alien countries and conditions, and all this caused the desire for a thorough-going change in existing conditions....."²

The European powers made promises to the Eastern peoples which were never fulfilled.³ On October 25, 1915

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1. Kohn, History of Nationalism in the East, p. 1
2. Ibid, p. 2
3. Mott, Moslem World of Today, p. 65

the British Government promised that the Sharif of Mecca would be formally recognized by Great Britain as Arab king, save in south Mesopotamia and in territory where Great Britain was "not free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally."¹ On the previous March a secret treaty between France and Great Britain was signed stating that French interests would be paramount in Syria and British interests in Egypt.² The implication of this treaty was that the Sharif of Mecca was excluded from Syria, thereby destroying the promise made by the British Government on October 25. The secret treaty, however, was not made known to the Arabs nor to British officers operating in this territory and in negotiation with the Arabs of the district. In 1917, the Arabs joined in the Palestine and Syrian campaigns against the Turks under the impression that they were preparing the way for the anticipated kingdom of which Hussein of Mecca was to be king.

In May of 1916, the notorious Sykes-Picot Treaty³ was made between France, Russia and Great Britain whereby Syria was given to France and Palestine to Great Britain, thus making "two spheres of influence". The extent to which the Arabs believed the promises of the European governments is illustrated by a note dropped among the Arab troops in the Turkish army during the war: "Our aim

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1. O'leary, Islam at the Crossroads, p. 159
2. Ibid., p. 159
3. Copy of treaty in Appendix IV, "The Middle East", by Major E.W. Polson Newman, p. 288

is to stand for Muslims and for Islam, and to spread education amongst the Arabs. Signed, 'Al-Hussayn Ibn 'Ali, Sharif and Amir of the Arabs'." ¹

The very nature of the secret treaties precluded the possibility of the promises being fulfilled. Colonel T.E. Lawrence at the Peace Conference at Versailles was a lone voice crying in the wilderness and would not be listened to by the conferees. Syria became a mandated territory under the French, and Palestine a mandated territory under the British. An attempt to rectify the promises made was to place Feisel on the Iraq throne. Feisel was the son of Hussein of Mecca. His other son, Abdullah, was made king of Transjordan. It is common knowledge, however, that the eastern people of the Mohammedan circle are not satisfied with the "fulfillment" of the European promises.

B. Fellowships of Common Destiny

This failure to fulfil the promises made during the heat of the war united the Eastern group in what Hans Kohn aptly calls "a fellowship of common destiny." ² He says that since 1918 the history of the world has been influenced and swayed by three great "fellowships of common destiny." The first of these fellowships is the European group, excluding Russia. The social implication here has been the dissolution and dispossession of the old middle class resulting in the emergence of a new social stratum.

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1. O'Leary, Islam at the Crossroads, p. 160

2. Kohn, History of Nationalism in the East, p. 2

Politically it has "evolved the definitive proclamation of the democratic principle of nationality and the establishment of New European nationalities, probably the last of their kind."¹

The second fellowship is the Anglo-Saxon group consisting of the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and South Africa. These nations are bound together by an identical language and civilization. They are economically independent, command the seas, are wealthy in raw materials and have achieved high technical development in industry. They are conservative in temperament and action. They are the first, both in America and England, to carry out a revolution by which a new middle class entered into their rights and "which ushered in the national state, with its guiding principle of popular sovereignty and the capitalist system".² The enmity of this fellowship is apparent in England's willingness to pay the war debt and the agreement to naval equality with the United States in 1922 at the Washington Naval Conference. To maintain this fellowship, England has been willing to sacrifice her alliance with Japan. In America restrictions have been put upon immigration. This is the American gesture for the maintenance of this fellowship.

The third fellowship, and the one in which we are most interested, yet which cannot be considered apart

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1. Op.Cit., p. 2

2. Ibid., p. 3

from the others, is the Asiatic fellowship. During the centuries in which Europe was completely transformed intellectually and socially, the Orient sank into "timeless immobility". There was danger by the end of the nineteenth century that Asia and Africa were to fall under the dominion of the white race. But a factor began to enter which was the beginning of a change in the East. The Christian missionary brought not only religious conceptions of the West, but set up schools which could not but bring with them political and social doctrines.¹ The West began to be the Orient's schoolmaster. The ancient glories of the high periods of the Orient's history were excavated, polished and prized. Western ideas concerning manners and customs, the principles of statecraft, religious democracy and industry began slowly to penetrate the East. This process began in the earliest decades of the 19th century.² It was not long before no quarter of Asia or Africa was left unaffected.

In the twentieth century occurred two events that though external contributed to an intensification of this growing sentiment of common destiny. They were the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, and as has already been referred to, the participation of

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1. Op. Cit., p. 5
2. Ibid., p. 5

Asiatics in the War of 1914. The former of the two conveyed to their minds the unheralded fact that for past centuries there had been no Oriental victory over Western powers. The latter announced to them a new era between East and West.

"The dominating position of small European settlements in the East, based upon respect and fear, was made possible by the fact that there the whites faced the millions of other races as a united ruling caste, with no poor or outlawed or ill-used members. Not only the educated classes but the great mass of people now saw this legend destroyed as they watched the European spectacle in amazement. Just as in the past the first successes against the Turks had inspired the Europeans with fresh confidence, also the great European War gave assurance to the people of the East. A new epoch had dawned in the struggle between East and West."¹

To understand more fully the historical background of the nationalism that flared up at the conclusion of the War, it will be necessary to investigate the rise and influence of Pan-Islamism and its strength today. We cannot reckon adequately with nationalism unless we take cognizance of this movement that like a rocket rose high in the skies of expectation but soon burned out under the cooling influence of Western ideas and methods.

C. Pan Islamism

The consideration of nationalism as related to the Near Eastern situation is not complete without a study of the bearing of Pan Islamism upon its causes, effects and

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1. Op.Cit., p. 6

present status.

Samuel Graham Wilson defines Pan Islamism as follows:

"Pan Islamism is a movement with the purpose and endeavor to unite for defensive and aggressive action. It aims to combine by the ties of religion Moslems of every race and country, in the work of conserving and propogating the faith and of freeing it by means of political and military force from alien rule and thus making it again a triumphant world power. It has a religious side and a political side. On the religious side it is conservative and would strenuously maintain Islam. Yet it would have a platform broad enough to include all sects and parties. On the political side it would weld into an alliance all Moslem governments and people."¹

Wilson further points out that Pan Islamism is tenable because it is in accordance with two fundamental principles of Islam, namely, the brotherhood or unity of all Mohammedans and the element of military action.

The birthplace of Pan Islamism was Turkey. Its father was Sultan Abdul Hamid; its mother, the aggression and military success of Western Christian powers. The Turks bitterly resented defeat by a western military force from the time their forces were driven back from the gates of Vienna. Turkish leaders began to realize if Turkey was to hold her own against Western Christian forces, it would be necessary to adopt Western methods. Turkish reformers, therefore, sought to introduce Western efficiency in military affairs.

"The West, they argued, could only be fought with its own weapons, and Turkey in the nineteenth century, with Russia on the one side and the Balkan States on the other pressing her all the time, was struggling for her very existence.

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1. Wilson, Modern Movements Among Moslems, pp. 69,60.

The superiority of the Western military engine was admitted, but Turkey sought first to attain a military efficiency equal to the West without acquiring the whole Western way of life. As a set-off against Western thought Islam was exalted, and to counteract Western aggression, Abdul Hamid sought, through a Pan Islamic policy to unite all Moslems in a league of self-defence. The caliphate was made the slogan of this movement. The Turks were the defenders of the faith, the Sultan the head of Islam, and every political crisis was viewed from the standpoint of a holy war, in which the world of Islam would rise in defence of the faith".¹

The pilgrimage to Mecca was brought to the Mohammedan world's attention as the great force that moulded the unity and solidarity of Islam. At the Kaaba races from all parts of the world met in common brotherhood. It was the beginning of those feelings for a world religion.

The caliphate was exalted in a way it had never quite been exalted before. India was made its champion. "As Pan Islamism developed it assumed a definitely anti-Western character."²

In many places the movement was taken up with zeal. The Sennousi in North Africa were such a group who proselytized with great enthusiasm. Islam made tremendous strides in Africa under the impetus of the movement. The Moslems of India set up educational institutions that had far-reaching influence throughout the East. Some of the distinguished champions of Pan Islamism were Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan of Delhi and Rt.Hon.Sayyid Amir 'Ali. Even

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1. Cash, The Expansion of Islam, p. 130
2. Ibid., pg. 131

as far east as China the Moslems fought for their independence but were defeated at Hunan by the Chinese Government. Propogandists were employed to preach the doctrine of the "peril of western domination." Sayyid Jamal-el-Din Afghani travelled in India and Egypt and in other places finally settling in Turkey, conducting his campaign from there until poisoned by order of the Sultan in 1896. He preached that the Christian world still sought to destroy Islam as in the days of the Crusades. Islam must form a defensive alliance as a counterbalance.¹

But Abdul Hamid was not as astute as he thought himself to be. For thirty years he played off one European nation against the other to strengthen Turkey's position in the eyes of the world. Little did he realize that his despotism at home was a closing of the safety-valve. He forgot his own house while dreaming of campaigns in other countries. He forgot to watch things at his own back door. The adaptation of old military methods to Western methods had been to a certain extent successful, but other ideas came in through the same door of opportunism. Western ideas crept in, of which the young educated Turk took notice. The Young Turk began to agitate for reforms in Turkey, for a constitution and a parliament; "in other words, these

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1. Op. Cit., p. 132

western contacts led to the birth of nationalism in Turkey." ¹

Pan Islamism which Kohn describes as "that renaissance of the Mohammedan religion, and of the religious principle as a political factor" which "raised the Mohammedan peoples to self-consciousness, revived the historical traditions, and proved the way to their national and political rebirth," ² was born in 1876 and died with the formation of the Turkish Nationalist Movement in 1908.

Although it seemed to have breathed its last in 1908 it stirred itself again after the War. O'leary states that: "The revolution of 1908 meant the downfall of Pan-Islamic ideals in the presence of their rival, the spirit of nationalism. For the next ten years those ideas were under eclipse, but after the war, they revived in a slightly changed form....." ³

Kohn states that although Pan Islamism is a living sentiment today, it has undergone a process of secularization. The abolition of the Caliphate by the Turkish National Assembly is an indication of the process. To quote Kohn in a summarizing statement: "In the confusion and complication of political tendencies during the past forty years Pan Islamism has taken a turn which though not always plain and unequivocal is yet un mistake-

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1. Op.Cit., p. 132
2. Kohn, History of Nationalism in the East, p. 50
3. O'leary, Islam at the Crossroads, p. 125

able and significant of the whole historical evolution through which the East is at present passing." ¹

The change in attitudes is illustrated in the person of Mohammed Ali, leader of the Indian Moslems, who writing in the Revue Politique Internationale in January 1914 says that religious faith is the proper axiom for the binding together of individuals. Later on, however, Mohammed Ali became the founder of the new national unity in India.²

Pan Islamism has developed into a Pan Orientalism. An indication of this tendency is the establishment of the Oriental League in Cairo in 1922. It is an attempt to revive Pan Islamism in the form of a new Pan Orientalism.

Pan Islamism was purely political but passed under the title of religion. It did help to inspire many parts of the Moslem World and made gains for Islam. Only the vestiges of what it was, however, remain in this day, and it is in many circles the object of ridicule.

In order to continue our discussion of nationalism it will be necessary to take into consideration more than the historical background, or the tracing of the idea and ideal of nationalism, and the influence of Pan Islamism upon the nationalist movement. These are both in the nature of background. In order to arrive at a better understanding of just what has taken place in these lands where nationalism is the "lingua franca"

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1. Kohn, p. 52
2. Ibid., 52 and 53

of the day, it will be necessary to study the special nature of nationalism as we find it developing today. It will be necessary to discover what parts of the nation's and individual's life has been affected and to what extent. Have the changes induced by nationalism been purely of a political nature or have other avenues of life been affected? To what extent has the nationalist idea permeated the masses? Have the results been beneficial for Islam or for Christian Missions? Have the changes altered the outlook upon life of Oriental peoples? If so, what are the implications for the Gospel? With these questions in mind let us proceed to discuss the nature of nationalism as it manifests itself in this "Oriental fellowship of common destiny."

II. The Nature of the Eastern Nationalism

I. Introduction

The character of change in the Eastern Mohammedan lands caused by nationalism may be described as revolution in a land such as Turkey, as transition in the lands such as Syria and Palestine, as renaissance in a land like Iraq.

Let us use a summarizing statement from Wilson Cash's book, "The Expansion of Islam," as a text for writing on the nature of nationalism as we find it today in these lands of the East. He writes:

"These changes are political, setting up democracy and nationalism in the place of the old sultanic autocratic rule. They are economic and intellectual, bringing the Moslem world in the main stream of life. They are religious and social, leading to many reforms in Islamic law and custom. Barriers

are breaking down, the old slogan of holy wars and Pan Islamic unity are dying away, and with a new demand for education and literature there is steadily growing a new mentality which is western in outlook and thought." ¹

A. Political Changes

First, let us consider the political changes occasioned by nationalism.

1. Arabia

To the Arab of Arabia, the War revealed his military and cultural inferiority. He came in contact with the British army in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, and in the negotiations of peace treaties became acquainted with Western methods. All this, good or bad, resulted in a new sense and need of nationalism.

2. Egypt

Here the aftermath of the War resulted in a more intense nationalism. Zaghoul Pasha, the first Egyptian to rule in Egypt since the Persians overthrew the Pharoahs over forty centuries ago, was elected by the will of the Egyptians to supreme power. Basil Mathews writing under the heading, "Ferments in the Youth of Islam" in "The Moslem World of Today", edited by Dr. John R. Mott makes the following comment:

".....the concentration of nationalistic will and passion in Egypt that brought Zaghoul Pasha to power had in Egypt actually brought Moslem Mulvis into Christian pulpits and Coptic priests into Moslem mosques, bridging the yawning religious chasm between Christianity and Islam in a way that would have been incredible a decade earlier.

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In a word, for the first time perhaps in Islamic history political union with infidels was stronger than Islamic exclusiveness." ¹

3. Syria.

In Syria the mandate was and still is unpopular. It has been a stimulus to nationalistic feelings. The nationalists say, "First we are Syrians, then Arabs, then Moslems." The conservative says that since he was a Moslem previously, he owes his allegiance to Syria politically only in a secondary capacity. The mandate has created a patriotism, a national feeling, a self respect and a self consciousness which lead them to hate foreigners and to demand their national rights. ²

Sailer in his book entitled, "The Moslem Faces the Future," says: "It should be born in mind that the politics, which are in the West a side issue as far as the mass of people are concerned, are the pivot of the whole life of the mass of people in the Near East." ³

4. Turkey.

Since 1774 the Sultan in Turkey stood as the protector of the Moslems, the political and spiritual head. The title of Caliph, however, was suppressed after the removal of Mohammed IV who accepted the unpopular treaty of Sevres. A great symbol is gone, a great band of Moslem unity has been relaxed.

Articles 39 and 40 of the Treaty of Lausanne of

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1. p. 62-3
2. Sailer, The Moslem Faces The Future, p.94
3. Ibid., p.94

1923 give an insight into the political situation of Turkey in relation to her nationals: Article 39--"Turkish nationals belonging to Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems. All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion shall be equal before the law." Article 40: "Turkish nationals belonging to Non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals." 1

When one considers the past with the high place that the Moslem held and the relatively lower place of the Non-Moslem, the full meaning of the change is apparent. The sentiments of many orthodox Moslems were outraged at this tremendous concession occasioned by nationalism.

5. Iraq.

In the Spring of 1920, April 25, Great Britain was made the Mandatory of Iraq at the same time of her taking over of Palestine in the same capacity and the allotting of the Mandate of Syria to the French. This allotment was made by the Allied Supreme Council of the League of Nations. 2

Of the political changes, Henry Bilkert writes the following in the Moslem World:

"Mesopotamia is a Rip Van Winkle among the nations. Her long sleep began with the razing of Baghdad in 1258. From that time until 1914 she slept on undisturbed.The political changes have been

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1. Quoted from Sailer, p. 96

2. Pamphlet issued by League of Nations, Geneva 1929

exceedingly important. The spirit of nationalism has swept over the country and is one of the most prominent features of the new Mesopotamia. It is not universal, of course. The tribesmen know little about it and care less.....But in many of the villages Arab independence is the subject nearest the hearts of the people." 1

A treaty exists between Great Britain and Iraq proposing, if Iraq is favorably looked upon by the League Council, admittance to the League as an independent power.² Up to date, this has not been effected.

B. Economic Changes Attending Nationalism

One can write generally about the economic changes in the East since the same advances have influenced nearly all the lands. These lands have been slow in borrowing the results of European progress. Moslem countries today stand low in the economic scale. They are absolutely dependent on Western capital and initiative for improvement.³ Islam has never stimulated the development of natural resources, but has instead created prejudice against modern progress. The Koran is inadequate for the founding of a business because it prohibits the lending of money.⁴ But in many places such as Syria, business has taken the place of reading the Koran. It is a common practice there to combine the prayers and dispense with certain of the daily prayers, and it is considered a weakness to him who still prefers to pray.⁵

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1. Bilkert, Moslem World, Vol.XIV, No.4, Oct.1924
2. Newman, The Middle East, p. 296, Appendix V
3. Sailer, The Moslem Faces the Future, p. 102
4. Ibid., p. 102
5. Ibid., p. 107

In regard to economics Kohn writes: "Ancient systems are falling into decay. Modern industrialism, wholesale trade, and finance capital are beginning to penetrate everywhere. The old ruling class of lauded nobility, warriors and priests is being slowly ousted by a rising class of merchants, lawyers and men of letters. These are the champions of the nationalist movement." ¹

In February 1923 the Economic Congress meeting at Smyrna issued the following statement:

"From the point of view of natural resources and wealth, the Turkish people are conscious that they possess golden treasures..... Theft, lying, hypocrisy, laziness--these are our deadly enemies. A solid faith from all fanaticism is the fundamental principle of our life. We shall adhere always to useful inventions. The Turk is the hearty friend of enlightenment and science. The Turk is always the friend of people who are not against his religion, his life and his institutions. He is not the adversary of foreign capital, but in his country he entertains no relations with organizations incompatible with his laws and language. He draws from springs of science and the arts anywhere. He repudiates every intermediary in his relations. The Turkish woman and the Turkish schoolmaster mold the children in accordance with the precepts of the Moslem vow." ²

The effect of the motor car has not been negligible. The Syro-Arabian desert between Baghdad and Damascus is now daily crossed by large convoys of cars connecting Iraq and Persia with the Mediteranian. Along these desert routes the fleet messengers of western progress wing their way opening up to the Arab of the city of

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1. Kohn, History of Nationalism in the East, p. 11
2. Sailer, The Moslem Faces The Future, p. 109

the Caliphs bright vistas of the West. Airways now connect Basrah, Baghdad, Jerusalem, and Cairo. A pamphlet was recently published (December 1931) by Dr. Frank Bible in which he describes the changes in communication:

"Two other changes, little known in our western world, are likely to have a more widespread influence and perhaps one more beneficial in character. The first is the improvement in communications. It comes chiefly today not from the extension of railways, but from the growing use of motor cars and the building of motor roads. A few personal experiences will illustrate. My travelling companion on the trip was Dr. Dodd, formerly a medical missionary in Persia, now medical secretary of the Board. In 1919 he traveled by wagon from Tahriz to Hamadan about 450 miles in twenty-five days. Last fall we did it by motor car in two stages of eleven hours each. Some years ago a missionary spent twenty-seven days on the 520 mile trip from Teheran to Meshed. Dr. Dodd did it in two and one-half days by car, and, to introduce the newest in transportation, I did it in aeroplane in five hours." 1

Dr. E. E. Calverley writes of the aeroplane:

"You can now see the pyramids near Cairo in the morning and reach Baghdad and Babylon the same day. That is something the Caliph Harun al-Rashid with his love of adventure would certainly have enjoyed. The Magic Carpet has materialized into a five-day airplane service between London and India, across Arabia, with a time-schedule and security that make commonplace the marvels of the Thousand and One Nights, fascinating as those stories will always be.....Arabia's great king has secured several aeroplanes with English aviators to help him govern his widely scattered tribes and towns." 2

The tractor and similar modern farm methods have been introduced quite universally, but have not become popular with the masses. The people are too poor to buy

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1. Asia the Great Challenge, p. 5
2. Neglected Arabia, No. 158, July, Aug. Sept., p. 10

extensively. In lands like Turkey, however, where the government has established its own farm cities, such as Brousa, all modern methods have been introduced and are meeting with success. Students returning from American agricultural colleges are contributing much in the way of scientific method of growing. Cotton is being grown now in Iraq in modern ways because of methods introduced by students of agriculture. Students at the eastern universities such as Beirut, Robert College and the American College in Cairo are contributing much to progress in agriculture.

C. Intellectual Changes

Western education is emulated everywhere in the Moslem lands of the Near East. Formerly all education was controlled by religion, but with the disestablishment of the Moslem "church" the burden of educating was shifted to the governments of these lands. The government systems of education are advancing rapidly. Students of promise are sent to Western lands for university training. When they return they take important posts in the government schools. In 1929 Mustapha Kemal Pasha of Turkey, issued the order that "every illiterate citizen of Turkey between the ages of 16 and 40 should learn to read and write." ¹ Only one tenth of the population is literate. To facilitate the consummation of such a

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1. Wilson, Lucy L.W., "Children in the New Turkey" Survey, September, 1929

program the Latin characters were adopted and the cumbersome Arabic characters outlawed. Mosques, schools, clubs, and other buildings are used for class work. "Attendance is compulsory yet interest is spontaneous and the new life that literacy will bring these folks makes them one and all labor with the forms of the new alphabet." ¹ If one goes to Angora he will find a dozen high schools of agriculture, each with its own specialization; Smyrna emphasizes tobacco and grapes; Brousa, orchard fruit; Adana, cotton. There are two national fete days, April 23 and July 23, for Children. The government has organized many public boarding schools of elementary grade. Health education, out of door activities and physical training are of paramount importance. There are nearly three hundred forums with more than 40,000 members. (1929) They give courses in the history of revolution, foreign languages, music and Turkish history. Periodicals are at the disposal of those who are interested.

The enthusiasm of New Turkey is symptomatic of the other lands. Turkey is looked to as the guide to the future. Egypt leaves little to be desired in her enthusiasm for better education. Although AlAzhar still stands as the bulwark of orthodoxy and has profited little by the attempt of forward looking Sheikhs to

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1. "Compulsory Adult Education", Survey March 15, 1929

reform the curriculum ¹, a conciliatory attitude is taken toward the efforts of such schools as the American University of Cairo. This is a Presbyterian institution and exerts a beneficent influence upon the lives of modern Egyptian youth. Egypt's close contact now by air and ship with Europe and the West has caused the streams of Western learning to flow freely into the land.

Rev. Wm. H. Hall, Principal of the Preparatory School of the American University at Beirut writes that "An official seal has been placed on the value of the scientific method of education as developed in the West, in contrast with the method of tradition as practised in the religious schools of the East." ² This recognition, which by the way is the Arab's own method used nine centuries ago, has given Mission Schools unprecedented freedom. The education of Mission institutions is welcomed. The influence of Robert College in Constantinople, The American Women's College in Smyrna, The American University at Beirut, The American School for Boys, Basrah, Iraq, and The American University at Cairo is felt throughout the Moslem World of the Near East.

The results of Western Education in Moslem Lands have been beneficial. Scientific method is applied to all departments of knowledge. This is opposed to the

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1. Crabites, Pierre, "In the Shadow of Al-Azhar," Asia April, 1929
2. The Moslem World of Today, p. 174

oriental method of memorizing texts and traditions. The former faces the future; the latter the past. The goal of Western education is formation of character; the goal of Eastern education is to memorize with no necessary impact on character. Western education teaches with a forward look to vital practice. The Moslems have come "to believe in and to trust the results of the physical, intellectual, and moral training of the students committed to these schools."¹ Western education has increased the number of those who can read and write. There are higher ideals in social and political life. The hygienic conditions of the community have been improved. The horizons of the mind of youth have been widened. Superstition, prejudices and intolerance have broken down. There is a new attitude toward living.²

D. Social Changes

Kohn says: "The demand for national liberation is accompanied by demands for social liberation, still confused and bewildered and hardly according with actual economic conditions."³

Social changes are always centered around the position of women in the East. Mohammedanism has been responsible for the harem, polygamy, and the uneducated status of of women. Not until the winds of nationalism

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1. Op. Cit., p. 178
2. Ibid, p. 180
3. History of Nationalism

swept over these lands did the women of the East have a chance to take part in public life. Her place before that was the home. She now participates in public life, attends school, and is heard on important questions. In Turkey the veil has been removed from the faces of women and education has been made compulsory. Dr. Caroline M. Buchanan of the American Girls' College in Cairo says:

"In direct opposition to Islamic tradition and practice, Moslem women in the Near East are beginning to demand an education. A definite organized movement has gone forward in Turkey; and a compulsory education clause which includes girls, was placed in the Constitution of Egypt in April 1923, when the first complete Constitution was secured, although neither country, as yet, has been able, because of lack of teachers, buildings, and equipment, fully to enforce education laws.

"In Turkey especially, there have been rapid strides toward the goal. In a Teachers' Association which met in 1924 in Angora, Constantinople alone supplied 1,000 women delegates, and Angora 200. In Smyrna there is the fine large Training School for Girls, and the public schools are devoting much time and money to the normal, or teacher-training, departments.

"There is a growing desire for a liberal, thoroughgoing education. No longer do the best families, depend upon governesses: the girls are sent to school, and later to the Constantinople College for Women or to the University, where women are now on an equal footing with men. In this co-educational institution there are women students in science, literature and law. Twelve women entered the medical class in 1924. The same year there were three women candidates for degrees in law. Many women have studied abroad, among them several prominent Turkish women doctors of

medicine. Without doubt the women of Turkey lead in the educational movement of the Islamic world." 1

Snatches from other parts of Dr. Buchanan's article inform us that Syria is much to the front in the Moslem woman's educational movement. In Palestine women are much interested in the political situation. At the first meeting of the "Egyptian Feminist Union for Woman Suffrage" held in 1923 at the house of Madame Charaawi Pasha, nine points were drawn up and later presented at the International Woman's Convention in Paris. They are as follows:

1. To raise the moral and intellectual level of woman in order to realize her political and social equalities with men from the point of view of laws and manners.

2. To ask for free access to higher schools for all girls desiring to study and equal privileges to be given with the boys and young men.

3. To reform customs relating to the arranging of marriages so as to allow the two parties to know each other before betrothal.

4. To reform laws in regard to marriage so that the real spirit of the Koran might be interpreted, and thus preserve woman from the injustice caused by bigamy exercised without reason, and from repudiation taking place without serious motive.

5. By laws to limit the age of consent to marriage for a young girl to sixteen years.

6. To open active propaganda for public hygiene, particularly with reference to child welfare.

7. To encourage virtue and to fight against immorality.

8. To fight against superstition and certain customs which do not accord with reason, even though mentioned in the Hadith (like the Zar, Charms, etc.)

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1. Moslem World of Today, p. 212.

9. To open propoganda in the Press on the aims of the society. ¹

The reforms have been largely among the educated classes. Much is yet to be desired in the universal dissemination of these new ideas that have come in with nationalistic freedom.

E. Religious Changes

Nationalism has given to some of the modernizing movements in Islam greater freedom but it is not the purpose of this section to deal with those movements. They will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. It is rather the purpose of this section to discuss that which is closely tied up with nationalism. The most significant change, religiously, was the abolition of the Caliphate by the Turkish Nationalist Assembly.

The word Caliph means the successor or substitute of the Prophet, Mohammed; not as prophet, however, but only to the rule and authority of the Prophet. The first Caliphate was in Mecca from 632 to 660; the second, in Damascus from 660 to 750; the third, in Baghdad from 750 to 1258; the fourth, in Egypt from 1258 to 1517; and the last in Constantinople under the Ottoman Turks from 1517 to 1924 when the Caliphate was abolished by action of the National Assembly. Thus for 1292 years under different rulers in different lands the Caliphate had continued unbroken. Abdul Mejid, Caliph of the abolition, was the ninety-fourth Caliph in the line of

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1. Mott, The Moslem World of Today, P. 222-23

succession from the Prophet. He with his whole royal household was expelled from Turkey in the beginning of March, 1924, thus ending the succession of Caliphs.

The abolition of the Caliphate is traced to the effects of a nationalism that was gradually undermining the older belief that nationalism and religion were the same and one.

"When the Assembly adopted a republican form of government they did not at once realize that this would lead them to abolish the Sultanate and the Caliphate, but they were carried along on the strong tide of the new nationalism. The creation of the Grand National Assembly invested with both legislative and executive functions robbed the Sultanate of its reason to exist, and the decree of the Assembly only registered what was already an accomplished fact. The Sultanate died when the Republic was born." ¹

With the birth of the Republic all political and temporal power was taken from the Caliph. And since the Caliph has never been the spiritual head of Islam, since there is no place for a pope in Islam, there was no reason for his existence any longer.² His office was left without functions. The appeals of the Agha Khan and Ameer Ali of India³ to define the powers and authority of the Caliph made the Turkish Assembly to see that the Caliphate could be continued only at the expense of the Republic.

An anonymous writer in the symposium entitled,

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1. The Moslem World of Today, p. 49
2. Ibid. p. 47. Also see Sell - Faith of Islam, p. 106
3. Cash, Expansion of Islam, p. 156

"The Moslem World of Today," already referred to, gives three reasons for the abolition of the Caliphate. The first one given is Economy. To get rid of the imperial family was to lower expenses. The second reason was Fear. They feared that the members of the old regime would seek to restore it. The third reason was Modernism. For Turkey to take her place alongside other modern states it was necessary for her to separate Church and State. "They proposed to do away with the Sharia (Sacred Law) and with the 'medresses' (religious schools), to secularize education, and to remove the Department of Worship from the Cabinet." ¹

By this action, Turkey departed from the past. The change affected the whole Moslem World and was met with much lamentation in many Moslem centers. The question was raised as to the one in whose name the Friday prayers would be said. The Nationalist Assembly issued instructions that they should be offered for the well-being of the Turkish Republic. The functions of the Caliph were to be executed through a Council of Public Worship. ²

1. Significance

Sell, in his book, "The Faith of Islam," makes the following comment which substantiates the philosophy underlying the action of the Turkish National Assembly:

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1. Moslem World of Today, p. 53
2. Ibid., p. 54

"The Prophet in transmitting his sacred authority to the Khaliphs, his successors, conveyed to them absolute powers. Khaliphs can be assassinated, murdered, banished, but so long as they reign, anything like constitutional liberty is impossible. It is a fatal mistake in European politics and an evil for Turkey to recognize the Sultan as the Khaliph of Islam, for, if he be such, Turkey can never take any step forward to newness of political life." ¹

The action of Turkey, however, did not find sympathy in the Moslem World. It was a frank denial of Pan-Islamism, which, though somewhat negated by the action of the Caliph in the World War by allying himself with a Christian power, nevertheless had support by the vast majority of Sunni Mohammedans. The Moslems in India would not at first believe the news reports of the abolition of the Caliphate and contended that it was "a lie of Reuter's". When the truth became fully known Sayyid Amir Alir wrote:

"The so-called 'abolition' of the Caliphate will, I fear, give rise to grave unrest among the unadvanced communities and at the same time will create discord among all Moslem nations, and lead to the disintegration of Islam as a moral force united hitherto by one common ideal. The semi-civilized may eventually be drawn into the meshes of revolution and disorder.

"Islam by its discipline and rules of conduct, maintains social order and sobriety and consecrates family life and private ownership of property. For it to lose its force, especially among these communities will have a disastrous effect on civilization and progress." ²

The Egyptian attitude is illustrated by an excerpt from Dr. Zwemer's most recent book on Islam:

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1. P. 106

2. Zwemer, Across the World of Islam, p. 17

"The Egyptian papers published a cartoon showing Kemal Pasha perched in the top of a high palm tree bearing the word "Caliphate" and sawing through the trunk below him. Beneath the tree stands a man in a mantle and turban, representing the old world of Islam, warning him with great alarm of his peril. The unbounded popularity of the Angora government in Egypt and India has vanished. Turkey has isolated herself not only from the rest of Islam by her recent action but she has thrown down the challenge to educated Mohammedans everywhere also to separate church and state and to substitute nationalism for Pan Islamic ideals. The situation compels Moslem leaders to reconsider religious positions formerly accepted as axiomatic. Great perplexity exists in the minds of the masses." 1

The abolition of the Caliphate has unmistakably broken the bond of moral unity that existed before among Moslems. This cannot but have its effects upon the Moslem world. Its united front has been destroyed. Cash writes that "Islamic unity was sacrificed for Turkish solidarity." To quote further from Cash:

"To the rest of the Moslem world the caliph's expulsion from Turkey came as a shattering blow to hopes and dreams of a future Moslem federation. To the non-Moslem world this change of policy is not without significance. The caliphate was the symbol of a religious autocracy that divided the world into two classes, the believers and the infidels. In theory, the House of Islam was a unity, an empire without frontiers. Peace reigned within it, but a permanent state of war existed theoretically towards all without, namely, the 'infidels.' The theory was that this state of war would continue until no 'infidels' were left and all would be Moslems, with a theocratic church-state coextensive with the world. Of course, this has never been more than theory. Unity within the House of Islam has always proved to be impossible. The idea of permanent war with the rest of the world was carried out in the early days of Moslem expansion, but it was abandoned by

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1. Op.Cit., p. 16

Turkey as a theory calculated to combine the rest of the world against Islam. The caliphate, however, did accentuate the religious gulf in Moslem faith and practice between the Moslem believer and the infidel. The abolition of the caliphate may yet mean a more human attitude on the part of Turkey towards non-Moslem people, although, as yet, the republic has shown no signs of a change of heart as far as minorities are concerned." 1

These many changes including the tremendous consequences of the abolition of the Caliphate urge us to inquire into the meaning of them for the Oriental peoples, for Islam, and for Christian Missions. Although we are leaving an evaluation of nationalism until the last chapter of this thesis, it is well that at this stage of our work we consider some of the implications that are most prominent.

III. Implications of the Changes Produced by Nationalism

A. The new relationship between the state and religion.

In writing about the abolition of the Caliphate the fact of the separation of church and state was mentioned. It is well to note more in detail what this separation implies.

The rallying idea of the 17th and 18th century Europe was religion. Atheism was the greatest sin of the period. From the 18th century onward nationalism supplanted religion as the governing principle of Europe. And now in the East, nationalism has taken the place of religion as this rallying idea. Pan Islamism was an attempt to unite the East

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1. Cash, *The Expansion of Islam*, pp. 153-4

under the rallying idea of religion but failed as has already been pointed out. Nationalism has taken the place of religion as the principle governing all social and intellectual life. "The Orient was not a religious unit, but everywhere its fundamental attitude towards religious questions was the same."¹ Two great circles of religion intersected in India, namely, the circle within which was Islam and the circle within which were the religions of the farther East, namely, Confucianism, Shintoism and Hinduism. In the history of the progress of nationalism, "nationalism frequently clashed with religion, but frequently it made use of religion as an ally. It divided where formerly religion had united, and so was responsible for the fall of the Turkish Empire which had been held together by the Islamic religion. But on the other hand, it united where formerly religion had divided. In Egypt national consciousness threw a bridge across the gulf between Mohammedan and Copts and in India it sought to weld together Mohammedans and Hindus."²

O'leary points out that nationalism is subversive of Islam and where nationalism flourishes the true Islam no longer exists. It is the note that Lord Cromer sounded when he said that Islam reformed is Islam no longer.

O'leary writes:

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1. Kohn, History of Nationalism in the East, p.9
2. Ibid., p. 9

"Nationalism shows the influence of theories quite different and indeed subversive of Islam. The Prophet endeavoured to unite his followers in a close brotherhood wherein all rivalries of tribe or family would be laid aside, and when Islam spread to other lands this brotherhood was still maintained, and was held to over-pass all barriers of race or language. The idea of national unities as apart from the claims of common religion and ignoring the religious differences of the constituent individuals, is of western origin, alien in its character, and anti-Moslem in its tendency." ¹

The full implications of the significance of these changes is illustrated by an incident reported by Kohn in his book already quoted, "The History of Nationalism in the East." He calls attention to the utterance of one of the highest spiritual dignitaries of the Mohammedan religion, namely Haji Emin el-Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem. A farewell dinner was given in honor of a departing British official. In his address the Britisher said: "Palestine is a Mohammedan country and its government should therefore be in the hands of the Mohammedans, on condition that the Jewish and Christian minorities are represented in it." The Mufti replied: "For us it is an exclusively Arab, not a Mohammedan question. During your sojourn in this country you have doubtless observed that there are no distinctions between Mohammedan and Christian Arabs. We regard the Christian not as a minority, but as Arabs."

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1. O'leary, Islam at the Crossroads, p. 125

When religious leaders are ready to make such "ex cathedra" utterances it is readily seen how nationalism has caused an unprecedented departure from the past conceptions of religion and state. It is too early in our discussion to evaluate these implications. Let it be recorded here, however, that this tremendous change in the mentality of the Eastern people cannot but have salutary implications for the Christian Message.

IV. Conclusion

It has been pointed out that the World War affected all parts of the world, but none quite so much as that of the Moslem nations of the Near East. The affect there was significantly deeper because of the tremendous changes that the nationalism produced by the War wrought. Every phase of life was affected, socially, economically, intellectually, religiously, politically. The fundamental texture of society is of a different weave than prior to the War.

There would be no purpose in studying the trend of events in the East during the twentieth century unless there was a bearing upon the future of Christian Missions. We believe, and are supported by eminent authorities that the changes produced by nationalism in the East are beneficial to the progress of the Gospel. But this involves an evaluation of the nationalist movement. It has been our purpose in this chapter to show the development of the nationalist idea and the concomitant changes

brought about in the Moslem world that has for centuries been virtually closed to the Christian missionary.

The implications mentioned in the last few pages of the chapter are in the nature of a summary and help to clarify the purpose of the chapter.

It will be our purpose next to make a study of the new mentality that is in Islam and in the Near Eastern world.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NEW MENTALITY

CHAPTER THREE

THE NEW MENTALITY

Introduction

It is necessary at this point in the development of our study to investigate a very important aspect of the Moslem world situation, namely, to note the changed attitudes of Near East Moslems toward the past and toward the present innovations in society and religion. Levonian has written a book entitled, "Moslem Mentality",¹ in which he discusses the new attitudes of the present day Moslem. Servier, a French author, has written a book which has now been translated into English, entitled; "The Psychology of the Musulman."² Servier points out the inherent weakness in the Moslem outlook on life occasioned by centuries of fanaticism and bigotry. His field, however, is largely north Africa and his conclusions, though in part applicable to the Near East situation, are not wholly so. Levonian deals specifically with the Near East situation. It is our purpose, however, not to use the conclusions of these writers, but to note what newspapers, periodicals, and eminent authorities on this subject have to say in regard to the new mentality.

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1. 1929, Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.
2. 1929, Translated in 1930.

After noting the new attitudes, we shall seek an evaluation.

I. Attitudes in the New Mentality

Basil Matthews in his contribution to the symposium edited by John R. Mott, "The Moslem World of Today", says that nothing parallel to this nationalism has happened in the mind of any generation of youth since the Reformation shattered the unity of the Holy Roman Empire.¹ Wilson Cash writes that there is a new mentality which is western in outlook and thought.

A. Attitude toward modernizing influences.

A missionary is reported to have asked and received the following questions and answers from the Grand Mufti in a thoroughly Moslem community:

1. What has been the effect of the development of communications on Islam?

Answer: A great influence on the Moslem mind. They prepared the way for laying aside many beliefs added to Islam by traditionalists.

2. What is the effect of democracy, nationalism, and the right to choose one's destiny?

Answer: The new democratic ideas are welcome. There are many references in the Koran to democracy. They have given Islam hope.

3. What about the increased freedom of women?

Answer: This freedom has a very good effect on Islam. But freeing from veiling and giving them liberty will have a bad effect on Islam.

4. What about the effect of European customs?

Answer: The good ones can be adopted by Moslems.

5. What are the effects of education and learning?

Answer: The new learning is having a bad effect. The people become indifferent toward religion and it

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1. Article, "The Youth of Islam," p. 63

contradicts the Koran. Education and learning of the right type are the best means of progress for raising Islam to higher levels and for giving Moslems happiness.

6. What about religious superstitions?

Answer: There is no place in Islam for them.

7. What about taking interest?

Answer: It is unlawful. The only justification is necessity.

8. What can Christianity do for Islam?

Answer: 1. Restore the spirit of cooperation. 2. Help in education. 3. Be sincere in its work. 4. Organize business enterprises, found educational institutions built on the essentials of the Koran so that Moslems and Christians might come into agreement in belief and actions.

9. What have been the effects of Christianity on Islam?

Answer: Christianity is a noble influence. Islam has learnt the spirit to work and progress socially. The spirit of the missionaries has created a new spirit to spread Islam. It has awakened them spiritually.

10. What effect is Islam having on Christianity?

Answer: None at the present time.

B. Attitude toward morality.

In Turkey there is a new regard for morals. Some of the modern Turks realize that the basis of sound society is sound morality. Turkey has a history that has much in it which will not live in the open sunshine of purity. In a press excerpt translated by Ernest Pye and appearing in the Moslem World of October 1928 we read the following:

"But the real problem which we face today is to safeguard moral integrity regardless of the religious changes...What must we do so that a proper attitude of idealism may be prepared in the souls of youth, and keep continuing the sense of responsibility to duty and moral integrity?" 1

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Khalil Nematoullah, Professor of Logic in Constantinople University, writing in the Turkish paper, "Milli Madjmoua" makes the following comment on morals:

"Morals are the fundamental expression of the social life. They are the factors which determine the power of society, and the firmness of its structure. The soundness of individual character is dependent on the degree of a sincere allegiance to these morals.

"Morals, as all other social institutions are in an ever-developing state. Therefore, it is the most sacred duty of the modern generation to investigate and bring forth the real Turkish moral statutes from the present mixture of foreign elements which have found their way into it through lack of any control.

"The revolution in morals can only come by finding the ever-living fundamental moral laws of the collective conscience and embodying them in moral events." ¹

Very closely associated with moral integrity is the new regard for character. In the note that Sheikh Mohammed Moustafa al Maraghy, Rector of Al Azhar Mosque, presented to King Fuad of Egypt concerning reforms in Al Azhar, is found this paragraph on character:

"Character is the backbone of the nations. It is impossible to reform without it. The easiest way of creating good character is religion, when its teaching methods are reformed. Religious teachers have reared good character in the nation in the past, and Al Azhar has been a source of the rays of religious sciences and Arabic learning and other things to the Moslem world." ²

C. Attitude toward Christianity.

From orthodox Persia are heard new notes of tolerance towards the religion of the Christians. John Elder, a

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1. Pye, "The Turkish Press as a Mirror of Thought," Moslem World, July 1928, p. 286
2. Translation, "A Defence of Reforms in Al Azhar," Moslem World, April, 1929, p. 185

missionary in Kermanshah tells in the Moslem World of October, 1930 of the new type of mind that is manifesting itself in Persia. A series of evangelistic meetings was held in which all the aspects of Christianity were presented. The meetings were well attended and great interest shown. The mentality of the forward looking Persians can be judged by the questions asked. He writes: "They show great earnestness for truth, an agnosticism toward Christianity, largely accountable by our inability to prevent wars." Requests like the following were made: "Please preach tonight, proving a Creator and Maker who is God... Please prove God for us....Please prove the existence of God, as all the religions of the world worship in different ways and with their own ideas, such as idolators, fire worshippers, Buddhists, materialists and others...." ¹ Elders concludes his article with the observation that there is a mounting wave of radical agnosticism and atheism.

D. Attitude toward Caliphate.

The attitude that liberal Moslems take toward the abolition of the Caliphate is worthy of mention. S.Khudha Buhksh calls it "the most momentous of events of modern times." He writes:

"Far-reaching are its consequences and, I maintain, consequences for good. Its prolongation till but yesterday demonstrates how the ideas of a vanished

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1. Elder, "A Cross Section of The Moslem Mind", Moslem World October 1930, pp. 356-7

age live and linger long after they have spent their force and served their purpose. The Turks before as now have rendered heroic service to Islam. At the time of dwindling Arab power they gave to it fresh life and activity, and today they have vindicated as never before the innate strength of Islam to rise to the occasion, to remould its spiritual boundaries, to reshape its political creed." 1

E. Attitude toward Orthodox Islam.

S.W.Morrison says that orthodox Islam is losing ground on all fronts, even in Al Azhar. He writes:

"A review of the facts discloses the extent and variety of the religious cleavages that exist within modern Islam. The resultant clash of thought is simply tremendous. One group pillories another. The Wahabis are described by the Indian Sunnis as 'full of bigotry and intolerance, ignorance and want of culture, and of the knowledge of the principles of government.' Dr.Taha Hussein, a thorough modernist, in his recent book on Pre-Islamic poetry, caricatures the typical sheikh. The mullahs are defied by men who still believe in Islam.Meanwhile the principle of religious freedom is spreading in men's minds, though it has the long-established custom of intolerance everywhere resisting it." 2

F. Attitude toward politics and religion.

In regard to the attitude toward politics and religion, S.Khudha Bukhsh says: "The youth of Islam today is thinking in terms of politics more than religion. He is often far more interested in his nation's welfare than in the spread of Islam. The solidarity of Islam is not a question of caliphate, or the sheriah, but almost entirely a matter of political unity in the fact of the West."³

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1. Bukhsh, "The Awakening of Islam", Moslem World, January 1930, p. 6
2. Morrison, "New Developments in Moslem Lands," Moslem World, July 1928, p. 244
3. Bukhsh, Op.Cit., p. 14

In another article in the same periodical, Bukhsh writes:

"Western civilization has shaken Moslems out of their slumber. Everywhere in India, in Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey, wheresoever we turn, Moslems are pulsing with new life, viewing problems from the modern standpoint, forging fresh rules of religious interpretation, reconciling the needs of the hour with their allegiance to the past, justifying modern institutions by appeals to the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet, striving to close the breach between the two great sects which divide the Islamic world...." ¹

The extent to which some of the liberals have been willing to go in their public utterances is shocking to orthodox Mohammedanism. Abulmazfar Ahmed Sahib Bey of Calcutta, founder of the Islam Education Society, expressed the following opinion to the editors of "Vakut", a Turkish newspaper:

"The aim of the Islam Education Society is to modernize Islam. The number of Moslems who are performing their religious duties is decreasing, because of the extreme formalism in prayer and worship. The educated people all over the Moslem world are finding it impossible to perform all their religious duties....My sincere conviction is that if we want to revive the religious life of Moslems, then we must put an end to these rites and ceremonies, i.e., we must eliminate the bowing prostrations, and standing in prayer, and make it consist rather of an inner humility." ²

John Van Ess, looking back over twenty-five years of missionary service in the sterile Mohammedan land of Iraq makes the following comment: "Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Morocco are thinking and talking nationally and no longer Islamically." ³

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1. Bukhsh, "Islam and The Modern World", Moslem World, January 1929, p.64
2. Pye, "Prayer and Mosque Attendance in Turkey", Moslem World Oct. 1928, pp. 397-8
3. "A Quarter Century in Arabia", Moslem World, April 1929, p. 199

II. Values and Limitations of the New Mentality.

From the citations under the heading, "The New Mentality", it is evident that the mentality of today is quite different from that of former years. From being purely religious it has become pronouncedly nationalistic; from acceptance without question of orthodox ideas of God, it has become agnostic;¹ from a complacent attitude toward moral integrity, it has become alert to the implications of an immoral or an unmoral society; from a backward look, it has changed to a forward look; from an open hostility toward the West, it has taken a conciliatory attitude in order to acquire all that is helpful in Western science and learning that will assist in creating a modern state.

On closer scrutiny of the mentality of the present day Moslem we find, however, that "all that glitters is not gold." It is necessary, therefore, for us to weigh the values and note the limitations of this new mentality in order to truly appreciate its significance. We shall proceed first to point out the values of this new mentality and secondly to note the limitations of it.

A. Values

1. Our study has shown that there is a changed mind, namely, a questioning mind. This type of mind strikes sharp contrast to the mind of former years before nationalism was felt. Institutions were historic and religious, and were inviolable. Now, however, the modern mind refuses to accept

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1. Gairdner and Eddy, Jerusalem Meeting of the Int. Missionary Council, Vol., p.206

anything that does not have pragmatic value and cannot do utilitarian service for the new state. Nationalism has swept away the cobwebs of centuries, and the sacred tenets of religion are questioned. This is healthy and suggests a mind that is in search of truth.

2. The new mentality in the second place has created a marked reaction to the bigotry of the past.¹ Bigotry was the word that Occidentals used to describe certain inert situations in the East. Now, however, the Oriental looks upon these institutions with the same amount of credulity and is seeking ways and means of leaving bigotry as far behind as possible. Education and liberal ideas cannot exist for very long by the side of traditional bigotry that refuses the right of reason in intellectual and social and religious matters. Such a change cannot be overestimated in its values for the Christian missionary, for of a necessity our religion seeks truth at any price. If our compatriot in the East is anxious for this same quest there is developed a camaraderie that the missionary can well afford to encourage.

3. The modern minded Moslem in the third place is desirous of better things in religion.² He is not content with religion as taught by the mullahs in the mosques, nor as it is taught in the mosque schools scattered throughout the villages. Turkey's pronouncements since the abolition

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1. Op.cit., p. 206

2. "A defence of Reforms in Al Azhar", Moslem World, Vol. XIX No. 2, April, 1929, p. 183 ff.

of the Caliphate have had resounding repercussions all over the Moslem World and religion will have to be revised if it is to attract the modern mind. Islam of the orthodox standing has been weighed and found wanting. It is not producing life, character, or progress. It, too, has to stand the pragmatic test, and is undergoing this same refining today, and what is not for the development of the state or the refinement of the individual must fall by the wayside. The result is that in many places, and in many schools there is little left that resembles the Islam of old. Desire for something better in religion is indeed encouraging and is a challenge to the missionary who is the guardian of the Words of Life, of Light and of Truth.

4. Closely connected with the desire for better things in religion is the observation that many liberals now include in a Neo-Islam much which is of Christian content.¹ Love is now stressed as an important element in Mohammedanism, whereas a study reveals the fact that love is an unheard of quality in Islam. This perhaps is the outstanding example of the trend in liberal Islam. There is also the recognition of character as the basis for a sound state. Character has been an altogether negligible quantity in Islam in the past and it creates a great deal of surprise in the mind of the student of the East to see this trend towards a recognition of this vital factor in life. The schools are still woefully lacking in this quality, but it is hopeful to note the desire

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1. Pye, "The Turkish Press as a Mirror of Thought", Moslem World, Vol XVIII, No.3, July 1928

for it in many situations.

5. A last observation in the values of the new mentality is that nationalism runs counter to Islam. We are thinking here of Islam as the orthodox religion that is still holding away in the Islamic world. In a communication from Dr. E. E. Calverley of Hartford Theological Seminary and a missionary in Arabia for fifteen years the following is said regarding this very point:

"Nationalism runs counter to Islam because it promotes racial and territorial rather than religious loyalties. Where Islam has ruled it has tolerated other communions without requiring them to accept the dominant religion, but it has not given political or civil equality to such communities. Moreover, its fundamental attitude toward nations that are non-Muslim is one of potential hostility. Proximity and the possibility of conquest makes the religious obligation of warfare operative for Muslim governments. Nationalism discards the religious motive and exalts economic, political and social principles within geographical or racial groups. The growth of nationalism then makes for a weaker hold of a primary Muslim precept. In Turkey it has resulted in the rejection of the article in the constitution that Islam was the religion of the state. Other Muslim nations with non-Muslim minorities and foreign relationships face the same modern necessity."

We can really say that nationalism is clearing the way for something more adequate than itself that will permit what the present situation in relation to Islam will not. In this the Christian missionary can play no small part.

B. Limitations

1. Islam is a legalistic religion. Its legalism has

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1. Answer to a personal inquiry relative to this point, received March 4, 1932.

not been beneficial to progress; it has rather kept its subjects in a mold of formalism. The type of life in the East is conducive to legalism. It would seem that in places like Turkey where the Islam of the past has been thrown over-board that the resulting freedom would be all value to the state. But if one examines the facts in the case, only one conclusion can be drawn, namely, that legalism has not disappeared from the mentality of the modern Oriental, but it has rather shifted its emphasis from religion to politics.¹ Anyone who looks with an appreciation of affairs in such a land as Turkey will recognize that the laws of today creating the new society and new government have been executed only by force. Legalism, a well-known force in the East, has merely shifted its emphasis from religion to politics. And in this shift there is something of the nature of intolerance toward all those who will not fall in with the new ways. One may have religious liberty, but if he accepts some new religion, such as Christianity, he is persecuted. He may remain an agnostic and be free from group coercion. Let him seek to walk as in days of old and he will be hung. Innovations for the good, yes, but also the element of legalism there that is not altogether healthy for the future.

2. There has been much legislation by nationals

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1. Opinion of Dr. Paul W. Harrison expressed in Conference, March 7, 1932

who are fired with the warmth of the nationalistic spirit, yet there has not come about an appreciable change of heart.¹ It is well that polygamy has been abolished and that the child's value is now recognized but this has come about by the legislation of the few, and not necessarily because the masses have been educated to these reforms.

3. Religion has been given a secondary place, thereby creating the problem of educating the masses to the true values of religion.² Nationalism has become the new religion and, as has been said elsewhere, the liberals are thinking nationalistically and no more Islamically. Religion has been found wanting so it too must go the way of all flesh. Knowledge is all that is desired.

The Jerusalem conference did not view with anticipation the agnosticism and atheism that are rampant in the East. Even Islam is better than no religion at all. Islam does put certain checks upon one's conduct and is therefore much better than license. An atheistic society, from a Christian point of view, is deplorable. It therefore devolves upon the Christian to bring to the modern mind of the East, which has thrown away religion, the true nature of religion, and to create within the human heart a longing for something better that can be realized in Christ.

4. Nationalism has curbed religious liberty in such

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1. Levonian, Moslem Mentality, p. 100

2. "Tolerance in Turkey", Literary Digest, November 21, 1931

pronouncements as the following quoted by W.E.Hocking in an article in the International Review of Missions: ¹

"The professed object of religions is to develop among men the spirit of concord, of love and compassion. When in place of curing, it aggravates and perpetuates the evil (of disunion), it is preferable to abandon this remedy."

Hocking points out, however, that in this remark which he quotes from Article X in the platform of the Turkish journal, "Idjtihad", an indirect compliment is being paid to the power of the religious interest. It will make it harder for the individual to be religious and will therefore create a group that will have to live apart from society, thus creating a situation similar to that in early Christianity.

5. A last limitation is well stated by Professor Hocking in the same article referred to under the fourth limitation. He says that the new nationalism holds only the pragmatic test for everything in government or in religion; that all must submit to this acid test. Rights are limited not by private impulse but "by the interests of social solidarity, public safety, the general morale." Hocking says the basis of right in social welfare is inadequate "for the interest of society is no more final as establishing what ought to be than the interest of the individual." For instance, society might need the suppression of truth for its interests. The right of conscience should not be limited by social welfare:

"The individual who feels bound by conscience to worship in a certain way would find a plea in behalf of social welfare inapposite...When the individual conceives his desires and impulses not as psychological facts but as elements in a life

purpose which has been implanted in him by the cosmos, and which as a cosmic duty he ought to fulfil, then these desires and impulses acquire a sanction which both individuals and groups are bound to respect, irrespective of their immediate wishes. The assumption of any such obligation is that this cosmic demand cannot be hostile to human welfare most deeply understood, though we do not at present see the relation." 1

Conclusion

The greatest change of all in the East has been the new outlook on life. The change in mentality is amazing when viewed from a traditional standpoint. For centuries the Near East mind has been content to live in the atmosphere of the past, but now the past is being analysed and the reasons for stagnation and decadence are being sought out.

We have, in this chapter, reported angles of the new mind in order to show its bent. It is interested in morality and character, in better things, is conciliatory toward Western ideas which formerly under the Sultan and Caliph were taboo.

But this new mind is in many senses somewhat disfigured by its limitations. We are apt to expect too much from it, so it has been necessary to report also the limitations so that as we proceed we might be aware of what is involved in our problem.

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1. Hocking, "The Ethical Basis Underlying the Legal Right of Religious Liberty as Applied to Foreign Missions", International Review of Missions, October 1931, pp. 495-6

CHAPTER FOUR

A STUDY OF THE LIBERALIZING AND REFORMING TENDENCIES
IN ISLAM OCCASIONED BY THE IMPACT OF THE WEST AND NATIONALISM.

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Introduction.

That Islam is changing in our day is no secret. Not only is the Christian of the West conscious of these changes, but also the orthodox Mohammedan who dwells in the shadow of Al Azhar in Cairo, and the most progressive of liberals who lives in an apartment in the shadow of the mosque in Woking, England.

Islamic history has seen many reforming movements. There have been puritanical movements such as Wahabism, a movement that is still potent in the deserts of Arabia; a pantheistic mysticism like Sufism; the Mahdiist movements and the like. The more modern movements like the Bahai and the Ahmadiyah represent a very definite departure from orthodox Islam.

In our study of the liberalizing and reforming tendencies in Islam today it shall be our purpose to note leading liberal ideas irrespective of peculiar movements such as the Bahai or the Amadiyah. We shall note what leading liberals are thinking as indicative of the modern trends.

I. The Significance of Neo-Islam

Samuel Graham Wilson writing in 1916¹ remarks that "Islam for a thousand years has been traditional and under dogmatic authority. Logic and metaphysics were highly valued, but nothing contrary to the Traditions must be set forth. Now thought is being liberalized, moral conceptions and customs are being modified, and this is coming to pass through the infiltration, penetration, and direct impact and impress of Western or Christian civilization. This trend is toward Christian ideals and away from traditional Moslem conceptions.....The reason in the conviction which has sunk into the minds of many that they are behindhand, retrograde, non-progressive." ²

W.Wilson Cash writing in 1928³ comments in the following way on the new Islam:

"The western world is now pouring into the bottles of Islam the new wine of modern thought. The struggle for liberty of conscience and a liberal outlook upon life has never ceased in the Moslem world. Today it is in its acutest stage, and as far as one can tell in this transition period the new thought is winning the day everywhere. ...Today through our own science and literature the youth of Islam is awake and alert, and the Moslem world is passing through a great crisis in its affairs. Islam, it is true, can never 'be the same again'. These lands will no longer bow to the despotic rule of Sultan or Caliph." ⁴

Samuel M.Zwemer writing in 1929 ⁵ refers to the new world of Islam that now confronts us. He writes:

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1. Modern Movements Among Moslems.
2. Ibid, pp. 150-51
3. Expansion of Islam
4. Ibid, p. 9
5. Across the World of Islam

"Whether reformed Islam will remain Islam was questioned by Lord Cromer, two decades ago, in his book on Modern Egypt. The question is now answered, but in the negative. The rise of new sects, the Babi-Behai in Persia, the Ahmadi in India, and the recrudescence of old sects, the Wahabis and the Ikhwan of Arabia, also indicates a coming struggle. The educational revival, the renaissance of Arabic as a world language through schools and universities, the feminist movement, above all, the enormous activity of Moslem journalism, cooperate to bring about new conditions of tolerance, accessibility and responsiveness." ¹

Murray T. Titus in his recent publication ² in the introduction to the chapter entitled "The New Muslim Apologetic and Polemic" writes:

"In no phase of Indian Muslim life has contact with the west produced a more marked change than in the realm of religious thought.....In the first place it may be said that the change consists in a new attitude of mind rather than in a new system of thought. This changed attitude has been conditioned entirely by modern scientific, social, and economic influences. ...The prophets of the movement have all along seen that Islam could not be modernized in any secular fashion without serious danger that its modernized adherents would abandon the faith, unless it could likewise be rationalized in keeping with the discoveries of modern scientific truth and modern social requirements. They had come to see that Islam, as understood and expounded by the orthodox formalists, would not long continue to have an appeal for a Muslim with a university degree. The time had arrived for a break, not with Islam itself, but with its traditionalist exponents, 'who have degraded the religion by paying undue attention to formulas and forms, to the exclusion and neglect of its living spirit and reality.' In addition two other reasons may be mentioned which have stirred men to produce a new apologetic---one being the need to defend Islam against the criticisms of modern Hindu and Christian writers, and the other a desire to make Islam attractive to non-Muslims, particularly to Christians of western countries." ³

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1. Op.Cit., p. 24
2. Indian Islam
3. Ibid, p. 207

Thus we find in four representative authorities unanimous agreement in the affirmation of the place that liberalizing tendencies are having on old Islam, and the characterization of these new tendencies as tending toward something altogether different from the Islam of the past.

II. The Nature of Liberalizing Tendencies in Islam.

With Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) there is marked the dawn of a new day, "the beginning of a new era." Writes Titus: "No other figure in Indian Islam deserves such reverent consideration and respect as this sturdy pioneer and beloved leader, who through endless opposition, but with dauntless courage and faith, blazed a new trail for succeeding generations of his Muslim brethren to follow." ¹

Sir Syed believed thoroughly in the prophetic office of Mohammed and in the Koran as the final revelation of God, and in the Traditions, yet he insisted that reason had its part to play in the interpretation of them. He placed religion on a natural basis; it should not rest on the deductions of man. He wrote: "I hope every lover of truth will candidly and impartially investigate the truth of Islam, and make a just and accurate distinction between its real principles and those which have been laid down for the perpetual and firm maintenance and observance of the same, as well as between those that are solely the productions of those persons whom we designate as learned men, divines,

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1. Titus, Indian Islam, p. 193

doctors and lawyers." ¹ Thus we see in the spirit of the man an attitude that changed the rigid orthodoxy in the sight of the educated Moslem and gave to it an elasticity that had not before been granted it.

Sir Syed while introducing to his people "the new form of interpretation of Islam through rationalizing processes of investigation", found himself interested in making a study of Christianity. This culminated in an effort to reconcile the two faiths. The fearlessness of this early liberal in Islam is amazing. He even went so far as to attempt to bring out a Mohammedan Commentary on the Holy Bible. Parts of it were published.

He believed that the method of education should be changed and give place to modern and scientific methods of study. He believed there could be no ultimate conflict between science and religion. Science would be an aid for Moslems to better understand their religion. The outcome of this passion for modernizing Indian education was the founding of the famous Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875. "One of his chief passions was that the young men who passed through his college should have a vital knowledge and appreciation of their faith, but without bigotry and fanaticism which he found so frequently associated with a training which was narrowly Islamic in character." ²

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1. Op. Cit., p. 194 Quoted by Titus from Syed Ahmad Khan's, "Essays on the Life of Mohammed." I, xi.
2. Ibid, p. 196

Titus points out that Sir Syed was tremendously interested in the need for social reform and pressed its cause with earnestness.

This account of Sir Syed Ahmed's attitude toward old Islam is significant, altho it antedates somewhat the time we are especially interested in in this thesis. Sir Syed was the forerunner of the present proponents of reform such as Sir Shaikh Muhammed Iqbal of Lahore, Prof. S.Khuda Bukhsh of Calcutta and Prof. A.M.Maulvi. These men are students of no rare ability and are versed in the findings of Orientalists like Goldziher and Hurjronje. The Right Hon. Syed Amir Ali takes the position that all of modern education, science, economic changes are in absolute harmony with Islam.

India is the seat of liberal ideas. The Indians are the most forward looking of the Islamic group, and their pronouncements speak for most of the liberal Islamic world. True it is that the sheikhs of the Woking and other European mosques represent modern or Neo-Islam, but their writings have not yet reached the same high standard as these worthies already mentioned.

Of the influence of Sir Syed, Titus writes:

".....it may be safely said that steady advance is being made in the improvement of the community through the growing volume of enlightened public opinion with regard to the outstanding evils of the seclusion of women, the practice of polygamy, divorce, child marriage, fatalism, and religious

formalism. For the light of progress thus shed on the path of Indian Muslims, credit is undoubtedly due to the peerless Sir Syed Ahmad of Aligarh."¹

A. Neo-Islam in Turkey and Egypt.

1. Turkey

In Turkey where Islam has changed perhaps more than in any other land of the East, the sermons once given in the sacred Arabic language of the Koran must now be delivered in the new Turkish so that the people can understand; so that the ignorant mullahs can no more mislead the people by falsehood. The Turkish press points out that the feast days of Ramadhan and others shall be fixed beforehand and not subject to the eyewitness of the new moon. Prostrations must be eliminated because the modern dress will not permit genuflections and the rest of the ritual. The Mohammedan Friday always held as the Islamic Sabbath is now observed on the Sunday of the Christians, so as to be modern. The "Hadith" has been abrogated by introducing the commercial code of Germany. Religious freedom is allowed for any person above eighteen years of age. The New York Times of February 1st, 1932, printed the following article which illustrates the degree to which Turkey is departing from old Islam and is entering upon a Neo-Islam:

"For the first time in Islamic history, a radio microphone has been installed in a Turkish mosque.

"Choosing one of the most famous religious edifices in all Turkey, Sancta Sophia, for this innovation, Mustapha Kemal has directed that the radio services

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1. Op. Cit., pp. 197-8

be chanted from the newly adopted Turkish Koran by twenty-five clergymen.

"This is the second notable departure from ancient custom in religious service effected by the progressive Turkish President this year. The Arabic Koran always unintelligible as Latin to the layman, was replaced early in January in some Istanbul mosque by a Turkish translation."

The extremities to which old Islam has been abandoned in Turkey are well told by L.E. Browne. He writes:

"It is almost impossible for the faithful few to keep the old religion alive, for everything is against them. The schools where children were taught the Koran are all closed, and most of the divinity schools where 'hojas' were trained; and if the present regime continues for a decade or two there will be scarcely enough young 'hojas' to replace the old ones who die, and the people will hardly know enough of the Koran to say their 'namaz'.... There is talk in unofficial circles of introducing pews, and music in the mosques, of allowing the men to retain their shoes, of having the 'namaz' in Turkish, but all these are outward things and there is no sign of any spiritual awakening within Islam, of any prophet like Al-Ghazzali, or even like the late Sheikh Mohammed Abdu of Cairo, who combine new thought with the old." ¹

With this departure from the old, the question rises if they have chosen any substitute. Our study brings to light the prevalence of atheism and agnosticism, yet also the fact that most Turks are anxious to retain Islam, but an Islam after their own making. The virtues attributed to the Islam of their own interpretation are indeed striking. We are told that Islam has satisfied the soul of the Turk all through the ages, but has not kept itself abreast of

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1. Browne, "Religion in Turkey Today and Tomorrow", Moslem World, January 1929, p. 18

the feelings of the times. Islam takes its strength not from formal institutions but rather from faith and conscience. It does the following to the individual: Makes possible the living of a spiritual existence above worldly relations, imparts sweetness to the souls of the people, creates longing in souls toward a divine being.¹

One of the proponents of New Islam writes in a Turkish newspaper of the task of his religion: "...to arouse its social vigor by examining the whole structure and the foundations of Islam according to modern concepts.....Moreover, the important thing to be done is to examine thoroughly by modern scientific methods the origin of Islam as given by the Koran and the Prophet; and to bring religious premises and their modern values for society."² He believes that this scientific approach will bring forth "the sublime and divine nature of Islam. It will demonstrate, for instance, the wonderful concordance of the feeling of freedom of the individual, the inner religious submission in Islam. It will emphasize the importance and value which Islam attaches to social life, unparalleled in other religions....The country expects from her young doctors of Islam, who are the sons of the Revolution, that they should fulfil the great lack felt in our social life, by putting forth the sublimity

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1. Nadi, "The Turkish Press as Mirror of Thought," Moslem World, July, 1928, p. 291
2. Ibid, p. 291

of Islam which is the sacred institution of the race." ¹

It is quite apparent that the thought of these reformers is colored by Christian influence, and that the virtues claimed for Islam are to a great extent filled with Christian content. There is a reaching out for the high social ethic of Jesus; and the basis for this ethic cannot be in the Prophet Mohammed by reason of the paucity of his teachings in this respect. Like many other Turks, this writer has been reading William James and other Christian philosophers of the pragmatic position. The phrase, "The will to believe", is a marked characteristic of much of the philosophical writings in academic circles in Turkey.

2. Egypt.

In Egypt the center of orthodoxy is Al Azhar University. There the religious teachers for the Islamic world are trained. There the doctors of Mohammedan Law learn their lessons. Its rigid orthodoxy has, however, in recent years been assailed by the liberal wing in Islam. The teaching methods of the institution are antiquated and sheltered from the Western scientific method of study. To modern Egyptians this atrophy is a source of great concern. In 1929 there appeared in the Moslem World an article which is a translation from the Cairo newspaper, "Al Ahram" of August 5 and 7, 1928, of the note of Sheikh Mohammed

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1. Op. Cit., p. 291

Moustafa al Maraghy, Rector of Al Azhar, presenting to His Majesty King Fouad, and the Prime Minister, defending many proposed reforms in the curriculum and teaching methods of the university. They are significant because of their extremity and degree.

He argues that the need for reform is obvious and beyond argument. All previous attempts to reform have failed. Al Azhar and her sister schools grieve all who love their nation and religion. "A change in teaching methods must be made, more consideration for the faith of God, and no attention paid to groans and obstructions." ¹ He recommends that the Koran, Traditions and Shariat be studied according to the laws of science and learning. Doctrine and worship must be pruned of the superfluous. Other religions must be studied that their doctrines and methods of worship may be compared with those of Islam, and that "Islam's adaptibility and holiness and superiority over other religions may appear in all countries where there is a multiplicity of religions.....The origin of beliefs throughout the world past and present must be studied and secular matters such as the solar system and the three systems of nature, animal, vegetable and mineral, as far as is necessary to an understanding of the Koranic verses which refer to these subject.....

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1. Moslem World, April 1929, p. 186

"To sum up, we must preserve the essence of our religion and everything essential to it in the most thorough fashion, and explore all paths of knowledge and gather the results of free investigation (Ijtihad), so that nothing will remain but what is demonstrably true and useful to the worshippers of God." ¹

Although these reforms have not been made in entirety, the liberalizing tendency is evident. In a school where nothing but the most rigid orthodoxy was acceptable, suggestions such as these bring to bear a tremendous influence on the whole Moslem world. The significance of these recommendations lies in their being made by the Head of the Mosque.

B. The Nature of the Neo-Islamic Apologetic.

Titus in his book, "Indian, Islam," summarizes the elements in the new Moslem apologetic.² They are as follows:

1. Attempts at a rationalistic interpretation of Islam.
2. The new emphasis on Mohammed.
3. The doctrine of abrogation.
4. Presentation of Islam as a religion of peace.
5. Giving women their proper place in society.
6. Idealism. (Mohammed Iqbal proponent)
7. Modern and higher criticism of the Qur'an.

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1. Op. Cit., pp. 187-88
2. pp. 207-223

III. The Neo-Islam of a Contemporary Liberal.

In recent years articles of S. Khudha Bukhsh have appeared in numbers of the Moslem World. Because the editor of this periodical is the most eminent authority in Islam today, it is an obvious conclusion that the materials gathered from Bukhsh's pen are of moment to the status of Islam in the world today, and of importance as they bear upon the Christian message.

Two articles of recent date will serve to present his latest thought and aspirations for Neo-Islam. In January, 1929, appeared an article entitled, "Islam and the Modern World." It is a reprint from the Muslim Review of Calcutta.

A. Defence of Liberalism in Islam.

He first makes a defence of liberalism by pointing out that liberalism in Islam is historic. He contends that no one, from the poet Sanai to Ghalib, did not preach the truth of all religions and the doctrine of the "brotherhood of man." Islam has always accommodated itself to the needs of the times. The "Savants" won the battle for all time for the right of a Moslem to think and criticize, but not only a right, but a pious duty and necessity for the understanding of the Koran. To quote:

"In the course of centuries like other religions Islam has yielded to the pressure of progressive ideas, and has altered as much as any other great religion of the world." But it developed a method

all of its own. First, the Arabs objected to Mohammed's defying their inherited views and established practices. "With the triumph of Islam the old 'Sunna' of the Arabs was exchanged for the new 'Sunna' of the conquering religion.....The result was that all views and practices not strictly in accordance with the 'Sunna' were regarded as 'Bid'a (innovation), and as such were ruled out by the faithful.... The history of Islam therefore is the history of the conflict between these two opposing forces-- the 'Sunna' and the 'Bid'a, the one making for progress, the other acting as a check, the party of light and progress, however, always triumphing in the end." 1

With the victories of Islam, new needs, new problems arose, all of which had to be met. The "Sunna" could not deal with the situation. "The difficulty was solved in a practical way. Moslem jurists and statesmen, always fertile in resources to meet the exigencies of the times, put forward the theory that, in certain circumstances, 'Bid'a' was permissible. This opened the door for reform; this led to the path of progress....The channel through which it was effected was 'Ijma', concensus of opinion." 2

The time came in Islamic history when departure from "Sunna" became accepted:

"The necessity for conforming to altered conditions became clearer and clearer and more and more persistent as the years went by, until popular opinion accepted the view that departures from 'Sunna', to suit the needs of the times were in no way inconsistent with Islam." 3

Despite occasional halts and backsliding, progress

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1. Moslem World, January 1929, p. 64
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., p. 65

and historical development have been the marked characteristics of Islam. He asks: "Could the numerous sects have arisen in Islam if Islam had strangled thought, crushed free-thinking?....Did not Ghazzali, who united in himself the spirit of Islam and the spirit of progress, become the beacon-light of the Moslems, and his point of view the criterion of the orthodox Sunni school?" ¹

And today, "Tremendous changes are being introduced into Islam. Basing themselves on an independent interpretation of the Koran, eminent Moslem scholars are making strenuous efforts to liberate Islam from the fetters of Authority, from the Dead Hand of the past ages. Concession to the demands of the times being admitted, these concessions are justified by appeals to the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet." ²

Instances given of this liberation are the sanctioning of the establishment of a savings bank and the distribution of dividends; the legalizing of insurance policies by the Fatwa of the Egyptian Mufti, Sheikh Mohammed Abdul, which the ancient Moslem law forbade; furtherance of cultural and economic progress and modern forms of government. "In politics too the justification for parliamentary government is found in the Koran, and the Shiite Mullahs base the claims of the revolutionists on the doctrine of the Hidden Imam." ³ Other instances of the forward move-

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1. Op. Cit., p. 66
2. Ibid., pp. 66-67
3. Ibid., p. 68

ments in Eastern lands which are the "fruits of Western culture" are: The Babi Movement in Persia, Bahaism, and the Ahmadiya.

B. Rationalization of the Abolition of the Caliphate.

A second article entitled: "The Awakening of Islam" appeared in the January 1930 number of the Moslem World, just a year later. It is likewise a reprint with permission from The Muslim Review of Calcutta. In this article he supports the action of Turkey in abolishing the Caliphate. Turkey's action he writes was the natural outcome of evolution in Moslem practice. When something in Islam is no more needed, it is right and proper that it be discarded. He then proceeds to trace the evolution of the Caliphate from the spiritual and temporal powers of the Baghdad Caliphs to the time when the Caliph, like the last was a mere figurehead without special office in the Islamic world. From Muktafi, 1160 A.D., the caliphs managed to acquire great political independence, but this was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258. With the Abbasid Caliphs the religious power was only wielded. To quote:

"Thus with the extinction of the Caliphate in 1258 Islam lost its spiritual Chief, for up to 1258 though ruled by independent governors the individual provinces of the Caliphate were yet part and parcel of the one empire--and this by reason of the spiritual authority of the Caliph, which was so to speak the uniting tie." ¹

The final stage in the evolution is the treatment of

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1. Bukhsh, "The Awakening of Islam", Moslem World, January, 1930, p. 11

the Imamate no longer as a spiritual but as a temporal institution and is set down as such by Ibn Khaldun and Mawardi.

"Thus the reform or the revolution, effected by Kamal Pasha, is not as is erroneously assumed a reform or revolution effected under the inspiration of the West, but is the final fruition of purely Islamic ideas long struggling into supremacy. The abolition of the Caliphate on the 3rd of March, 1924, is the natural culmination of events long moving in that direction....It constitutes a land-mark in the history of Islam. It ends a fiction; it ushers in modern as opposed to medieval ideas; it lays the path open for the development of nationalism; and finally, it removes once and for all the embargo upon liberalism. For it is incompatible with the spirit of modern times to set up or to yield implicit obedience to a religious chief whose weapon is naught but God-vested authority and whose appeal is naught but His immutable decrees. Such a chief can only marshal the forces of darkness to combat the light of reason!"¹

This is the attitude of Neo-Islam. Orthodox Islam has sought to restore the Caliphate by calling several conferences for that purpose during the past few years. None of these has been successful in deciding on a Caliph that would be satisfactory to all concerned. So the Moslem world continues without a Caliph; Liberals arguing that one is not necessary; Conservatives eager to reestablish the Head of the Mohammedan religion.

C. Logical Trends of Neo-Islam.

Following out this logic, the age-long idea of one Mohammedan state bound together by the ties of religion is

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1. Op. Cit., p. 11

destroyed. He advocates that each nation must work out its own destiny without being bound by a religious head.

There must be a confederacy of Islamic nations. He writes:

".....that such is the trend of events is clear to all who seriously scan the political horizon... The East has awakened to the danger which threatens its political existence and this danger can only be effectively met by appropriating and using the weapons forged in the West. Constantinople, Cairo, Kabul, North Africa, India--wherever the cry of the Muezzin is heard--the very same phenomenon meets the eye: Western education, Western methods, good or evil; Western principles of agitation, open or secret; even Western social customs, serious or gay, and last but not least the strident, and ever more strident call for freedom and self-determination." ¹

Westernism, however, has not impaired or destroyed

Islam. In fact, it has drawn Mohammedans closer to Islam:

"To the savage and the savant Islam appeals with equal force; for there is nothing in Islam to impede or to hamper the forward step of man. Free from theology and priest-craft it imposes no rigid code of law. Destitute of rituals and ceremonials it leaves its votary a perfect and free hand in worship and devotion. In its essence splendidly democratic it gives the freest and fullest scope to the genius of man. The Qur'an instead of being a stumbling-block to advancement, is a book, brimming with counsels of perfection for all times and all peoples. It does not restrict but widens the charity of man.

"Such is the true spirit of Islam! Universalism is its keynote, unity of God its sole slogan; brotherhood of man its cardinal tenet; a will to conquer its refreshing inspiration. The rest is the creation of theology and not the essential of Islam." ²

In this view, although lacking factual basis and animated by an enthusiasm for Islam that incorporates all the fine things in Christianity, one cannot but see the

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1. Op. Cit., p. 12

2. Ibid., p. 13

trend toward which Neo-Islam is running, namely, the incorporation in Islam of all that is admirable in a twentieth century world. The back is almost broken in order to show the elasticity of Islam.

IV. Attributed Causes of Neo-Islam.

In the articles in the Moslem World dealing with the modern movements in Islam, it is of value to note the various reasons given for departing from the orthodox faith of Islam. The following is the fruit of these observations:

1. To straighten out age-long errors in Islam. ¹
2. To popularize and modernize religion. ²
3. To produce elasticity in a rigid system. ³
4. To revive the religious life of Moslems. ⁴
5. To cleanse Moslem theology of much debris. ⁵
6. To fulfill the needs of Moslems for a true religion. ⁶
7. To offset the failure of orthodox groups. ⁷
8. To correct the intellectual sloth of teachers
of the past. ⁸
9. To support and defend the faith of Islam against
other religions. ⁹

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1. Fye, "Prayer and Mosque Attendance in Turkey", Moslem World, October, 1928 p. 394
2. Ibid., p. 395
3. Ibid., p. 395
4. Ibid., p. 397
5. Ibid., p. 398
6. Fye, "The Turkish Press as a Mirror of Thought," Moslem World, July, 1928, p. 289
7. Ibid., p. 240
8. A Translation, "A Defence of Reforms in Al Azhar", Moslem World, April, 1929, p. 185
9. Ibid., p. 185

10. To strengthen Islam's weakened character.¹
11. To build up the weakened character of Eastern nations.²
12. To correct the growing decadence in nations.³
13. To light the lamp of knowledge in such centers of darkness as Al Azhar.⁴
14. To secure the safety of Islam. Danger of its losing hold on people.⁵
15. The tremendous impact of Western influence.⁶

V. The Implications of Neo-Islam.

The claims made by the proponents of Neo-Islam are unanimous in that they expect a New Islam emasculated of its time-worn hindrances to emerge which will grip the world of Islam not only, but the whole world. Dr. Zwemer says it is a new world of Islam that we are looking at today. He writes:

"It is a new world of Islam also because of new light thrown on its origin and character, its unity and dissensions, its vital theistic principles and its backward Arabian ethics. The bibliography on Islam is becoming enormous. Orient and occident have contributed of their ripe scholarship in translations of the Koran, translations of the Traditions in English, German and French, and of the sources of Islamic history and jurisprudence...The life of Mohammed for example, now appears in the daylight of history and not in the moonshine of tradition,

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1. Op. Cit., p. 185
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Bukhsh, "The Awakening of Islam", Moslem World, Jan. 1930, p. 14
6. Bukhsh, "Islam and the Modern World", Moslem World, January, 1929, p. 66

thanks to the labours of Grimme, Nöldeke, Buhl, Lammens, Margoliouth, Tor Andrae, and more, especially, Goldziher and Leone Caetani." ¹

The Liberals of the intelligent class in Islam are taking their places alongside of these eminent scholars in their untiring efforts to determine the genius of their religion.

More especially, however, are we interested in the implications of the liberalizing tendencies in Islam for the Christian message. Are the liberal movements in Islam strengthening the grip of Islam upon the Islamic world and hindering the progress of the Gospel, or have the changes effected by the West and Nationalism in bringing about a changed Islam been conducive to greater possibilities for the spread of the Gospel? From our study in this chapter the changed mind of the East has been constantly before us. It is a questioning mind, asking why and wherefore, and not content as was true in past days to accept the axioms of the mullahs without comment. There is little in Islam that has not had the searchlight of modern investigation turned upon it. The weaknesses of Islam are conceded by Islamic scholars, but the genius of the religion is so much more so emphasized. There is a kindred attitude toward Christianity and other religions. Writes Bukhsh:

"It is idle to deny the great gift made to the East by Christendom. As a civilization it has permeated Eastern life through and through in

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1. Across the World of Islam, p. 22

all its phases and aspects, social, intellectual, economic, religious. It has taught the spirit of compromise, and the necessity for concession to modern thought. It has weakened the force of merely inherited ideas and customs. It has slackened the hold of unreasoning orthodoxy, and driven home the need for a critical differentiation between fundamental principles and mere fleeting accretions. It has helped the Faithful to realize that their Paradise can be found as assuredly on this earth as it is said to await them in the life beyond the grave." ¹

He goes so far as to say: "True Islam is true Christianity, their mission being identical. In the language of the Apostle James: 'Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world.' This is the burden of all religions and this is the essence of Islam." ²

If Bukhsh wishes to continue to call this Islam, the Christian should have no regret. It is Christianity to us. We shall permit him to call his reformed Islam what he will, if he will accept the teachings of the New Testament and apply them to life.

There is something frantic about these sweeping reforms or as Pierre Crabites prefers to call them, "innovations". The Moslem world is faced with the threat of collapse, and forward looking leaders are seeking a way out. By some it is called the "dark hour" of Islamic history. There is a consciousness of a lack of spirituality. There is a

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1. "Islam and the Modern World", Moslem World, Jan. 1929, p.68-9
2. Op. Cit., p. 69

desire to build up the faith of Islam. Turkey is characterized by L.E.Browne as a country "spiritually bankrupt."

Surely, there is no more fertile field than the modern mind that is searching for a way out: conscious of its inferior spiritual status, willing to use modern criticism on its scriptures, and taking a liberal and tolerant attitude toward Christianity.

Although this mind is not true of the whole Moslem world, men like Dr.Paul W.Harrison, Rev.Fred J.Barny and Dr.Zwemer say that it will not be long before these liberal ideas begin to permeate the minds of the masses. With education will come enlightenment, and with enlightenment will come a recognition of Him who is the Truth.

Conclusion

We have seen in this chapter that there is a decided liberal trend in Islam today, that it is aggressive, yet tolerant; scholarly, yet ambitious; influential, yet not all pervading the Moslem world. We have discovered that Neo-Islam is quite different from orthodox Islam, destroying with sweeping strokes the ancient faith. The Islam of the liberal cannot strictly be called Islam any longer as Lord Cromer remarked would be the case when an attempt was made to reform Islam. We are therefore, dealing with a new mind and a new religion that seeks to have much in common with Christianity. We have sought to point out that

these trends are making fertile ground for the message of the Gospel. We are no longer dealing with fanatically bigoted minds closed to free-thinking, but are in contact with moderns who are our equals, and in some cases our superiors, who are willing to weigh the comparative merits of Christianity and Islam. These moderns are conscious of the evils of materialism and the dearth of spirituality in the East. They are anxious for a religion of the soul, a religion that will express itself in sound ethical living, a creed that will put iron into the fibre of life, building men and women of strong character.

With such a situation constantly gaining ground in the Mohammedan lands of the East, we must ask ourselves if our present methods of presenting Christ to such a world are adequate, whether there must be adaptation, whether there must be a new emphasis, a different aspect of the character of Christ presented, how far our polemic is justified, how adequate is our educational method, and questions of a kindred nature.

It will be the purpose of the concluding chapter to seek for some solution to this problem. The only adequate ground for speculation is that of experience. It is with this in mind that we examine the most recent utterances and works of men and women working in these fields. Conclusions which seem justified will be drawn. These will be our attempted contribution to the much vexed problem of missionary methods in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHOD AND POLICY OF MODERN MISSIONS IN THE
NEAR EAST IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION.

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METHOD AND POLICY OF MODERN MISSIONS IN THE NEAR EAST IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION.

Introduction.

In taking up the study of this very important aspect of our subject it will be necessary to keep in mind the foregoing chapters to appreciate the nature of the present day Moslem world of the Near East. We must especially appreciate the values and limitations of the new mentality to attempt any formulation of new method or policy that will be beneficial to the presentation of the Gospel. We must keep in mind the values which we discussed in chapter three, namely: a questioning mind, a mind that shows a marked reaction to the bigotry of the past, a mind that is desirous of better things in religion, an inclusion in Neo-Islam of much which is of Christian content, and finally that the new mentality runs counter to Islam. Regarding limitations we found that legalism in religion has been transferred to legalism in politics, that there has been much legislation without a change of heart, that religion has been given a secondary place thus necessitating the task of educating the mind to religious values, that nationalism has curbed religious liberty and that nationalism applies only the pragmatic test to

everything in government and religion.

We are, therefore, as missionaries, living in a new intellectual climate in the Near East. Not only is it new as contrasted with the old, but it is ever changing. It is difficult to forecast just what changes lie ahead. We must proceed on the basis of what our study has revealed as being the trends of the day in government and religion.

We shall proceed in this chapter after the following order: first, the Christian approach to the enlightened Moslem considering the points of issue between Islam and Christianity and the presentation to the modern Moslem mind. Secondly, the content of our Message. Thirdly, the future Mission policy in Moslem lands, considering the relative merits of evangelism and educational work in a changing East.

1. The Christian Approach to the Enlightened Moslem

A. Criticism of Past Methods

Introduction.

Controversy is passe as a method of presenting the Gospel to the Moslem: orthodox or modern. It antagonizes; repels rather than attracts. Dr. C. G. Pfander's book, "Mizan-ul-Haqq", or "The Balance of Truth", is inadequate for present day presentation. Although this book was written in 1835, revisions of it have sought to bring it up to date. But such premises as "God cannot be found through reason", the condemnation of all religions and

revelations as false in order to safeguard the truth of the Christian revelation, the assumption that there should be no contradictions in the revelation, using prediction as proof of revelation, dogmatizing, and stating that Jesus Christ's unity with God is a mystery not subject to reason---all these though having more or less an element of truth do not encourage the modern mind to seek to know more about Christianity. For one thing the modern mind is rational and is not interested in metaphysical conundrums that end in an impasse.

1. Loutfy Levonian in his recent book entitled, "Moslem Mentality", makes a searching criticism of the presentation of Christianity in the past. His first contention is that error is made when God instead of Christ is presented to the Moslem. He writes: "Instead of interpreting God through Christ, we have tried to interpret Jesus through God. The ideas of the Moslem with regard to God are imperfect, and if he begins with these, he cannot have a right idea of the person of Christ." ¹

2. His second contention is that Christians have made a mistake by emphasizing a metaphysical God and consequently by teaching a metaphysical Christ to the Moslems. The Trinity has always been a stumbling block:

"When the Moslems read such statements as:
'We worship one God in Trinity, but Trinity
in Unity, neither confounding the persons
nor dividing the substance, the Father in-

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1. Levonian, Moslem Mentality, p. 201

comprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, the Holy Ghost incomprehensible; yet they are not incomprehensible, but one as created and one incomprehensible.'it does not make sense." 1

All this is incomprehensible to the Moslem mind and is not illuminating with regard to the Christian idea of God. It confuses him and confirms his suspicion of Christianity.

3. The third criticism that Levonian makes is the mistake of emphasizing the mysterious and supernatural to prove the truth of the Christian revelation. The modern Moslem protests against this because his fort is human reason. He is a product of the age that has glorified intellectualism. Moslems of today cannot be won to Christianity via this method.

In concluding his criticism of past methods he writes:

"The missionaries in the field, and the thinkers in the Western centers of study must join hand in hand and produce something new, clarifying the mind of the honest inquirer...A way must be found to present to the Moslems convincingly and reasonably." 2

B. Points of Issue between Islam and Christianity.

1. The first point at issue is the doctrine of God. Instead of discussing unity or trinity we would better discuss the comparative natures of Allah and God. We would better compare the character and ethical attributes of the Mohammedan and Christian God. Is He arbitrary or perfectly righteous and just? Is He a loving Father

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1.Op.Cit., p. 201
2. Ibid., p. 203

or a despotic monarch? Levonian remarks on page 206 of his book: "We must try to bring the Moslem first of all to a new plane of thinking on this problem, to the plane of ethical and moral issues. We must help him to see the problem in that new perspective, and then we can discuss the matter with him."

2. The second point at issue is the doctrine of revelation. The Moslem "...must understand that Christianity is not the Old Testament...that Christianity is not the religion of a book, but something far superior to it. He must be clear with the Christian idea of revelation; that the main issue between Islam and Christianity in this respect is not whether the Bible or the Koran is the true revelation, but that Islam and Christianity differ fundamentally in their idea of divine revelation and its true tests. The main question is, How does God reveal Himself?"¹

3. The third point is the idea of religion. What do we mean by it? What do we mean by Christianity? Do we mean the magical influence of rites and ceremonies or do we mean real fellowship with God? Is it to avoid the wrath of God by outward acts or is it a real spiritual change in man? What is sin? What is forgiveness? What is faith in God?

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1. Op. Cit., p. 208

"Is religion a thing altogether other worldly an assurance of bliss after death, or is it a thing that purifies our inner life and our outward conduct, and gives us the right attitude to life? Is religion a problem of life, or of mere speculation? What is the end of religion? Why be religious at all? Is it only assent to creed or is it a way of life?..."¹

This point is discussed by Hocking.² The modern Turk has a vague idea as to just what is meant by religion. He is bound to associate it with what Islam has been in the past, and "a posteriori" conclude that all religion is detrimental to the state.

Is it not a just criticism that Christians have missed the main issues? We have come down to their level of seeing and discussing matters instead of bringing them up to the higher Christian plane. Our method has in many instances been a program of substitution of one creed for another, one ritual for another ritual, one system of ordinances for another system of ordinances.

Is it not legitimate to ask the question whether we have understood the Moslem mind? Have we found the real points at issue between Christianity and Islam?

C. Presentation to the Modern Moslem Mind.

In an evaluation of old and new methods much of the material must of necessity be of a negative nature to clear the ground of antiquated method. Watson in a recent article in the International Review of Missions (January,

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1. Op. Cit., p. 211
2. "The Ethical Basis Underlying the Legal Right of Religious Liberty as Applied to Foreign Missions." International Review of Missions. October 1931

1932) points out that many changes have taken place in mission method since the days of Carey, Adoniran Judson and Robert Moffat, and that in our day we must again face the necessity of considering what is good and what is bad in our presentation of Christ to the Moslem. Dr. Paul W. Harrison writes¹ that it is easy enough to stand up in Arabia and say, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved", but those to whom he is talking have never heard of the Lord Jesus Christ and have not the faintest conception of what it means to be saved. "So we seek a simpler presentation." he concludes.

The changes in the Moslem World during the last thirteen years are greater than those of the last thirteen centuries. Our methods must necessarily adjust themselves to the changed mentality resulting.

Some preliminary suggestions are obvious if we rightly understand the situation in the East. Things are still in a state of flux. Politically, there is instability. Socially, there is constant innovation. Religiously, there is a new outlook. The general tenor of change is constructive in spite of many criticisms to the contrary. Our method therefore must be in harmony, namely, it must be constructive rather than critical and destructive. The author has worked in a Moslem land and has found by experience that the Moslem, the Arab, is very responsive

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1. Harrison, "What Shall We Send?", Missionary Review of the World, November, 1931, p. 308

to constructive suggestions if made sympathetically and diplomatically. Encouragement spurs him on. Driving will never accomplish anything of a lasting nature. So in our presentation, we must be cooperative and forget our destructive methods. By destroying the Mohammedan faith, orthodox or modern, we shall not move one inch toward winning the Moslem to Christ. It is only as he makes this observation of the inadequacy of his religion that he will respond to the touch of Christ.

We must eliminate the doctrinal presentation. Of this Levonian writes:

"....any statement made with the view of showing the superiority of the Christian religion to Islam in doctrine will make the Moslem feel more fanatically attached to his own beliefs. It will not touch the real problem in his mind...such a presentation of Christianity will not appeal to the Moslem with the modernist mentality, because he does not consider these doctrinal matters vital at all; he does not care whether they are proved this way or the other way." ¹

When we allow our Message to hover in the field of experience we are more apt to attract the modern Moslem. He lives in a world of new experience which is not limited to nationalism. He has new thought concepts and is finding new areas in the brain. Is it too much to expect that he will find areas in the heart that have been unknown heretofore?

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1. Moslem Mentality, p. 215-16

These preliminary suggestions force us to the consideration of the individual. We must begin where we find him. At times we may not be attracted to his views, but that is just where we must begin. Dr. Paul W. Harrison in an interview given to the author said we must not brand the individual as an inferior. We must consider him an individual in need; one for whom we have something precious. He like us wants to live. He wants to Westernize life. Although there are variant opinions as to the influence of Christianity upon Western civilization we can show the individual its basis and especially indicate its vital connection with the Christian religion, if there is any. Hocking makes a very keen observation on this very point. He says:

"The science and industry which spread from the West do not belong to the West; they belong to mankind, just so far as mankind can use them. But they bring social diseases with them and philosophical diseases. For that reason it will be to the great advantage of any community into which they penetrate to consider what also may be universal in the religious elements which have been meeting and curing these evils. Indeed, one might fairly plead, that since the incidental evils of industrialism and the materialistic outlook have been so devastating in the West, the Orient in its own interest can afford to neglect no element of spiritual life which may contribute to immunity from or cure of those specific evils."¹

Such a presentation cannot fail to win the Moslem's interest and understanding and open the way for a presentation of more vital truths about Christ and His place in

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1. Hocking, Int. Review of Missions, Oct. 1931, pp. 503-4

ridding society of the evils of science and industry as are found in the West.

It is with hesitation that the author quotes again from Levonian, yet one finds in a study of this aspect of our problem that letters sent out to leading authorities in the field of Missions have little to say in regard to this important problem. Levonian has with shrewd insight, based upon superior knowledge of the Mohammedan world due to his living and teaching in the East, in the author's estimation, hit upon the central points at issue and has given most helpful suggestions for a more adequate presentation to the modern Moslem. He writes that there are four points which are principles to any civilization and take their roots in the Christian religion.

The first is supreme respect and loyalty to truth. Trust of one another is a minus quality in Mohammedan life. There is no firm moral foundation and no amount of legislation will create a better situation. Likened unto it is our prohibition situation: until there is a change in the human heart, there will be no observance of the law. Hocking says that truth is something no society can afford to lose no matter in what guise it comes.

The second is "a deep sense of the sacredness of human personality." Here again there may be much legislation and many new hospitals, but unless the doctor becomes interested and takes a deep concern in the welfare of the people, they will be of no avail. Mothers and

fathers must be taught to cherish a deep sense of the sacredness for childhood. Levonian says: "So long as children are looked on essentially as the outcome of physical union, and men look down upon women, there can be no real social change."¹ We must find out how to create a sense of spiritual values. In this respect Islam is terribly lacking.

The third is the exclusiveness of the Islamic brotherhood. All people are not children of one Father in Islam. Modern Moslems stress the place of Moslem brotherhood, but do not include those outside of Islam in this fraternity. The questions are asked: What is Islam's goal for mankind? What is its teaching and spirit with regard to human relationship? Islam is self-interested. Its principles are struggle for existence and the use of brute force to gain them. The third point then in true civilization which must be taught the Mohammedan is a firm belief in the solidarity of humanity and the fellowship of men.

Love is foreign to the Moslem mind. True it is that Moslems of today are introducing love as the ethic of Islam, but this quality cannot be found in any of its teachings. Moslems cannot account for love in the world apart from Jesus. He must be taken into consideration if they would practice it. Some spiritual power must be brought to bear on the life of the Moslem if hatred is to

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1. Levonian, Moslem Mentality, p. 225

be changed into love, suspicion and fear into mutual confidence. Only as Christ is shown to them will they come through Him to a right understanding of God.

D. The Approach Recommended by International Missionary Council Meeting at Jerusalem, 1928 1

Chapter vi of Volume I of this report is entitled: "Approach to Moslems" written by Canon Gairdner and Dr. Eddy. Gairdner and Eddy point out that in the presentation of the message there must be a spirit of penitence, humility and understanding love. The Church in the past has made many mistakes by its lack of love and its failure to present Christ adequately to the world of Islam. The presentation must be made

"Through sacrificial lives of Christians expressing the truth and power of the Holy Spirit in their personal and corporate life...What really matters is such a life of love, humility and faith toward God and toward each other as will prove an irresistible testimony for Christ our Lord. The deepest need in many Moslem lands is that the Christian churches, both old and new, should be set aglow by the Spirit of God with a real, self-sacrificing love for their Moslem neighbors." 2

In regard to the emphasis to be made and where laid the following is advised:

"Special emphasis should be laid on those aspects of truth which Islam in some degree possesses, namely, the unity, majesty and sovereignty of God, reverence to God in worship, His revelation to man; and even more on those aspects of truth in which Islam is deficient, namely, God's love and holiness,

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1. Henry B. Robins of Colgate Rochester Divinity School in a personal letter to the author characterizes the material of this chapter as the "most up-to-date approach". He characterizes it as a restatement of traditional orthodoxy.
2. Vol. I, pp. 327-8

the nature of sin, Christ's suffering in redemption and His resurrection from the dead, and the indwelling Spirit of God.

"...the Christian message must stress the sacredness of personality, elevate the position of woman, emphasize the sanctity of marriage, and be dynamic for the uplift of family life." ¹

II. The Content of our Message.

What shall we hold as unique in our Message to attract and captivate the modern mind? Have we anything that is unique indeed, something which the modern Moslem needs, something to help him realize his quest for better things? We are convinced that the liberalizing tendencies in Islam are helping him along this pathway. The departure from the old Islam to Neo-Islam is salutary. What contribution have we as Christians to make?

A. The Christian contribution according to Dr. Paul W. Harrison.

In answer to this question, Dr. Paul W. Harrison in a personal interview ² declared that the unique contribution of Christianity to the modern Moslem mind lay in the following:

1. By virtue of our sole authority resting in Christ's example we bring complete exemption from group coercion. Christ is everything and all that we bring to the Moslem. He is our only authority. Neither church nor individual has higher claim upon us than Christ. Not even our own interpretation of Christ is adequate. Let Christ speak

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1. Op. Cit., p. 328

2. On March 7, 1932, the author had a private conference with Dr. Harrison. Dr. Harrison's conclusions are the result of a careful study of the question.

to the Moslem. In every Mohammedan situation, legalism holds Moslems in bondage. It is hard for the Moslem to tear himself loose from the group's dictation. Christ broke the power of group coercion. He destroyed the foils of legalism. Christ's contribution to the Moslem mind is Spirit. Dr. Harrison points out that in a close study of the first four chapters of Romans it is always faith versus the law, not faith versus the flesh that is paramount. This must be impressed on the Moslem mind by Christ. As the Moslem begins to see that his responsibility is to One higher than the group, he will appreciate the nature of the One whom he serves. He will be delivered from the narrow legalistic circle of Islam and group coercion into the larger world of the Spirit.

2. A picture of God splendid enough so that intelligent men can bow down to it. Christians have a distinct view of God and the universe. To the Christian there is one value supreme in the universe, namely human beings. God is the Heavenly Father of us and cares for His children. He does not consider in His plans only the Moslem fraternity, but all mankind. He has revealed Himself through Jesus Christ and has universalized His Message to us through Him. This is a God that intelligent men can, with the large world of science before them, bow down to and understand. A restricted view of God must give them a restricted universe. In direct apposition to Islam is the Christian view, and in this we have our Christian contribution to make to the

modern mind.

3. Christ on the Cross is an adequate method of making the forgiveness of past sins justifiable. In the Islamic view, God doesn't care for sin and righteousness. Man doesn't count in His sight. The Christian view is quite different. God is righteous and is very sensitive to sin, so sensitive indeed that He permitted His Son to die on the cross that man might forever have forgiveness of sins in Him. We cannot conclusively say just how a Moslem will learn to be conscious of sin. We know, however, that he will become conscious of sin when he comes in contact with Christ. When he sees himself in the white light of Christ's purity he craves repentance and he by faith accepts the grace of God in Christ. He is taken back by God and reinstated in the fellowship of the righteous. In this view we bring into play the whole Christian moral program, something the modern Moslem recognizes he needs, but has yet produced no adequate substitute for. Whether he will be forced to see the necessity of Christ in the steps he is taking, we do not know, but can only hope it will some day take place. The atonement is hard to understand; it is only experience that will teach us. We cannot understand how a great bridge is built that crosses a wide river, yet in a few months or years all the materials that were scattered about are brought together in the proper relationship and the bridge is built. We accept it and ride over it. No more can we understand the atonement; but we

can experience it and be brought back to Christ. This is our contribution to the modern mind as it gropes along toward its new destiny.

B. The Christian contribution as stated in letters sent to eminent men in the field of Missions.

A letter was sent out by the author to representative men in the field of Missions asking the following questions:

1. What do you believe to be the most effective presentation of the Christian Message in view of the new mentality?
2. What aspects of the Message should be stressed?
3. Wherein lies the uniqueness of the Christian Message?

The answers to these questions must of necessity involve the content of our contribution. The timeliness of these questions is vindicated by their being characterized by John R. Mott as "vital"¹; by Robert E. Speer as "far-reaching"²; by E. E. Calverley of Hartford Theological Seminary as "important"³; and the results of the study worthy of publication. This note is also sounded by Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer.⁴

We shall proceed by taking one question at a time and record the opinions as found in the letters received.

What do you believe to be the most effective presentation of the Christian Message in view of the new mentality?

It is the opinion of Stacy R. Warburton⁵ that the new

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1. Letter of March 5, 1932
2. Letter of March 7, 1932
3. Letter of February 29, 1932
4. Letter of February 25, 1932
5. Of the Dept. of Missions, Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, Berkeley, California

situation gives an unprecedented opportunity for evangelism. It is no time for controversy, but a time to present Christ. The following is an excerpt from his letter of March 10, 1932:

"....I think that the present situation in that religious community (Near East), with the new attitude of openmindedness in many sections, offers an opportunity not hitherto given for emphasis upon evangelism. It is not a time for controversy, but for the presentation of Christ and the living of the Christ life among Moslems."

Dr. Danial Grieder¹ emphasizes the need of the continuation of the full program of the past in all departments of Mission activity. He does not look for a wholesale conversion of Moslems but believes that a few will accept salvation in Christ:

If the missionary work among the Islamic nations would have to be started now, it might not have any prospects. Inasmuch as it has been carried on for generations and a great deal of money and many consecrated lives have been sacrificed in this work, it will continue. While I do not believe that any of the Islamic nations will ever be Christianized as nations, there will always be individuals to whom the Christian message will mean salvation. There is no doubt that the preaching, teaching, healing, and personal influence of the missionaries provide a mighty stimulus to all the non-Christian populations, for intellectual, spiritual and ethical progress, so that Christian institutions are copied, but often they are copied to strengthen the indigenous religion."

Dr. Donald W. Richardson of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., in a letter of March 8, 1932 refers to his views set forth at length in the second chapter of his

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1. Dept. of Religion, University of Dubuque, Ia.,
Letter of March 7, 1932.

book entitled: "The Church in China", chapter entitled, "Our Church Faces Foreign Missions."

Dr. Suthers¹ disparages doctrinal disputations with modern Moslems. He writes there is but "one witness" that can be effective and that is "a personal life of love, sacrifice and unselfish service." The following is an excerpt from his helpful letter:

"Since you are primarily interested in the Moslem world I would say that in the light of the liberalism evident among those peoples today, a preferred way of approaching them with the Christian evangel is to avoid doctrinal disputation. In fact that has never been either an effective or desirable method. Questions which might seem dear to us, such as the divinity of Christ are better deferred. That, like questions of His uniqueness and of the superiority of the Christian Gospel, are not argumentatively demonstrable. To the truth and ultimatum of Him and His way there is but one witness that can be called, and it is not the Church nor our culture or civilization (they might well make him hesitate to become 'Christian')-our moral prestige is too low for that--but the witness of a personal life of love, sacrifice and unselfish service. Apart from the man himself there is no 'message', and what there is more in his message than there is in him will ring false. In other words, 'the most effective presentation of the Christian Message' is a proper presentation of the man."

Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer refers the author to his book entitled: "The Law of Apostasy". He is not hopeful of the new situation. To quote from his letter:

"As for my own opinion, the crux of the whole matter is the Law of Apostasy, and my book with that title has two chapters showing implications of the law of Apostasy to Moslems with National-

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1. Dr. Albert E. Suthers of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. Letter of March 7, 1932.

ism. I do not see that even Turkey has abrogated its fanatic attitude toward the Christian religion.

"The mail this morning from Egypt tells of a recrudescence of the whole spirit in Cairo." 1

Dr. John R. Mott refers the author to his recent book entitled, "The Present Day Summons", the chapter on "The Message." 2

Dr. Robert E. Speer suggests the magnitude of the problem involved in the questions by remarking: "I have written book after book on these very questions and to answer your inquiry would involve writing another book." 3

Dr. George Wm. Brown⁴ advises non-participation in politics. The missionary's task is to sow the seed and let the increase to God. The following is his statement relative to this question:

"In reply to your letter of the 2nd. The most effective presentation of the Christian message in view of the intense nationalistic feeling of the Orient, is scrupulously to avoid politics. In this we shall be but following the course of Christ and the early messengers of Christianity. Nowhere do we find that they became involved in politics; on the contrary, they confined their work to other spheres. A missionary should be obedient to the laws of the country in which he works, unless they require him to renounce God in some way. He may point out instances of social injustice as they occur, but it is not his place to seek to overthrow a government or to antagonize one. His message is spiritual, not political. Let him sow the good seed, and in due time it will bear the fruit of new social and political order."

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1. Letter of Feb. 25, 1932
2. Letter of March 5, 1932
3. Letter of March 7, 1932
4. Of Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.,
Letter of March 5, 1932

Henry B. Robins of Colgate Rochester Divinity School believes that a complete reinterpretation of the terms of the Christian faith is necessary in the light of contemporary insights if the Message is to be presented rightly. There must be formulated a new modern theology. He writes:

"If one conceives that the presentation of the Christian message is tantamount to a restatement of traditional orthodoxy, he will find the most up-to-date approach recommended in Volume I of the Report of the International Missionary Council Meeting at Jerusalem, 1928, in the chapter by Canon Cairdner and Dr. Eddy (Chapter vi). If, on the other hand, he holds that the Christian Message calls for restatement, the approach to the Moslem may be quite another one. The attempt will involve the release of Christianity from the traditional formulas and its reinterpretation in terms of contemporary insights and valuations - a much more difficult undertaking than the mere restatement of the traditional orthodoxy in the current vernacular. I for one hold with the latter view. I can hardly be expected, however, to outline a modern theology in the brief space of this note. In my judgment Christendom must think through the implications of its faith in the light of modern knowledge and current appreciations which condition the common world toward which, culturally speaking, both East and West are moving, before it can overtake the mentality of young Islam." ¹

What aspects of the Message should be stressed?

We found on an examination of the replies to this question that the best answers were received from those who contributed most to the answer to the first question.

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1. Letter of March 14, 1952.

Dr. Grieder in his letter already referred to states that:

"The backbone of the missionary message is the faith in the absoluteness of the Christian religion. The more the relativity of it is stressed the more it will help to give new elements of strength to the old faiths. At least so it appears to me." ¹

Dr. Suthers writes that there are certain aspects of our Message that can be stressed to advantage:

"To the Moslem there are some peculiar emphases that might be stressed to advantage, for example, brotherhood with an enrichment of content in the idea, continuous prayer life so familiar to them already, with a sense of the supremacy and reality of God. The missionary will also lend every encouragement to every reform he finds within Islam itself." ²

Dr. Brown of the Kennedy School of Missions states in generous detail what he believes should be the emphasis in our Message. He writes the follow: ³

"What he should stress. The oneness of God. The love of God for all. The fact that all are children of God, who makes no discriminations on account of race, sex, or cult. Holy standards of life both personal and cooperate. The eternity of life. God's wish that we be like him in character. That sin keeps us away from God. That likeness to God and approach to him come through putting away of sin, and this is brought about through imitation of Christ. So the missionary must preach the life and character of Christ, and must prove not only by word, but also by his own life, that through Christ one has fullest access to God. Deeds of mercy should be done as part of his preaching; these are not ends in themselves, but are intended as a means of revealing God, even as the life of Christ was such a revelation."

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1. Letter of March 7, 1932
2. Letter of March 7, 1932
3. Letter of March 5, 1932

Dr. E. E. Calverley of Hartford Theological Seminary

advises in general terms as to what our Message shall be:

"The distinctive contribution of Missions is to offer to all sides the inner motive power that cultivates idealism, good will and peace among all men and changes present unsatisfactory characters and conditions." ¹

Wherein lies the uniqueness of the Christian Message?

Stacy R. Warburton believes that the Cross is the unique part of our Message. To quote him:

"The uniqueness of the Christian message seems to me to lie in the further reach of Christ's teachings than what is taught by other faiths, the character and personality of Christ, and the Cross as the highest expression of Christ's teachings and of Christ himself." ²

Dr. Brown expresses his opinion of the uniqueness of the Christian Message in the following paragraph taken from his letter:

"The uniqueness of the message consists in the personality of Christ, who not only revealed God by word, but also by life. He was a concrete example of the Divine character. By listening to him, by pondering on his deeds, by seeking to imitate his acts and feeling his emotions, a missionary may present Christ to non-Christians. And in so far as others may be led to do these things, they too will be led to Christ." ³

III. FUTURE MISSION POLICY IN MOSLEM LANDS

A. The Nature of the Problem.

It is somewhat difficult to separate the Message from what we choose to call policy, yet such as has not been

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1. Letter of March 4, 1932
2. Letter of March 10, 1932
3. Letter of March 5, 1932

covered in the foregoing pages will be included under this term. We shall find it of value under this heading to discuss the comparative methods of work among Moslems. Shall our work be principally educational or shall it be principally evangelistic? Can educational work have sufficient evangelistic emphasis to warrant its continuance?

Albert E. Suthers of Ohio Wesleyan University in his letter of March 7, 1932 ventures the opinion "that the future mission emphasis will be not on evangelism, but on education in its various phases."

Geo. W. Brown of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Connecticut in his letter of March 5, 1932 states that our task shall be to preach the gospel. He writes:

"Educational, medical, and benevolent work must all be subordinate to this. (preaching the gospel.) More emphasis should be laid on it. No great institutions should be built up as parts of a mission. If Christian generosity desires to manifest itself in the form of hospitals, schools, workshops and other similar ways, that will be all right, but this is not the primary work of a mission. SOW THE SEED. The harvest will come in due time. If under the inspiration thus generated, indigenous agencies ask for help from Christians of the west in order to establish or carry on such agencies, let such aid be given by individuals as such; it is not the major work of churches in their corporate capacity. The building up of these institutions by foreign money, and the carrying on of them by foreigners, lead to jealousies and suspicions on the part of the indigenes, Christian and non-Christian. Missions should be careful not to engender such unworthy sentiments. 'Lest I make my brother to offend.' "

Dr. Charles R. Watson, whose field is the Moslem world, writing in the International Review of Missions for January 1932 under the title: "Rethinking Missions" asserts that we

need not go back to rethink the missions of Carey, Paton and Judson, but our task is to rethink our task in the period beginning with 1914 when the War broke out. He discusses seven points which should concern us in rethinking Missions: I. The missionary is becoming an inconspicuous element because of the forces that play upon the non-Christian world, such as non-missionary, economic and political contacts. II. "...rethinking is an urgent need as regards the scope of Christian Missions":

"The questions of matter today are: Is any religion credible? Has not science discredited all belief in God? What is the true pathway of nationalism? What of the economic order? What of sex and the social order? What principles determine right and wrong? Can any faith be placed in international agreements? How banish disease? What form of government best suits the country?"¹

Missions should help along these lines of non-Christian conscious needs. III. In relation to our attitude toward non-Christian religions and civilizations. Our old attitude was that of hostility. IV. "...in regard to native leadership and cooperation." There should be a place for nationals in administering foreign funds and in consultation on the work. V. In relation to the methods of transmitting to non-Christian lands the dynamic and values of our Christian faith and life.

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1. Watson, Chas.R., "Rethinking Missions", International Review of Missions, January, 1932., p. 110.

"Are we presenting Christ as one whose significance to life has already been thoroughly worked out in our Western creeds and theologies, in our Western social and economic order; or do we present Him as a living Lord whose wondrous personality may require new statements of allegiance and whose moral dynamic may break forth in new directions not envisaged at the present time?" ¹

VI. In relation to the sphere of missionary organization and administration especially on the field. There is an absence of administrative unity and a hopeless diffusion of responsibility and an absence of centralized direction.

VII. In the appeal to be put forth and the challenge to be sounded by the missionary enterprise. We must sound some new notes some of which are: World service, appeal to creative living, call to world brotherhood, "the measureless satisfaction of fellowship with a Living Lord." ²

B. The Place of Evangelism.

1. Dr. Paul W. Harrison

A recent utterance regarding future mission policy is that of Dr. Paul W. Harrison of Arabia. His acquaintance with the Moslem world through twenty years association with the Mohammedan Arab qualifies him to speak with authority. The first of a series of five lectures delivered at Princeton Seminary in the Spring of 1931 is entitled: "Are our Missionary Methods Wrong?" ³

In this lecture he argues from the premise that missionary work must be more and more evangelistic and

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1. Op. Cit., p. 115

2. Ibid., p. 115

3. Printed in the Missionary Review of the World, June, 1931.

less and less educational. Educational work must of necessity be temporary because of nationalism. The nationals of the Near Eastern countries are interested in "their own racial self-development." The only weapon they have for fighting off western aggression and for developing their own racial endowments is education. They are necessarily coming to ask for the control of all the schools. Dr. Harrison claims that this attitude ought to be welcomed:

"This thing is inevitable, it is natural, and it ought to be welcomed because in all of these nations, a large part of the educational program has been carried on by foreigners. The missionaries entered backward countries that had practically no educational systems and, as a matter of Christian charity they organized schools, just as hospitals have been planted in these countries because they had no adequate medical work. But now these nations, having attained racial self-consciousness, with a national spirit, naturally demand the control of the whole educational enterprise." ¹

He sounds a warning to those who believe that our work shall be more and more educational because

"We will find ourselves pitted against the irresistible current of the time. If we do not recognize the nationalistic demand for control of the schools, we are doomed to hinder the whole enterprise. The surrender of our general educational work is natural and inevitable." ²

Dr. Harrison disparages evangelistic work through education. A forced teaching of the Bible does not make good Christians; it rather makes them adept at refuting

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1. Missionary Review of the World, p. 417

2. Ibid., p. 417

Christian arguments of salvation. A final statement regarding educational work gives his opinion of the place of educational work in our future mission policy.

"Educational work in the past has not always been a great evangelistic agency but it has been necessary. By means of it we have trained the native church and by our mission schools we have contributed enormously to the advance of the backward nations. It has been one of the finest things we have ever done, but it has not been as effective as we wish in evangelizing those people. In some cases it has been carried on in a way that has done actual damage. There is no reason why we should hesitate to turn over our educational work to the native governments as rapidly as we can." ¹

2. Stacy R. Warburton.

The present day case for evangelism as the important emphasis in future mission policy is made by Stacy R. Warburton in his recent book entitled: "The Making of Modern Missions", published in 1931. It is the most recent book dealing with this question and is most timely. He points out that historically from Paul to some of the modern apostles evangelism has been the emphasis. He traces this emphasis from the early efforts in Britain, India, Persia and Abyssinia, through the fifth and twelfth centuries when Asia and Europe were Christianized, through the early Protestant missionaries, the Pietist movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and then into the period just antedating our era, namely the time of Carey, Judson, Martin, Verbeck and Mackay. Evangelism has been the heart

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1. Op. Cit. p. 418

of the message and the reason for the success of the Gospel.

Today there is a new social interest, a new intellectual interest, a new breadth of religious appreciation and a spirit of secularism, and the questions asked are: Shall we Christianize or proselytize? Shall it be converts or cooperation? Such questions show the ferment in the minds of Christians in respect to the accomplishment of the task Christ has given us, and has impaired our efficiency and progress in converting the world to Christ.

Christianity is unique above all other religions. Islam teaches the supreme power of God: Christianity teaches that this power is united with an unconquerable love. The uniqueness of Christianity lies in the following values: (1) "The unequalled riches of moral idealism in the teachings of Christ." (2) "A revelation of the highest love and holy sacrifice in the Cross of Calvary." (3) Above all, Christ Himself. ¹

Our authority is not civilization. It is not social service. Our authority fundamentally rests upon the imperative demand of truth for universal proclamation. And our authority rests upon the right to share what we have. These two mean nothing else than Christ.

3. Robert E. Speer.

The most recent utterance of Robert E. Speer was made in the March number of the Missionary Review of the World.²

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1. p. 189

2. Speer, Robert E.,

He points out that religion is being curbed by nationalism examples of such being Turkey, Russia and India. But, he writes, the missionary enterprise has more to fear from other influences: "The greater dangers lie in ideas and attitudes that cut the very roots of the missionary undertaking, because they are the very roots of Christianity." ¹ In stating his views of what should be stressed today he quotes from the late Professor James Denney's emphases made at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910. The church must first have a "revived and deepened sense that God has given us something wonderful and incomparable in giving us His Son." ² Secondly, there must be an emphasis on the presence of God in Christ and the indwelling of His Spirit and the reality of eternal life. These are not prominent now, but are in the background. There is too much emphasis on good works, "such as they might do anywhere else in the world as well as there." And thirdly a criticism of our attitude toward other religions; concluding there is nothing exclusive in our faith. The distinctiveness and exclusiveness of the Christian religion has been allowed to fade out of men's minds.

Speer writes that we need propoganda:

"We are told that Christianity is no longer to be conceived as the final and absolute and exclusive religion, but only as one of many, and that our business is to 'share', not in the sense of sharing Christ, but in the sense of interchanging ideas

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1. Op.Cit. p. 138
2. Ibid., p. 138

with the non-Christian religions and setting up a pantheon which will contain Christ to be sure, but also Buddha and Mohammed and all the prophets." 1

This attitude has no dynamic. It ignores the facts of the "world's abysmal need of what in history, past and present, does not come into human lives or human society apart from Christ and His influence." 2

As to the present day issue he remarks:

"The present day issue is whether the Church will continue to hold the Gospel which can meet this need, the Gospel of God's redeeming love and salvation, and build its missionary enterprise upon it....." 3

C. The Place and Type of Education.

A very forceful presentation⁴ of the place of educational work in modern Missions is made by Dr. John Van Ess of Basrah, Iraq, who has spent twenty five years in that land in evangelistic and educational work. He is in contact with the modern mind and his conclusions are valuable since they make an equally strong plea for the continuation of educational work.

After showing how the Arab is the one to whom we as Westerners are indebted for being the first in history to show spiritual consciousness in the land of Chaldea millenniums before our ancestors began to doff the bear-skin or laid aside the war club, for giving us "algebra, astronomy, chemistry, law, literature, hydraulics, mystical

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1. Op. Cit., p. 138

2. Ibid., p. 139

3. Ibid., p. 139

4. VanEss, John, "Educating the Arab", Moslem World, Oct. 1931

philosophy and art", he raises the questions of why he (the Arab) should listen to us at all, why come to our schools to listen to our message. He claims they come "simply because we have something to give them."

"In our hospitals we heal their sick, through our schools we give them a leg up to employment, in our churches, we, I fear often make attractive the Christ of the London or New York street. And we have been so obtuse all along as not to perceive that we have these things to give simply because we have the upper hand politically. And we have the upper hand politically because we have it financially because we have been so grossly materialistic. If it is Christianity that made us great producing nations then what made Babylon and Greece and Rome what they were?¹ It requires no logic to prove that this is no argument at all for Christianity, nor does it afford any excuse for presuming to educate the Arab. He may want what I possess, and if I give it to him, he will probably become like me. Centuries ago he had what I then would have wanted. The wheel has just turned around, that is all. So the weary round keeps on, and thus we go into eternity. Now it is my function as a missionary to break that circle, to wreck that squirrel-cage, to go off on a tangent which will eventually bring the Arab and myself into an entirely different orbit." ²

The center of this orbit is Christ. As we revolve about Him there will be progress "forever and forever."

Dr. Van Ess' first "canon" as he calls it is this:

"Christ must be at the very heart of the curriculum." ³

Secular education can teach hygiene, better business methods, "oil the machinery of social intercourse" and raise the

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1. Cf. Levonian, Moslem Mentality, p. 225
2. Van Ess, John, "Educating the Arab", Moslem World, October, 1931, p. 380
3. Ibid., p. 380

standard of living, but it does not necessarily follow that it would make him an honest business man. To make a doctor or lawyer out of a poor village boy only increases his problems by increasing his needs and he becomes "either a poor imitator, a merciless rival or a disgruntled enemy of any civilization." ¹ Yet

"None of these objects at all disproves the desirability of educating the Arab any more than they disprove the desirability of educating the European. They simply emphasize that a Christian missionary is contributing nothing whatsoever to the alleviation of the world's woe unless he brings to bear that which he possesses in unique measure. Being chronically short of funds, he cannot, nor should he try, to compete with government agencies. But, being a missionary, he has something which indeed needs not large funds, and sometimes functions better without them. He has a dynamic, namely, the living Christ, whom he may project into the welter of the world's despair. With national systems of education beginning to reach higher and higher standards of efficiency, we missionary educators will become more and more rank amateurs unless we capitalize the one element which we alone possess. Now this is all platitude, of course. What indeed is the missionary educator's function if not to present Christ? But it is unfortunately not a platitude to say that Christ must be placed at the very heart of the curriculum, and that making Him so should make the missionary school, whatever its lack of size or equipment, as far superior to a secular or a lame missionary school as an electric current makes a glowing lamp superior to a coil of dead fibre within a glass bottle." ²

Under this first canon there are four meanings or aims:

The first is: "That the study of Christ be given an inviolable place in the programme." A poor missionary leaves

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1. Op. Cit., 381
2. Ibid., p. 381

the lesson on Christ to the end of the school day; a good one puts it at the beginning of the day when the students are fresh. The second aim is: "Christ should be presented in the vernacular." The missionary must teach the student in the language "in which he utters his last soul's prayer." The third aim is: "The study of Christ must be as scientifically planned as any other branch of the curriculum." Dr. Van Ess, to be concrete, outlines the course in the American School for Boys at Basrah, Iraq. The child is first taught Bible stories and memorizes great classic passages. Parables and miracles are dramatized. When they are able to read prose they are taught the Gospel by Matthew. Further on they work at questions and answers on the Life of Christ. Still further along in the program they study a harmony of the Gospels; then there is a six months' course in Old Testament with emphasis on memorizing Psalms. With this background they study the principles of Jesus. To quote:

"In a book of fifty chapters prepared by myself and especially adapted to the economic, social and religious needs of the Arabs, all the great questions of life and death are discussed, with the solution for them all found in the life and teaching of our Lord. Since He has thru been found to be adequate for every need of the Arab and of every human soul, the last chapter entitled, 'What Think ye of the Christ?' brings the pupil face to face with the imperativeness of decision. The course then goes on to a study of The Christ on the Indian Road, The Meaning of Prayer and similar books, with frequent forums and papers for discussion. Throughout the course I studiously avoid any mention of Islam, Koran or Mohammed. Any who insist on the discussion of these matters may do so privately at my house. Such as desire to read controversial books are required to bring, and frequently do bring, written permission from parent or guardian.

In process of preparation is the Life of Christ patterned after the Shiah Passion Play of Mo-harram, taking advantage particularly of the redemptive terminology thereof. Bible study is required daily throughout, and is indeed one of the most popular courses." ¹

The fourth aim is discipleship: "The aim must be discipleship." ² He deplores the necessity of making the Moslem give intellectual assent to a theology or to arrive at a sure knowledge of the Person of Christ. Our task is not to make Christians but to make disciples. "Now, of discipleship the crux is not knowledge but obedience, surrender. To be a disciple implies a conflict of will, and when I have led the Arab to surrender his will to that of Christ, I have made him a disciple." ³ In answer to the question whether this method works he answers:

"In my experience it is the only method that does work. It eliminates from the Arab's mind the idea that I am in conflict with him. It represents a constructive purpose rather than a destructive process. God knows we have too long used the slogans of war in our missionary work. The method also gives the school an objective which no Moslem, however pious or fanatical, can object to. It has actually given me a vision of what the new Arab church may become. In the Basrah school, circles of a dozen or more students each, have by their changed lives, their desire for each other's fellowship and their increased spiritual perception evinced the power which can come from Christ alone.

"Are they willing to go the whole way and pay the full price of confession? Before answering this, I wish to see every American and English Christian do likewise." ⁴

John Van Ess' second canon in Educating the Arab is

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1. Ibid., p. 383
2. Ibid., p. 383
3. Ibid., p. 385
4. Ibid., p. 385

this: "The School must be academically adequate." The personality of the teacher must not be subordinated to subject matter. The Arab must not be educated in an environment to which he can never hope to attain after he leaves school. "It were folly to teach them all to run Rolls Royce cars, when ninety-eight percent of them will never drive anything but a wheel-barrow." ¹ We may use much that secular education has to give us, but our main problem is not the six hours in school but the eighteen hours away from school in an environment of polygamy, divorce and low morality.

His concluding remarks are significant:

"In brief, the missionary should capitalize that in which government and secular schools, by their own confession, cannot compete with him, namely, the personal influence which he can exert, the lofty motives which inspire him and the development of high character. Christ was satisfied to put His main effort on only twelve. We may profit by His example." ²

This detailed review of Dr. Van Ess' views is justified on the grounds of their cogency. Much of the material along these lines is fine theory but vague. Dr. Van Ess has not presented theory but concrete method of how educational work shall be carried on in the lands of the Near East where the modern mind, influenced by nationalism and liberalism, is asserting itself. His views are supported by experience and results. They are in apposition to the methods of such schools as the American University at Beirut,

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1. Op.Cit., p. 385
2. Ibid., p. 386

Robert College and The American University at Cairo, but the author questions the adequacy of these institutions for bringing "the unsearchable riches of God in Christ Jesus" to the modern mind of the Moslem world.

Dr. Van Ess has incorporated in his program of education those preliminary considerations and methods mentioned earlier in this study, namely, freedom from controversy, cooperation, constructive rather than destructive methods, presentation of Christ rather than God and freedom from metaphysical intricacies. Furthermore, he substantiates opinion of authorities in Missions in leading schools in the West that it is the man with the Message that is the final message to the Moslem. Albert E. Suthers, head of the Department of Missions and Comparative Religion at Ohio Wesleyan University in a personal letter to the author, writes in regard to this point: "Apart from the man himself there is no 'message', and what there is more in his message than there is in him will ring false."¹ We also find in this program of Dr. Van Ess' the fulfillment of an evangelistic emphasis, for what higher conception can we have of salvation than that of discipleship with its implications for the modern of the East?

Conclusion

We have set forth in this chapter the necessity of new method and policy in the light of the changed psy-

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1. Letter of March 7, 1952

chology of the day. Nationalism and Neo-Islam have created a new situation. These transitions in society and religion make imperative a rethinking of our methods and our emphases.

We are faced with different opinions of authorities in the field and have therefore commented sparingly on their recommendations. The opinions of men in the academic field in America and those in practical work on the field have been used to give a fair answer to our problem. The reader will note the conservative, or evangelistic emphasis, in many of the quotations as well as the liberal element asserting itself in others of the quotations. We leave these opinions to rest on their merits.

We are forced to conclude from this study and from a wide reading of literature relative thereto that those who speak with most authority favor an emphasis on evangelistic Message, the Message we have in Christ, the Son of God.

We have refrained from giving much space to a discussion of the details of Mission administration since this is not the province of our study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION.

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The presentation of the material has been made and it remains for us to make a summary of the results of our investigation.

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In our study of nationalism we have found that it has made pronounced changes in the Mohammedan lands of the Near East, and has produced new situations where traditional methods of government and life are uncomfortable. The impact of the West has broken down age-endearing customs and has introduced new attitudes toward life. A great fellowship of common destiny is felt in the East which is fighting for its life against Western encroachment. The Caliphate has been destroyed and in such places as Turkey, religion and state are separated by reason thereof. The solidarity of Islam has been broken down by nationalism.

There is an altogether new type of mind in the Near East. Nationalism has forced a rethinking of the Mohammedan religion and liberalism is fast gaining ground in many religious centers. The degree of change brought about

by these liberalizing tendencies has been detrimental to orthodox Islam, but has given greater breadth to it, in fact, in some cases has made the old faith quite indistinguishable. These liberal tendencies in Islam are favorable to the progress of the Gospel because of the desire for truth and the acknowledgment of the high value of qualities that must be called by us, Christian.

Our study of the effect of these changes of this new mentality upon our presentation of Christianity reveals that we must rethink what is unique in our Christian Message, what should be stressed and what shall be our method of approach to this new mind of the Moslem. We have found that there must be a return to the evangelistic emphasis restated in terms that appeal to the Moslem of today. We have a great contribution to make in a Christ of love, the Saviour of the world. We must be sympathetic, humble, cooperative, recognizing the value in the Mohammedan faith, but emphasizing wherein our contribution to them lies. Controversy and the like have had the day and we must make our approach with a keen appreciation of the present day ambition for a religion that will stand the pragmatic test.

The situation is healthy and hopeful for the progress of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Our presentation must be men who are filled with a passion for Christ and are a living Message before them. That is our only basis of

appeal today. Education is valid only in so far as it puts Christ at the center of the curriculum.

The problem that we face as we look at this changing world of Islam cannot be answered in these few pages. There is much that baffles us. We have little to look at as guide posts in the past, for the Christian Message has not yet won many Moslem hearts to it. Islam is our greatest rival and is a missionary religion. It remains to be seen whether the sympathetic methods that leaders are advising today will be the key to the Moslem heart, to the enlightened Moslem mind.

Any effort made in seeking to analyse the present attitudes toward Christ must take into consideration the Islamic impress that is upon their souls. This cannot be done overnight even with nationalism and Islam exerting such revolutionary changes in their outlook on life. It is the prayer of the Christian missionary that the changes today will bring up children that are freed of the drags of the past and will rise up to acknowledge the superiority of Christ and accept Him as the Answer to their souls' deep longings.

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