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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

ZU'L-HIJJA, 1345 A.H.

VOL. XV.

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No. 6.

NOTES

A Plea for the Abolition of Hell.

It is not an empty boast on our part to say that we are of those who watch with profound and sympathetic interest all such changes in the religious fabric of Christianity as point towards an ultimate revealing of the real teachings of Jesus Christ. The very fact that Muhammad was the first to raise a voice of protest against all the slurs cast upon and the stigma attached to the names of Jesus Christ and his mother would be sufficient to convince anyone of the mental uneasiness a Muslim must feel when he learns of the pagan and patristic elements which have come to overshadow the teachings of Jesus Christ. Therefore all the changes in creed and doctrine that the Church introduces in deference to the advanced learning of the present age are welcome to us, and doubly welcome, because they are an indication of the steady drift of Christian religious thought away from paganism towards the tenets of Islam.

"Nothing has been more striking of recent years than the change of attitude among thoughtful people, both within

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and without the pale of the Anglican Church, towards the question of eternal punishment,"¹ the drastic changes to which the Book of Common Prayer has been subjected being, of course, excepted. Here are the pronouncements of two famous men on the Biblical Hell. On the occasion of a meeting at the Guildhouse, Eccleston-square, commemorating the life and work of St. Francis of Assisi, Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, the famous author, in the course of an address "A Plea for the Abolition of Hell," remarked :—²

The time is surely due for the Church of Christ—of all denominations—to clear its Founder's name from the stigma of having proclaimed and preached a god of cruelty and revenge.

There is no authority for it. Hell must have been the invention of the devil—going about quoting Scripture for his own purposes.

Where the word occurs in the Old Testament it has merely the meaning of the Greek Hades. Some sayings of Christ, clearly from their context, were never intended to be taken literally. The words of a poet speaking to an Eastern people in terms of metaphor and imagery have been dragged from the spirit of His whole teaching to justify this priest-created horror.

Can it be supposed that Christ, when He commanded we should love our enemies, was preaching to man a doctrine of perfection to which God was unable to attain?

It is not enough that a few scattered Christians, priding themselves upon their superior intelligence, should shrug their shoulders and dismiss the subject as a harmless superstition, perhaps not altogether without its uses in impressing law and order upon the poor. It is an evil heresy, stultifying the teachings of Christ. Until it is openly and authoritatively recanted the Church remains the advocate and apologist of cruelty.

I suggest to our ecclesiastical authorities—of all denominations—that they should clear Hell out of the way, and so enable the spirit of St. Francis to go to and fro about the earth, unhampered, teaching the right of all things living to the common love of God.

No less characteristic and interesting was the theological bombshell thrown by the Bishop of Liverpool, in his presidential address at last year's Church Congress, when he

strongly deprecated resort to the fear of hell as an evangelistic weapon. "For us," he confessed, "the old symbol is gone," though the reality behind it remains—the immutable law that suffering follows sin. He pointed out that Jesus did not begin by denouncing men's sinfulness and by warning them of the punishment that awaits them

¹ "Vanishing Hell," by Michael Temple, in the *Referee*, dated October 17, 1926.

² *Daily Express*, October 5, 1926.

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if they remain in it, but by seeing and showing that he saw the goodness in every one he met, and that he trusted it and needed it.¹

We wonder very much if the words "forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin" had slipped from the memory of the Bishop of Liverpool; for the words "he saw goodness in every heart" seems to tell rather a different story!

The Conception of Hell according to the New Testament —

In contrast to the above utterances, it is worth while to consider carefully the conception which the Bible places before us, and to find out how far it is possible, from the teachings of the Bible, to justify the abolition of the idea of an eternal hell. We step aside to let a great Christian religious thinker, the Dean of St. Paul's,² speak for us:—

The Bishop of Liverpool, at the Church Congress, said that Christians no longer believe, as their grandfathers did, in eternal punishment.

This is obviously true, and it is one of the greatest changes that the teaching of Christianity has ever undergone. . . .

The change has come about rather rapidly since the middle of the last century. The doctrine that our destiny for all eternity depends on our lives has been, till lately, the corner-stone of Christian ethics. It inspired the grandest of the mediæval hymns, such as the "Dies Iræ" ("O day of wrath"); indeed, the whole civilization of the Middle Ages, on the spiritual side, was built upon the belief in two worlds, present and to come.

Nor did the Reformation make any difference. The same splendid promises, the same appalling threats, resounded from Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican pulpits.

Now, in the last seventy-five years, the tradition of eighteen centuries has been broken. Christianity has been secularized as it never was before; it is becoming a this-worldly religion.

There never has been a time, till our own, when Christianity has been so preached.

What are the causes of the change, which is almost a revolution? I believe there are several causes. . . .

St. Thomas Aquinas, who is regarded as an almost inspired authority in the Roman Church, says: "In order that nothing may be wanting to the felicity of the blessed, a perfect view is granted them of the tortures of the damned."

¹ *Christian Life* for October 16, 1926.

² Dean Inge, in his article "What is Hell?" (*Daily Express*, October 10, 1926).

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In those days it may have been good fun to watch a heretic writhing in a slow fire, but we should not enjoy such a spectacle at all; and have we ever met a human being who deserved to be tormented for ever?

The language of the Protestants was quite as cruel. The sermons of Jonathan Edwards, who at once attracted and terrified his own generation, are full of flowers of speech like the following: "You cannot stand before an infuriated tiger; what then will you do when God rushes upon you in His wrath?"

An infuriated tiger is a tame and merciful beast compared with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ!

This kind of teaching is to us not only unbelievable, but incomprehensible. It was not Christian in its origin; there are similar visions of judgment in the later period of pagan antiquity.

It was encouraged by the morbid visions of monks, which were supposed to be revelations. It was accepted in ages when torture was a common feature of secular justice, and when punishments were usually ferocious.

We are much more sure about the character of God, as revealed by Christ, than about anything that can be said about the conditions of life after death.

Nevertheless, this moral revolt is not the only cause of the change of which I have been speaking. We have to consider the effect of astronomy and other branches of science, which have shattered the celestial geography of popular religious teaching.

In this place I can only say that if the Church will face this problem honestly the new knowledge will not be found to have done any injury to faith, though undoubtedly some of our picture-books will have to be surrendered.

There are two other causes which have operated in dethroning the old idea of eternal punishment. One is the idea of God as a good-natured Being, who wishes everybody to be happy, and, being omnipotent, can make everybody happy.

There is to be no punishment, for punishment is always vindictive, but only remedial treatment which, like surgical operations, may incidentally be painful. All are to be saved at the last, whatever sins they have committed here.

This is the popular teaching now. It really means that the modern man believes in Purgatory (though he would be shocked to hear it), but not in Hell. This is a pleasant doctrine for those who do not take their religion very seriously, but it is certainly not the doctrine of Christ, nor of St. Paul, nor of the Catholic Church.

Some modern writers, like Dean Farrar, have tried to explain away the Greek word *aionios*, which is used in the Gospels of the punishment of the wicked.

It is said that the word means "lasting for an age," not "lasting for ever." This will not do. . . .

. . . We cannot get rid of "eternal punishment" from the New Testament. Nor can we, in spite of the high authority of Bishop

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Gore, admit the possibility that the wicked are totally extinguished at death.

Such a doctrine is alien to the Christian philosophy of religion; I cannot agree with those who try to find it in St. Paul. (Italics are ours.—Ed. I.R.)

Christianity is a stern creed. Its God is not the "bon dieu" of French sentiment, nor did the word "father" in those days convey the idea of unlimited indulgence and good nature.

Christ said of His Father: "Fear not them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear. Fear Him who after He hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear Him."

A religion without fear is not Christianity, nor the religion of any part of the New Testament. . . . (Italics are ours.—Ed. I.R.)

———— according to the Qur-án.

After reading the above, the question resolves itself into two parts:—

(a) Does Islam believe in eternal damnation?

There are many verses of the Qur-án which point out in clear terms that there is no eternal damnation. We read, for example: "Surely Allah has cursed the unbelievers and has prepared for them a burning fire, to abide therein for a long time. . . ." ¹ On the eternity of hell Maulvie Muhammad Ali says in the Preface to his translation of the Qur-án, on p. xi:—

Those who have wasted their opportunity in this life shall, under the inevitable law which makes every man taste of what he has done, be subjected to a source of treatment of the spiritual diseases which they have brought about with their own hands, and when the effect of the poison which vitiated their system has been nullified, and they are fit to start on the onward journey to the great goal, they shall no more be in hell. This is the reason why the punishment of hell according to the Holy Qur-án is not everlasting. It is meant to clean a man of the dross which is a hindrance in his spiritual progress, and when that object has been achieved its need vanishes.

This is further supported by the traditions of the Holy Prophet, who is reported to have said: "Surely a day will come over hell when it will be like a field of corn that has dried up after flourishing for a while." And again: "Surely a day will come over hell when there shall not be a single human being in it." ²

¹ Holy Qur-án, xxxiii. 64, 65.

² Kanz 'ul-'Ummál, quoted by Muhammad Ali in his Qur-án, p. 472.

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(b) Does Islam believe in a localized material hell?

Out of many verses in the Qur-án which repudiate the idea of a localized hell, we content ourselves with quoting one only: "Hell is a fire of which the source is the wrath of God, and it is kindled in sin, and flames thereof reach the heart first of all."¹ This is an allusion to the fact that the grief, sorrow, and affliction which overpower the heart really kindle the fire of hell; for all spiritual tortures reach the heart first and then consume the whole body. According to the Qur-án, spiritual facts are its source and origin.

Christian Criticism on the Islamic Conception.

The study of the above will show clearly enough how much nearer the modern conception of hell in the Christian religious world has been brought to that of the Qur-án. But it has been asserted that the conception given above is not consistent with the Qur-án. For instance, the Rev. W. W. Cash says:—

I have discussed the subject of heaven and hell with large numbers of Moslems, many of them learned sheikhs, and I never met a Moslem who read the verses quoted above other than literally. Moslems the world over believe in what the author calls the "crude notions" about heaven, and the Qur-án does not teach what he asserts that it teaches.²

In the first place our sympathies are with Mr. Cash for being unlucky enough to come into contact with people who could not give him the right conception of heaven or hell in Islam. Or perhaps it was his own fault for not being sufficiently judicious in his selection of informants. Further, we would submit that our criterion for finding out what the Qur-án and the Traditions say on a certain point is the Qur-án and the Traditions themselves and not popular opinion. For an authentic exposition of the verses of the Bible or the Qur-án one does not go to "the man in the street." In the case of the Qur-án, for instance, one refers to the Qur-án and the Hadíth and the lexicon for the detection of error. There are, no doubt, crude notions on hell and heaven prevalent

¹ Holy Qur-án, civ. 6.

² *Church Missionary Review* for September, 1926, p. 269.

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amongst Muslims ; but, then, we are not discussing the people—we are talking of the religious books of the Christians and the Muslims. Mr. Cash knows as well as we do that there are many practices, customs, and beliefs for which we find no religious sanction whatever in the religious books, and yet they persist among certain sections of the people. Who can be held responsible for them ? Literary decency demands that we should not confuse popular beliefs with the definite teachings of a Sacred Book. It would be uncharitable—nay, well-nigh dishonest—even to attempt such a thing ; but we may remark in passing that this is the usual trickery of the Christian missionary all over the world. It is here that a new and decisive element—the present conditions respectively of the Bible and the Qur-án—enters into the field of discussion. In the case of the Qur-án we have got the same text which was revealed to Muhammad, and the Arabic language in which it was revealed has maintained its purity even though a period of fourteen centuries has rolled by. And by referring to the lexicons, and the original, and the context, we can at once understand the meaning of a certain passage or a certain word and thus distinguish the extraneous and the popular from what has been taught, thus eventually being enabled to correct our mistakes. But in the case of the Bible no such means exist. With the Qur-án there is, at least, a possibility of arriving at some conclusion on any given point, whether relating to heaven or hell ; but with the Bible the less said the better, for even this possibility does not exist, nor does the book exist in the original form and language in which it was revealed. Under these circumstances it is, to say the least of it, difficult to decide whether Dean Inge is wrong or the Bishop of Liverpool or the writer of the following passage :—¹

The leaders of religious thought realize that the statements on which it is supposed to depend were made in parables, which, like their secular parallels, the fables, must not be interpreted literally ; in illustrations taken from the surroundings of the moment which

¹ " Vanishing Hell," by Michael Temple, in the *Referee*, dated October 17, 1926.

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are obviously open to the same criticism ; to visions which necessarily reveal no more than the mystic himself perceived ; and to the unfortunate fact that different words implying different states have all been translated by the word " hell " in the Authorised Version.

We leave it to the reader to decide and Mr. Cash to shed more light on this point.

Christian Missionary Hocus-pocus.

Although we are tolerably familiar with the methods employed by the Christian missionary in foreign countries to gain the ear of the people, yet, none the less, the description given by the *Catholic Times* for December 10, 1926, under the caption of " Doubtful Missionary Methods," forms very interesting reading :—

In non-Catholic missionary literature one finds not infrequently accounts of the policy of both European and American missionaries and their native assistants that show a strange ignorance of even elementary principles of mission work. For instance, nothing is more ill-advised than to suggest to Moslem or heathen hearers mere material advantages as an inducement to hear the Christian message. Yet in a Nonconformist newspaper we find recorded . . . this account of how a native teacher in Egypt endeavours to attract possible converts. He gets together some twenty Moslems, and one of them asks why he puts forward Christianity as something better than Mohammedanism. We have this account of what follows :—

" Who made these clothes ? " he queried.

" Christians," was the reply.

" Telegraphs ? "

" Christians."

" Steamships ? "

" Christians."

" Who occupied Spain and Eastern Europe, and who governed Egypt forty years ago ? " was his next question.

" Mohammedans," was the answer.

" Who does so now ? "

" Christians."

" Then surely," he said, " the Christian religion is worth studying."

The above speaks volumes for the unashamed prostitution to which the words " Christianity and Christendom," " Christian and European," can apparently be subjected ; for the words are not synonymous terms ; many of the most notable scientific achievements of Europe cannot by the wildest stretch of imagination be called " Christian."

Our contemporary objects to the kind of tactics quoted above. But the fact remains that even responsible persons—from whom we could expect a clearer and a more honest mode

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of thinking—have, wittingly or unwittingly, resorted to these “doubtful” methods. For instance, very recently, no less a person than the Bishop of London¹ talked very glibly of the League of Nations as the “greatest Christian experiment.” One wonders what is Christian in the League of Nations, and about it. To call it the “greatest Christian experiment” is surely to use words over-loosely—or rather with a degree of laxity which cannot well be surpassed. The only impression left in the mind of the reader or hearer is that of surprise at learning how these people can have the conscience to make assertions of this nature. To a Christian missionary, black is a kind of grey, a light sort of grey—in fact, actually white—provided it suits his purpose!

And the explanation of this jugglery is not far to seek. It serves the purpose of a decoy. The missionary knows that dogmatized Christianity cannot appeal to any intelligent person. He is consequently obliged to fall back upon the device of confusing Christianity with Christendom and Christian with European.

But it seems that to make hay of words and phrases is not sufficient for his purpose. He goes a step farther, and seeks to discredit Islam by making it responsible for all the social evils which have, for one reason or another, crept into Muslim countries. For example, he will say that “a study of Islam shows that where the Muslims have had political sway the people of that country have become backward and unprogressive.”² This is not the place in which to deal with an accusation of this nature, and it would suffice to say that history gives the lie to such figments, germinated, as they are, in the brain of the Christian missionary. Every student of cultural history knows that had it not been for the influence of the civilization of the Muslims—that civilization which the missionary is ever ready to hold up to scorn and derision—Europe would still have been wallowing in the quagmire of ignorance which enveloped the Western world of the Middle Ages. For it was the Muslims who emancipated Europe from

¹ *Vide* his lecture “Christianity and the British Empire,” in the *Singapore Free Press* for Jan. 10, 1927.

² *Week-end Advertiser*, Durban, for Nov. 6, 1926, in “What says the Church.”

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the thralldom of the Church's yoke. It is truth, and nothing but bare truth, to say that Europe achieved progress after having broken away from the Traditional Christianity; but is it not a strange irony that the well-meaning missionary now is anxious to tie round the neck of us Muslims nothing else but the same Traditional Christianity?

But our astonishment knows no bounds when we find that, for the purpose of engineering this venture, immense sums of money are being wasted on the evangelization of the "pagans and savages"; for where other means fail, the subtle and far-reaching machinations of gold succeed. Here are the staggering figures which we take from the *Moslem Outlook*, Cape Town, for July 17, 1926:—

The report just submitted by the International Missionary Council gives the contributions of several "Christian" countries to Protestant Mission work. We learn that the United States and Canada, which act as a unit in foreign missionary work, contribute on an average £7,684,419. Next comes Great Britain with £2,385,418. At the bottom of the list is Belgium, contributing £638 to Protestant work abroad. Other countries supporting such work contribute as follows: Australia, £240,136; Denmark, £122,081; Finland (three societies), £23,739; France, £12,985; Germany, £148,444; Netherlands, £92,250; Norway, £170,634; Sweden, £215,145; Switzerland, £59,076.

So grows the Christian religion!

And for such as would like to measure the results of the "doubtful" methods in actual figures we quote the words of the *West Africa* for September, 1926:—

Some attention was paid to the tide of Islam in Africa, one of the great reasons for the existence of which, it was stated, is the fact that to be a Moslem makes the convert a member of an exclusive international brotherhood. Dr. S. M. Zwemer said that he estimated that there were just over 49,000,000 Moslems in Africa, and Christianity was making few converts among them. In North Africa he believed it was a conservative estimate to say that there were only 400 ex-Moslem Christians, a fact that should be a great spur to the Church to further endeavour.

Friday Prayer and Sermon.—At the London Muslim Prayer House—111, Campden Hill Road, Notting Hill Gate, London—every Friday at 1 p.m. **Sunday Lectures** at 5 p.m. **Qur-ân and Arabic Classes**—every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.

Service, Sermon, and Lectures every Sunday at the Mosque, Woking, at 3.15 p.m. Every Friday at 1 p.m.

ISLAM AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

ISLAM AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By R. GORDON CANNING

(Continued from Nos. 4, 5, p. 151)

III

ISLAM : 1830-1920

It was not until the nineteenth century that modern Christian nations started upon the campaign of assailing the great body of Islam, of harrowing her dominions and invading the heart of her possessions. The scramble whereby England gained India and Egypt ; France, Algiers, Tunis, Morocco ; Italy, Tripoli, etc., are not actions of which any but aggressive Imperialists can be proud.

By the end of the European war, only Afghanistan and a reduced Turkey maintained their independence ; but even as it appeared that Islam as a World Power was for ever dead, lo ! out of the ashes scattered by the winds of European Christianity arose new atoms vitalized by nationalism, science, democracy and purified theology.

TURKEY.

The Turkish Empire in 1877 extended in the three continents, and contained nearly forty millions of inhabitants, but the Russo-Turkish War and the Treaties of Berlin and San Stefano were the commencement of a rapid diminution of power.

Abdul Hamid was the direct cause of the beginning of this Turkish *débâcle*, by interfering with the strategical plan of his Commander-in-Chief, and thus not only saving the Russian Army but preparing for the defeat and dismemberment of the Turkish Empire (Professor Barakatullah, *Khilâfat*).

In 1905 the Turkish Empire was estimated to contain twenty-five millions, and in 1920, after the Treaty of Sèvres,

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the Empire was reduced territorially to Asia Minor, containing a population of about seven millions.

One by one the provinces of Turkey have been seized by European aggressors, sometimes singly, sometimes allied, always by subterfuge and on a false pretext.

Syria has been the scene of many French attempts of occupation, which became at last successful at San Remo, 1920. To-day its population finds itself under a more intolerant rule than that of any Turkish Caliph, and in consequence is not the least thankful to be under the so-called enlightened rule of a Western Power.

The latest attempt of Christianity to interfere with the internal problems of Turkey has failed. The propaganda and the appeal to the League of Nations over the question of the expulsion of Constantine as Patriarch could not be followed up by Britain, France or Italy, owing to the actions of these three States over their own problems, which, when it pleases them to nominate doubtful points as "domestic affairs," and so not liable to jurisdiction of the League, prohibited them from exerting pressure in this case. Is it really possible that Turkish intolerance is so fierce when there are to-day, or were a short while back, several million Christians in the Turkish Empire? When one compares it with that of Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one can but believe it is not so bad as Christian hot-heads would have us imagine. After all, there are Christians in Turkey despite several centuries of Muslim rule, but are there Muslims in Spain? To an impartial view, massacres and exiles appear to lie all on one side!

Egypt has won her independence from both Turkey and England; brought out of a state of bankruptcy by the latter into an era of prosperity and freedom, she stands as an example of what can be done by co-operation between West and East, and above all of the impartiality and goodwill of Great Britain towards Islam.

The four outstanding points between Egypt and England should in a short space of time be satisfactorily solved. England cannot station a garrison for ever in Cairo; a fair offer has

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been made by which a force can be placed in a suitable position for the defence of the Suez Canal ; a neutral Commission is on its way to being formed to guarantee Egypt's water supply ; the Capitulations will in time be abolished ; and a partnership established over the Soudan. The extremists on both sides make the settlement of these points more delicate to negotiate.

Zaghlul Pasha cannot be proved to have been immoderate in his demands or to have been a thoughtless patriot, when he was continually attacked by Egyptian extremists for his policy of *rapprochement*, and even suffered an attempt of assassination at the hands of his own countrymen.

• Tripoli, attacked by Italy in 1911, could receive little help from Turkey through England's prohibition of Turkish reinforcements passing through Egypt. But a treaty which was signed between Italy and the Senussi in 1916 was treated as a scrap of paper as soon as Italy had recovered from the effects of the war ; and at the present day the Arabs are resisting further uncalled-for aggression. Italy has demanded from Egypt the oasis of Jarabub, the centre of Senussi trade. Sheikh Ahmed el Senussi, be it noted, is no fanatic, and might be regarded favourably as a future Caliph.

Tunis, taken over by France forty years ago, dissatisfied with certain restrictions of French rule, demands measures of home rule which are immediately put down by "firm action." Educated and progressive, the Tunisians are certainly more capable of ruling themselves than many of the newly made post-war States of Europe.

Algeria, putting up a brave defence for over ten years against France from 1830 under the heroic Abd-el-Kader, and finally Morocco, falling into the same hands with European promises and treaties forgotten and discarded, are further cases in point, as is the vast Saharan territory stretching from the borders of Tripoli to Senegal, from Darfur to Cape Spartel, claimed and ruled by France with few exceptions, the whole population belonging to Islamic Society.

Such is the state of the present-day Muslim world bordering the Mediterranean. During the last century this sea has been cleared of all Muslim ships ; Islamic territories have been

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attacked and won by European Powers, the populations exploited for military purposes, the land seized or developed for commercial aims, the benefits of which flow into the foreigners' hands and not to the inhabitants of the country.

In Algeria, the oldest French colony of North Africa, the *indigène* has been dispossessed gradually of his land rights; the result of this seizure has been, as a Frenchman has written :—

Without having lived for a long time among them, and having observed them constantly and critically, it would not only be difficult, it would, I think, be impossible, to form even a faint idea of the profound hatred, of the contemptuous aversion, which their manners and their speech conceal (Worms).

On the fringe of French exploitations one finds sycophants galore; even among the bolder and fiercer Moors gold has found a way of oiling the turbulent waters of Morocco, without which even Marshal Lyautey, with his wonderful gifts of tact and conciliation, would have found himself more than helpless.

Thus exploited, impoverished, ill-treated and despised, the Islamic races are awakening now to the fact of their degradation and defencelessness; from the leaders there is flowing to the uncultivated masses the necessity for action, for liberal tendencies of thought, for the technical education of the West and for a spiritual regeneration which shall finally amalgamate and unite the whole Muslim population to rise and shake off the oppressive yoke of foreign domination—a yoke which is gradually undermining their powers, by the withdrawal of their natural wealth, by the stealthy attack which is directed against the unity and purity of their religion, and by the vitiation of their moral standards.

Under these circumstances one may reasonably wonder what may happen in another quarter or half a century on the shores of the Mediterranean, and how this will affect the Empire of Great Britain. There is one thing certain: there must either be conflict or a rendering of justice to Islam by Europe. England has led the way in Egypt; it is for others to follow, and for England to be an ally on the side of justice.

ISLAM AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE FUTURE.

European control may be voluntarily withdrawn and sympathetic alliance replace systems of servitude. If so, the twentieth century will be a golden age (GREGORY, *Menace of Colour*).

During the Summer Session of 1925 a certain Member of Parliament is reported to have asked : " Why should we pay any heed whatever to the needs of any other country but our own ? " It is this petty outlook and restricted understanding that will be the final cause of the Empire's decay. It is this lack of foresight and island vanity, not the ingratitude of subject races, which will be the cause of England's crumbling into a thousand fragments. The moral significance of the League of Nations lies, not in its powers of arbitration to prevent warfare, but in its ideal to be a court where the voice of a minority will be given a fair hearing, and the depredations of the strong upon the weak will be limited and controlled.

But England and France, called in to be janissaries of its authority, have usurped its power, and threaten to put an end to its existence, as the guards of Oriental potentates overwhelmed their masters.

The *Foreign Affairs* of January 1925, speaking of North Africa, says :—

If only these questions can be kept out of the " Geneva atmosphere," the Great Powers can continue the game of exploiting the natives. What they are doing, of course, is undermining the foundations of the League and piling up material for future wars.

The demands of Muhammad ben Abdul Krim were made public. Were these claims incompatible with the ideal of the League of Nations, or did they in any way too seriously threaten the existence of other nations ?

The autonomy of the Riff and Djebala could never have been a menace to any European Power.

Spain's coast would have been defended by her remaining in possession of Ceuta and Melilla. England's fear of a European Power opposite Gibraltar would have been dismissed. Germany and Italy, seeing that no other European Power had established a footing in this important area, would have been content.

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France alone, with her desire to extend her sea-front to the limits of the Tangier zone, would have been displeased. France cannot claim that the Riff ever belonged to the Sultan's dominion, for, as Segonzac, speaking of the Riffi, wrote in 1900 :—

Il n'est pas soumis, il demeure a demi indépendant. La plupart des kaid's rifains il est vrai rendent hommage au Sultan, lui envoient des cadeaux et des offrandes. Mais ces hommages très platoniques s'adressent au chef spirituel plutôt qu'au souverain temporel.

(TRANSLATION : He has not submitted. He remains independent. It is true that greater part of the Caids acknowledge the Sultan in sending him presents. But this very ordinary respect is addressed to the Sultan as their spiritual chief rather than as their temporal sovereign.)

This is where the League of Nations could have acted and listened to the voice of the minority. Muhammad ben Abdul Krim was only too desirous of having his case put before the League and his autonomy recognized by them.

Render Islam justice, and her people will develop themselves, but they do not wish Europeans to rush in with Bibles and spirits and financial intrigues. From Europe they require scientific leadership, and they are prepared to receive it gratefully.

England and Englishmen are favourably regarded over all Morocco despite the extremist cries that come from Cairo and Calcutta ; let this country hold out a helping hand and do its best to bring about a peace on the terms suggested, without giving mortal offence to other friendly Powers, helping them on the road to independence and to progress along the path of civilization under their own government. Speaking of the Riff and its inhabitants, Scott O'Connor said intolerance and fanaticism are not applicable to this race :—

I could understand their desire to live here at peace in a manner after their own hearts. Fanaticism and intolerance might have other and happier names (Scott O'Connor, *A Vision of Morocco*).

While Scott O'Connor, in his *Moorish Dominion in Spain*, said :—

It cannot now be denied that no race effected so much for all that concerns the practical welfare of mankind ; that no race of kings has

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deserved so large a measure of fame as that which traced its lineage to Abd-el-Rahman I.

There are descendants of this race to-day in the towns of North Africa. They will not accept for ever alien domination.

Let us recall, for a moment, something of what they suffered in the days of the Inquisition, and then repay a feeble portion of the debt that is owing by a just recognition of their present claims.

This will not only be an aid to a small nation striving for its freedom, but an assurance of British sympathy towards the Muslim races.

There appears to be still too strong a sentiment of hostility against Islam in England. Let us eradicate such evil tendencies and hold out a hand of understanding and support to the followers of regenerated Islam, a hand which, up till now, we have been all too reticent in advancing.

By this act we shall solidify our great commonwealth of nations and unite ourselves in a sympathetic bond with a creed which has been called "The First Democracy in History."

If followers of Islam can be incorporated on an equal footing within the British Empire, with its Christian populations, a tremendous step will have been achieved towards bridging the present gulf between races and religions.

The three great towers of Yakub el Mansour—the Koutubia, Tour Hassan and Giralda—still stand testifying to the greatness of Moorish history. Let us erect with the League of Nations, on the still firmer foundations of Justice, Sympathy and Understanding, a Tower which shall rise yet higher into the skies of human hope and inspiration, lasting for all times; a tower of mutual respect and friendship between Islam and Christianity.

A volcano long since considered as extinct, around whose slopes alien races have come to settle and live their lives, suddenly trembles and shakes, and from its throes of birth-pangs gives warning to those who heed.

But few there are who listen! Still, over the slopes feverishly collecting the spoils, work the greedy ones even to

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the very summit, inattentive to the rumblings, the heat, the sulphurous atmosphere. Lo! suddenly a vast cataclysm, and from its coned peak pours out a flood of destroying lava, resistless in its force, ruthless in its destruction. Panic seizes the alien, puny now his power, he is swept utterly away and over the prosperous slopes which are now but smoking ruins and hecatombs of dead.

But out of the lava soil springs up, rich in vitality and beauty, a fresh culture bringing forth harvest after harvest of prosperity and magnificence!

What is the general tendency of Islamic leaders to-day in their (1) Religious Outlook, (2) Economic Demands, (3) Technical Training, (4) Military Power?

1. The ideal of nearly all leaders in the Muslim world is to free their religion from the false trappings which Oriental despots have succeeded in hanging over the Prophet's original teaching for their own use, and for retaining the mass of their subjects in a state of slavery and ignorance—teaching, which Christian suzerains are often too ready to retain, being autocrats in lamb's guise.

To return to the days of the Rashidin Caliphs. In the words of Vambéry :—

Islam is still the most democratic religion in the world, a religion favouring both liberty and equality; if ever there was a constitutional Government, it was that of the first Caliphs (*Western Culture in Eastern Lands*).

The Prophet in his teaching “established a control over the sovereign power by rendering the executive authority subordinate to the law, a law based upon religious sanction and moral obligations.” “The law was the same for the poor as for the rich, for the man in power as for the labourer in the field.”

As a modern writer says: “The elective principle is at the very foundation of the Islamic policy in the principle of *Idjmâ'*” (Ameer Ali, *Spirit of Islam*).

Thus, Islam is a creed and a law which every liberal-minded person can truthfully assist.

The one ideal, then, of all modern Islamic leaders is to tear away the false superstructure and revert to the original words of the Qur-án and the actions of the first four Caliphs;

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to discard the legacies of Ommeyade and Abbaside tyrants, and to awaken the liberal tendencies of Alí and al Mánúm; to open the eyes of the uneducated, to rouse them from the satisfaction of contemplating the glory of their past, by recalling to them the words of Muhammad, inspiring them to action, of going forth into China and searching for knowledge; by reminding them of the ink of the scholars being more worthy than the blood of the martyr; of searching and striving unceasingly to increase their knowledge for the welfare of humanity.

In the religious revival there is still an immense amount to be done, commenced a century and a half ago by the Wahabi, and continued steadily but surely by the Senussi. (Extremes are at times necessary, and, very often, meet.)

To awaken the masses from their present state of saint-worship, predestination, superstition, prayer without action; to discard innumerable traditions founded on unsure proofs; and to revert to the pure spirit of reason which the Prophet always claimed his teaching to be founded upon. In Islam there are no miracles except the Qur-án, nothing which rationalism can prove to be impossible.

This is the ideal which has been at work for over a hundred years and which is being achieved slowly but surely. It has been born in Turkey, in Persia, and in Egypt; the days are not far distant when it will come to light in Tunis, Algeria and Morocco.

Islam was the first democracy.

2. Economical and Political.

The Islamic leaders recognize that their countries have become linked up in the general economic system of the world, and that if they achieve self-government they will be unable to retire from communication with the West, living only on their past customs and existing on superstition and in poverty.

Before their eyes lies the whole panorama of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, with its concomitant evils and improvements. The Revolution is taking place in the East with much more of a sudden leap than ever happened in the West.

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Already the questions of sweated labour, bad housing, high cost of living, are outweighing the benefits of an orderly existence, famine relief, and medical assistance against the plague and other attendant ills.

The same influx from the country to the towns has begun, and the same utter lack of foresight and the same haphazard methods are failing to control the difficulties that arise in consequence. Consider the housing questions in Bombay and Calcutta.

The East, in reality, is not being exploited any more than England exploited her own countrymen, but the East has seen what that brought about, and they demand to-day that the exploitation of their own countries shall be controlled by themselves.

For once again we arrive at the primitive human desire, that it is better to be ruled badly by one's own race, even in the world of industry, than to suffer an alien yoke even though it brings better order, justice and general prosperity.

But this is not to say that the East will be unable to rule themselves as efficiently as the West. No one can remain at school all their life and be for ever instructed and guarded ; they must stand up and do battle for themselves, as European races have done through the last few centuries, and the East to-day demands the same possibilities.

Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, in his *The New World of Islam*, gives this as the economic programme of Islam :—

The wealth of Islam for the Muslims ; the profits of trade and industry for Muslims instead of Christians. The eviction of Christian capital. Above all, the breaking of Europe's grip on Islam's natural resources by the termination of concessions in lands, mines, forests, railways, custom houses, by which the wealth of Islamic lands is to-day drained away to foreign lands.

In my experience Christian capital is still required and demanded, but the resulting profits should be distributed in fair proportion and no concessions given under stress of urgency.

Nowhere can one see a more remarkable case of a whole population becoming so impoverished under foreign protection,

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that they can hardly stir from their houses, than the inhabitants of Morocco. The labour wage for the *main d'œuvre* development of the phosphate fields of Morocco are so low that the phosphates can be delivered in America at a much lower cost than the phosphates of Florida !

The pacific penetration of the East by the West has been more subtle than all the conquests by force of arms, involving the masses in the inextricable meshes of an economic system from which, it seems, no patriotism, however courageous, no religious belief, however enthusiastic, can liberate or emancipate them.

In the political aspirations of present-day Islam, they can only express what the Allies during the War gave out to be the ideal of their aims : " Self-determination." Turkey for the Turks, Egypt for the Egyptians, Morocco for the Moors. This slogan of the late Allies has given birth to a horde of furious bees circling about the originators' heads. The leaders claim that they are more capable of governing themselves than countries like Russia and Roumania, Serbia and Greece. In Warsaw, in one week during 1926, there were six political murders.

But when Turkey and Persia attempt to rid themselves of despotic rule, and frame constitutions on democratic principles, the watching hawks of European diplomacy take advantage of a weakness which must always be there, between the moment of destruction and construction, and seize the opportunity for further pacific penetrations and allot between themselves fresh " zones of interest."

Sir Sidney Low wrote :—

The conduct of most Christian Powers during the last few years has borne a striking resemblance to that of robber-bands descending upon an unarmed and helpless population of peasants. So far from respecting the rights of nations, they have exhibited the most complete and cynical disregard for them. They have, in fact, asserted the claim of the strong to prey on the weak, and the utter impotence of all ethical considerations in face of armed force, with a crude nakedness which few Eastern military conquerors could well have surpassed.

The Italian and French attacks on Tripoli and Tunis respectively are two of the worst examples of European land

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greed, and prove the complete degradation of international morality as countenanced by the Latin races.

The creation of a home for the Jews in Palestine is shameless hypocrisy. Already, according to a correspondent of *The Times*, the Jewish emigrants are beginning to show their old spirit of savage pride, which has so often been the cause of their former downfalls, and which is exemplified in the Psalmist's reference to the Babylonians: "Happy shall he be who dasheth thy little ones against the stones."

Thus, at the present day, the political demands of Islam are no more than those of Ireland from England.

Islamic leaders demand the return of their countries to their inhabitants: Syria, Palestine, Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers, Morocco. They appeal to Great Britain to assist and to view their cause with sympathy and justice, for to them the British Empire has more the appearance of being a true "League of Nations" than that of the post-War one at Geneva, which gives them the idea of being at the complete mercy of France and French justice.¹

3. *Technical and Scientific, Arts.*

It is realized by the leaders in every Muslim country that modern inventions in science and engineering must be thoroughly studied if they are to free themselves from Western domination. They have appraised its value as being greater than less, and recall the days when Islam was once the leader in all scientific matters, the solver of many a mathematical mystery, the inventor of navigating instruments, etc. In literature and architecture there are already enthusiastic creators eager to rival the splendours of the Saracenic age; there can be no doubt that the Renaissance period in Islamic art is at hand.

The ideal of the leaders is that each Muslim capital should have its universities, that its youth, instead of travelling to Europe, should attend the courses in their own lands and surroundings, with European professors to teach the science and parliamentary systems of the West.

¹ Written before the entry of Germany.

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Islam, more even in the present day than in the era of Saracenic liberalism, is ready to learn and to seek for knowledge. Its leaders are not out for retrogression, but for progress ; not for revolution, but for freedom ; and no Western nation has the right to forbid them to seek or to stifle such aspirations. England, although at times she has perhaps been too commercial in her outlook or, for the sake of protecting herself from the designs of other European Powers, has appeared to be land-greedy, has never done one or the other. The voices of extremists in newspapers and on public platforms may noisily vociferate that she has, but away from publicity 95 per cent. will say that with some few exceptions English government has never suffocated the ideals of any subjected race. Politicians, for party expediency, have at times been slow in fulfilling promises.

4. *Military.*

No Muslim forgets how in fifty years an Empire was founded which exceeded that of Greece or Rome, and no educated Muslim deems that without the technical training in aeroplanes, artillery, gas and rifle the same swift conquest could be achieved to-day, simply by the revival of religious enthusiasm or the appeal to a " Holy War."

No Islamic race wishes to invade Europe ; each desires only the freedom of its own country. Islam has enough already in the way of territorial possessions, and it wishes to regain these, if possible, by peaceful and rational demands.

There is no doubt that much more would be heard of the conscription of Muslim subjects by French authorities in northern Africa, contrary to The Hague Convention, if the Islamic world did not realize the future use to which this military training of hundreds of thousands of their co-religionists may consequently prove to be for the final triumph of their cause.

The nations of Islam are many, their inhabitants hardy ; never since the days of the first Caliphs have the Nationalists been so united as they are at present against Western aggression.

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Steadily behind the scenes are forces working to make unification still stronger, the rapid means of communication, newspapers diffusing, over the wide Islamic world, all that is happening to their countries and to Europe. Slowly, steadily, surely, beyond the formation of democratic governments, religious sects, industrial revolutions and destruction of a Caliphate dynasty, there is rising, linking, solidifying, a chain of Islamic unity which shall, in the course of the next century, be stretched out to push the aliens from their shores. That is the first aim of Islam, the freedom of their soil from foreign invasion, above all on the Mediterranean littoral. It has already begun. In the course of fifty years what greater change will happen? Far off beyond the frontiers, and even within the realms of French domination, there is gradually preparing a mighty force to sweep the vast spaces of sand and oasis, mountain and plain and valley, to the cities of the sea. Is the day distant when some new Yusuf ibn Tashfin or Yackoub al Mansour will arrive at the Mosque of Kairouan and the Kutubia of Marrakesh? The rapidity of change during the last quarter of a century is such that it makes an apparent impossibility an approaching reality.

If necessary, the leaders will put into movement the innumerable hosts of Islam in and around the Saharan Africa, that daily increase and move southward, hardy mercenaries, like the Berbers, for the Spanish Arabs.

That is the dream of the mass "inshá 'Allah."

Meanwhile the French authorities are gradually forming an army of Islamic followers, numbering 300,000, to dominate Europe. What a day of retribution awaits that country!

THE EFFECT ON THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Territorially, the interests of the British Empire in North Africa are very limited, but there are certain areas which would be immediately affected by an Islamic movement in North and Saharan Africa—the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Palestine. The British Empire, with its population of 450 millions, contains 120 millions of Muslims, and it is in the interests of

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all Muslims, not only of the local ones, that we should consider and examine how best our actions and sympathies can be directed to strengthen the commercial bonds which already unite us, by a more humanitarian outlook on their national and religious aspirations.

There can be no doubt that the French North African hegemony is directed against England, even more than against Germany ; and everywhere in Islamic countries English representatives continually find themselves confronted by subtle French propaganda directed by the Quai d'Orsay, insinuations against the so-called oppressive and imperialistic designs of the British Empire.

Politicians, clergy, financiers, talk volubly about the Empire, but to the majority the idea of Empire consists of England, Australia and Canada. They are inclined to limit their entire conception to races wholly English and white.

Even South Africa does not receive the same attention, the same deference, owing to the large Dutch population, and Indian hopes are disregarded and neglected because they are Asiatics and of different religions.

In the summer of 1924, at the opening of a great exhibition, a prelate prayed for the welfare of the Empire, but within the heart of that saintly priest, behind the holy words on the sacred trust of the English race, is there really any sympathy or understanding for the Muslim millions in the Empire ? No, not one atom. Blinded by his Christian beliefs, he does more to cut the silken strings which join the various parts together, by appealing to religious passions, than anyone else. He does not come to bring peace, but a sword, stirring up ever and anon the passions of the Crusades.

Other English bishops interfered over affairs of the Œcumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople, and accused Turkey of attacking the Christian religion ; they attempted to stir up religious animosity against that race, and spread half-truths about the weak points of Turkish government. They hide or deny the fact that the Patriarchate has at times interfered in politics, that the position has not been put to indignity and shame by Turkish action, but by deeds and words of the

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man holding the position. Such distortions of truth can but in course of time react upon the system which gave them birth. It is unfortunately too true a fact that the Christian religion has been intimately mixed up in politics—temporal power allures its preachers beyond spiritual ideals.

Is it impossible for the English people to create a real Commonwealth of Nations, above religious, racial, and colour lines? It is the only possible way whereby the British Empire can last. The moment is favourable to such an ideal; by our assistance to the Islamic races in their legitimate demands we can do more to prolong our own existence, and at the same time bring prosperity and peace to the world.

Here, for instance, is a striking point, hardly ever taken into consideration :—

The close alliance of Turkey and England will be beneficial to both parties. Turkey will be able to improve herself. England will secure a complete control in the East by kindness rather than cruelty and violation of the rights of nations. England is more an Eastern Empire than a European. (Felix Vályi).

During the war England was forced to dismember the Turkish Empire, but now when peace is supposed to be the object, the English Government should attempt to bring the Arabs and the Turks into a sympathetic alliance, instead of widening the breach and creating openings for all sorts of intrigue by European Powers. England should assist Turkey in her modern reforms, and make her a just and respected head over a Commonwealth of Islamic States.

Egypt has been given back her independence; Syria and Algeria are ripe for home rule; Palestine should be restored to her Arab population and the idea of philanthropy to the Jews should be discarded. For if England wants to make a home for that race, there are plenty of unoccupied spaces in Australia and Canada which are entirely British property and not somebody else's.

England must not follow the example of France, and attempt to break up the solidarity of Islam; for Islam can be one of the greatest forces in the future for the good and peace of humanity. The British Empire should not stand aside and

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allow European States to mangle Islamic nations, but should confront in the boldest way unjust aggression and demand equity and fair play. The English Government should not permit itself to be dictated to by the young and unsophisticated governments of Kenya on the subject of Indian emigration. What, after all, is Kenya to the Empire? Surely our sense of proportion is somewhat false.

There are two ways for England to act in the near future :—

(1) To help the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire, to be a guide, a counsellor and an ally, and to have the whole Muslim world as a friend.

(2) To divide and destroy Turkey, and with that destruction to find our own Empire debilitated and corrupting, limb by limb falling away in a gangrened state till the whole body is disintegrated into a putrid and rotting corpse.

We have heard too much of the intolerance of Islam, but it is said somewhere :—

The Turks are the only nation who have not had a night of St. Bartholomew and who have never excommunicated those who belong to other religions.

The Christian chiefs have been allowed to remain through all the centuries of Ottoman domination—the Œcumenical Patriarch, the Bulgarian Exarch and the Catholikos of the Armenians.

Murders and massacres have no doubt taken place, as they have in every country, but equally on both sides, and more often than not the cause has been some act of Christian fanaticism or political intrigue.

For all the difference of opinion between Egyptian, Arab and Turk, Turkey at the present day is regarded with admiration by the whole of Islam, and it is through her that the British Empire can become more consolidated, and by this help towards the ideal aim of universal peace and a true League of Nations.

Often have I been told by various Muslims what a chance England has to be the leader of such a movement, if only she would consider a little more carefully the feelings of Muslims.

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For, behind all the vitriolic abuse hurled by the extremists, there abides a respect for the truly English fundamental morality of justice, which no other nation has ever approached.

This, then, is what I suggest the British Empire should do in the next few years :—

(1) Follow up the return of independent Egypt by doing the same to Palestine and Mesopotamia ; leave the Caliphate question entirely to Muslims ; intrigue no more with pseudo-Kings and Caliphs.

(2) Assist in the consolidation of a new Turkey founded on democratic reforms and the foundation of Arab federated States.

(3) Assist the legitimate aims of Syria, Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Morocco, and insist upon their representatives being granted a hearing before the League of Nations.

And by these three ways prepare for the day, which is bound to come, when Islam frees herself either by armed or peaceful means, and consolidate our own Empire on an alliance with a regenerated, democratic Islam.

Here is what a French colonial official says :—

Our natives need to be governed. They are big children, incapable of going alone. We should guide them firmly, stand no nonsense from them, and crush intriguers and agents of sedition. We should obtain influence over them by the constant example of our moral superiority.

Thus writes a Muslim :—

So great has been our progress in the last twenty-five years in science, letters and art that we may well hope to be in all these things the equals of Europe in less than half a century.

These two opinions are diametrically opposed, and one can sum up the possibilities of the two succinctly enough by trying to balance the regeneration of 250 millions against the decadence of 39 millions.

The intolerance of Islam, the fatalism of Islam, the degradation of women in Islam must be again and again denied before the British public, and proved to be only distortions of fanatical priests or lies of the ignorant founded on the abuses of despotic kings.

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God loveth not the aggressors.

Verily if you will not guide and warn yourself, none other can direct you.

and perhaps the most beautiful saying of all holy books—

Paradise lies at the feet of mothers—

refute in tense and authentic language the usual accusations against Islam.

Let us look at the question idealistically or rationally, and we shall come to the same necessity for action on the part of the British Empire.

Friendship, sympathy, assistance to Islam.

Let Bishop and Statesman, Politician and Press, discard narrow conceptions, outworn forms and insular prejudice, in order to confront this rebirth, and consolidate on ethical as well as commercial principles the great British Empire ; so that it may surpass its present stage, becoming yet more powerful and enduring, for the peace, prosperity and happiness of half humanity, beyond the boundaries of creed and colour, until Christian and Muslim can repeat in harmony together,

He is the Beginning and the End, the Manifest and the Hidden, and the Knower of all things.

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WĀQIDÍ AGAIN

By MAULĀNĀ SAYYID SULAIMĀN NADWÍ

(Continued from Nos. 4, 5, p. 144)

THIS same principle operates in determining the degree of authority and distinction to which the narrators of Islamic traditions and early Muslim writers are eligible, and it is on the basis of this principle that the books of Imám Málík, Imám Bukhárí, Imám Muslim, Tirmizí, Abú Dáwúd, Nasá'í, Ibn Hanbal, Ibn Mája, Ibn Isháq, Wáqidí, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Hishám, Tabarí, Dailamí, Kalbí, have been graded. In

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problems respecting an art or a certain branch of learning, it is only the opinions of the well-versed and the adept in that art or that branch of learning that can be regarded as having any weight. To seek the pronouncements of a lexicologist on the problems of chemistry, or of a geographer on medicine, the thoughts of a master in *belles-lettres* on metaphysics, or the views of a traditionist on the calculations of astronomy, will be sheer waste of labour. Let us be more explicit on this point. It will be of no avail, for instance, to seek audience of Abú'l-Qásim al-Harírí on mathematics and equally useless to approach Músá Khwárazmí on the style and the beauties of *Maqámát*. In the same way Abú Ali Síná (Avicenna) cannot help us in the problems of *Hadíth*, nor will Imám Bukhárí enunciate and expound the principles of physics. Thus it is clear why the opinions of a writer of *belles-lettres*, of a geographer, of an essayist, or of a *Maqámát* writer cannot be excepted as trustworthy in the domain of *Hadíth* and *Riwáyat*. Just as Newton can be of no use to us where we require the help of Gibbon, so Yáqút will not come to our aid where we stand in need of the services of Ibn Hajar; and inversely. Therefore it is nothing but reasonable to assert that "in order to establish the reliability of Wáqidí, we do not need the evidence of a *belles-lettres* artist, a geographer, or an historian, for their testimony cannot lead us far."

And to say that a wall of prejudice intervenes between the learned of theology and non-theologians is not correct. It would be nearer the truth and more to the point to say that the wall of partition consists of specialization and research in a branch of knowledge or art. The opinions of Islamic geographers, Ibn Khardázia, Maqdisí, Mas'údí, Idrísí and Yáqút, on the site of a town and the correctness of its name would be regarded as more reliable when put against the opinions of Imám Bukhárí, Imám Muslim, Imám Hanbal, Khattábí and Ibn Hajar, on the same point. All this is common knowledge; and therefore the question of the learned Professor—"Why can we dispense so readily with the verdicts of distinguished writers, geographers and his-

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torians of early Islam? Is not Wáqidí's work precisely one which calls for the opinion of such men? Why must it be decided by theologians?"—does not leave much for us to say in reply.

Now I take up the question, "What is the principle on which the veracity of Wáqidí is impugned?" and propose to deal with those principles "which govern the rejection and acceptance of certain writers." I have already remarked above, that it is the literary achievements and accomplishments of the learned and savants of a certain branch of knowledge or art and the contemporaneous opinions thereon; their devotion to that special branch of knowledge or art; their scholarly researches and industry in that branch of knowledge or art, that go to determine their status and degree of authority in that special branch of knowledge and art. One who knows the A B C of a branch of learning or art and is, in other respects, a mere pretender, is allotted a different status from that assigned to the learned and to the accomplished scholar. The same is the case with the savants, scholars, and the learned in the chain of guarantors, in the art of narration as far as concerns the difference in the literary positions which they hold. In Baghdád, before Imám Bukhárí are placed, in order to test the depth and correctness of his knowledge, ten different chains of narrators, all mixed up and their order inverted, but Bukhárí repeats them before an assembly of the learned in their correct and original order. That assembly of learned doctors is astonished at the amazingly tenacious memory of the Imám Bukhárí. For this reason the position of high authority held by Imám Bukhárí can never be conferred upon a Wáqidí, who does not even cite a complete chain of guarantors of any of his traditions.

Now let us consider the authors as men. They are by no means of a piece in learning, accomplishments, honesty, piety, tenacity of memory, acumen or logical reasoning, and power of deducing logical conclusions. Besides, as is known to the learned Professor, the greater part of the Islamic traditions was, at least for one or two generations,

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learned by heart like lessons from a book. Hence a test of the retentive power of the narrators was an absolute necessity as well.

Now, according to the principles governing the Islamic art of narration, for the recording of an event in the book of an author, so that it might be regarded as trustworthy and accepted as true, it is necessary that (1) the author be trustworthy, reliable, honest and true in his words beyond doubt, conversant with the complete chain of guarantors of his narratives, should have exerted every possible effort in the selection of his narrators and then should have succeeded in his task ; (2) the chain of guarantors of each of his traditions must be authentic ; (3) the first narrator of an event or a narrative should be either an eye-witness himself or there should be ample evidence forthcoming to the effect of his having heard it from another who was an eye-witness ; (4) that right from the eye-witness down to the writer there be no link missing in the chain of the guarantors ; (5) then it should have been proved as well that every link of the chain of the guarantors is made up of honest, trustworthy and truthful men ; (6) that it should have been established that each narrator of each generation had heard it from the narrator of the generation next preceding, or at least that both of them were contemporaries. These are the few principles which can only be briefly stated in an article of this nature. When we judge the respective narrations of Wáqidí and Imám Bukhárí, we find that the contemporaries of Imám Bukhárí collectively acclaim him as a pious, trustworthy, truth-loving, honest observer of religious ordinances, a great critic and scrutinizer of the persons narrating an event or a tradition, and an authority on Asmá 'ur-Rijál. But in the case of Wáqidí his contemporaries label him "liar," "forger of lies," "fabricator of falsehood," and one quite ignorant of Asmá 'ur-Rijál. There can surely be but one conclusion.

When we turn our attention to the chains of narrators of both of them, i.e. Imám Bukhárí and Wáqidí, we find that Bukhárí cites all his narrators name by name, and not

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only this, for each of his narrators, right from the beginning of the chain to its end, was a famous, an honest, pious, true man of his own generation. But, as far as Wáqidí is concerned, one cannot ascertain at all from whom he learnt any one event or narrative, nor who its narrator was nor who its eye-witness. Surely an impartial student can readily decide, as between the accounts of Imám Bukhárí and Wáqidí, which to reject and which to accept.

Even if Wáqidí has happened, here and there, to mention the names of one or two narrators, these prove to be unreliable, untrustworthy, and unknown persons; whereas each of the guarantors of Bukhárí, in his own place and in his own age, has been recognized as an authority in the eyes of his contemporaries and in the eyes of those expert in the art of narration. And again, when we turn our attention to the nature of the events themselves and their details, we find that the statements of Bukhárí are verified and corroborated by contemporaneous narratives, but the accounts of Wáqidí are not so supported. When a few examples of this sort are found in two different authors, then one will obviously be regarded as authentic and the other as unreliable. This is the principle "which governs the rejection and acceptance of certain writers."

Just as scholars of recognized ability, worthy of being regarded as authorities on certain subjects, appear in every branch of learning, knowledge and art, and in every age, so every age has been producing men who have attained prominence and distinction for the profundity of their learning and the vastness of their knowledge in the domain of Islamic science of tradition. Their devoutness, reliability, and the depth of their learning is evidenced, not only by their painstaking researches in the cause of learning and knowledge and by the events of their lives, but also by the body of testimony of their contemporaries. They had devoted the whole of their lives—nay, their every moment—to examining and scrutinizing the traditions, to criticizing the links of the chain of guarantors, to searching for and appraising the guarantors and narrators. Over and above all this, the men of their

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age placed their confidence in their piety, honesty and the wide scope of their knowledge. It was the results of their investigations and researches and their pronouncements that were accepted as criteria for rejecting one narrator and accepting another of the same generation. Moreover, as different persons have different experiences with their acquaintances, there are possibilities of differences of opinion concerning the narrators, and in such circumstances the standard for judging the status and correctness of their opinions rests on the literary achievements and scholarly accomplishments of those who criticize them. Here it may be remarked that difference of opinion in itself is a standing proof of the authenticity and truth of the Asmá 'ur-Rijál. This shows that the science of Asmá 'ur-Rijál, in fact, is the result of the personal experiences of different individuals. And if there had been any sameness in the pronouncements, instead of difference of opinion which we now find, then, in the first place, it might have been an unnatural example of unanimity in criticism—if not strained coincidence, and in the second it might have caused misgivings as to its being all one concocted lie, fabricated in conjunction with others. Consequently, where there be a difference of opinion amongst the critics, the principles for giving preference to one over another are enumerated as under :—

(1) Which side has the majority of the critics and judges contemporary with the person on whom judgment is sought ?

(2) Among the critics and scrutinizers, which side has the majority of the first-rate, the highly trained and proficient critics ?

(3) To which side does the general run of critics incline ?

The learned critics of a later age, not contemporary with a narrator, when pronouncing their opinions concerning him, consider the following aspects :—

(1) What is the nature of the present extant collection of narrator ? Which kind of *Hadith* abounds most in his collection, the *Ma'rúf* or *Munkar*—the well known ones or weak ?

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(2) How far do his statements clash with, or corroborate, those of other authentic and reliable persons ?

(3) What opinions have been expressed by the contemporary learned on the narrator whose position is disputed ? And, if the contemporary critics are not agreed, then which side has the support of the well-known and famous critics or the majority of them ?

(4) The later critic, although he did not personally weigh the merits of his anterior narrator, had heard the opinions of his *Shuyúkh* concerning him, who were his contemporaries. This would explain how Imám Bukhárí was able to express his opinions on Wáqidí, who "died fifty years before the pious and saintly al-Bukhárí was laid to rest."

Abú Hátim Rází's opinion on Wáqidí is not beyond the scope of the subject under discussion. What Abú Hátim means to say is that Wáqidí's contemporary traditionists and learned narrators found out that Wáqidí related narratives from narrators of Medina, the details of whose life were unknown, and had also narrated such traditions as were *Munkar*—that is to say, weak, and which were not verified and corroborated by the statements of any reliable and trustworthy narrators, nor such as were known to them. Under these circumstances one could have doubted that it was Wáqidí alone who could have manufactured those traditions which are *Munkar* and unverified, and might have attributed them to the unknown *Shuyúkh*. Or one might have concluded that those forged traditions were the fabrications of the unknown *Shuyúkh*s, and Wáqidí set them down through ignorance. Now one of the two above-named aspects of doubt was ascertained by the learned contemporaries of Wáqidí by investigations which established the fact that Wáqidí attributed openly such unverified traditions even to those well-known *Shuyúkh*s who never narrated *Munkar* traditions. This clearly proved that the factory of forged, unverified flimsy traditions was in the very house of Wáqidí himself.

Is it not, then, clear that the opinion of Abú Hátim Rází was really not outside the scope of the discussion on Wáqidí ?

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Ibráhím Harbí, who has taken sides with Wáqidí, says, in effect: "If to relate without a complete and detailed chain of guarantors is tantamount to a disqualification for the ranks of the traditionists, then neither Imám Zuhrí nor Muhammad bin Isháq are not above this charge."

In my previous article ¹ I dealt with this, and refuted it by pointing out that:—

(1) Zuhrí and Ibn Isháq are so far superior in repute to Wáqidí; thus the comparison is not a sound one; and for this reason their unsupported narrations are infinitely more reliable than the unsupported narrations of Wáqidí, because Wáqidí was already a proven and established forger and fabricator of lies. Zuhrí and Muhammad bin Isháq, on the other hand, are absolutely free from this charge. Zuhrí is looked upon as *Imám 'ul-A'imma*—the head of the authorities—and as to Ibn Isháq, although he does not hold the same status as Imám Zuhrí, yet he is far superior to Wáqidí.

(2) It is only in very few cases that both Imám Zuhrí and Ibn Isháq have narrated unsupported traditions, or traditions whose chains of guarantors have become confused. With these exceptions they have always and everywhere quoted the chains of their guarantors separately. But what Wáqidí has done is this: he has, in one place, cited at the beginning of the book the names of fifty or a hundred persons, and after that he has proceeded to write the book as if he were writing a story. Herein lies the discriminating difference between Wáqidí on the one side and Imám Zuhrí and Muhammad bin Isháq on the other.

And, moreover, if Zuhrí and Muhammad bin Isháq have narrated a tradition without the proper chain of guarantors, then that particular tradition will be ranked almost equal with the traditions of Wáqidí. But even so, the note of personal distinction, and the infinitely greater reputation for learning enjoyed by Zuhrí, will still be palpable. And this is one of the reasons why the books of Magházi rank so low in comparison with the books of Hadíth; and this does not apply specially to the Magházi of Wáqidí, for every

¹ *Islamic Review*, March, April–May, 1926, Nos. 3, 4, 5.

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book of Maghází holds an inferior status to the books of Hadíth.

The Professor, referring to me, says: "Your learned contributor replies that Zuhrí and Ibn Isháq stand on a higher level than Wáqidí. May I know why?" To this question I would submit that the difference of status has resulted from the fact that one has not been able to fasten the charge of falsehood on Imám Zuhrí. In the same way the name of Muhammad bin Isháq has never been associated with a charge of this nature. I do admit that accusations of lack of proper care have been levelled at both of them, but in the case of Wáqidí his contemporaries found out repeatedly that he related narrations which he had fabricated. Zuhrí always takes his subject-matter from such narrators as were well-known, reliable and trustworthy men of their times. It is true that the narrators of Muhammad bin Isháq are not on the same level as those of Zuhrí, but the narrators of Wáqidí are utterly unknown and men whose antecedents are by no means above suspicion. On this very basis, just as the trained critics of every age have allotted different grades to the savants of a branch of learning or art, so in this case they have decided on the higher status for Zuhrí and Muhammad bin Isháq, and the lower for Wáqidí. Nevertheless, as far as the chain of guarantors goes, all the traditions of Zuhrí are not of the same class, and his unauthenticated, unsupported narrations will also be rejected in the face of an authenticated one, or, at best, would be regarded as of lesser degree.

The learned Professor says: "I know that in the view of the *theologians* they are of greater importance; but why are they superior authorities on Maghází?" To this, in the first place, I would reply that it should not be forgotten that Zuhrí, without doubt, occupies a very high position from the point of view of reliability and trustworthiness in every kind of narration. But such is not the case with Ibn Isháq. He enjoys an eminent position only in the domain of Maghází. And as far as the relating of injunctions is concerned, he fades into oblivion in presence of other more reliable

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authorities. And as to his question : " Why are Zuhrí and Ibn Isháq superior authorities on Magházi ? " I have pointed out that the Islamic principles of narration do not make any distinction or discrimination in Magházi and non-Magházi. Every person who relates anything about the Prophet will be judged on the basis of the same principle, no matter if that narrative pertains to the battles of the Prophet or to the morals of the Prophet, or embodies an injunction in itself ; although it is true, to some extent, to say that the *Muhadithhín*—collectors and savants of Hadíth—did not show the same rigour of scrutiny in the case of Magházi and the excellencies of the Prophet as they have done in the case of the injunctions. And they make no bones about this. This explains why such a mass of absurdly flimsy and unnecessary narratives have been stuffed by various persons in the books of Magházi—narratives which are appreciated only by such as are ignorant of the art of narration, and by the common run of people.

(To be continued.)

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ISLAMIC CULTURE. *The Hyderabad (English) Quarterly Review*, Vol. I, No. 1. Pp. 163. Annual Subscription : Inland Rs. 10 ; foreign, £1 1s. Specimen copy : Rs. 2/12.

This is a literary and scientific journal which takes its birth in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions—the future rendezvous of the learned Orientalists, writers, and students of Islam. The *Review* covers in its wide range of discussion the social, economic, intellectual, moral and religious aspects of the Islamic world. The first number contains articles from the pen of able scholars who have already made their mark by their literary and social achievements in the Islamic world. The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali writes on " The Modernity of Islam," and Maulána Syed Sulaimán Nadwí on the " Muslims and the Greek Schools of

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Thought." The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims, the dead followers of a living faith; for it is the consciousness of their glorious past that they sorely need. And it is from this point of view that we bid a hearty welcome to *Islamic Culture*.

India Bond or Free? By ANNIE BESANT, D.L. (Putnam, 24, Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2. Pp. 216. 7s. 6d. net.)

In this volume the author has drawn a vivid contrast between the conditions prevalent before the British occupation of India and those of to-day, when the so-called wave of progress has set in. The present defective curriculum at the Universities is condemned in strong terms. A little further on she indicates very candidly the defects in the present system of governing the simple village folk who received more justice through their "Puncháyat System" of dealing with civil and criminal cases at less cost of time and money. The book seems to us to express an earnest desire for the bygone "Golden Age"—which is wished for everywhere but will never return.

The point worthy of note is the present sense of national awakening roused amongst the Indian youth, an inevitable sequel to the World War, and a question which is getting more and more tangled, and urgently requires solution. The only remedy produced is the slow and constructive process towards the attainment of Home Rule, which will evidently prove to be the freedom from bondage of over three hundred million souls struggling for existence. Yet the non-cooperation of the heterogeneous elements of the Indian masses would seem to render the task somewhat difficult.

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