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A Critical Analysis of The Moslem World:  
1911-1947

Howard F. Streit

A Thesis  
in  
The Department  
of  
Religion

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Masters of Arts at  
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CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY  
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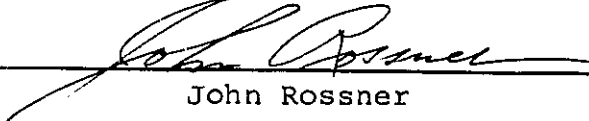
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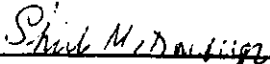
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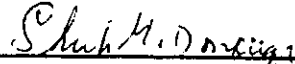
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\_\_\_\_\_  
David M. Miller Chair


  
\_\_\_\_\_  
John Rossner Examiner

\_\_\_\_\_  
Examiner

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Sheila McDonough Examiner

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Sheila McDonough Thesis Supervisor

Approved by   
\_\_\_\_\_  
David M. Miller  
Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

August 14 19 90   
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean of Faculty

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ABSTRACT

A Critical Analysis of  
The Moslem World: 1911-1947

Howard Streit

The Moslem World was founded in 1911 by Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer with the dual mandate of providing information to the Christian West on the religion of Islam and aiding missionaries in their work of winning Muslims to Christ. Prior to the Journal's establishment little accurate information was available in the West on Islam's history, its creeds, beliefs and practices, and the lives of its adherents. This study has attempted to identify, categorize and analyze the manner and method by which the many facets of Islam were depicted in the pages of The Moslem World under Samuel Zwemer's editorship, 1911-1947.

The conclusion drawn is that the Quarterly Review, rather than providing an objective account of Islam, thereby correcting historical inaccuracies, actually furthered negative stereotypes and popular misconceptions through a subjective misrepresentation of the faith. This was achieved by the conflicting mandate which called for an accurate representation of Islam by the same Christian writers who sought to aid missionaries in their efforts to convert Muslims to Christianity and thereby hasten Islam's dissolution. Islam was presented in a negative light

through the repeated depiction of each aspect of Islam as diametrically opposing its Christian counterpart. As Christianity was esteemed in the Journal as the pre-eminent faith and the only true religion, it was used as the model by which Islam was to be measured and subsequently judged to be in error.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the years encompassing the late 19th and early 20th centuries considerable interest came to be engendered within the Protestant Churches of Europe and North America in the evangelization and conversion of Muslims to Christianity. One of the more active evangelists to work in the mission field was Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer who, aware of the shortage of material on Islam in the West, sought to fill this void by the creation of a Journal which would educate Christians on the varied aspects of Islam and the life of the contemporary Muslim. To this end he founded, in 1911, The Moslem World, a Quarterly Review for which he served as owner and sole editor for 27 years and another 10 years as co-editor.

The present study will make a critical analysis of the manner and method by which the Christians who contributed to the Journal understood, interpreted, and portrayed the world of Islam. Although the Review continued to be published after 1947, as The Muslim World, Zwemer's influence as editor had been so great that with his retirement the Journal developed a policy, tenor and direction towards Muslims and Islam that differed markedly from the one published under Zwemer. This thesis, then will deal exclusively with the 37 years in which Zwemer's



conservative Evangelical Christianity dominated The Moslem World's portrayal of Islam. Much greater attention, however, will be paid to the first 27 years of the Journal's existence, when Zwemer served as its sole editor and exercised full control over the material appearing in its pages. Later references, from 1938-1947, will be used when new ideas relevant to the thesis' topic are introduced, or when investigating the direction followed by its editor and contributors over the nine year period.

An understanding of how Occidentals viewed the Orient at the turn of the century is necessary if one is to appreciate the difficulty faced by Western Christians in their struggle to acquire an accurate understanding of Islam and the lives, thoughts and motivations of its adherents. The Moslem World was founded in 1911, mid point in an era (1870 - 1945) which Edward Said identified as "the period of great colonial expansion into the Orient."<sup>1</sup> The field of Orientalism at the time Said recognized as one:

shot through with the doctrines of European superiority, various kinds of racism, imperialism and the like, dogmatic views of the 'Oriental' as a kind of ideal and unchanging abstraction.<sup>2</sup>

Misinformation concerning the Orient was so commonplace by the late 19th-century that Said was able to sum up the era as one in which:

every European in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric.<sup>3</sup>

The Islamicists, theologians, and missionaries who joined with Zwemer in contributing to The Moslem World developed their initial impressions of Islam in particular, and the non-Christian world in general, during this period. Thus it may be assumed that an analysis of The Moslem World's depiction must account for conditions and understandings of Islam in the Christian West, in the first half of the 20th century. Contributors to the Journal consistently maintained that The Moslem World was able to provide an objective and accurate appraisal of the many facets of Islam. Zwemer assured the Journal's readers that the Review presented a truthful portrait of Islam, developed through a scientific study of the material available in the field. Moreover, many of the Journal's contributors, including its editor, had spent many years working amongst Muslims on a daily basis, gathering an understanding and knowledge of their religious beliefs and practices, their laws, culture and civilization.

Through a critical analysis of the manner and method by which Islam was portrayed in the Journal this study will attempt to ascertain the extent to which The Moslem World was able to remove itself from the conditions described by Said in the understanding and interpretation of Islam. Moreover, this study will investigate how Christians, interpreting Islam to an overwhelmingly Christian readership, juxtaposed the tenets, creeds,

values, beliefs and practices of Islam against those of the Christian faith.

The second chapter will introduce the period of history in which the Journal was created, the atmosphere within the Christian West at the time of The Moslem World's inauguration and its subsequent history up to Zwemer's retirement in 1947.

Zwemer, a 23 year old American missionary, sent out by the Reformed Church, arrived in Arabia in 1891. By the time of his death, 61 years later, he had published 50 books and countless articles and pamphlets on Muslims, Islam and Christianity and occupied a chair at the University of Princeton's theological college. As the Journal's founder, and its sole owner and editor for 27 years, Zwemer exerted a great influence on the Review's policy, direction and choice of articles.

The third chapter will present Zwemer's unique interpretation of Islam and his understanding of Islamic-Christian dynamics as expounded in the pages of The Moslem World.

The fourth chapter will reveal the image of Muhammad as it was depicted in the Journal. Viewed by the Christian community as the source, leader, role-model, and veritable personification of all that was Islam, the estimation in which the Prophet was held in the Review will assist the understanding of the relative value accorded Islam by the Journal's Christian writers.

The final chapter will present an overview of Islam as it was perceived in The Moslem World, the manner by which those who adhered to Islam were portrayed, Islam's moral and ethical code as expounded at home and in society, and the depiction of Islam's attitude towards the non-Muslim world.

## Chapter 2

### HISTORY OF THE MOSLEM WORLD: 1911-1947

From the inaugural issue of The Moslem World in January, 1911, until Zwemer's retirement in July, 1947, the Review's editor and contributors confronted and attempted to interpret for its readers a world that politically and socially was undergoing great changes. Although the conservative evangelical element that dominated the Journal under Zwemer's sole editorship developed its own unique interpretation of events, the views expressed reflected those shared in general amongst a large majority of North American and Western European Christians. These commonly shared beliefs were an outgrowth of Protestant Triumphalism--the assurance of the superiority and inevitable dominance of the world, in the foreseeable future, by Western culture and values.

This chapter will present a chronological overview of The Moslem World, from a survey of beliefs and attitudes in the West regarding its relationship to non-Christian nations existent at its inception in 1911, through to Zwemer's retirement in 1947. Issues and causes dealt with at length in the Quarterly Review, reflecting the beliefs of the editor and the more frequent contributors will be analyzed, most notably: the aims and policies of the

Journal; the presumptive collapse of Islam; the urgent appeals for missionaries; and the conflict that arose from the growth of a more liberal Christianity.

### Protestant Triumphalism

By 1910 many parts of the world previously inaccessible to Westerners were opening up. With the exception of Tibet and Afghanistan, missionaries had been accorded access to most of the known world. Christianity was spreading quickly due in great measure to new opportunities presented to the missionary by advances in the fields of commerce, linguistics and medicine.

In the 19th century explorers spread out from Europe and North America to make contact, establish military outposts and develop commercial ventures in western North America, South America, Africa, the Middle East and the Orient. Following close behind, if not arriving simultaneously, were representatives of the Catholic and Protestant churches and numerous missionary societies. The work of these groups was greatly enhanced by two important developments in the latter half of the century: the first the availability of the New Testament in most lands in the respective native languages and the second the discovery of tropical medicines which not only permitted the white man to visit, but also to establish

permanent residence in the most inhospitable of climates. All of these factors contributed significantly to a rapid growth in the number of churches and converts throughout the world.

In the mission field Protestant Churches had been major benefactors in the years immediately preceding 1910. The growth had been so rapid, however, that little opportunity had existed to co-ordinate the efforts of the various churches and missionary societies involved in the work. A desire "to secure the permanence of Christian co-operation,"<sup>1</sup> led to the holding, in 1910, of the First World Missionary Conference, under the chairmanship of the American Methodist layman John Raleigh Mott, in Edinburgh, Scotland.

The tone of the Conference reflected the mood of the time. Western society viewed with confidence, and an assurance of success, meetings with non-Christian societies as a whole, and accepted colonial expansion, military achievements, and advances in the fields of medicine, technology and education as indicators of the superior position held by the Christian West in the early years of the 20th century. Not only was the West assumed to be superior, but expansion of Western influence was considered inevitable until the whole world had become 'civilized.'<sup>2</sup>

This concept was known as Protestant Triumphalism which "identified Christianity with modern progress and democracy and the American ideal and system with its Protestant ethics." Thus Christianity came to be recognized as the "only formative element in society and the criterion by which it should be judged."<sup>3</sup>

In the Jerusalem Conference of 1928 liberalizing forces within Christianity would challenge Protestant Triumphalism and the same unanimity of belief would not exist regarding the inevitable victory of the Christian West. Jerusalem was, however, still 18 years in the future. As Stephen Neill records, at Edinburgh, in 1910, little need was felt for theological discussion "when all were one on fundamentals." Neill continues:

All agreed that Jesus Christ the Son of God was the final decisive Word of God to men; that in Him alone is the certainty of salvation given to men; that this Gospel must be preached to every living human soul, to whom God has given the freedom to accept or reject and who must stand by that acceptance or rejection on the last day...all agreed that as the Lordship of Christ came to be recognized, these other religions would disappear in their present form.... Expression of these views might differ in detail; but it cannot be questioned that in 1910 there was a practical unanimity with regard to the substance of them.<sup>4</sup>

At the Conference, Zwemer's idea of publishing a Quarterly Review to educate and assist fellow-missionaries in their work with Muslims was first introduced. The concept was accepted enthusiastically and a committee was subsequently formed to aid Zwemer in this project. In the inaugural issue of The Moslem World, published seven



months later, Zwemer acknowledged the influence of the members of the Edinburgh Conference in the Journal's formation:

[It's creation being] as an outcome...of the deep interest manifested at The First World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in June last, and to conserve, continue, and interpret its deliberations on this subject.<sup>5</sup>

Thus evidence exists to suggest that Neill's summation of the general consensus arrived at by members of the Edinburgh Conference is accurate. The content of the summation emphasized: the superiority of the Christian faith, the necessity of preaching the Gospel to all mankind, and an assuredness of the inevitable victory of Christianity, is of value in recognizing the religious philosophy held by Zwemer and his colleagues. The latter were contributors and supporters of The Moslem World and served with Zwemer as missionaries to the Muslims.

#### The Moslem World: Its Policy Towards Muslims

It seemed to be the case that the editorial policy of The Moslem World as conceived by Zwemer, was to report and interpret issues and events pertaining to Muslims and Islam, primarily from a Christian perspective. Furthermore, the direct involvement of Muslims, either in shaping the Review's policy or in contributing to its contents was greatly discouraged.

Contributors to the Journal, however, maintained that the material presented in The Moslem World offered an objective appraisal of Islam and the Muslims' world. Accurate information regarding all aspects of Islam was a necessity for the missionary who the Review was hoping to educate and assist. Men and women who would be encountering, debating and working with Muslims in foreign lands, with the purpose of converting them to Christianity, would be ineffective in their work without an accurate knowledge of Islam for as Zwemer stated, "Unless this Quarterly serves them [missionaries] and helps them it fails in its primary purpose."<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, in the inaugural issue, The Moslem World was introduced as, "A Quarterly Review of current events, literature and thought among Mohammadans..."<sup>7</sup> This suggests to the reader access to, and publication of, material originating in the Islamic community rather than material written and/or re-interpreted by Christians before publication.

Yet despite the above statement the Journal's policy, as outlined by Zwemer in The Moslem World's first issue, demonstrated a clear bias against Islam and a strong partiality towards Christianity:

We hope to interpret Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and deep needs, ethical and spiritual to Christians; to point out and press home the true solution to the Moslem problem, namely, the evangelization of Moslems; to be of practical help to all who toil for this end; and to

awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world until its bonds are burst, its wounds healed, and its sorrows removed, and its desires satisfied in Jesus Christ.<sup>8</sup>

The challenge presented by the 'Moslem problem' was a re-occurring theme throughout Zwemer's 37-year association with The Moslem World. His envisioning of a 'Moslem problem' was a logical assumption for one who believed in Protestant Triumphalism. To Zwemer, Islam, by its mere existence, would provide a direct challenge to Christianity, thereby inhibiting its spread and delaying its final victory.

Nevertheless, the question may be posed as to the degree of impartiality existing in The Moslem World under Zwemer. It was questionable whether the Journal could accurately portray Islam, or any other religion, while concurrently adhering to a policy which encouraged the destruction of Islam by converting Muslims to Christianity.

If the Journal had recognized the views of the Islamic community as being of equal value and had encouraged submissions by Muslims, then a forum would have been created in its pages for the exchange of information and ideas between the two religions and the diverse cultures each represented. Such a format would have acknowledged the possibility of a biased interpretation of Islam, whether or not intended, and provided a balanced view of the two faiths, thus allowing for a more accurate

representation of the 'current events, literature and thought among Mohammadans.' An analysis of the above mentioned editorial, however, indicates that Muslim involvement with the Journal was from its inception greatly discouraged. Several points raised in the editorial, are offensive to potential Islamic contributors. Two of these are presented in the editorial as adjacents to the policy statement:

Its columns are open to all contributors who hold the 'unity of faith in the bond of peace and righteousness of life.'<sup>9</sup>

To this end [the search for a solution to the 'Moslem problem'] we invite the cordial co-operation of all those who have made special study of any phase of Islam, or who can from their experience show others how to win Moslems to Christ.<sup>10</sup>

In the former the quotation is from Ephesians 4:3 and refers to "the true basis for Christian ethics: God's call to unity, peace and love." Some Muslims would find this quotation confusing, however, those who did understand would be offended by the message of Ephesians which calls for "the unity of the Church under the headship of Christ."<sup>11</sup> Zwemer, in the latter quotation merely repeated the primary mandate of The Moslem World, that is, the conversion of Muslims to Christianity.

Equally offensive to Muslim readers was the repeated use of "Mohammadans" and "Mohammadanism" as synonyms for Muslim and Islam respectively. Their use was a reflection on the insensitivity and ignorance of the author who, by

its use, placed Mohammad and not Allah at the centre of the Islamic faith. In the first three pages of the text, Zwemer used the former term twice and the latter three times. Their liberal usage, however, was not restricted to Zwemer and are to be found in the writings of numerous authors throughout every volume of The Moslem World.

In closing, Zwemer identified the Journal's nine associate editors as having "won distinction [in either] the field of Islamic studies or in converting Muslims to Christ."<sup>12</sup> All nine were Christians, the majority ordained and working in the mission field. The inference that either Christians were more knowledgeable in the field of Islamic studies or that their understanding of Islamics was more reliable would most likely have discouraged Muslims from considering the Journal to be of equal value to any which originated within the Islamic community.

Thus it may be assumed, from The Moslem World's inaugural editorial and policy statement, that there existed a pro-Christian anti-Muslim bias which would severely hamper its ability to accurately reflect "current events, literature and thought among Mohammadans...." Moreover, no attempt was made to correct this imbalance by encouraging the involvement of Muslims, who were discouraged from participation as either advisors or contributors to the Quarterly Review.

The Moslem World's First Decade, Confrontation with Islam

The search for a solution to the 'Muslim problem' became a constant theme in the first decade of the Journal's existence. The conviction of participants at the First World Missionary Conference, in 1910, that Christianity was destined to triumph over all other religions and of the urgency of preaching the Christian Gospel to all of humanity, strongly encouraged contributors to the Journal to search for a solution.

One possible solution was the active encouragement of young people to become missionaries to the Muslims. It was hoped that this plan, if successful, would not only aid in spreading the Christian message but act to combat the growth of Islam and hasten its dissolution. It was only in the latter stages of the decade, however, that a sense of urgency, emanating from a growing perception of a strong and threatening Islam, prompted this solution.

Initially, Zwemer and his colleagues wrote confidently of Islam's dissolution. It was assumed that the gods and goddesses of all non-Christian religions were destined to share the same fate as the deities of ancient Rome and Greece, who in the past has been replaced by the one true God of the Christians. Islam, too, was to share the same fate. Thus Julius Richter was able to report, in

"The World-Wide Mission of Christianity," of the positive attitude shared by Christians everywhere:

The attitude of Christianity towards the heathen world...is undoubtedly that of a joyful confidence and assurance of victory...the underlying thought in mission work is the glad assurance of triumph.<sup>13</sup>

Zwemer found support for his perception of Islam, as a dying religion, in a pamphlet published by a Muslim teacher working at El Azhar University. The pamphlet, "Where is Islam," challenged Muslims to correct areas of social, intellectual and moral decline present in the Muslim world. Quoting primarily from the more despairing passages Zwemer in, "The Dying Forces of Islam," attempted to convince the reader that Islam: 1) "is like, a patient ...suffering from the deadly germ of tuberculosis [at such an advanced state] one may say that he is dying;" 2) is like, "oak timbers in which the species of fungi known as dry rot has already begun to penetrate;" 3) has had its "vital forces sapped and moral and spiritual collapse are as inevitable as was the case of Moslem world politics;" 4) "is dying."<sup>14</sup>

Zwemer's reference to 'Muslim world politics', above, reflected the belief of many Christians that Islam was in direct opposition to Christianity, inasmuch as it too sought world domination. Thus Zwemer, in 1913 could exult that Italy, by inflicting defeat on Turkey, had ended the "Pan Islamic concept and Islamic expansion into Africa."

Moreover that "Islam has lost its sword" was for Zwemer the inevitable outcome of the "philosophical disintegration of Islam which began centuries ago."<sup>15</sup>

Zwemer was supported in his conclusions by the belief that Turkey's collapse verifies God's approval and guidance in world affairs:

We do not for a moment assert that the disasters which have fallen upon Turkey were not due, in the judgement of God, to long ago oppressions and unavenged inequities by those who were in power.<sup>16</sup>

The First World War provided Zwemer with another opportunity to discern God's guiding hand in the coming Christian-Muslim confrontation. The mobilization of so many men has provided the opportunity to create an army of missionaries at the war's conclusion:

We may thank God that by His providence He has brought thousands of the choicest young men...into closest contact with the Near East during the war...[Once there] these Christian men, many of them from the universities and colleges, saw the opportunity, for medical, educational and social service...To them the Near East has spoken of a higher warfare and they have seen the coming of a Kingdom without frontiers or race-barriers. It is for the Church to extend to them the call for reinforcements and to do it now.<sup>17</sup>

Despite Turkey's loss in the 'Great War' and the subsequent balkanization of the Ottoman Empire, The Moslem World's 'joyful confidence' of a Christian victory came to be replaced by a sense of alarm and urgency. Editorials warned of the growing threat from Islam and the need to prepare for an Armageddon, with Muslims as the foes. In



"The Urgency of the Hour," Zwemer cautioned the reader that in the post war era, "Men count time no longer with a sand-glass but with a stop-watch....To postpone would mean disaster; modern life runs on a close schedule."<sup>18</sup>

To Zwemer the potential for disaster was imminent, with one war finished an even greater battle was being prepared to be fought:

The non-Christian culture from the East and from the West is already meeting in Central and Western Asia to fight the great battle of supremacy against the Gospel. [Through] the unpardonable sin of dawdling [Christians] may miss the day of victory and arrive on the battlefield of Armageddon too late....To postpone advance may mean to lose the battle.<sup>19</sup>

Subsequent material appearing in The Moslem World reflected a new image of Islam as portrayed by Evangelical Christians. Gone was a weak and decaying Islam, in its place appeared an obstructive Islam, strong enough to hinder and challenge Christianity. Whenever Christianity encountered Islam whether in Africa, China or Southeast Asia, the latter was portrayed as openly antagonistic to Christianity, its missionaries, teachings, culture and values. Islam came to be depicted as not just non-Christian, as were other faiths, but anti-Christian, a dark satanic force of evil which came to be personified in the character of Mohammad. This unique interpretation of the history and nature of Islam, and the character of Mohammad, will be dealt with in depth in a later chapter.

### A Shift in Policy and Approach

The spirit of Protestant Triumphalism thoroughly pervaded the pages of The Moslem World during its first decade. A zealous desire to evangelize the world, coupled with the certainty of a quick victory over Islam, were reflected in the positive confident spirit existent in the Christian West at the time. During the 1920's, however, this spirit waned. As Paul Johnson records, "During the 1920's a mood of pessimism and discouragement set in amongst Christian leaders." As visions of a Christian world faded, "Triumphalism was quietly laid to one side."<sup>20</sup>

In The Moslem World this new attitude was initially apparent in the diminished fervour and loss of urgency surrounding the call for volunteers. Although missionaries were still sought, and the search for a solution to the 'Moslem problem' continued unabated, the Journal now envisioned victory not as the outcome of a sudden intense confrontation, but the result of a war of attrition. The attitude of overbearing condescension extended towards Islam was replaced by one of open hostility that found its expression in articles and editorials highly critical of Islam.

The number of missionaries working in Muslim lands grew steadily from 1911 to 1938. In 1911, the number of White (i.e. non-native) Protestant field workers numbered 4,102, by 1925 that number had risen to 5,556, and by 1938 had increased to 7,514.<sup>21</sup> Figures, provided by Zwemer, reflect a similar growth rate in subscribers to The Moslem World: 1,085 by 1913, 1,377 by 1921, and 1,622 by 1931.<sup>22</sup> This steady rate of growth was due, in part, to the support and encouragement of Zwemer's colleagues in the missionary community. In 1923, a report entitled, Christian Literature in Moslem Lands, acknowledged:

The Moslem World, Quarterly, now in its fourteenth year, has been almost the only link for promoting mutual knowledge. It has indeed done much to give information and direction to workers among Moslems....<sup>23</sup>

Further support was received from representatives at two 1924 missionary conferences. Those attending a conference in Constantine, Algeria, urged:

that this quarterly be adopted as the common organ of missions to Moslems [and] any deficit in the publication of this quarterly should be covered by contributions from missions co-operating.<sup>24</sup>

In the same spirit representatives to the Helwan Regional Conference, opined that:

The magazine deserves a larger circulation and the support of all those interested in evangelizing the Near East. The Conference trusts that all Societies here represented and every individual missionary will lend the magazine hearty support.<sup>25</sup>

Although strong moral support was evident within the missionary community, in little over a decade pressing

financial difficulties would precipitate changes in the Journal's control and subsequently the conservative evangelical position championed by its editor.

The central theme for The Moslem World, throughout Dr. Zwemer's 37-year involvement as its editor, continued to be the search for ways to aid fellow-missionaries in their evangelizing work with Muslims (i.e. the search for a solution to the 'Muslim problem'). To stress this point the original policy statement on the matter (pages 10-11) was often reprinted to coincide with the Journal's anniversary issues. However, in 1917, and again in 1931, Zwemer introduced two statements which revealed the extent of his belief in the authoritative nature of the Journal's writings.

The January, 1917, editorial, "Past and Future", reaffirmed the Review's policy statement with the addition "We desire to maintain the truly scientific nature of our Quarterly and make it invaluable to every serious student of Islam...."<sup>26</sup> Fourteen years later, after reiterating the desire "to press home the true solution of the problem, namely the evangelization of Moslems," Zwemer added, "though we speak the truth we do as in love and are willing to hear what educated Moslems have to say."<sup>27</sup>

In neither passage did Zwemer qualify the methods utilized in ensuring the 'scientific' or truthful nature of the magazine's material. It may be assumed that both

statements, presented in tandem with the Journal's policy statement concerning the search for a solution of the 'Moslem problem', reflected the editor's belief in both the superiority of Christianity and the Christian's ability to interpret Islam. If so, this would essentially limit the academic connotations associated with these terms thereby, paradoxically, discrediting the 'true' and 'scientific' character of the Journal to those seeking an objective unbiased account of Islam.<sup>28</sup>

#### Financial Problems and Difficulties in the Mission Field

The editorial marking the 25th anniversary issue of The Moslem World differed from those of previous anniversary issues. The author of the editorial was not the Journal's founder Samuel Zwemer, but Murray T. Titus of Boston. Also missing in Zwemer's absence, was the usual reiteration of the Journal's editorial policy and exhortation to solve the 'Muslim problem.' Instead Titus drew attention for the first time to the pressing financial difficulties faced by the Review and its possible dissolution.

Admitting that, "we face a still more confusing future," Titus acknowledged "to discontinue the Quarterly at this critical time...would be a serious blow (and) mean a distinct loss to the cause of Christ."<sup>29</sup> The critical

nature of the situation was further emphasized by the inclusion of excerpts from letters by two leading figures in the missionary movement, Dr. John R. Mott and Dr. Julius Richter.

Were it dropped it would leave a serious gap ...it is time for us to rally and put forth very special efforts to avert such a calamity.<sup>30</sup>

I hope the economic landslide will not crash your valuable magazine in its depression...it indeed would be a serious loss should it go out of existence.<sup>31</sup>

The financial straits into which The Moslem World had been plunged by the mid-1930's, echoed difficulties encountered elsewhere within the conservative evangelical missionary movement. The expected waves of converts so hoped for by delegates to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, 1910, had failed to materialize. If the battle between Muslim and Christian on the field of Armageddon, as predicted by Zwemer, was underway then it was indeed the Muslims who were winning. Except for small pockets of Conservative Christianity, the optimism engendered by a belief in Protestant Triumphalism had long disappeared. At the Tambaram Missionary Conference of 1938, Dr. Paul Harrison told of having converted only five Muslims in the fifty years of his mission's existence.<sup>32</sup> Zwemer, writing in the same year admitted,

there are still countries where missions have been carried on for forty years without any organized churches composed of Muslim converts. The total number of converts from Islam in all Africa is scarcely five hundred.<sup>33</sup>

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Although in the view of Conservative Christian Evangelists, the origin of these disappointments may have been the Devil, the anti-Christ, or Islam itself, outside sources identified the missionary movement from 1914 onwards as having, "serious imperfections and weaknesses."<sup>34</sup> One of these weaknesses being "the simple view that everything in non-Christian religions and cultures was evil"<sup>35</sup> - a view espoused by The Moslem World's more conservative contributors and to be dealt with a greater length throughout this study.

By 1936, Evangelists considered that the missionary movement had been further weakened by the gradual introduction of more liberal views into Christian society as a whole. As Neil reports:

The liberal was not by any means so sure that Jesus Christ was the last word of God to man. He was repelled by the exclusive claim to salvation through Christ alone. He tended to take a much more favourable view of the other religions than his own more conservative colleagues, and to look forward to some kind of synthesis of religions than the disappearance of any of them.<sup>36</sup>

The Moslem World had, prior to 1936, been able to follow a policy and serve a readership which was both evangelical and conservative by nature. Financial

difficulties, however, were soon to force the Journal into making concessions which it hoped would increase its appeal to a wider and more liberal segment of the population. Its object was to attract a large number of potential subscribers whose interest in Islam lay beyond the mission field. In an effort to reach this segment of the population, Zwemer informed his readers, in January, 1937, that the number of Associate Editors would be increased by three, "so that it may be more representative of the whole area of the world of Islam and include younger Islamic scholars."<sup>37</sup> One year later, in an effort to secure even greater financial stability, the Journal removed itself even further from its conservative roots through its adoption by the Hartford Seminary Foundation. A decision which thereby effectively terminated Dr. Zwemer's independent control of The Moslem World.

The editorial introducing the Hartford Seminary Foundation's new role in The Moslem World, "Vita Nuova," by D.B. MacDonald of the Foundation, suggested the new direction to be taken by the Quarterly while it also reflected on some of the difficulties that were inevitable with the merger of two groups sharing dissimilar beliefs regarding the Christians' relationship to other religions.

Reflecting on the title, "Vita Nuova", MacDonald stated:

in truth while we may look to new forms of expression there is really no change....The magazine is still to



be edited by Dr. Zwemer and will be carried on in the spirit in which he created it.<sup>38</sup>

Though intended to 'be carried on in the same spirit' the new direction the Journal was to take immediately became apparent. Zwemer's desire to convert Muslims to Christ, as stated in his introductory editorial and requoted in subsequent anniversary issues,

we invite the cordial co-operation of all those who have made special study of any phase of Islam, or who can from their experience show others how to win Moslems to Christ.<sup>39</sup>

was supplanted by a goal less evangelical in nature.

[This periodical wishes] to draw into its service all who seek to understand and to explain Islam, and still further, to help the Moslem people to understand themselves in this world common to us all, and to see more clearly the road of their future as it lies before them.<sup>40</sup>

As will be argued in a later chapter previous issues of The Moslem World contained material suggesting the inherent superiority of Western Christians over their counterparts in matters of race, politics, culture, and religion. Though such views appeared only intermittently, they were never challenged or qualified by Zwemer. It may be assumed, however, that this issue must have arisen at some point in the dialogue between the old and the new order, for MacDonald made a point of qualifying past remarks of that very nature by assuring the reader that though there were, "many ways to be missionary, the ways of this Periodical have never been those of narrow bigotry."<sup>41</sup> Though not denying their existence, he

inferred such statements rose out of ignorance (which was not a reassuring statement for those who previously had argued for the 'scientific' and 'truthful' nature of The Moslem World):

Many of those who formerly approached Islam with the Christian message had little knowledge of Islam itself, and still less of the many and wonderful ways in which it had expressed itself.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, MacDonald confirmed that the Periodical would carry on "to meet ignorance in others and ourselves (for) in regards to Islam we are all students and learners."<sup>43</sup>

MacDonald revealed that the Journal's main purpose was not solely to serve the missionary. Now considered to be of equal status to the missionary was the academic. Under the Hartford Seminary Foundation The Moslem World was to serve the former, so that they might be better equipped in their relations with Muslims, and the latter "who is irked by ignorance of any kind and seeks to abate it." MacDonald attempted to discern a common ground between missionaries and academics, conservatives and liberals, evangelists and students of religion:

For the true scholar, truth is just as sacred as for the true theologian. For both freedom of statement is a necessary right. To such investigations conducted in a spirit of forbearance and courtesy, these pages according to their possibilities will always be open.<sup>44</sup>

MacDonald recognized the difficulties and fallibility inherent in any search for truth, especially in a field as

emotionally charged and metaphysically oriented as religion. As such, his statement to that effect was in sharp contrast to Zwemer's inflexible, 'We speak the truth,' only seven years earlier. MacDonald's assertion, "The endeavour of all contributors will be to seek to state the truth,"<sup>45</sup> neither discouraged dialogue nor presupposed unerring accuracy of judgement while recognizing the sincerity of the contributor.

From 1938 through to 1947, the contents of The Moslem World reflected the strong feelings lying behind the opposing points of view held by both liberal and conservative Christians. Any statement on Islam, though perhaps not unusual yet expressing a distinctly liberal point of view, would often prompt a response in a subsequent issue by an exponent of Conservative Christianity, that was both critical and derogatory of the former. Often it appeared that only through animosity did the two schools of thought recognize each other, for barring an argument or defence, neither school, except in rare instances, acknowledged the existence of the other.

An example of the bitter feelings that existed amongst the conservative evangelists, as they viewed the incursion of liberal Christianity, was to be found in James Rankin's 1943 article, "Liberal Christianity: A Brake on Evangelism." The subject of the article was unusual in as much as one school of Christian thought

attacked another school of Christian thought in a Journal dedicated to helping 'all who seek to understand and explain Islam.'

In his article, Rankin argued that Liberal Christianity denied both the miracles of Christ and the resurrection of Jesus. In this, he declared, it was indistinguishable from Islam. Moreover, the growth of liberalism in Christianity, "weakens the missionary propaganda of the Church," thereby making it a greater enemy than Islam, for the "half-truths (of Christianity) are more dangerous than the falsehoods (of Islam)."<sup>46</sup> To add to his argument, Rankin revealed that the modernist theory of resurrection was invented by German Rationalists who wished to destroy the power of Christianity. This last argument, which attempted to link liberal Christianity to Germany, at the height of the Second World War, reveals the seriousness with which Conservatives viewed the emergence of Christian liberalism.

In the July, 1947 issue, Dr. Zwemer penned his final editorial, "Looking Backward and Forward from the Bridge." In it Zwemer revealed that, at the age of 79, he had agreed to transfer complete ownership to the Hartford Seminary Foundation. The sole stipulation regarding content was that the Periodical would continue along similar lines as those by which he had guided it for the previous 37 years. The spirit and message of the

editorial reveals that Zwemer's energies and beliefs surrounding the field of missionary work with Muslims had not been affected by either the growth of liberalism in Christianity or his close to 10 year association with the Hartford Seminary Foundation. After quoting from the inaugural issue, outlining the aims and policies of the Review as they relate to solving the 'Moslem problem,' Dr. Zwemer proudly asserts that the Journal has, "never surrendered to compromise or appeasement in the battle for truth."<sup>47</sup>

As in the 1938 editorial, "Vita Nuova," outlining the manner by which the change in control would affect the Journal's policy, Dr. Zwemer's rhetoric was again softened by a representative of the Hartford Seminary Foundation. In the following issue, Edwin E. Calverley, who had shared the editorial post with Dr. Zwemer since 1938, acknowledged that the aims and message of the Review were to be similar to those of its founder. He then, however, revealed the position the Quarterly would take towards Muslims and Islam, carefully avoiding any reference to either the hope of converting Muslims or the existence of a "Moslem problem". He assured subscribers that:

Subjects about which Muslims and Christians have different convictions will be discussed in the most friendly manner, tone and spirit, and with the best of goodwill. It is intended that with complete sincerity and honesty, nothing inaccurate, unfair or ill-mannered shall ever appear in the Quarterly.<sup>48</sup>

The following chapter will take an in-depth look at Zwemer's writings in The Moslem World. As the founder, sole owner and editor for the first 27 years of the Journal's existence, Zwemer by his editorials, choice of material, and selection of contributors to appear in the Review, exerted a pre-eminent influence on The Moslem World.

## Chapter 3

### ZWEMER'S VIEW OF ISLAM AS EXPRESSED IN THE MOSLEM WORLD

Dr. Zwemer's writings in The Moslem World reveal a firm conviction that the Christian faith is the only true religion and that all others are pre-destined by weakness and falsehood to fail. This belief, coupled with an understanding of Islam as the very antithesis of Christianity--not a non-Christian, but an anti-Christian religion--led him to portray Islam as an evil force practiced by a misguided people. Moreover, he interpreted Islam as being in opposition to those aspects of his own culture which he believed to be synonymous with Christianity: a strong sense of morality, the adoption of democratic principles, and personal freedom. His portrayal of Islam led him to develop and propagate in the pages of The Moslem World a subjective interpretation of Islam, based on his own culturally conditioned terms of reference, that both challenged and contradicted many of the tenets of the Islamic faith.

Zwemer believed that the more conservative evangelical interpretation of Christianity, as arising from the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 and outlined by Prof S.C. Neill, as quoted in the previous

chapter, was the only accurate expression of the faith. Zwemer was suspicious of those who, though Christian, professed alternative means of interpreting their faith, especially those adhering to a more liberal interpretation of Christianity, as expressed in the emerging field of Comparative Religion.

He believed that Comparative Religion, "lacks all positive religious conviction...(as it is) written by those themselves who have lost faith in the unique character of Christianity and its Supernatural Founder."<sup>1</sup> Christianity was not a religion, but the religion.<sup>2</sup> So distinct was it from other religions that it could not be compared with them. To have done so was for Zwemer too great a compromise.

The inability of Zwemer to effect a compromise with those of his own faith serves to accentuate the feeling of intolerance he experienced towards those believing another religious creed to be sacred. As editor he argued that Christianity was the only authentic religion, the sole religious authority by which man could answer. His argument centered upon the Gospel message found in the New Testament. He theorized as there was only one God and one Christ there could be only one religious message, that provided by Christianity.

We assert as strongly as all Moslems that there is only one God, but because there is only one God there can be only one Gospel....<sup>3</sup>



...because there is only one God there can be only one Gospel and one Christ.<sup>4</sup>

Thus for Zwemer and many of his colleagues who contributed to the Journal, that which is Islamic must be measured and judged by its relation to adherence to the Christian Gospel and its attitude towards the Christ:

This world-wide faith joins issue with everything that is vital in the Christian religion and stands or falls by its attitude towards the Christ.<sup>5</sup>

Zwemer believed that Islam was created and existed in direct opposition to Christianity. All of the world's other major faiths pre-dated Christianity and as such were either non-Christian or unChristian. Islam, however, postdated Christianity and in Zwemer's estimation was, "the only anti-Christian religion."<sup>6</sup> The existence of the Qur'an brought into question the authentic nature of the Bible. Islamic teachings on Heaven and Hell, morals, ethics, and Jesus were viewed as not only disputing, but mocking the Christian message despite their close similarities on a number of points. In a later chapter, it will be demonstrated how the theory of Islam as an anti-Christian faith was further expanded to portray Muhammad as the anti-Christ.

In the rhetoric of The Moslem World, the challenge Islam presented Christians was antagonistic not conciliatory, militaristic and not peaceful. As Zwemer understood the two, Christianity was a religion of love,

Islam, "a religion of hate and war."<sup>7</sup> As revealed in the previous chapter, Zwemer envisioned he was calling Christians to the battlefield to fight the Battle of Armageddon:

Holy war is a duty in general on all male free adult Moslems, sane in mind and body and having the means to reach the Moslem army...so it must continue until the whole world is under the rule of Islam.

The pulpit and the sword go together in the history of Islam. The preaching of Islam and the power of its warlike propaganda were wedded together by its founder.<sup>8</sup>

The Christian reader of The Moslem World was introduced through Zwemer's writings, however, to a Christian view of the coming confrontation couched in language and terms that were equally militaristic:

It [Christianity] demands ultimate surrender.... The main battle against Mohammadanism in the immediate future will be fought on East African soil. The enemy is before our doors....Certain parts of Africa for now, in military language, are the objective and are the strategical positions of the great mission field.<sup>9</sup>

If we do not counteract the advance of Islam with all our energy and along the whole line, we shall lose not only parts of pagan Africa, but even territories already Christianized.<sup>10</sup>

The confrontational images drawn by Zwemer of East opposing West, Islam versus Christianity, and Muslim against Christian were shaken in 1917 by the public revelation that Muslims were assisting the 'Christian' British as allies against the 'Islamic' Turk. Zwemer, however, chose largely to ignore this accomplishment

except to indicate that it provided greater opportunity for Christians to introduce their Christian faith to Muslims.<sup>11</sup>

Zwemer's understanding of the relationship of Christianity to other religions, his view of Islam's purpose as one of military expansion and aggression, and his belief in the existence of only one true faith, justified his developing an intolerant attitude towards Islam. Although aware of religious intolerance as a negative feature in other religions, he recognized his own intolerance as being of a higher nature and the duty of every Christian:

There is a sense in which Christianity is as intolerant as Islam and although this intolerance may not and cannot take the form of Moslem intolerance toward Christianity, it is based on more vital issues and is therefore of such a character that it can never be satisfied with compromise or concessions ... If God had really done something in Christ on which the salvation of the world depends, and if He has made it known then it is a Christian duty to be intolerant of everything which ignores, denies or explains it away.<sup>12</sup>

The theory of intolerance as a religious duty is not unique to Christianity, but may be found in any faith whose adherents understand themselves to be guardians of a sacred truth. These people believe that the wishes of God then become known solely to them and their subsequent conduct becomes imbued with the belief that their activities meet with God's approval. The thoughts, actions and accomplishments of others therefore are of

lesser importance when measured against their own mission. Thus Zwemer was able to justify to himself the superiority of the Christian message, the inevitable fall of Islam, and his knowledge of the will of God:

Christ's glory too is concerned in the completion of the task and the occupation of all the fields.<sup>13</sup>

It is the eternal purpose of our God that at the name of Jesus every Mohammedan knee shall bow. It is the promise of God that the knowledge of Christ's glory shall cover these Moslem lands as the waters cover the sea. It is the command of God that they shall be evangelized.<sup>14</sup>

Imbued with a crusader's spirit and utilizing both colourful imagery and pathos, Zwemer portrayed a Jesus suffering due to the Islamic control of his homeland.

His [Christ's] crown rights were obtained at such a tremendous cost that he cannot be indifferent when they are invaded. The Near East is nearer to Him than it is to any of us. Was Jesus not born in Bethlehem? Did not Egypt give him a place of refuge in earliest infancy? Does he not yearn to be the refuge of the little children of Egypt today? ...When a cloud took Him away from human sight, His last view of the earth swept the whole horizon of what we now call the Near East; and when this same Jesus shall come in like manner as the disciples saw Him go into Heaven, He will claim these crownlands first of all for his possession.<sup>15</sup>

Despite an intolerant stance towards Islam, an exaggerated portrayal of the conflict existing between the two religions and a belief that his efforts were synonymous with God's wishes, Zwemer's priority lay in evangelizing Muslims, a goal he argued could be achieved, not through conflict, but by "love, docility and

humility."<sup>16</sup> Love, he believed, was as central to Christianity as it was absent from Islam. As Christ's power to save was both unique and real so was the love for all his children whatever their faith. Zwemer believed that historical evidence existed to prove the unique power of Christian love.

Ignoring some of the more violent episodes of Christian history, the Crusades and the Spanish Inquisition to mention but two, Zwemer quoted Thomas Carlyle on this issue in his 1931 article, "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali":

Much has been said of Mohomet's propagating his Religion by the Sword. It is no doubt far nobler what we have to boast of the Christian Religion, that it propagated itself peaceably in the way of preaching and conviction.<sup>17</sup>

Conversely, Zwemer reasoned, the teachings of Mohammad and the falsehoods of the Muslims' contemporary leaders had hidden from Muslims the power of love so integral to Christianity. A "chasm" separated Muslims from the truth and the challenge to the missionary was "to bridge the chasm with courage and tact by the manifestation of the truth in love."<sup>18</sup> The belief that Christians alone held the knowledge to the liberating power of love in Christ led Zwemer to deduce further that, therefore, "real Christians are the best and truest friends of Muslims everywhere and always."<sup>19</sup>

It was not solely in matters of understanding love and salvation that Zwemer believed Muslims to be either ignorant or disadvantaged. Evidence of the failure of Islam to satisfy the needs of her people were thought to be apparent in many aspects of the Muslim world. The Journal's founder believed that Islam had damaged the Muslim's intellectual capabilities, weakened his moral and ethical fibre, and blinded his understanding of the personal and political freedom existent in democracy.

The intellect, Zwemer believed, had not been afforded the opportunity to develop in a healthy and natural manner. The Islamic practice of looking first to the Qur'an and then to the life of Mohammad for guidance in all matters, ancient and contemporary, had denied Muslims the opportunity to grow and progress, both individually and as a society. Zwemer was suspicious of both Mohammad's character and his suspected authorship of the Qur'an and considered both to be a poor substitute for the liberating power available through knowledge of, and exposure to, the life of Jesus and the Holy words of the Bible. Thus, Zwemer stated with confidence, Muslims were intellectually handicapped from the moment their Prophet rejected the Christian Gospel.

Mohammed has taken away the key of knowledge and left them in darkness.<sup>20</sup>

Islam has atrophied certain areas of the mind of men....<sup>21</sup>

Although carrying the Gospel message to Muslims could repair the damage, Zwemer admitted that the greatest hope for salvation rested in working with Muslim children and not their parents.

Adult Muslims may seem hard to reach or persuade; their minds may be wilfully blinded, their consciences seared....<sup>22</sup>

This belief in the negative effect of Islam on the minds of its adherents provides insight into Zwemer's reticence in using Muslims, as opposed to Christians, in revealing 'current events, literature and thought among Mohammadans,' in The Moslem World. In presenting, in 1912, a list of books, essential to the student of Islam, Zwemer recommended 37 texts of which only 5 were by Muslims. Four of these received no commentary, the fifth Amin Ali's The Spirit of Islam, was dismissed as, "perhaps the most clever though unhistorical apology possible for the life of the Prophet."<sup>23</sup>

Morally and ethically, Islam was similarly portrayed as inferior by Christian standards. The falsehoods behind Islam, initially spread by Mohammad and later perpetuated by his followers, were considered to be behind the alleged 'weak' moral character of Muslims:

Its inward weakness, its denials and falsehoods have corrupted the best that is in it....<sup>24</sup>

Although Muslims claimed their religion held high moral and ethical standards, Zwemer reported to his readers that in practice such was not the case.

Islam's ethical standards are low...although the Koran urges faith and good intentions unpremeditated lapses are leniently judged... the tendency of Islam is to develop a flabby moral nature.<sup>25</sup>

The source of Islam's 'flabby moral nature' Zwemer deemed to be two-fold. First was the character of Mohammad, 'the perfect prophet,' who served as a role model for Muslims. Zwemer contended that Islam's character arose not from the message of the Qur'an but from the life of Mohammad. He argued that the Sunna as an authority in religion supercedes the Qur'an in guiding the lives of the people. Thus he hypothesized that the "religion he founded bears everywhere the imprint of his life and character....What he was, it [Islam] became."<sup>26</sup>

Thus Zwemer's depiction of Mohammad's character is a portrayal of the character with which he believed Islam imbued its followers--a character Zwemer found far from exemplary:

This religion, through the example of Mohammed himself...has corrupted home life at its very source and undermined human happiness by its well known teaching regarding polygamy, divorce, slavery, concubinage and the inferiority of womanhood.<sup>27</sup>

The image of Mohammad created by Zwemer in the Journal reflected not the historical, but the folkloric hero that arose in the centuries following his death. Imbued with superhuman powers, a prodigious sexual appetite, and a genius and thirst for war, Zwemer's Mohammad was continually compared to the gentle, humble,



loving Jesus of the Bible. The reader was then challenged to choose who of the two would make the more appropriate role model for children of either faith. The following chapter will review and analyze in greater detail the image of Mohammad in The Moslem World, as depicted by both the Journal's editor and its regular contributors.

The second clue to deciphering the cause of the 'Muslim's flabby moral nature' lay in Zwemer's depiction of the home and the effect it had on Muslim women and children. Zwemer in, "Islam, Its Worth and Its Failures," quoted, with approval, the comments of Gottfried Simon and Kasim Amen Bey on women's home life. The former stated that the position of Muslim women was lower than that of the heathen due to Islam's laxity in divorce laws and concluded that "The Moslem family life is below the level of that of the heathen," to which Zwemer added, "The religious and civilizing influence of Islam...has never purified or elevated the home."<sup>28</sup> Kasim Amin Bey stated:

Man is the absolute master and woman is the slave. She is the object of his sexual pleasures, a toy, as it were with which he plays and then tosses away when he pleases. The firmament and the light are his. Darkness and the dungeon are hers.<sup>29</sup>

In the same article, Zwemer portrayed the life of a Muslim child.

No indictment of Islam could be stronger than the present condition of eighty million Muslim children, physically, intellectually and morally ... these children are born into a world of superstition and ignorance, robbed of their

childhood by sex education in its worst form, burdened with the responsibilities of marriage when still in their teens until their cry is a plea none can resist.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, for Zwemer, the source of what he considered to be a weak moral fibre lay in the use of Mohammad as a role model and the negative influence of the Muslim home on women and children.

Interestingly, in the two examples above, it was evident that for Zwemer the problem with Muslims was that their faith opposed Christianity and its teachings. In the first case, it was not that Islam lacked a role model, such as Christians enjoyed in Christ, but that Mohammad was such a poor role model that he had a negative, destructive influence on their society. Similarly, the problem in the Muslim home, allegedly so inferior to the heathen, arose not from an absence of moral teachings and imperatives, but in upholding the wrong moral and ethical values. Thus once again Zwemer's argument, that Islam was not an un-Christian, but an anti-Christian religion, may be discerned.

Throughout the First World War, the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and the balkanization of the Middle East by the British and the French, Zwemer envisioned a time in the near future when Western democratic principles would be adopted throughout the world of Islam. Democracy, Zwemer believed, was an historical by-product of Christianity and was synonymous with man's freedom to

seek avenues of change and progress. A freedom potentially available to much of the Islamic world with the defeat of Turkey in World War I. Ignoring the culture and tradition of the tribal societies that had ruled the Middle East long before the birth of Mohammad, Zwemer nevertheless blamed Islam for the failure of democracy. Islam, he argued, "has been an age-long foe of democracy."<sup>31</sup>

As Zwemer associated democratic principles with Christianity, he reasoned that the solution to the particular 'Muslim problem' lay as in all his solutions, with the conversion of Muslims. So close did he believe Christianity was to democracy, that he felt secure in stating:

Only God can make his world safe for Democracy  
and only His kind of Democracy was safe for the  
world.<sup>32</sup>

By adopting a democratic form of government, Muslims would, in Zwemer's estimation, improve their lot beyond the limits of political freedom. Moral and ethical progress could likewise be achieved for, he reasoned, under the normal "totalitarian demands of a Moslem state there is a strong temptation to compromise and moral cowardice."<sup>33</sup>

Zwemer's contributions to The Moslem World were not dissimilar to those of his fellow-missionaries and Christian Islamists. His editorials, stylistically,

resembled those of a preacher, at time inspirational and at times passionate, as he exhorted the Journal's readers to recognize with him the numerous "Muslim problems" that he sought to solve throughout his 37 year association with the Review. Zwemer's articles and editorials often contained highly defamatory statements of many aspects of the Islamic world. His style was such, however, that he chose to avoid using his own words to denigrate Muslims and Islam, preferring to rely on the often vitriolic statements of other Christian writers, an act which failed to mask the harsh personal statements he held towards Islam. His reasons for this approach are not clear. It may have been followed to emphasize that the ideas contained in the article were shared with more passion by others, thereby emphasizing the value of his own judgement contained therein, or it may have been to portray Zwemer more clearly as a voice of calm reliability and reason, or it may have been so as not to contradict his theory that 'Christians were the best friends of Muslims' and must approach them with love. Nonetheless, these quotations exist, testimony to a thinly-veiled hostility towards the world of Islam.

Specific quotations, least tolerant of Islam, appeared in more than one issue of the Journal though not always in the same context. Thus Rice's statement:

There is not one cardinal fact concerning the life, person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ

which is not either denied, perverted, misrepresented, or at least ignored in Mohammedan theology.<sup>34</sup>

appeared first in "Editorial," April, 1911, and again two years later in "The Stumbling Block of the Cross," April, 1913. The general nature of Rice's statement allowed Zwemer to use it, in the first case, to emphasize the differences between Christian and Muslim theology and later, in reference to Islam's denial of the Christian doctrine of Jesus' death and atonement.

Similarly, he drew upon Schlegel's condemnation of Islam for a dual purpose:

A prophet without miracles, a religion without mysteries, and a morality without love, which has always encouraged a thirst for blood and which began and ended in the most unbound sensuality.<sup>35</sup>

In his article "The Chasm", April, 1919, Zwemer used Schlegel's statement to aid the reader who may question whether Islam has been a stumbling-block or a stepping-stone "in the progress of the race."<sup>36</sup> One year later in "Islam: Its Worth and Its Failures," April, 1920, the same quotation, by Schlegel, is used at the conclusion of a sub-article questioning the level of intolerance extended by Muslims to non-Muslims.

In the latter sub-article, comprising little else but quotations of a similar tenor, Zwemer praised Prof. Hartmann's knowledge of Islam in introducing the following

quotation, a quotation that bears little if no relation to the body of the article.

Islam is a religion of hate and war. It must not be suffered to be the ruling principle in any nation of the civilized world. It has destroyed cultural possessions and created nothing, absolutely nothing in the way of cultural values.<sup>37</sup>

At times the relevance of the quotation contained in the article appeared highly questionable, making it appear as if the statement was included more for its harsh condemnation of Islam than for its contribution to the article's topic of discussion. For example, Zwemer's April, 1933, article on the historical importance of the shift of the centre of Islamic worship from Jerusalem to Mecca, contained a quotation by Major Osborne which went beyond the material dealt with in the body of the article.

There have been few incidents more disastrous in their consequences to the human race...than this decree of changing the qibla from Jerusalem to Mecca. Had he remained true to this earlier and better faith, the Arabs would have entered the religious community of the nations as peacemakers not as enemies and destroyers....The farther and faster men progress elsewhere, the more hopeless becomes the position of the Moslems. He can only hate the knowledge which would gently lead him to the light. Chained to a black stone in a barren wilderness, the heart and reason of the Mohammedan world would seem to have taken the similitude of the objects they reverence...<sup>38</sup>

Zwemer's reflection on the incident in the same article was as tempered and mild as Osborne's was harsh and critical. That which Osborne deemed as so 'disastrous' to the 'human race,' the writer viewed simply

as "one of the darker tragedies in the life of the Prophet." The consequences of the act had, in Osborne's estimation, changed the whole course of Islamic history and greatly limited the life of the contemporary Muslim. Yet Zwemer merely regreted that the consequences of this act introduced "the old heathen cult" into Islam and concluded by admonishing Muslims "to return to the old qibla and face the facts of history that found their centre in Jerusalem."<sup>39</sup>

From the diverse statements of the two contained in the article, one may question the relevance of Osborne's diatribe. Or, more importantly, may one not ask what was the motivating factor behind Zwemer's uncritical inclusion of the quotation? Did Zwemer hold a view of Islam that was less tolerant and contained more anger and bitterness than he was willing to expose in his own words, but felt more comfortable expressing in the statements of others? These questions may be posed to many of Zwemer's contributions to the Journal as examples of the above style were quite common.

One of the most extreme instances of the above may be found in Zwemer's "Islam in Arabia Deserta," a 1943 article which on a cursory glance seems to have been written to draw attention to Charles Doughty and his 19th-century text Arabia Deserta. Doughty's importance to Zwemer, however, lay not in his text but in his being one

who travelled to the desert of Arabia, lived amongst Muslims, and returned with his Christian faith intact. [bold mine].

Zwemer introduced Doughty as a "scholar, hero and saint" who "preserved his faith and was not ashamed of his religion amid inhospitable hostility." The article concluded with the short succinct summation "And he never denied Christ."<sup>40</sup>

The article itself is restricted almost completely to excerpts from Arabia Deserta a book Zwemer referred to as a:

masterpiece of English literature...a revelation. Within its pages Doughty carved an enduring image of the Arab mind and religion with incomparable honesty and astonishingly keen penetration. Arabia Deserta is a small encyclopedia on Islam.<sup>41</sup>

The quotations chosen by Zwemer were, however, some of the most highly critical of Islam, Muslims, and Arabs ever printed in The Moslem World. On Islam, Zwemer cited Doughty's work:

Islam and the commonwealth of Jews are as great secret conspiracies, friends only of themselves, and to all without of crude iniquitous heart, unfaithful implacable.

Islamic expansion following Mohammad's death:

Sword is the key to their imagined paradise; and in the next decennium...frenetic Arabians, inflamed with the new greediness of both worlds, ran down like wolves to devour the civil borderlands.

Islam's gift to non-Muslims:



shrewdness out of her cankered bowels to all the world.

Bedouin character:

I wondered with a secret horror at the fiend-like malice of these fanatical Bedouins with whom no keeping touch nor truth of honourable life, no performance of good offices, might win the least favour from the dreary, inhuman, and for our sins, inveterate dotage of their blood guilty religion.<sup>42</sup>

Criticisms of Zwemer's in the article were reserved not for Doughty or his text, but for those writers who, unlike Doughty, wrote sympathetically of Islam. Doughty by way of contrast was pictured as one "who stands out alone and supreme as interpreter of Arabia and its people."<sup>43</sup> This would suggest that Zwemer's "Islam in Arabia Deserta" was not an attack on Islam but a criticism of the more liberal Christian scholars--students of Comparative Religion--who, by 1943, had already published a number of articles in The Moslem World. Doughty's harsh uncompromising style was thus chosen by Zwemer for both its sharp contrast to liberal Christian writings, and as an accurate reflection of what should be the 'true' Christian's approach to non-Christian faiths, notably Islam. It may be assumed, therefore, that the disparaging comments chosen by Zwemer from Doughty's text on Islam were of little value to the article except for the image of Doughty they helped to create. However, the choice of quotations and the writer's uncritical reaction to them in both "The Palladium of Islam" and "Islam in Arabia

Deserta," served to illuminate Zwemer's more hostile beliefs concerning Islam, Muslims, and Arabs.

Beliefs that were expressed by both the Journal's editor and his fellow contributors from 1911 to 1947, will be dealt with at greater length in the remaining chapters. Chapter four will focus upon the image of Mohammad and his portrayal as a misguided liar, war-monger and anti-Christ as created within the pages of The Moslem World.

## Chapter 4

### MUHAMMAD IN THE MOSLEM WORLD

An inordinate amount of attention was directed in The Moslem World towards assessing and redefining, within the context of a Christian interpretation, the life, character and image of Muhammad as espoused by Islam. The reasons for the Journal's interest in the Prophet were two-fold. First, the historical Muhammad was believed to be such an integral aspect of Islam that an understanding of the man was a prerequisite to a full understanding of the faith. Long considered by Christian traditionalists to have authored the Qur'an, and served, through the Sunna and the Hadiths, as a role-model for Muslims, the Prophet was still recognized as a primary source of inspiration for both the individual and the community.

Second, Muhammad was believed, within Christendom, to have been erroneously accorded a pre-eminent position within Islam--a position thought by Christians to have been rightfully Jesus's. In contrast, Muslims acknowledged Jesus as a great prophet yet denied his divinity. Particularly distressing to the Journal's Christian contributors was the transference to Muhammad, within the popular folklore of the various Islamic sects, of many of the qualities Christians associated with Jesus,

his sinless life, his miracles, his omniscience and omnipresence.

To the Evangelist, seeking to convert Muslims to Christianity, the image of Muhammad, the 'Perfect Prophet' created a challenge. If Christianity and Jesus were to regain their rightful position then the life and image of Muhammad must be assessed and redefined, in the light of Christian understanding.

The challenge of assessing and redefining the image of Muhammad, as held by Muslims, was for the missionary a real and practical one. The most common defence by Muslims, to attempts at proselytization, was to argue that Jesus had already been acknowledged as a great prophet by the Qur'an. His message, though true in its original state, had been subsequently falsified by his followers. The identical teachings to that received by Jesus, existed in their original state only in the Qur'an--further evidence Islam was the only true religion.

To counter this theory, the missionary required a thorough knowledge of the religion's founder and an awareness of the conflicting images of Jesus and Muhammad as held by both Islam and Christianity. Of equal importance to the missionary, debating the relative merit of each faith's central figure, was access to theories, facts and arguments supporting the pre-eminence of Christ, as a man and as the son of God. The need for such

material was recognized and readily met by contributors to The Moslem World who perceived, by its limitless value, in it the potential for the means of fortifying the missionary in the field as well as hastening the anticipated dissolution of the Islamic faith. It is this redefined image of Muhammad that developed in the pages of The Moslem World that this chapter will attempt to recreate.

The articles and editorials with Muhammad as their subject were as varied as they were numerous, ranging from the speculative, "If Mohammed had Accepted Christ," to the investigative "The Quest for the Historical Mohammed," and from the analytical "The Psychology of Mohammed" to the revelatory "Mohammed without Camouflage." Despite the diversity of their approaches, however, the Christian Evangelists and Islamists, who contributed to The Moslem World, shared with the majority of Christians several core beliefs concerning the Prophet, and it was upon these basic tenets that the image of Muhammad was redefined from a Christian perspective. These commonly held beliefs were: the Qur'an is the most reliable source by which to judge the Prophet; Muhammad either consciously or unconsciously, and not God, was the source of the Qur'an; and the Prophet's character degenerated markedly with his ascendancy to a position of power and influence in Medina.

The extent to which these points were accepted amongst the Journal's contributors may be demonstrated by an analysis of three articles which appears between 1911 and 1936. Though each article was written by a different author, writing in a different decade and holding a unique perspective on Muhammad, each based their argument and defended the use of their material on these three points. These articles were: "The Character of Mohammed" by Father T.R. Buhl (1911); "The Psychology of Mohammed" by G.W. Broomfield (1926); and, "An Autobiography of Mohammed" by Frank H. Foster (1936).

The Qur'an as the Most Reliable  
Source by Which to Judge Muhammad

Accurate knowledge of Muhammad was thought to be difficult to obtain outside of the Qur'an. The Journal's Christian writers argued that stories which grew and developed after the Prophet's death were most probably erroneous; due either to the Muslims's desire to bestow upon Muhammad 'an almost divine character', or the manner by which later political groups or factions exaggerated or invented hadiths to legitimize their own ideas. Deciphering accurate information from these apocryphal tales, often over a millennium old, was considered a

frustrating and wasted effort at best. Thus Foster would state:

What we want to know about Mohammed is not what idealizing and apologetic writers, often centuries after Mohammed's death have given us, but the truth...this is derived from the Koran alone.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, Buhl could argue:

Our knowledge of Mohammed's thoughts and ideas rests mainly on the Koran, while Moslem traditions, for the most part are so unreliable that they are considered with the greatest care.<sup>2</sup>

Broomfield avoids the issue completely. His failure, however, to acknowledge the existence of any competing sources, and his exclusive use of the Qur'an to support his argument would seem to suggest a strong belief in its value as the sole authority on the life of the Prophet.

For Christian writers, the recognition of the Qur'an as the primary source in understanding the life of Muhammad removed the necessity of debating later accounts which glorify the Prophet and credit him with supernatural powers. Thus, the problem of the legendary Muhammad is avoided and the pages of the Qur'an become the limitations by which Muhammad may be defined. His apotheosis is denied. He is a man. A 'warner' in Mecca, a community leader in Medina, but a human being who falls short of the kingship attributed by Christians to Christ.

### Muhammad's Alleged Authoring the Qur'an

Partial justification for the recognition accorded the Qur'an, as the pre-eminent source in revealing the life of the Prophet, rested with the belief amongst Christians that Muhammad, and not God, was its source. This position arose as a natural extension of the belief that salvation and the 'true' faith were revealed only through Jesus. The acknowledgement of an alternative gospel, originating with God, post-dating and, at times, contradicting their own would have verged on apostasy for the Journal's Christian writers. Muhammad's authorship of the Qur'an was considered to be so self-evident as to be accepted as fact by the Conservative Christians who contributed to The Moslem World. The assurance of this belief was reflected by Foster's use of the term "Autobiography" in the title of his article. Its use he defends, but not on the basis of Muhammad's supposed authorship of the Qur'an, for him this 'fact' required no justification.

The sole point of dispute on the matter, as it appeared in The Moslem World, was whether Muhammad in his composition of the Qur'an had intentionally attempted to mislead his listeners, or whether he had in his innocence, sincerely believed himself to be a Prophet delivering a



message from God. On this point, the three contributors are somewhat divided.

Foster held the opinion that Muhammad knowingly lied as to the source of his pronouncements. He theorized that Muhammad had received a wide exposure to both Judaism and Christianity as a youth, preferred their rigid monotheism and high moral standards, and attempted to communicate these to the Meccan community. A faulty knowledge of the two faiths had, however, handicapped him in his ability to reproduce the same message, the resulting compilation of misinformation being the basis upon which Islam was built.

Though Muhammad intended to deliver to his people the religion of Judaism and Christianity, Foster believed that he was doomed by his limitations, despite possessing "the powerful imagination of an Oriental," an alert mind, and keen powers of observation.

His chief defect, and a serious one, is his failure in argument. He had no regular discipline, no formal instruction in argumentation at any time....He believed in Jinns; and he opened to others and practised himself the vices of polygamy and concubinage.<sup>3</sup>

Foster's theory was quite common and enjoyed a great popularity amongst the Journal's more conservative Christian contributors. In its telling, Muhammad is depicted as: having, knowingly falsified his claim to have received his teachings from God; admiring and wishing to recreate the Christian religion; and, being unlike Jesus, too weak of character to have been successful.

Thus, in its telling, Christianity is depicted as representing the true religious ideal of Muhammad and Jesus is accorded a greater stature than the Prophet.

Buhl's argument differs from Foster's only in the belief that Muhammad was "entirely sincere" in his Prophetic mission. Buhl argued that Muhammad's belief in the Divine origin of his pronouncements was substantiated by his "strange pathological attacks", which became

the unshaken foundation upon which rested his assurance that he was the recipient and interpreter of divine revelations.<sup>4</sup>

Broomfield's position is much the same as Buhl's, arguing in the Prophet's 'personal conviction' that his statements originated with God. Broomfield is sympathetic to Muhammad's self-assumption of his prophetic calling but reminds the reader concerning his pronouncements, that:

Whatever view is taken of their origin, they reflect the thoughts and aspirations of Mohammed's own mind...<sup>5</sup>

Though only Buhl and Broomfield agree on the sincerity of Muhammad's belief that he was an instrument of God, they join with Foster in condemning him for his inability to hold to his high ideals after attaining a position of power and influence in Medina.

## The Transformation of Muhammad's Character

The Muhammad, portrayed in The Moslem World, was perceived as a man whose weakness of character led him to sacrifice his ideals when presented the opportunity for temporal gain. In Mecca, he was a 'warner,' persecuted by those in power, yet striving to deliver a message he believed to be identical to that found in Christianity. The parallel between Muhammad at this early stage in his religious mission, and similarly motivated Christian apostles was not lost on Abraham Moorhatch, who quoted Dr. J.H. Shedd, in his "Islam for Christ":

If Mohammed had died while still a young man we would call him St. Mohammed.<sup>5</sup>

With the Hejira, however, the three authors agree that Muhammad's personality underwent a negative transformation:

The Flight worked a great change in Mohammed.... There was a certain hardness, a certain self-consciousness and self-assertion and downright selfishness, which did not appear in the Meccan days.<sup>7</sup> (Foster)

The Hejira was the turning point in his fortunes. It also marked a beginning of a great change in his character.<sup>8</sup> (Broomfield)

For Mohammed the exodus to Medina meant a surprisingly rapid development of his position in power ... but in his own character it effected a decided downward move and a loss of the ideal.<sup>9</sup> (Buhl)

The Hejira introduced a new life to the Prophet. The prophet who had preached submission before God, while

leading an insecure existence in Mecca, was in Medina soon to rise to the position of administrator, law-maker, religious leader of a community, and commander of an army. His handling of the reins of temporal power were criticized by the conservative Christians who wrote for The Moslem World. They discovered in his actions at Medina evidence of his having turned away from God, his mission, and his ideals. As Broomfield commented:

The Prophet of the early days of Mecca possessed a real nobility of character and life, and he was conscious of his weakness and sinfulness. He was content to be a warner only....The loss of his humility marked the passing of his nobility of character; the growth of his pride coincided with the emergence of all that was worst in him....The hands of the Prophet of later years at Medina were slain with the blood of enemies sworn in treachery. He was guilty of great cruelty, shrank from nothing to accomplish his purpose, and gave free play to his lust.<sup>10</sup>

Foster revealed that at Medina, the first evidence is given of the Prophet having "committed positive and conscious imposture" by creating revelations to justify his actions. Buhl depicted Muhammad as developing a "sly ...cruel...dishonest...[and] pathological" nature, having "defective moral perception" being unable "to distinguish falsehood from truth" and believing that "the end justifies the means."<sup>11</sup>

These indictments by the three contributors, Broomfield, Foster, and Buhl, reflected a universal censure of Muhammad's conduct after his establishment at Medina. By and large, however, the above quotations were

relatively mild in their denunciation of the Prophet. It was only in contrasting the character and life of Muhammad to that of Jesus, that the Journal's Christian writers were able to find full expression for their abhorrence of the Prophet's character and its supposed effect on his followers.

#### Muhammad Compared to Jesus

Christian contributors to The Moslem World, in their re-interpretation of Islam, were forced to confront the role of pre-eminence accorded Muhammad over Jesus. To the evangelist, conversion to Christianity required accepting Jesus as one's personal saviour. This was, however, considered an impossibility so long as Muslims continued to view Muhammad, and not Christ, as their religious authority. Thus it was believed that, as a pre-requisite to conversion, Muslims must be re-educated as to the life, character and teachings of the two men in the light of Christian understanding.

The principal beneficiaries of a Christian interpretation of Jesus and Muhammad were the Mission workers who sought material with which to denigrate popular Islamic image of the Prophet while simultaneously rectifying the lesser stature accorded the Christ.

Muhammad was considered to be as much the cornerstone of Islam as Christ was to Christianity:

It is no more possible to understand Islam apart from Mohammed than it is possible to understand Christianity apart from Christ. What was best in the personal character of Mohammed is reflected in what is best in Islam, while the less pleasing features of that religion had their origin in its founder.<sup>12</sup>

The common assumption, held by the Journal's writers, was that the exposure of Muhammad's character defects and weaknesses would hasten the dissolution of Islam.

Muslims, once exposed to the relative power and truth behind the two religious leaders, as exemplified in their lives, their works and their teachings, were expected to reject their faith and turn to Christ.

The Moslem World's editor, Samuel Zwemer, unequivocally stated his belief that Jesus and not Muhammad represented the ideal:

'It pleased the Father' that in Jesus Christ 'all fullness should dwell', not in Mohammed. 'In Him are hid all treasures of wisdom and knowledge'; not in Mohammed. 'He is the Way, the Truth and the Life': not Mohammed. This is an issue which cannot be avoided.<sup>13</sup>

For Zwemer, Islam was destined to fail at all levels, for its denial of the ultimate truth as expressed through Christ's life:

The failure of Islam is the failure to give Christ his rightful place in history and theology, in the heart and in the home, in the social program, in the idea of the state, but most of all as our personal Saviour from sin and as the only, the final ideal of character and its recreation.<sup>14</sup>

To the Editor, the superiority of Christ, as exemplified in Christianity, was so real that Islam to exist must do so only in relation to Christianity. That which was unique to Islam was unique only by it being distinctive to the Christian faith. Thus Islam's existence had substance due only to its anti-Christian posture:

Islam thrives only by its denial of the authority of the Holy Trinity, the cruciality and significance of the Cross, and the pre-eminence of Jesus Christ as King and Saviour. And this denial is accompanied by the assertion of the authority of another book the Koran, the eclipse of Christ's glory by another prophet, even Mohammed, and the substitution of another path to holiness and forgiveness than the way of the Cross.<sup>15</sup>

Zwemer was not the sole writer to denounce Muhammad and Islam for failing to live up to the ideals set by Christ. Foster, in "Mohammed's Evangel", contended that specific 'defects' existed in Muhammad's teachings that were discernable to "every Christian thinker." Zwemer continued:

He did not rise to Christian ideals of knowledge and growth, the main reason for which was his defective idea of God himself.<sup>16</sup>

Muhammad's allegedly 'defective idea of God' dismayed Foster insofar as the image of God portrayed in the Qur'an, differed from the Biblical interpretation subscribed to within the Evangelical Community.

Jesus and Muhammad were often compared on their respective comportment in dealing with moral issues. The

values they exemplified were considered of utmost importance for the effect they had on their respective religious communities. Perceived weaknesses in moral judgement, on the part of either of the two, it was believed, could be traced throughout the history of the respective faith to provide evidence not only of its continued existence in the present, but proof of the founder's lack of suitability as a role model. As will be seen, however, it was Muhammad and not Jesus who was considered to have a weak moral character.

The principal argument used by the Journal's more conservative contributors to prove the superiority of Jesus as a role-model lay in the belief that Muhammad, unlike Jesus, was prone to moral compromise. This perceived defect in the Prophet's character was considered to have had a negative effect on Islam down to the present time. W.A. Shedd argued in "The Influence of the Mohammedan Environment on the Missionary," that Islam, under Muhammad's influence, had become "a religion of moral compromise." By Muhammad's past conduct, Muslims were "forced into a permanent moral compromise with the consequent lowering of their moral standards."<sup>17</sup>

The issue of moral compromise arose from separate incidents in the lives of Jesus and Muhammad. Both were tempted yet only Muhammad succumbed to temptation. Though the two incidents share few similarities, they are



paralleled in The Moslem World as proof of Muhammad's weak character. It is against Jesus's conduct that Muhammad was judged as being unworthy of the mantle of prophethood.

In "The Kingdom of this World," H. Durr recounted the respective incidents. Three temptations were placed before Jesus: the popular movement of the people to make him King (John 6: 14, 15); the possibility of his disciples affecting his escape in the Garden of Gethsemane by fighting the Roman soldiers (John 18: 36); and, Satan's offer of the world's kingdoms (Matt. 4: 8-10). Muhammad's temptation originated with the citizens of Medina's offer of position of influence and authority within their community. Jesus declined, Muhammad accepted. The results of these two fateful decisions are subsequently evidenced in the respective paths the two faiths have followed. Jesus's Kingdom "is not of this world" Muhammad's kingdom "is of this world". Jesus' followers were peacemakers, Muhammad's fight. The challenge to lead a morally upright life is thus perceived as being greater for the Christian:

The true Prophet who came into the world refuses the worldly crown and withdraws. Mohammed lets himself be led astray, takes the kingly crown and descends to holy war. Jesus recognizes in this hour the great temptation. Mohammed sees in it the great opportunity--and seizes it.<sup>18</sup>

The resulting effect on Islam was, for Durr, evidence of an evil, more awful truth:

Here the essence of Islam is revealed: the grandiose hideous reversal of the temptation story...Jesus refuses--Mohammed accepts! Is there not perhaps in Islam something audible like a ghostly laughter out of Satanic depths.<sup>19</sup>

Durr proposed that the anti-Christ is one who would not simply oppose Christ, but attempt to supplant him:

In the place of Jesus steps Mohammed in the tradition of Islam...Feature and feature of the biblical Jesus is transferred to Mohammed. Herein the secularized theocracy attains its hideous, demonic culmination.<sup>20</sup>

The belief that Muhammad was in consort with Satan was a theory expounded by a number of The Moslem World's contributors. Mrs. Gordon Logan theorized that the Muslims' ignorance of Christ was not by happenstance, but a direct effect of the influence exerted by "the powers of darkness behind the founder of Islam." Broomfield, in his "The Psychology of Mohammed," concluded that the evidence provided by the Qur'an of the Prophet's life in Medina "revealed the descent of his soul." While E.J. Jenkinson, investigating the source of "The Moslem Anti-Christ Legend," concluded without any attempt at prior substantiation, that the possibility existed that the Muslims' anti-Christ was actually their own prophet. Of the anti-Christ, he stated:

not a few Christian divines have identified the gentleman in question with either the Prophet himself or with Islam in general, and can we say that they were entirely mistaken?<sup>21</sup>

Returning to Durr's argument, Stephan van Rensselaer Trowbridge, in "Mohammed's View of Religious War," argued

that the Prophet's willingness to use force to establish his kingdom was in sharp contrast to Jesus's refusal to resort to violence. This fundamental principle, he reasoned, was that by which the two faiths defined themselves for "ultimately the followers of each religion must be guided by their leaders". The evidence may be witnessed in the Balkan struggle where the "carnage" the author directly attributes "to the personal example and the opinions of Mohammed [which] have reproduced themselves in thousands of his followers today." Drawing upon fanciful imagery Trowbridge portrayed a battlefield in which the worst aspects of Muhammad and the best of Jesus are juxtaposed against the fighting.

I imagine Mohammed on the battlefield...  
swinging the sword which he won from the plunder  
of Bedr, inspiring the ranks of Turks to dash  
into the fray promising them the joys of  
paradise if they fall in the thick of conflict!  
I imagine Christ with arms outstretched ... His  
great compassionate heart rent with pity,  
stooping now to give a draught of water to a  
dying Bulgar and now to staunch the wounds of a  
fallen Turk, pleading with the bloodstained  
antagonists to govern their passions and be  
reconciled to one another as children of God.<sup>22</sup>

The Moslem World's contributors believed that Muhammad and Jesus could, and should, be compared for their influence on their respective communities. If Islam's 'warlike' nature originated in its founder, then the conditions in the home must equally reflect Muhammad's character. Similarly, Jesus's influence in the Christian home must reflect his suitability as a role model.

Zwemer's estimation of the two left little doubt as to his personal preference, Jesus, he argued, had a "spotless character....His life was in God, his principles are super-human." Muhammad, he dismissed, as having had a "demoralizing" effect on the community at Medina.<sup>23</sup>

Trowbridge argued that the children bore the greatest consequence of these two men's lives:

Their [Muslim children] only thought of truth has its ultimate source in Mohammed's complex self-consciousness--a marvelous blend of prophetic illumination, political subtlety, and bold selfish falsehood....

Our children instinctively understand the stainlessness of His [Jesus's] life; they love to hear about His compassion, His forgiveness, His dauntless courage, His wonderful insight, His utter devotion to the truth.

Mohammed never took a little child and set him in the midst....Mohammed never revealed the Fatherhood of God.... Mohammed could not summon the children to see in him the life of the Father, because his heart and hand had countless time boldly sinned against the laws of God. But Jesus gathers the children about him.<sup>24</sup>

Behind Trowbridge's characterization of Muslim children as victims of Muhammad's influence and Christian children as the beneficiaries of Jesus's 'spotless character', is the persistent challenge to the reader of the necessity of leading Muslims to Christ and away from the disastrous effect of the 'Mohammedan faith'. In a similar vein, W.T. Gairdner, writing in 1928, challenged the Christian to rectify the false understanding of the religion's two founders, as held by the Muslim:

Can we allow the impression to rest with Moslems that strength is with Mohammed, the impetuous vacillating victim of his own lust for power and for women, rather than with the Jesus of the Gospels whose purity, endurance and courage never faltered.<sup>25</sup>

Both Trowbridge and Gairdner reflect in their statements the belief held by the majority of the Journal's Evangelists, that Muslims followed Muhammad due only to their ignorance of the 'spotless character' and saving grace found in Christ. Once the truth, heretofore held only by Christians had been revealed to them, Muhammad's influence would be replaced by Christ's and the social and moral inequalities of the Muslim's world would dissolve along with his religion.

The Moslem World's portrayal of Muhammad extended, however, beyond points of contrast and comparisons with Christ, to include negative appraisals of the Prophet's personal life and psychological motivation, principally although not exclusively, during his life in Medina. These assessments of Muhammad's life and character varied from author to author with the extent and form of vituperation seemingly dependent on the writer's personal abhorrence of the Prophet's lifestyle.

Zwemer quoting Doughty's character sketch of the Prophet in Arabia Deserta, recognized in Muhammad a "barbaric ignorance" coupled with a "slight and murderous cruelty."<sup>26</sup>

Buhl attempted to explain Muhammad's "peculiar attacks," which coincided with his revelations, as revealing a "pathological condition" which "betrayed an hysterical nature," the effect on his personality being the "complete inability to distinguish falsehood from truth."<sup>27</sup> Arthur Jeffrey in his "Quest of the Historical Mohammed" addressed this question of Muhammad's "strange fits" by quoting from Margoliouth's Muhammad:

The notion...that he was subject to epilepsy finds curious confirmation in the notices recorded of his experiences during the process of revelation--the importance of which is not lessened by the probability that the symptoms were often artificially produced.<sup>28</sup>

Margoliouth was praised by Jeffrey as one of four scholars "who are most familiar with Arabic sources and have got the closest to an understanding of the life of the period."<sup>29</sup> Thus it is understandable, in his search for the historical Muhammad, that Archer quoted extensively from Margoliouth in his effort to create an accurate portrait of the Prophet:

In order to gain his ends he recoils from no expedient, and he approves of similar unscrupulousness on the part of his adherents, when exercised in his interest....He organizes assassinations and wholesale massacres. His career as a tyrant of Medina is that of a robber chief...He is himself an unbridled libertine and encourages the same passion in his followers. For whatever he does he is prepared to plead the express authorization of the deity. It is, however, impossible to find any doctrine which he is not prepared to abandon in order to secure a political end.<sup>30</sup>

Margoliouth's indictment was not dissimilar to Gairdner's, who, in his "Mohammed without Camouflage," portrayed the Prophet as having advocated: rape, execution-en-mass, the slaughter of prisoners, the deportation of defenseless peoples, government by assassination, and forced conversion.<sup>31</sup>

Attempting to divine Muhammad's reasons for instigating raids on Meccan caravans, Foster, ignoring the common tribal practices of the day and the economic realities facing the Muslim community at Medina,<sup>32</sup> theorized that the Prophet, by his actions, revealed deeper passions of "resentment, hate and ambition," which were fuelled by the "bitterness of exile" and "feeling of outrage" he experienced in his being forced to flee Mecca.<sup>33</sup>

Worthington Jukes argued in his 1927 article, "Islam and Moslem," that though Muhammad instituted the new faith his practice of avarice, "war, atrocious murders and assassinations...took all life away from the original spirituality of the movement." Jukes contended that Muhammad's negative influence on the new faith was so great that it did not deserve to be called Islam [that is, submission to the will of God]. It was to Christianity that the ideals expressed in the word 'Islam' were most relevant. Thus, argued Jukes, Islam "is a name far more worthy of Christianity and might well be used as a synonym

for it" likewise Muslim might be used as a synonym for Christian.<sup>34</sup>

Jukes's interpretation, defining Islam as an inferior faith, lacking spirituality due to Muhammad's conduct, may be seen as a microcosm of the view of Islam and Muhammad, as expressed in the pages of The Moslem World. Under Zwemer's editorship Islam was depicted as lacking the spiritual values inherent to Christianity. Islam's choice of a holy book, its theology, and, most importantly, its relationship to Christ were recognized as a reflection of the imperfect life led by Muhammad as expressed through his life, beliefs, and teachings.

In exploring Islam's nascent stage, the Journal viewed Muhammad's new faith as a latter day attempt to emulate what he understood to be the tenets of the Christian religion. Later, as the faith grew and Muhammad exerted a greater influence on its development, Islam came to be recognized as more closely reflecting the Prophet's own unique character, replete with his strengths and weaknesses. As Christianity was the standard by which Conservative Christians chose to measure other faiths, so too was Christ the standard by which the founders of all other religions were judged. Thus Muhammad, portrayed as the religious exemplar of Islam, was juxtaposed against the Christian ideal of a religious founder, exemplified and personified in the image of the Christ.



The Moslem World's contributors' efforts to understand and objectively portray Islam, through an overview and analysis of Muhammad's life, at times appeared to conflict with the stated desire to provide missionaries with material that would denigrate the reputation of Muhammad. Despite Zwemer's attestations to the Journal's 'scientific' methodology, an inordinate amount of attention was devoted to informing the Review's readers as to the manner and methods by which Muhammad deviated from the 'one truth path,' pioneered by Jesus and advocated by the Evangelists who contributed to the Journal. In instances where the Qur'an differed from the Bible, Islamic teaching differed from Christian teachings, or a Muslim's conduct was seen to be a variance with a Christian's, the fault was identified as originating with Muhammad.

Muhammad was portrayed in The Moslem World as a man, as distinct from Jesus who exhibited a divine nature, complete with the limitations and fallibilities found in all men. He was viewed as a false prophet, preaching a perverted doctrine, while living a life of duplicity and hypocrisy. The motivating factor for his personal conduct was a matter of much speculation by the Journal's Christian contributors, who recognized in his actions either an ill-informed, misguided but well intentioned

dreamer, or an evil villain who would stop at nothing to achieve his earthly goals.

The latter assessment of the Prophet was more often used in interpreting Muhammad's life, in his years at Medina when he was portrayed almost exclusively as being governed and motivated by the basest of human instincts.

The inclination of the Journal's contributors to search within Muhammad's life for clues to understanding Islam, was common within all aspects of the faith. Morally, ethically, socially, and militaristically Muhammad was identified as either the originator or source of most of what was unique to Islam and foreign to Christianity. This will be borne out in the following chapter which will investigate The Moslem World's portrayal of Islam as a religion of hate and war, a community of social evils, and a faith morally and ethically bankrupt.

## Chapter 5

### THE MOSLEM WORLD'S PORTRAYAL OF ISLAMIC SOCIETY

The erroneous teachings, false revelations and corrupt lifestyle which Muhammad was depicted as introducing to his followers, was deemed, in The Moslem World, to have become fully ingrained in the Muslim's moral and ethical value system by the twentieth century. The Journal's contributors portrayed a contemporary Islam whose basic tenets, teachings, and long tradition had created a loveless society steeped in degradation, moral laxity, hatred and violence. The effect of this condition was most keenly witnessed, and duly reported on, in the home life of the Muslim family, in particular the women and children's supposed plight, and in the Muslim's relationship to the Christian West.

An inordinate amount of attention was directed in the pages of The Moslem World towards: deciphering the source of the problem, invariably perceived as a by-product of some aspect of Islam's deficiencies; the solution, ranging from a stronger Christian influence to wholesale conversion; and, identifying the primary victims of the situation, the children.

The Source and Solution to  
Islam's Alleged Moral Deficiencies

The problem of Islam's perceived moral collapse was estimated to have arisen from several different sources, although the majority were considered to have originated from within, reflecting imperfections in the Muslim faith. Zwemer and Herrick were among those Christian writers in The Moslem World who, in their interpretation of the Qur'an, thought that it legalized and encouraged loose moral standards. By its stand on divorce, polygamy, and concubinage, the two authors believed that the Qur'an failed to establish sufficiently high moral criteria. Zwemer held the view that in the Qur'an, "unpremeditated lapses from virtue were judged too leniently."<sup>1</sup> Herrick opined that the Qur'an had failed to help mankind develop "moral stamina," furthermore by categorizing sin not as a "guilt but as a weakness" it allowed the penitent to escape without retribution.<sup>2</sup>

Zwemer, however, did not limit his criticism to what he considered to be the present intolerable situation, to the Qur'an. The Journal's Editor argued that the present difficulties arose in part due to the contemporary Muslim's overemphasis on the life of the Prophet, rather than on his prophetic precepts revealed in the early days at Mecca. Quoting T.J. DeBoer, Zwemer identified the

present problem as arising from the Muslim's current predilection with the Prophet's life in Medina, "when his love was given mainly to women, and the object of his hate and greed were the unbeliever and his possessions."<sup>3</sup> Zwemer subsequently concluded that the resulting effect on twentieth century Islam is, "that the great bulk of its moral precepts bear an external and commercial character."<sup>4</sup>

Though both Muhammad and the Qur'an were portrayed as central to Islam's moral decline, they were not the only factors recognized as such in the pages of The Moslem World. Durr and Moorhatch suggested alternative derivations. In his article, "The Kingdom of this World," H. Durr opined that overdependence on Islamic law had caused Divine revelation and the Sharià to become as one, thus making ethics, "no longer a matter of faith but of jurisprudence."<sup>5</sup> Abraham Moorhatch in his, "Islam for Christ," argued that the roots of the problem pre-dated Muhammad. Recognizing a "perverted Christianity and Judaism," which he believed existed in seventh century Arabia, and served as a guide for the Prophet's new faith, Moorhatch concluded:

We all know well that if, when the Arabian prophet appeared, Christianity had been what it should have been there would have been no room for Islam in this world.<sup>6</sup>

Although the views expressed by the Journal's contributors varied as to the cause of Islam's alleged

decline, all were as one in identifying the solution. By conversion to Christianity and the subsequent adoption of Christian values and practices the Muslim could be saved, though by default Islam would wither and die.

To the Journal's contributors, the benefits of a Christian life were self-evident, not to be debated but viewed and accepted as fact. Comparisons between the lives of the adherents on both faiths witnessed to Christianity's success and Islam's failure. Thus Holliday could state with certitude:

We search in vain for instances of a Moslem who is happy as a true Christian is happy, or good as such a one is good.<sup>7</sup>

To the Quarterly Review, however, the possibility of Muslims independently reversing their perceived decline and achieving the peace of mind described by Holliday was remote. The solution was viewed as lying solely through Christian intervention, left to their own devices Muslims were considered unable to effect a change spiritually and morally. Writing in this vein, Karl Meinhof argued that only the Gospel could introduce Muslims to the , "message of peace and freedom...[for] these people have no real spiritual refreshment no means of moral progress."<sup>8</sup> This statement, coupled with Zwemer's assertion that "Islam has atrophied certain areas of the mind of men,"<sup>9</sup> aided in legitimizing the popular view amongst the Journal's

contributors, that Islam was in dire need of active Christian intervention.

Not solely for lacking the means, however, was Islam considered unable to achieve the moral and spiritual progress, that the Journal's writers envisioned as a natural by-product of a Christian environment. Islam was thought to abjure and resist actively any incursion by the West and its religious and cultural trappings. Thus Zwemer could state:

Islam is not a religion compatible with civilization, it is emphatically the bitter enemy of Frankish culture.<sup>10</sup>

Abraham Moorhatch, writing six years after Zwemer, supported his pessimistic appraisal of the situation within Islam vis-a-vis the West:

To anyone who is acquainted with the foundations of Islam, it is clear that Islam is opposed to progress, civilization, equality and freedom and will never accept the advances made by the intellect and civilization.<sup>11</sup>

The Moslem World's View of Races and Religions Alien to the Christian West

The Journal's contention that Islam rejected any incursion by the West, be it religious or cultural, reflected the assumption that religious conversion was virtually synonymous with 'Western' conversion and the subsequent transformation of Islamic society,

educationally, culturally, politically, and economically. Within the pages of The Moslem World, Protestant Triumphalism was recognized as more than simply a religious movement, it was persistently represented as a social and political movement as well, avowed to 'Westernize' and 'civilize' all races and religions existing outside of the Christian sphere. Into the twentieth century the expansion of Christianity had introduced, if not paralleled, the spread of Western concepts in the fields of education, economics, and social justice, often militarily supported. This cultural colonialism was partially justified by the belief that non-Caucasian, non-Christian peoples were somehow inherently inferior to their Western counterparts and thereby subject, in the natural order of things, to the paternalistic control of Westerners and the nations they represented.

Following the balkanization of the Ottoman Empire, much of the Muslim world fell under the jurisdiction of the Christian West. Many in the West interpreted this new evidence of military superiority as a corroboration of their belief that it was the Christian's manifest destiny to exert an influence over the non-Christian world. Prior to the First World War, Zwemer had already written in The Moslem World of the responsibility shared by Christian nations in controlling the affairs of lesser nations.



"Missions," he stated, have "the first place in the acknowledged trusteeship of European nations over inferior nations."<sup>12</sup>

Writing nineteen years after Zwemer, Dr. Margoliouth, in his "To the British Reader," encouraged British voters to inform themselves of the varied aspects of Islam, so that through political pressure at home they could ensure the rights of the minority in Muslim lands. Margoliouth did not suggest that the belief that British citizens should have the right to influence the internal policies of another nation was inconsistent with the Journal's assertion of democracy as an integral coefficient of both Christianity and civilization.<sup>13</sup>

Statistics available following the First World War offer little evidence to suggest that the dream of Christian trusteeship, over the non-Christian world, was very far from becoming a reality. By the early 1920's, a full 71% of the world's Muslims lived in British, French or Dutch possessions; the largest share belonging to Britain with 103,000,000 Muslims; 44% of the world's total, living in British protectorates.<sup>14</sup>

The Moslem World provided evidence of a strong belief within Europe and North America of the inherent inferiority of those who, by their religious and racial backgrounds, differed from the predominately Caucasian Christians of the West. Through attacks on Muhammad,

Muslims, and potential converts to Islam, the Journal defined non-Caucasian, non-Christian peoples as lacking the honesty, fortitude, consistency, inner strength and moral fiber that its writers assumed to be synonymous with the West. Written in a condescending manner, these attacks were invariably unaccompanied by any supporting evidence or concrete examples. Thus in discussing the respective relationships held by Christians and Muslims towards the Cross, Gairdner was able to state, "To the Moslem as to the carnal Jew, the cross is a blasphemy."<sup>15</sup>

To Gairdner's argument, the expression 'carnal Jew' was completely irrelevant, relating neither to the point being discussed nor to the article as a whole. The article, "Values in Christianity," dealt exclusively with Muslims, Christians and their respective values, neither Jews nor Judaism were ever mentioned except for the above interjection by the author. Gairdner did not attempt to explain why, on this one point, he chose to include Jews with Muslims, nor did he attempt to elucidate either on what makes a Jew 'carnal' or where a Jew who is not 'carnal' stands on the issue of the Cross.

Similarly, unsubstantiated statements were provided by Shedd and Foster. Shedd, in his article "The Influence of a Mohammedan Environment on the Missionary," reported to the Journal's readers on "the proverbial mendacity of the Orient...[where] looseness in argument and inaccuracy

in statement are characteristic."<sup>16</sup> Foster in his 1932 article, "Mohammed's Evangel," reflecting on the unsteady mental capabilities of the Muslim Arab, concluded that, "consistency is not a virtue of the Semitic mind." This was followed in the same article by the revelation that, "the God of Islam is capricious, just as the Bedouin Sheik."<sup>17</sup> In a later article, Foster expanded upon his negative portrait of an Arab through his disclosure that the Muslim Arab's ability to wage war was due to "the hereditary tendencies of the Arab race."<sup>18</sup> As with Gairdner, neither Shedd nor Margoliouth provided evidence to support their assertions.

Remarks that demonstrated most clearly a prejudicial view of another race were witnessed in Gottfried Simon's, "The Religious and Civilizing Influence of Islam on the Backward Races." The theme of Simon's article was the disclosure of the Negro's supposed weakness of character and the debilitating effect Islam had on their circumstances. Simon first warned the reader that, "the coloured race is naturally endowed with a good conceit of itself." Drawing upon unidentified sources, the writer clarified the problem as the Black's slavery to their own sexual passion. A problem exacerbated by Islam's teaching on polygamy:<sup>19</sup>

Even outside missionary circles it is acknowledged that the Negro's deliverance from polygamy is a fundamental problem of civilization. Only when that is solved will the

male negro really turn to field labour; and the Negro's deliverance from the fetters of brutal sensuality, that great sexual problem of the black race, is only to be brought about by monogamy.<sup>20</sup>

Although Simon's analysis of the situation was extreme, in its detrimental depiction of another race, the solutions he presented were consistent with those found throughout The Moslem World; Christian conversion as the panacea for the ills foisted on the world by Islam. Simon juxtaposed Christian monogamy against Islamic polygamy, the former civilized and elevated, preparing the convert for a life of productive service, the latter lowered and limited one's potential, legitimizing moral depravity.

The Moslem World persistently maintained that only through the introduction of Christianity and Western civilization, often paternalistically administered, as recognized by Orr and alluded to by Margoliouth, could 'inferior Nations' and their inhabitants be saved and civilized. A blueprint for such an endeavour, the changing of a Muslim society into a Christian society, was presented by Karl Meinhof in his 1911 article "A Plea for Missionary Work among the Moslems of Central Africa." Meinhof argued that the best method for introducing the Muslim to Christian civilization lay in exposing Muslims to the more materially advanced aspects of the Western world. Meinhof wrote that the existence of railways, steamships and telegraphs had already "quickenened the wish

for Western learning," amongst Muslims. The key to transforming these Muslims into more apt students for the lessons taught by the West, the author believed, lay through the teaching of European languages. Once conversant in European languages, Muslims could be exposed to "literature of a wholesome and elevating character." The final stage, Meinhof envisioned, as the establishment of European workshops, managed by Europeans, which would reveal to Muslims, "an educational activity which will show to great advantage compared to the Koran schools of the Arabs."<sup>21</sup>

The vision of Western civilization, as integrated and interrelated with the Christian faith, was evidenced in the spirit of Protestant Triumphalism which swept through Europe and North America in the first decades of the twentieth century, helped spawn The Moslem World, and revealed itself in the missionary efforts and writings of the time. Within the Journal, however, it served to legitimize views that denigrated those whose racial and religious backgrounds were neither European nor Christian and provided a forum for the belief that only through the direct involvement of Westerners could these peoples' lives be resurrected--a belief that was also evidenced in the Christian's evaluation and interpretation of the Muslim's world.

The Alleged Moral and Ethical Deficiencies  
of Islam as Evidenced in the Muslim Home

In the pages of The Moslem World adherents to Islam were portrayed as lacking the sufficiently high moral and ethical standards necessary for the establishment of a 'civilized' society. Inferior living conditions, political uncertainties, and economic restraints would, in any society, regardless of the level of 'civilization' it enjoyed, contribute to an unstable and precarious environment for its citizens. Yet only rarely did the Journal suggest that the ills inherent in Muslim society originate outside the teachings of the Islamic faith. These moral and ethical deficiencies were understood by the Review's contributors to have affected the whole of Muslim society, yet to have manifested itself most clearly in the debilitated conditions of the Muslim family. The Moslem World's contributors focussed their criticisms of the moral and ethical deficiencies of Islam, on the contemporary Muslim's home and specifically on those members of the family who the Christian West perceived as its greatest and most innocent victims, the children and women of Islam.

In reporting on the conditions experienced by Muslim children, the Journal's writers drew upon colourful imagery, impassioned rhetoric, and horrific details to

portray their plight. Thus Zwemer, writing from a Christian perspective, was able to portray compassionately the difficulties faced by Islam's 80 million children in a style capable of evoking an emotional response on the part of the reader:

No indictment of Islam could be stronger than the present condition of 80 million Muslim children, physically, intellectually, and morally. Not to speak of the astonishing and compulsory illiteracy that prevails and of the incredible percentage of infant mortality due to the ignorance of their mothers, these children are born into a world of superstition and ignorance, robbed of their childhood by sex education in its worst form, burdened with the responsibility of marriage when still in their teens, until their cry is a plea none can resist. From Tangiers to Teheran, from Zanzibar to Samarkand it rises to the ears of Him who said, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me'.<sup>22</sup>

Practicing a similar rhetoric, Buchanan, in his article "The Children of the Street", portrayed a loveless home, bereft of sensitivity and caring, with little positive interaction between child and parent. The accuracy of Buchanan's depiction of a Muslim child's home life was, however, suspect, for as he admits, his information was derived not through direct observation, but from a tale recounted by an unidentified Christian woman. Nonetheless, his lack of first hand knowledge did not inhibit his ability to paint a vivid and emotionally charged image of the struggle to survive in a Muslim home:

They snatch a bit of food here and there from the garbage receptacles or anywhere they can get it...their home consists of a windowless

dirty room in which one whole family is crowded. Even in the case of these children where the father or brother may earn a fairly good salary, the children are given some food, a place to put their uncombed heads at night, a sort of garment to cover them but--no care.

From morning to night no one asks about them. It is a common sight to see a little girl of six or seven looking after a baby or two or three small children. Joyous laughter is seldom heard from her lips for lack of nourishing food and good healthy sleep and an appalling knowledge of evil have taken away all child life.<sup>23</sup>

Though the conditions which Buchanan described were appalling, his account of the life of a homeless Muslim child was even more horrifically detailed. Commenting specifically on the homeless children of Cairo, he identified Islamic laws governing divorce as the source of their plight. Buchanan argued that the ease by which divorce may be obtained led to too many broken homes, the result being:

...a city of neglected children--children with a knowledge of the unspeakable, even in their tender years--children that have no sense of morality....Creatures of cruel circumstances, homeless, disease stricken, verminous, wretched beyond description, imbibing from infancy only the knowledge of that which is evil.<sup>24</sup>

In both quotations, Buchanan made reference to the 'evil' to which Muslim children were exposed. In neither instances, however, did he qualify the 'evil' or inform the reader just what manner of depravity he was attributing to the Muslim home life. Zwemer's statement left the reader to conclude that Muslim children were, at



a young age, either exposed to, or involved in, some form of sexual activity. Yet neither Zwemer nor Buchanan attempted to provide either details or corroborating evidence to support their allegations. In this the two authors joined with their colleagues, who were quick to recognize the Moslem home as the repository for the most heinous sins, yet failed to identify that which Buchanan aptly termed, "the unspeakable." In the rare cases in which the Journal's contributors recognized and clearly identified the sin it was invariably of a milder nature. An example of this treatment may be found in Trowbridge's, "Islam's Greatest Failure."

Trowbridge, in an effort to provide evidence of the forms of immorality practiced before children in a Muslim home, drew upon the writings of two missionaries: Rev. Jessop of Persia and Mr. Purdon of North Africa. Jessop stated that in the company of their elders, children in wealthier homes were "exposed to coarse and impure language and degrading suggestions," while in poorer homes, he accounted common sleeping arrangements for making "childhood innocence and ignorance of evil impossible."<sup>25</sup> The sole 'evil' which the reader was specifically able to identify from Jessop was the common usage of foul language, the writer's allusions to the loss of 'childhood innocence, degrading suggestions' and a knowledge of 'evil' were quite vague and invited the

reader's imagination to provide the details. Conversely, Purdon was quite precise in identifying specific sins though, as in similar instances, the 'evils' described were relatively innocuous compared to those hinted at by Zwemer, Buchanan and Jessop:

In Tunis the child is taught to lie, is encouraged to use obscene language in play because it sounds amusing, is educated to despise all non-Muslim people....[In Egypt] there is no real homelife, no desire to instill principles of right and wrong, or to educate the conscience.<sup>26</sup>

In an effort to emphasize the role the respective religions played in influencing the child's home environment, Trowbridge painted an idealized image of the Christian child's home life, which was as pure and idyllic as a Muslim child's was decadent and depraved:

We begin to realize the powerful and tender influence of Christ in our homes. Our children instinctively understand the stainlessness of His life; they love to hear about His compassion, His forgiveness, His dauntless courage, His wonderful insight, His utter devotion to the truth. Day by day they grow to feel a sense of personal loyalty and they wish to please Him in their daily behaviour. What beautiful simple prayers are offered in homes every night for just this reproduction of the Christ-life. And how profoundly lacking is such a contact with God in Moslem families.<sup>27</sup>

Trowbridge's idealized Christian home was not, however, the strict antithesis of the Muslim home portrayed by Zwemer, Buchanan, Jessop et al. Trowbridge's portrait ignored the social, cultural, and economic differences that exist between East and West, and play a

significant role in shaping a child's environment, to focus exclusively on the Christian child's personal religious development. The writers, who portrayed the Muslim child's home life, however, seldom differed in their depiction of an existence clearly affected by poverty and local cultural mores. Conversely, however, in their conclusions and proffered solution, they ignored these influences to focus almost solely on religious factors for the disparity between the two cultures. Thus many economic, cultural and social realities were ignored in juxtaposing Islam with Christianity.

For example, the reader was left to surmise the extent to which the Christian child's idealized home life, as depicted by Trowbridge, could be recreated in an alien, economically disadvantaged culture solely through conversion to the Christian faith. Similarly, in response to Jessop's concern with Muslim sleeping arrangements in the poorer homes, the question was left unanswered as to whether the conditions alluded to were either religiously, economically, and/or culturally motivated, and whether they would continue to exist without changes being effected in all three areas.

The primary solution, most often recommended by the Journal's contributors, to the immorality that beset Muslim children in their homes and their communities, was the meeting of their perceived religious needs through the

introduction of Christian teachings into their young lives. True to this argument, Trowbridge ignored either direct financial aid to the children's families or economic assistance to the community as a whole as possible solutions for bettering the social conditions in Muslim lands. Instead, he advocated the establishment of "emergency Sunday Schools" in the streets of the cities to reach the children.<sup>28</sup> The value of a Christian education presented in such an unorthodox manner, was recognized by Buchanan who wrote of the presence of such schools and of their potential to change children's lives. Although in a practical vein, he recommended the parallel step of establishing mission schools and hospital clinics to serve the long and short-term needs of the poor better.

The strong belief, within the Christian community, that a Christian education had the power to liberate and civilize a society, was recognized by Annie Woodman Stocking in her "Education and Evangelization in Persia":

Everyone readily admits the immense service rendered the community by a Christian school, in overcoming fanaticism and prejudice, in civilizing and uplifting the people, in making friends for the cause of Christ, and the ultimate triumph of religious liberty.<sup>29</sup>

The diametrically opposing nature of Islam to Christianity, as interpreted by the Evangelical Christian community, manifested itself in the pages of The Moslem World through the creation of a series of scenarios whereby that which was good and positive in Christianity

encountered a contrasting evil and negative force in Islam. Thereby Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour, the Pacifist came to be opposed by Muhammad, the anti-Christ, the false Prophet, the Warrior. Similarly, that which was perceived as the most positive influence in the Muslim children's lives, the intermediary and hope for their future, the Christian missionary, encountered a contrasting force of evil, personified as the teacher of Islam.

Trowbridge introduced the teacher of Islam, the antithesis of the Christian missionary, in the image of the anti-Christ, the false prophet, who, through seemingly beguiling and pure taught a false and corrupting doctrine:

To the left stands a tall white figure with outstretched arms--a travelling preacher of Islam. And sitting in front looking up at him with eagerness, reverence, assent on every face are a score of native boys.

And instead of being led into light they are led into the darkness with a flicker of the will o' the wisp of imitation truth to lure them on. Instead of bread they are being given a stone - a scorpion rather for bitter lies in the message of their teacher, poison against all that we hold most dear.<sup>30</sup>

Just as children were perceived as innocent victims in an allegedly evil and repressive society, so too were the Muslim women. Unlike the case of their children, however, far less attention and an almost complete absence of concrete examples existed in the pages of The Moslem World to record their plight. Two reasons may exist for

the comparatively minimal amount of space devoted to the condition of Muslim women. First, the greater percentage of males, who worked in the mission field and contributed to the Journal, were by their gender undoubtedly severely restricted in their access to the more secluded women of Islam. Second, Muslim women, unlike their male counterparts, were probably considered as adults to have already been too conditioned by their society to be open to conversion. Thus it is not surprising that Zwemer, who lived and worked amongst Muslims for several decades, resorted to stories over a millennium old to account for the respective contemporary images of women in Muslim and Christian societies.

Zwemer, one of the few contributors to The Moslem World to attempt an analysis of the condition of Muslim women, argued that a study of the tales from A Thousand and One Nights, and King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table would reveal the respective images of womanhood existent in the Islamic East and the Christian West. The former, Zwemer argued, revealed women in Islam as, "suspected, dishonoured, untrustworthy and chiefly celebrated for her lower passions," of the Western text he opined, "her purity and strength of character stand out as examples of moral greatness."<sup>31</sup>

The validity of such a broad statement may be challenged on more than the age of the texts which by

itself brings into question their relative value today. The Muslim origin of the text and thereby its value as an instrument to measure the Islamic view of women, were questioned by Philip Hitti, who dismissed One Thousand and One Nights, as a compilation of tales from various story tellers and cultures, being, "Indian, Greek, Hebrew, Egyptian and Oriental tales of every description." As a possible statement of contemporary Eastern beliefs he rejected the text as being "far more popular in the West than in the East."<sup>32</sup>

Criticisms of Islam's treatment of women were often directed, not towards the varying cultures which adopted Islam in its first century of expansion, but to specific teachings in the Qur'an. Direct quotations from passages which confirmed the rights of women, the protection of women by her family and the community, and the acknowledgement of women's equality, with the male before God, were rarely quoted in the Journal. Instead criticisms directed towards the Qur'an centered upon injunctions either advocating or failing to condemn polygamy, divorce, concubinage and slavery. The extent to which these practices varied from country to country and from region to region, indicated the lack of uniformity in interpreting the Qur'an and the presence of local, cultural and historical factors, which combined to indicate that the source of women's present condition

exists beyond the responsibility of Islam's holy book. The Journal, however, did not refer to these possibilities and thus Zwemer citing Gottfried Simon was able to declare with confidence that African and Malaysian missionaries were "unanimous" in their view that:

The position of the Moslem women is lower than that of the heathen...[and similarly] Moslem family life is below the level of that of the heathen.<sup>33</sup>

The Moslem World frequently portrayed Islamic males as womanizers and liars who followed as their role model a prophet who, especially in his years in Medina, was considered to exhibit a morally degenerative nature. Lapses from their morally corrupt lives were considered rare and yet when they were discovered, they were reported as providing proof of a Christian influence upon their lives. This argument was used by C. Mylrea in his article, "Points of Contact or of Contrast," in which he revealed to the reader that mutual trust was a rare commodity in non-Christian countries, yet when discovered its existence indicated evidence of "Christian civilization." To support this statement Mylrea recounted the formation of the first steamship company in Arabia, in which all the stockholders were "Mohammedan," and concluded that, "such action is the result of a Christian influence."<sup>34</sup> This deduction was drawn without any further supporting evidence and as such primarily reflected the author's supposition. The probability that



a people, the majority of those whose Muslim ancestors lived in the desert under the harshest conditions for over 1200 years, would be able not only to survive, but flourish without mutual trust, the very basis for tribal loyalty, was not a concept entertained by Mylrea.

A parallel assumption to Mylrea's, was drawn by Zwemer from his personal observation that progress in Muslim Turkey, prior to the First World War, arose from the arousal of the people by local missionaries. This belief by Zwemer provided him with sufficient proof to manufacture the circular argument that:

Christianity has had a major part in helping the non-Christian world to live and to treat others in a more Christ-like spirit.<sup>35</sup>

Zwemer's statement epitomised the Christian belief, pervading the pages of The Moslem World, that Christianity was the sole vehicle by which moral and ethical advancement, progress in Muslim society, and the introduction of Christianity throughout the world could be transmitted. Moreover, the Journal advanced Christianity as the primary basis for human interaction in the home, society, and between nations. The last concept was evident to the Journal's readers who were exposed to an Islam in which hatred and violence were as integral as love and peace were to Christianity.

The Moslem World's Perception  
of Islam as a Religion of Hatred and Violence

Islam, 'the only anti-Christian religion,' was deemed to exhibit properties which directly contrasted it to the religion of Christianity. As peace and love were considered by the Journal's writers to be the message of the New Testament so too were hatred and violence considered to be the message of the Qur'an. Support for this belief was evidenced from the West's interpretation of their interaction with Islam over the previous 1200 years. The encroachments of Islam on Europe were often instigated and subsequently resisted through violent conflict, however, religious dissimilarities could rarely be considered the primary motives for such a recourse. Although religion may often have served as a factor in the conflicts, most often one side's causes for going to war were indistinguishable from the other's.

Islam, 'the only anti-Christian religion,' was deemed by the Journal's contributors to, in virtually all instances, exhibit properties which directly contrasted it to Christianity. Thus as peace, love and spiritual concerns were assumed to be synonymous with Christianity, violence, hatred, and temporal matters were judged to flow from Islam.

The Christian's justification for such a negative appraisal of Islam was seemingly warranted by the West's historical interpretation of over 1200 years of Muslim/Christian relations, a period in which dialogue was infrequent and misconceptions abounded. Although Western propaganda often suggested the tenets of the Islamic faith were a prime motivation in all East-West hostilities, conflicts were instigated equally on both sides, often for similar purposes, and featured combatants whose conduct was relatively indistinguishable. Nevertheless, The Moslem World sought justification for its thesis in the conduct of Muhammad, the Arab character, and the teachings of Islam.

The Journal's image of both Muhammad and the Arab character were discussed earlier in this study. The Quarterly Review's contributors, however, analyzed both in their search to decipher the Muslim's motivation behind their violent acts. Invariably the conclusion drawn suggested base motives to their actions. Foster's, "An Autobiography of Mohammed" revealed that the Prophet's final battle with the Meccans was fueled by the emotions of "ambition" and "resentment."<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, Zwemer in his "Islam in Arabia Deserta," quoted Doughty's claim that Muslim territorial conquests following Muhammad's death revealed, "a new greediness...for the temporal world."<sup>37</sup>

A common assumption, within Christianity, was the desire, originating with Muhammad and propagated by Islam, for world-conquest. In his 1931 article, "To the British Reader," Margoliouth warned the Journal's Christian readers that Islam's violent history reflected its founder's desire for world domination. This thinking was partially evidenced in Zwemer's assertion, following the First World War, that the next great confrontation would be between Muslim and Christian at the battle of Armageddon. Zwemer believed that world-conquest was Islam's objective and that the primacy of that goal affected Muslims' relationships with non-Muslims. In "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali," Zwemer quoted with approval Rev. C.C. Adams who argued that all Muslims were required to maintain the authority of Islam in any country under Muslim rule. Moreover, Muslims were enjoined to be neither "peaceable" nor "conciliatory," towards any until they had attained complete and sole authority over them, "and so it is done until the whole world is under the rule of Islam".<sup>38</sup>

The analysis and interpretation of Islamic history to justify the argument that hate and violence were basic to Islam originated from a variety of sources. Quotations used by the Journal's writers ranged from the reliable to the spurious. Amongst these were the Christian contributors' own interpretation of passages from the

Qur'an, various hadith narrations, folk-legends of the Prophet's life drawn from various cultures, stories related by Muslim converts to Christianity, and second-hand accounts involving contemporary situations which were interpreted as reflecting religious duties formulated by Muhammad. As well as passages in which the plight of Muslim children was conveyed to the reader, the Journal's contributors often focused on the plight of Christian victims, at the hands of their Muslim persecutors, through the use of colourful imagery and horrific details. This style was most evident in the Journal's first decade of existence when Turkey's genocide of Armenian Christians and that country's subsequent role in the First World War provided ample material. True to this approach were Clarence D. Usher and Stephan Van Rensselaer Trowbridge, both of whom dwelt upon recent Turkish-Armenian atrocities to support their claims that the responsibility for these crimes lay with the teachings of Islam and the life of the Prophet, Muhammad.

In Usher's, "The Armenian Atrocities and the Jihad," the author initially cast doubts on the reliability of his own text, first, by admitting that "reports of local details may be inaccurate,"<sup>39</sup> then by failing to identify the source, or sources, of his secondhand accounts. Unimpeded by the undependable nature of his facts, he nevertheless managed to provide a full and graphic account

of the deaths, deprivations, and tortures which several of the Christian Armenian suffered at the hands of the Muslim Turks:

Their finger-nails were torn off with pincers, beard and hair pulled out. They were starved, hung from the rafters by a rope tied to one leg all night, beaten on the soles of the feet several hundred blows with a heavy club till the feet were smashed to pulp, and then compelled to walk, marched out on the road and killed.<sup>40</sup>

From this and other incidents he outlined, Usher was able to conclude, without any form of substantiation or reference to supporting material that:

...their [Muslims] natural tendencies and hereditary propensities would tend to estrange them from Christians....All this was done [the atrocities] by Mohammedans and was possible because they were Mohammedans--a fruit of their religion....The atrocities were dictated by a lust a greed which we should have supposed were possible only to Moslems.<sup>41</sup>

Trowbridge's 1913 article "Mohammed's View of Religious War," was an attempt to attribute the cause of a massacre of Armenians in the town of Adana, in 1909, to the life and teachings of Muhammad. After providing suitably horrific details to reveal "how deeply rooted and how intense Mohammedan hatred is" and confirm "that Mohammedan teaching was essentially at the root of this massacre,"<sup>42</sup> Trowbridge, feigning impartiality, invited the reader to discern the extent to which Islam and Muhammad were responsible for the atrocities:

But can we lay this cruelty to the Mohammedan religion? Have not Christians been cruel also? Is this simply barbarism, or is it a war

sanctioned by Mohammedanism? These questions cannot be settled unless we discover what the founders themselves say regarding war. What was Mohammed's conviction as to its right or wrong? What does Christ teach by word and deed? If we can ascertain the convictions of the founders of these two great systems we shall be in a position to look forward intelligently into the future, to understand who it is that shall lead the movements of humanity toward a lasting and substantial peace.<sup>43</sup>

Thus Trowbridge repeated the formula, expressed on numerous occasions by other Christian contributors to the Journal, establishing Jesus as the standard by which Muhammad's life and teachings were to be measured. As in previous instances, the incongruity of comparing the life of a religio-political figure, governing a disunified people, to the life of an itinerant preacher, living in an occupied territory some 600 years earlier, was not addressed. Having established the method by which Muhammad, and thereby Islam, was to be judged the author subsequently invited the reader to share in, "a free and impartial investigation":

No canon of criticism may be applied to Islam which we are not ready to apply to Christianity. And no test which we demand of Christianity may be, because of any sentiment of liberalism, withheld from Mohammedanism. If Mohammed gave his direct sanction to war, and entered the field himself and if Christ being beset with the temptation to use force for the establishment of His Kingdom, refrained from war and proclaimed peace as a fundamental principle, then Islam and Christianity have defined themselves upon this great issue. Ultimately, the followers of each religion must be guided by their leaders.<sup>44</sup>

Trowbridge followed with a re-creation of examples from Muhammad's battles to prove that Muhammad's own intolerance to neighbouring communities lay at the heart of the 1909 Turkish-Armenian massacre, and concluded with a quotation from Bosworth Smith:

'The free toleration of the purer among the creeds around him, which the Prophet at first enjoined, gradually changes into intolerance. Persecuted no longer, Muhammad becomes a persecutor himself, with the Koran in one hand, the sword in the other, he goes forth to offer to the nations the threefold alternative of conversion, tribute, death'....Is it not pathetic that such a vast number of the human race are looking to him as the sole interpreter of God and as their guide for life and death?<sup>45</sup>

The Moslem World's contributors' own interpretations of the Qur'an, Muhammad's life, and Islamic history led them to assume that hate and violence were a religious duty incumbent on all Muslims. Henry Dwight in his, "Constantinople as the Centre of Islam," identified Muhammad and the Qur'an as responsible for the establishment and continuance of these duties up to the present. Reflecting either the common acceptance of this theory within the Christian community or his lack of knowledge in the field, or both, the author cited no examples from the Qur'an to support his statement, which revealed:

...the stern law of Mohammedan war that refuses quarter until slaughter...the Prophet commanded and expected...a universal war of Islam on Christianity...Mohammedanism will cease to be Mohammedanism when the cardinal principle of superiority and universality has withered away



...[their] sacred book sets up sectarian hate as a duty and revenge as a choice of many virtue.<sup>46</sup>

Lacking reference to either chapter or verse of the Qur'an, Dwight nevertheless cited the text as responsible for dividing the world into two hemispheres, Muslim and non-Muslim, the former required to make war on the latter whenever possible:

The Ulema...see all civil affairs from the standpoint of the Koran and its commentators, looking upon the world as divided into two sections--the lands of peace of Islam and the lands to be warred upon, and they groan when the Sultans find expediency a reason for refusing to declare war on all Europe for the sake of religion.<sup>47</sup>

Writing 27 years after Dwight, Edwin E. Calverley, at the time Zwemer's co-editor, likewise identified the impermanence of any peace between Christian and Muslim states as dictated by Muslim law. Calverley declared Islam to be a totalitarian state for the control religion exerted over every aspect of the life of both the individual and the community. As politics, too, were dominated completely by religion then, Calverley reasoned, "every war declared by a Muslim ruler was a jihad or holy war...and no other kind of war against non-Muslims was possible."<sup>48</sup> Thus any hope for a permanent peace with Islam was obviated by the 'fact' that:

...every treaty of peace made by a Muslim government with a non-Muslim power is in fact only a truce. Every Muslim state with the Shar'iah for its law was required by that law to conduct war upon a non-Muslim state whenever and

wherever war might be expected to have a successful outcome for the Muslim power.<sup>49</sup>

The Moslem World's image of Islam as an anti-Christian religion and its supposed propensity towards hatred, were portrayed as being crystallized in a strong antipathy to the Cross:

In lands that are wholly Moslem nothing stands out more prominently than Islam's hatred of the Cross.<sup>50</sup>

In his "The Stumbling Block of the Cross," Zwemer traced Islam's hatred of the Cross back to differing accounts of the crucifixion as recorded in the Bible and the Qur'an. As in similar examples of perceived anti-Christian behaviour, its source was construed as originating with Muhammad:

It is related...that Mohammed had such a repugnance to the very form of the Cross that he broke everything brought into his house with that figure on it.<sup>51</sup>

The Muslims' antipathy to the Cross Zwemer understood and expressed solely as a religious statement. He conceived that the Muslims' aversion to the doctrine of the Crucifixion was the problem and thereby the point at which any search for a solution must begin. That for many Muslims the Cross may have symbolized not just the Christian religion but the Christian West, its violent history, its record of religious intolerance, and its economic and political control over Muslim lands, was an idea not entertained in Zwemer's writings.

To emphasize the intensity of the Muslim's hatred for the Cross and Christians, Zwemer quoted an experience recorded by Doughty to prove that Arab boys through their defilement of the symbol of the Cross, were acting out the beliefs of their elders. While admitting that the story was utterly denied in public by the Muslim, Sheikh Rashid Ridha, of Cairo, Zwemer acknowledged his greater faith in the words of the Christian Doughty, "the prince of explorers":<sup>52</sup>

In the evening I had wandered to an oasis side; there a flock of the village children soon assembling with swords and bats, followed my heels, hooting, 'O Nasrany! O Nasrany!' and braving about the traffic and cutting crosses in the sand before me, they spitefully defiled them shouting a villainous carol....This behaviour in the children was some sign of the elders' meaning from whom doubtless they heard their villainous rhyming.<sup>53</sup>

To further stress the seriousness of his claim, Zwemer added the unrelated and unsubstantiated accusation that, "the Armenian massacres afforded other terrible instances of this fanatic hatred of the Cross."<sup>54</sup>

Acknowledging that the Cross was the most representative symbol of Christianity, "the Gibraltar of the Christian faith";<sup>55</sup> Zwemer in an attempt to emphasize the great differences between the two faiths focused upon the Sword as the ideal symbol for Islam. The Cross and the Sword for Zwemer symbolized most accurately, the respective originations, tenets, histories and practices of the two religions:

The Sword can only produce brutality the Cross  
tenderness; the sword destroys human life, the  
Cross gives it priceless value; the sword  
deadens conscience, the Cross awakens it; the  
sword ends in hatred, the Cross in love; he that  
takes up the Sword perishes by it, he that takes  
up the Cross inherits external life.<sup>56</sup>

Zwemer recognized the Cross as an active, not passive,  
symbol of Christianity, challenging all who confronted it  
to choose between it and the sword, "self-assertion or  
self-denial; might or meekness; carnal weapons and methods  
or crucifixion."<sup>57</sup>

In his writings Zwemer utilized the word "sword" as a  
synonym for his perception of the violent nature and  
warlike history of Islam. Thus, Zwemer could announce  
exultantly "Islam has lost its sword!" in reporting the  
Italian army's successes against the Ottoman Empire in  
1913.<sup>58</sup> Similarly writing of Islam's melding of religion  
and violence he expressed it so, "The pulpit and the sword  
go together in the history of Islam."<sup>59</sup>

The quotations used by Zwemer to support his  
arguments reflect a similar usage of the term sword by the  
Christian community. In "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali,"  
Sir Valentine Chirol is quoted to introduce the text:

Islam alone of all the great religions of  
the human race was born sword in hand. Islam  
has always relied on the sword, and for thirteen  
hundred years the mullah who reads the Friday  
prayers in the mosque wears a sword, even if  
only made of wood, as a symbol of his creed.<sup>60</sup>

The text's opening paragraph was followed with a sweeping  
statement from Muir's Life of Mahomet "The sword of

Mahomet and the Coran are the most fatal enemies of civilization, liberty and truth, which the world has yet known."<sup>61</sup> The usage of the sword as a metaphor for Islam's violent history and warlike nature was common to many Christian writers, although in The Moslem World, it was Zwemer who referred to it most often. The clearest example of this style appeared in Zwemer's aforementioned 1931 article, "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali," which drew upon legends, folktales and quotations from the Qur'an to impress upon the reader, the concept that violence was an integral aspect of Muhammad's teachings, and that 'jihad', or 'holy war', was from the earliest time, incumbent upon all Muslims.

The text of the article was a recounting, through legends and fables, of a legendary sword Muhammad was to have received, either as booty or as a gift from the archangel Gabriel, treasured as one of his most prized possessions, and subsequently bequeathed to his son-in-law, Ali. The tales, apocryphal and spurious at best, were treated by Zwemer as proof that, "The preaching of Islam and the power of its warlike propaganda were wedded together by its founder."<sup>62</sup>

Turning to the Qur'an Zwemer identified the "Verse of the Sword" as legitimizing jihad, yet admitted that "Verse of the Sword"<sup>63</sup> was not the real title of the passage but the appellation by which it is generally known; by whom he

does not say. Moreover, Zwemer further conceded that the word sword appeared nowhere in the Qur'an. Despite this inconclusive evidence Zwemer argued that this "Verse of the Sword" abrogated over 110 earlier injunctions to show leniency and good will towards unbelievers, and as such:

...there is not a single verse of greater importance in the whole Koran as regards its power of abrogation of earlier teaching."<sup>64</sup>

The Journal portrayed an Islamic world populated and guided by a self-serving, unloving, vengeful, violent, and at times racially inferior people, whose moral and ethical tenets and practices within the family, the community, and in its relations with non-Muslims, were depicted as the very antithesis of Christian doctrines of love, self-sacrifice and peace. The solutions were understood by the Journal's Christian contributors as residing only in conversion to Christianity, a conversion which must be instigated by Christians on behalf of Muslims who lacked the power to save themselves.

Fully aware of their economic, political and military hegemony over the East, the Christian West assumed a superiority on matters of societal morals and values. This assumption was expressed in the Journal, as the Christians' manifest destiny to extend their civilization throughout the Muslim world for the betterment of its people and in the fulfillment of Christ's wishes.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

The thesis has attempted to identify, categorize and analyze instances of a biased representation of Islam in The Moslem World. The reasons for a distorted view of Islam can be found within both Western Society and the Christian faith. The manner and method by which Islam was depicted, however, originated primarily from the Evangelical Christian conviction of their own faith as the ultimate religious authority and the sole legitimate form of religious belief and expression.

The Journal's misrepresentation of Islam arose from three principal sources: the spirit of Protestant Triumphalism, which imbued the Christian world with a sense of sharing in a manifest destiny, a 20th century crusade against non-Christian faiths; the conflicting nature of the Journal's dual mandate, which argued for an accurate appraisal of Islam while campaigning for its dissolution; and the Review's distinctive approaches to Islam and to Christianity. These factors interacted to ensure that attempts at an unbiased, impartial, and accurate interpretation of Islam were destined to fail. Inaccuracies in the depiction of Islam were further exacerbated by the Journal's persistent use of this mental image of Christianity as the exemplar by which Islam was to be judged.

The Islam which was portrayed in The Moslem World was depicted as the very antithesis of all that was Christian. Perceived as an anti-Christian faith, which contrasted and challenged the many facets of this understanding of the Christian religion; Islam was consistently portrayed as being diametrically opposed to the standards of excellence which Christians perceived as being inherent in their faith and in the life and teachings of Jesus. The contrasting images that Islam evoked were depicted in the Journal as exhibiting either hostile tendencies towards the Christian world, or proof of Islam's erroneous teachings and false message. The Moslem World's interpretation of the causes and reasons for Islam's tenets, creeds, practices, observances, and history, was understood and interpreted as the very antithesis of Christianity and thereby, in the estimation of the Review's Christian contributors, the very antithesis of all that was holy and good.

The rise of Protestant Triumphalism, an outgrowth of the social, political and military advances visited by the Western nations upon the East provided both the Christian Islamicist and the missionary with an inflated perspective from which to analyze and judge the perceived disintegration of the Islamic world. The distance between the Christian observer-interpreter and the object of his attention were further widened by cultural, religious and



linguistic barriers which allowed for the growth of assumptions and misconceptions surrounding the Islamic faith, which were subsequently reported as fact to the Christian West.

Often these alleged 'facts' surrounding Muslims and their faith corroborated historical inaccuracies and popular stereotypes which were rarely challenged by the Review's overwhelmingly Christian readership. An example of such a stereotype, subscribed to by Christians and propagated by the Journal, was the belief that hate and violence were both fostered and encouraged within Islam, from Muhammad down through to the 20th century. A Western world, educated on stories of the Crusaders' valiant struggles, aware of the recent death of the British legend General Charles Gordon, in the Sudan, at the hands of the Mahdi's Muslim soldiers, and exposed to accounts of Muslim Turkey's conduct in the First World War, could easily accept the Journal's re-inforced contention that hate and violence were an integral part of Islam's creed. Such misconceptions in The Moslem World served to further the condescending attitude extended towards the Islamic world by the Christian West, and helped to perpetuate the spirit of Protestant Triumphalism, well beyond the time when the growth of Christian liberalism had already challenged many areas of the Christian world to approach other faiths in a more impartial and dispassionate manner.

The biased interpretation of Islam in the Journal was further enhanced by the nature of the policies which were chosen as its mandate. The inaugural issue of the Quarterly Review introduced a dual approach to the study of Islam. Unfortunately, the nature of the two policies, so assiduously adhered to, were destined to cause conflict --by suggesting an objective interpretation of Islam while simultaneously encouraging a subjective analysis of its many facets.

The title page of The Moslem World, January, 1911, introduced the Journal as "A Quarterly Review of current events, literature and thought among Mohammadans."<sup>1</sup> This statement presupposed an effort on the part of the Journal's editor and contributors to provide a fair and accurate assessment of the many aspects of Islam and thereby achieve a scholarly and objective approach to the study of the Muslim's faith. This supposition was further supported by later statements of Zwemer's attesting to the truthful and scientific character of the material found in the Review.

The inaugural editorial, however, outlined the Journal's mandate as seeking a solution to the 'Moslem problem' through the exposure of Islam's perceived weaknesses, the conversion of Muslims to Christianity, and thereby the dissolution of Islam. Moreover, contributors were invited from those, "who can from their experience

show others how to win Moslems to Christ."<sup>2</sup> Thus it may be questioned whether the Journal's editor and contributors could present an objective, impartial, interpretation of a religion which it was their avowed intention to destroy. Most likely the Journal's writers were sincere in their belief that their interpretation of Islam was accurate and truthful. Misleading information would have been counterproductive to the work of the very missionaries for whose assistance the Journal had been established. Unfortunately, the distinction between an objective and a subjective analysis of another's faith was often dependent on the analyst's ability to remain a dispassionate observer and not a participant in the debates, exchanges and proselytizing efforts between the two faiths. As active members of the Christian community, however, whether as missionaries, theologians, or Islamicists, the majority of Christians who wrote for the Journal were either directly or indirectly involved in the conversion of Muslims. As such, their concern with the conquest of Islam, would cast doubts on their conscious or unconscious ability to disassociate themselves sufficiently so as to render an unbiased, objective interpretation of the Islamic religion.

The difficulty of achieving an impartial, dispassionate understanding and appreciation of another faith was addressed by T.M. Kitagawa in his article "The

History of Religions in America." In his text Kitagawa recognized the arduous task confronting those who endeavoured to make an objective interpretation of a religion other than their own. The greatest obstacles, he believed, arose out of the unique religious and cultural background by which the investigator had been conditioned. He argued, however, that despite the difficulty inherent in such a task it was not impossible to achieve, providing two essential conditions were met:

First is a sympathetic understanding of religions other than one's own. Second is an attitude of self-criticism or even skepticism about one's own religion.<sup>3</sup>

The investigator seeking to discern the existence and/or extent of religious prejudice in a text may use Kitagawa's criteria as a tool. Drawing upon Kitagawa's conditions, it is evident that The Moslem World's Christian contributors did not exhibit a sympathetic understanding or approach towards the study of Islam. The Review's stated policy, to evangelize Muslims with the intention of eradicating Islam from the world, prevented any possibility of a sympathetic approach to the faith. True, sympathy was periodically encouraged in the Christian's attitude towards Islam, but was expressed only in a condescending manner, to elicit pity for the Muslims who suffered under Islam's supposed false teachings and misguided practices:

We hope to...awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world, until its bonds are burst, its wounds healed, and its sorrows removed, and its desires satisfied in Jesus Christ.<sup>4</sup>

Skepticism and self-criticism were equally absent in the Journal's interpretation of the Christian faith. The alleged superiority of Christianity was so widely assumed that it was used as the standard of excellence by which all other faiths were to be judged. This belief in the preeminence of the Christian faith was expanded to include all aspects of Western Civilization. Thus, the Review's editor and contributors were able with little justification to encourage Muslims to aspire to Western models of excellence in social, cultural and political fields.

What little criticism towards Christianity appeared, was relegated to the conduct of past generation Christians and those contemporaries not of the Protestant denomination, both of who were periodically portrayed as having comported themselves in an unChristianlike manner. Thus Moorhatch's contention that the "perverted Christianity"<sup>5</sup> which existed in the 7th century contributed largely to the development of Islam:

We all know well that if, when the Arabian Prophet appeared, Christianity had been what it should have been there would have been no room for Islam in this world.<sup>6</sup>

Trowbridge also reserved his criticism for past generations. In his article, "Mohammed's View of

Religious War," he condemned Muslims for their violent role in past Muslim-Christian conflicts. Christianities violent role, however, he forgave and dismissed in a single sentence, "We shall find that Christian nations have made war in direct defiance of their Master's life and teaching."<sup>7</sup>

The application of Kitagawa's criteria to Zwemer reveals an approach to the two faiths similar to that exhibited by the Review's contributors. Zwemer encouraged Christians to exhibit an intolerant attitude towards Islam and discouraged any movements by Christians towards "compromise or concessions."<sup>8</sup> As a Christian Zwemer stated that he and his fellow-contributors "speak the truth,"<sup>9</sup> Christianity was the only true religion, and that Christ was supportive in their struggle against Muslims. Throughout his 37 years as both editor and co-editor of the Journal, Zwemer's views concerning Islam were never modified. As he asserted with pride in his closing editorial, July, 1947, the Journal has "never surrendered to compromise or appeasement in the battle for truth."<sup>10</sup> As Christianity was his "truth", his contention affirms the Journal's inability to alter or soften its approach towards Islam throughout his long tenure as its editor.

The Moslem World understood and depicted Islam as a faith hostile to Christianity and in its many facets the very antithesis of the Christian faith. Islam was

accorded this role as the only world-wide religion to arise and develop after the establishment of Christianity. Whereas other faiths were born of ignorance, and were thus classified as non-Christian faiths, Islam was born at a time when God's word had already been revealed through Jesus Christ. Thus, perceived as being born in defiance of Christianity and the truth, as revealed through Christ's teachings, Islam came to be defined, in The Moslem World, as the sole anti-Christian faith. As Christianity was perceived as the preeminent faith--the ultimate truth--any new religion which developed its own beliefs, creed, tenets, observances and practices, no matter how similar they proved to be, were destined by Christian standards to be false.

This world-wide faith joins issue with everything that is vital in the Christian religion and stands or falls by its attitude towards the Christ.<sup>11</sup>

This contentious nature of Islam was perceived and portrayed in The Moslem World as diametrically opposing the standards of excellence inherent in Christianity. These standards of excellence were understood, by the Journal's contributors, to be evident not just in the respective religious beliefs, practices, and institutions, but throughout the two societies as a whole. Thereby all that was good and positive in a Christian based society was depicted as being contrasted by a correspondingly evil and negative force in anti-Christian Islam. Thus Islam's

alleged propensity towards encouraging hatred in its adherents was both identified and clarified in the numerous ways by which it contrasted the Journal's writers' understanding of Christianity as a religion of love. In the same vein, Islam's supposed violent nature and tumultuous past were recognized by the manner and extent to which they differed from the Christian's understanding of their own faith as one of peace. Further examples of perceived Islamic weaknesses diametrically opposing those facets of Christianity which the Journal portrayed as being ideal are evidenced in the following chart.

| CHRISTIANITY            | ISLAM                |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Turning the other cheek | Holy War             |
| Salvation               | Damnation            |
| Civilization (Progress) | Stagnation           |
| Democracy               | Despotism            |
| Missionary              | Teacher of Islam     |
| Women Honoured          | Women Degraded       |
| Truthfulness            | Lying                |
| Trust                   | Distrust             |
| Abstinence              | Sexual Depravity     |
| Monogamy                | Polygamy             |
| Morality                | Immorality           |
| Supportive Loving Home  | Depraved Environment |
| The Cross               | The Sword            |



It was, however, through a Christian interpretation of the life and teachings of Muhammad that the diametrically opposed natures of the two faiths came to be personified in the religion's respective founders. The Journal considered Muhammad's personal conduct, life history, teachings and perceived motivations as being as relevant to the subsequent development of Islam as Jesus was to Christianity. To understand effectively about Muhammad was to reveal the heart and soul of Islam. To this end, the Journal produced numerous articles on the Prophet's life, which served to expose his alleged unsuitability as a religious leader and role model by juxtaposing him against Jesus, the exemplar.

Jesus and Muhammad were each raised in societies separated by more than geographic dissimilarities. Historical, cultural and political realities contrasted markedly between 1st century Palestine and 7th century Mecca. Yet these dissimilarities were not mentioned by the Journal's contributors who persistently compared the respective lives and teachings of the two luminaries. As above, Jesus and Muhammad were considered by Christians to reflect diametrically opposing characteristics and attributes, to the detriment of the latter.

| JESUS   | MUHAMMAD                                |
|---|---|
| Source and inspiration of the New Testament   | Surreptitiously authored the Qur'an     |
| Utterances and life reflected a Divine Source | Demonically inspired                    |
| Son of God                                    | False Prophet                           |
| Suffered and died for others                  | Killed and made war for selfish motives |
| Celibate                                      | Married often for various motives       |
| An Ideal life                                 | Lied and cheated to obtain his goals    |
| Taught of a spiritual kingdom                 | Dedicated to obtaining temporal power   |
| Taught a message of love and peace            | Sanctified hatred and violence          |
| Christ  | Anti-Christ                             |

It was, however, in the image of the Anti-Christ that Muhammad was most clearly defined as personifying the power of evil, a role readily accorded him by the Christian world. Christian theology and New Testament writings originally introduced the concept of the anti-Christ, which subsequently grew to influence Christian belief, theology, art, literature, and politics for close to two millennia. The anti-Christ, the final opponent of good, came to be depicted as the combination of a pseudo-Messiah and persecuting tyrant. Muhammad, following Christ as a Prophet, claiming to possess a more accurate and complete doctrine than that found in the New Testament, with a

history of violent confrontation against Christian lands, conveniently fulfilled the Christian image of the anti-Christ. Thus the Journal was able successfully to depict Muhammad to its Christian readers as a false prophet, motivated by ulterior motives and supported by satanic forces, the very antithesis of Jesus.

By its understanding and presentation of Muhammad and Islam, The Moslem World reflected the spirit dominating the Christian West in the early 20th Century. A period in time when Christianity and the West were perceived from within as having reached the apex of development and were poised to save and enrich a waiting world. Possessing a blind faith in both their own religion and Western Civilization, and lacking sympathy for those adherents who subscribed to alternative religious, social and cultural beliefs and practices, the Christians who wrote in The Moslem World joined with Zwemer in expressing their belief in the superiority of Christianity and the unqualified inferiority of Islam.

Throughout Samuel Zwemer's 37 years as editor and co-editor of The Moslem World, his unique understanding and interpretation of Islam, from the perspective of Conservative Evangelical Christianity, dominated the editorials and articles which appeared in the Journal. From 1911-1947 the growth of liberal Christianity and the expanding field of Comparative Religion introduced the Western World to a more sensitive, sympathetic approach to the study of non-Christian religions and a more

objective appreciation of alternative forms of religious expression. The Quarterly Review, however, under Zwemer's editorship, rigidly and consistently adhered to the philosophy of Protestant Triumphalism which imbued Evangelical Christianity in the years preceding the First World War. The Journal's failure to evolve in the understanding, interpretation, and depiction of Islam reflected Zwemer's consistently intolerant approach to all non-Christian faiths.

Unquestionably, the Review's Christian readers would have been better served by the Journal if Islam had been presented and judged by its own standards, not by those of Evangelical Christianity, which measured Islam's worth by its relationship to Christianity and its understanding of the Christ. Unfortunately, the almost exclusive use of Christian contributors to analyse and interpret the many facets of Islam, and the exclusion of Muslims for allegedly lacking the proper objectivity and comprehension of their own religion, virtually assured an inferior, often inaccurate depiction of Islam.

It is unquestionably clear that The Moslem World, edited by Samuel Zwemer and influenced by the Christian Evangelical community, failed to fulfill its dual mandate of providing accurate information on Islam to the Christian West and converting Muslims to Christianity. The reporting of misleading information and the furthering of historical inaccuracies in the Journal was certainly counterproductive to the missionary effort and it is doubtful whether in its pages any significant

knowledge of Islam was brought to the West. Christians who sought to understand either Muhammad, Muslims or Islam were not served by the Review, which may by its understanding and interpretation of Islam, have actually worsened relations between the two religious communities. The dream of evangelizing the world was also unrealized. The optimistic goals of conquering Islam by winning Muslims to Christ seemed no closer to fruition in 1947 than it had been in 1911. The passage of time coupled with the failure of achieving significant results served to emphasize the immensity of the challenge, the naivety of those who originally anticipated its imminent completion, and the misdirected approach taken by The Moslem World.

## NOTES

### Chapter 1 - Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 25

<sup>2</sup>Said, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Said, p. 204.

### Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup>S.C. Neill, A History of Christian Missions (London, England: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 332.

<sup>2</sup>With the exception of the Sino-Japanese conflict, Western Nations had received little serious opposition on the battlefield in the previous 300 years. In North and South America, Africa, India and throughout the Orient, natives were by and large under the control of Western influences, either militarily, politically or economically. Such 'civilizing' influences were considered to be for the betterment of all concerned and no indication was given that this natural state of progression would not continue unabated.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Johnson, A History of Christianity (London, England: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 462.

<sup>4</sup>Neill, A History of Christian Missions, pp. 417-418.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," Moslem World 1 (January, 1911):2.

<sup>6</sup>Zwemer, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup>Zwemer, Cover page.

<sup>8</sup>Zwemer, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup>Zwemer, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Zwemer, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>Victor Paul Furnish, "The Letter of Paul to the Ephesians," in The Interpreters One-Volume Commentary on the Bible, ed. Charles M. Laymon (New York:, Abingdon Press, 1971), pp. 841b, 834a.

<sup>12</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (January, 1911): 3.

<sup>13</sup>Julius Richter, "The World-Wide Mission of Christianity," Moslem World 2 (July, 1912): 264.

<sup>14</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Dying Forces of Islam," Moslem World 4 (January, 1914): 68

<sup>15</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Present Situation," Moslem World 3 (April, 1913): 115-116.

<sup>16</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," Moslem World 3 (July, 1913): 225-226.

<sup>17</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Reinforcements," Moslem World 7 (April, 1917): 111.

<sup>18</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Urgency of the Hour," Moslem World 9 (October, 1919): 331.

<sup>19</sup>Samuel Zwemer, pp. 332-333.

<sup>20</sup>Johnson, A History of Christianity, p. 479.

<sup>21</sup>Johnson, p. 479.

<sup>22</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Looking Backward and Forward From the Bridge", Moslem World 37 (July, 1947): 174.

<sup>23</sup>F.W. MacCallum, Christian Literature in Moslem Lands (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923) p. 271.

<sup>24</sup>John R. Mott, Conferences of Christian Workers Among Moslems 1924 (New York: International Missionary Council, 1924), pp. 63-64.

<sup>25</sup>Mott, p. 91.

<sup>26</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Past and Future," Moslem World 7 (January, 1917): 3

<sup>27</sup>Zwemer, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>In the same manner, Zwemer failed to expand upon his choice of the adjective 'educated' as a qualification necessary to a Muslim wishing to contribute to The Moslem World. The reader is left to question by what criteria a Muslim can be assumed to be educated, perhaps by the holding of a particular view, or by specific academic qualifications. Zwemer's use of the word also suggests that only 'educated' Christians write for the Journal.

<sup>29</sup>Murray T. Titus, "January 1911-1936," Moslem World 25 (January, 1936): 3-4.

<sup>30</sup>Dr. John R. Mott cited by Murray T. Titus, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup>Dr. Julius Richter cited by Murray T. Titus, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup>Neill, A History of Christian Missions, p. 311.

<sup>33</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Islam a Sevenfold Problem," Moslem World 28 (July, 1938): 222.

<sup>34</sup>Alec R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution (London: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 251.

<sup>35</sup>Vidler, p. 252.

<sup>36</sup>Neill, A History of Christian Missions, p. 418.

<sup>37</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Future of The Moslem World," Moslem World 27 (January, 1937): 43.

<sup>38</sup>D.B. MacDonald, "Vita Nuova," Moslem World 28 (January, 1938): 1.

<sup>39</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (January, 1911): 2.

<sup>40</sup>MacDonald, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup>MacDonald, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup>MacDonald, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup>MacDonald, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup>MacDonald, P. 2.

<sup>45</sup>MacDonald, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup>James Rankin, "Liberal Christianity: A Brake on Evangelism," Moslem World 33 (January, 1943): 57. Comparing an alternative form of Christianity to Islam, to the detriment of the former, is a form of criticism that did not originate with Rankin. Writing in the sixteenth century, Luther argued that it was not Islam but that it was the Turk and the Pope who were the real arch-enemies of Christ. A. Hourani, Western Attitudes Towards Islam (Southampton, England: Southampton University Press, 1974), p. 12.

<sup>47</sup>Zwemer, "Looking Backward and Forward From the Bridge," p. 175

<sup>48</sup>Edwin E. Calverley, "Our Plans for the Quarterly," Moslem World 37 (October, 1947): p. 253.



## Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Zwemer, Review of Christianity and Other Faiths, by W. St. Clair Tisdall, in Moslem World 3 (April, 1913): 200.

<sup>2</sup>Zwemer's strong belief on this point is stressed by his use of Joseph Parker's quotation "There are comparative religions, but Christianity is not one of them," as his introductory statement in his Islam--A Challenge to Faith.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," Moslem World 1 (April, 1911): 98.

<sup>4</sup>Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failures," Moslem World 10 (April, 1920): 154.

<sup>5</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (April, 1911): 97.

<sup>6</sup>Zwemer, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup>Prof. Hartmann cited by Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failures," p. 152.

<sup>8</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali," Moslem World 21 (April, 1931): 121, 118f.

<sup>9</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (April, 1911): 97.

<sup>10</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," Moslem World 1 (October, 1911): 412f.

<sup>11</sup>"The very fact that Moslems have proved loyal to the British Government should make us also loyal to our King in declaring to them the message of His peace and pardon and eternal happiness through His love." Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," Moslem World 7 (July, 1917): 220.

<sup>12</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (April, 1911): 97f.

<sup>13</sup>Zwemer, "The Urgency of the Hour," (October, 1919): 334.

<sup>14</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," Moslem World 4 (July, 1914): 226.

<sup>15</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Crown Rights of Christ," Moslem World 13 (October, 1923): 332.

<sup>16</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," Moslem World 2 (July, 1912): 225.

<sup>17</sup>Thomas Carlyle, Heroes and Hero Worship cited by Zwemer, "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali," p. 109.

<sup>18</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Chasm," Moslem World 9 (April, 1919): p. 113.

<sup>19</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (July, 1912): 225.

<sup>20</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (July, 1914): 226.

<sup>21</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Doctrine of the Trinity," Moslem World 35 (January, 1945): 4.

<sup>22</sup>Zwemer, "The Urgency of the Hour," (October, 1919): 333.

<sup>23</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "A Working Library on Islam," Moslem World 2 (January, 1912): 32.

<sup>24</sup>Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 148.

<sup>25</sup>Zwemer, p. 149.

<sup>26</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (October, 1911): 354.

<sup>27</sup>Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 150.

<sup>28</sup>Zwemer, p. 150.

<sup>29</sup>Zwemer, p. 150f.

<sup>30</sup>Zwemer, p. 149.

<sup>31</sup>Zwemer, p. 151.

<sup>32</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Supernatural Becomes Supernatural," Moslem World 9 (January, 1919): 4.

<sup>33</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "With All Boldness," Moslem World 28 (April, 1938): 110.

<sup>34</sup>W.A. Rice, Crusaders of the Twentieth Century cited by Samuel Zwemer "Editorial," (April, 1911): 97; and "The Stumbling Block of the Cross," Moslem World 3 (April, 1913): 148.

<sup>35</sup>Friedrich von Schlegel, Philosophy of History cited by Samuel Zwemer, "The Chasm," p. 111 and "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 153.

<sup>36</sup>Zwemer, "The Chasm," p. 111.

<sup>37</sup>Prof. Hartmann cited by Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 152.

<sup>38</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Palladium of Islam," Moslem World 23 (April, 1933): 114f.

<sup>39</sup>Zwemer, p. 158-159.

<sup>40</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Islam in Arabia Deserta," Moslem World 33 (July, 1943): 157.

<sup>41</sup>Zwemer, p. 158-159.

<sup>42</sup>Charles Doughty, Arabia Deserta cited by Zwemer, "Islam in Arabia Deserta," p. 159, 159, 160, 160.

<sup>43</sup>Doughty cited by Zwemer, p. 160.

#### Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup>Frank H. Foster, "An Autobiography of Mohammed," Moslem World 26 (April, 1936): 136.

<sup>2</sup>Father T.R. Buhl, "The Character of Mohammed," Moslem World 1 (October, 1911): 356.

<sup>3</sup>Foster, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup>Buhl, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup>G.W. Broomfield, "The Psychology of Mohammed," Moslem World 16 (January, 1926): 38.

<sup>6</sup>Dr. J.H. Shedd cited by Abraham Moorhatch, "Islam for Christ," Moslem World 17 (July, 1927): 270.

<sup>7</sup>Foster, p. 143.

<sup>8</sup>Broomfield, p. 46.

<sup>9</sup>Buhl, p. 360.

<sup>10</sup>Broomfield, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup>Foster, p. 148, T.R. Buhl, p. 363.

- <sup>12</sup>Broomfield, p. 38.
- <sup>13</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (January, 1911) p. 1
- <sup>14</sup>Zwemer, "Islam, Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 148.
- <sup>15</sup>Zwemer, Editorial, "The Chasm," p.112-113.
- <sup>16</sup>F.H. Foster, "Mohammed's Evangel," Moslem World 22 (January, 1932): 23.
- <sup>17</sup>W.A. Shedd, "The Influence of the Mohammedan Environment on the Missionary," Moslem World 3 (January, 1913): 5.
- <sup>18</sup>H. Durr, "The Kingdom of This World," Moslem World 32 (January, 1942): 19.
- <sup>19</sup>Durr, p. 17.
- <sup>20</sup>Durr, p. 17.
- <sup>21</sup>Mrs. J. Gordon Logan, "The Name of Jesus," Moslem World 10 (April, 1920): 156; G.W. Broomfield, p.58; W.E. Jenkinson, "The Moslem Anti-Christ Legend," Moslem World 20 (January, 1930): 55.
- <sup>22</sup>S. Van Rensselaer Trowbridge, "Mohammed's View of Religious War," Moslem World 3 (July, 1913): 304-305.
- <sup>23</sup>Zwemer, "The Chasm," p. 113; Samuel Zwemer, "Editorial," (October, 1911): 354.
- <sup>24</sup>S. Van Rensselaer Trowbridge, "Islam's Greatest Failure," Moslem World 15 (October, 1925): 276.
- <sup>25</sup>W.T. Gairdner, "Values in Christianity," Moslem World 18 (October, 1928): 347.
- <sup>26</sup>Charles Doughty, Arabia Deserta cited by Zwemer, "Islam in Arabia Deserta," p. 162.
- <sup>27</sup>Buhl, p. 363.
- <sup>28</sup>Arthur Jeffrey, "The Quest of the Historical Mohammed," Moslem World 16 (October, 1926): 335.
- <sup>29</sup>Jeffrey, p. 348.
- <sup>30</sup>Dr. Margoliouth, cited by Archer, p. 328-329.

<sup>31</sup>W.T. Gairdner, "Mohammed Without Camouflage," Moslem World 9 (January, 1919): pp. 29-57.

<sup>32</sup>Montgomery Watt reasoned that Muhammad's justification for encouraging raids, or raizzas, by his followers on Meccan caravans, was more to be found on the basis of economics than on any vengeful motives. Raizzas, Watt argued, were more of a sport than a war, practiced against the livestock or goods of neighbouring tribes it rarely constituted the loss of human life. Watt questioned how Muhammad's followers were to make a living in the new community. Farming was limited and the commercial markets were already well controlled, thus the securing of new trade routes and markets were the only option left open. An option that could best be achieved on both a short and long term basis by attacking the caravans and controlling the routes of the Meccans. M. Watt, Muhammad; Prophet and Statesman (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961) pp. 104-109.

<sup>33</sup>Foster, "An Autobiography of Mohammed," p. 147.

<sup>34</sup>Worthington Jukes, "Islam and Moslem," Moslem World 17 (April, 1927): 153.

## Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 149.

<sup>2</sup>George F. Herrick, "Conciliation Not Compromise," Moslem World 4 (July, 1916): 373.

<sup>3</sup>T.J. DeBoer cited by Samuel Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 149.

<sup>4</sup>Zwemer, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup>Durr, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup>Abraham Moorhatch, "Islam for Christ," p. 270

<sup>7</sup>G.T. Holliday, "Some Conclusions of The Lucknow Conference," Moslem World 1 (October, 1911): 432

<sup>8</sup>Karl Meinhof, "A Plea for Missionary Work Among the Moslems of Central Africa," Moslem World 1 (July, 1911): 159.

<sup>9</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "Islam in China," Moslem World 8 (January, 1918): 3.

<sup>10</sup>Dr. Hartmann cited by Samuel Zwemer, "Islam in China," Moslem World 8 (January, 1918): 3.

<sup>11</sup>Abraham Moorhatch, "A New Day in Persia," Moslem World 14 (October, 1924): 395.

<sup>12</sup>Samuel Zwemer, review of "The Making of Northern Nigeria," by C.W.J. Orr, Moslem World 2 (October, 1912): 425.

<sup>13</sup>D.S. Margoliouth, "To the British Reader," Moslem World 21 (January, 1931): 5.

<sup>14</sup>F.W. MacCallum, Christian Literature in Moslem Lands, p. 289.

<sup>15</sup>W.H.T. Gairdner, "Values in Christianity," p. 345.

<sup>16</sup>W.A. Shedd, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup>F.H. Foster, "Mohammed's Evangel," p. 18.

<sup>18</sup>F.H. Foster, "An Autobiography of Mohammed," p. 147.

<sup>19</sup>Gottfried Simon, "The Religious and Civilizing Influence of Islam on the Backward Races," Moslem World 2 (October, 1912): 391.

<sup>20</sup>Simon, p. 398.

<sup>21</sup>Karl Meinhof, "A Plea for Missionary Work Among the Moslems of Central Africa," p. 161.

<sup>22</sup>Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 149.

<sup>23</sup>C.M. Buchanan, "The Children of the Street," Moslem World 15 (October, 1925): 287.

<sup>24</sup>Buchanan, p. 284.

<sup>25</sup>Rev. Jessop cited by Trowbridge, "Islam's Greatest Failure," p. 280.

<sup>26</sup>J.H.C. Purdon cited by Trowbridge, p. 280.

<sup>27</sup>Trowbridge, p. 275.

<sup>28</sup>Trowbridge, p. 278.

<sup>29</sup>Annie Woodman Stocking, "Education and Evangelization in Persia," Moslem World (October, 1913): 392.

<sup>30</sup>I.L. Trotter cited by Trowbridge, "Islam's Greatest Failure," p. 276.

<sup>31</sup>Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 150.

<sup>32</sup>Philip K. Hitti, The Arabs: A Short History (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1960), p. 117.

<sup>33</sup>Gottfried Simon cited by Samuel Zwemer, "Islam--Its Worth and Its Failure," p. 150.

To Simon's statement, Zwemer added the observation of Kasim Amin Bey,

"Man is the absolute master and woman is the slave. She is the object of his sensual pleasures, a toy, as it were with which he plays and then tosses away where he pleases. The firmament and the light are his. Darkness and the dungeon are hers. His to command, her to blindly obey. His is everything that exists and she is an insignificant part of that everything'." p. 150-151.

<sup>34</sup>C. Mylrea, "Points of Contact or of Contrast," Moslem World 3 (October, 1913): 401.

<sup>35</sup>Samuel Zwemer, foreword to "As Others See Us," by Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, Moslem World 21 (January, 1931): 75.

<sup>36</sup>Foster, "An Autobiography of Mohammed," p. 147.

<sup>37</sup>Doughty cited by Samuel Zwemer, "Arabia Deserta," p. 159.

<sup>38</sup>Zwemer, "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali," p. 131.

<sup>39</sup>Clarence D. Usher, "The Armenian Atrocities and the Jihad," Moslem World 6 (July, 1916): 140.

<sup>40</sup>Usher, p. 143.

<sup>41</sup>Usher, p. 143.

<sup>42</sup>Stephen Van Rensselaer Trowbridge, "Mohammed's View of Religious War," p. 290, 293.

- <sup>43</sup>Trowbridge, p. 297.
- <sup>44</sup>Trowbridge, p. 297-298.
- <sup>45</sup>Bosworth Smith cited by Trowbridge, p. 303.
- <sup>46</sup>Henry Dwight, "Constantinople as the Centre of Islam," Moslem World 1 (July, 1911): 240.
- <sup>47</sup>Dwight, p. 230.
- <sup>48</sup>Edwin E. Calverley, "Islam: An Interpretation," Moslem World 28 (January, 1938): 17
- <sup>49</sup>Calverley, pp. 17-18.
- <sup>50</sup>Zwemer, "The Stumbling Block of the Cross," p. 147.
- <sup>51</sup>Zwemer, p. 149.
- <sup>52</sup>Zwemer, p. 151.
- <sup>53</sup>Doughty cited by Samuel Zwemer, pp. 150-151.
- <sup>54</sup>Zwemer, p. 151.
- <sup>55</sup>Zwemer, p. 152.
- <sup>56</sup>Samuel Zwemer, "The Sword or the Cross," Moslem World 11 (October, 1921); 330-331.
- <sup>57</sup>Zwemer, p. 331.
- <sup>58</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (April, 1913): 114.
- <sup>59</sup>Zwemer, 118.
- <sup>60</sup>Sir Valentine Chirol, cited by Zwemer, "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali," p. 109.
- <sup>61</sup>Muir, cited by Zwemer, p. 109.
- <sup>62</sup>Zwemer, p. 118-119.



<sup>63</sup>The passage which Zwemer identifies as the "Verse of the Sword," (XI:5) reads as follows:

"But when the forbidden months  
Are past, then fight and slay  
The Pagans whenever ye find them,  
And seize them, beleaguer them,  
And lie in wait for them  
In every strategm (of war);  
But if they repent,  
And establish regular prayers  
And practise regular charity,  
Then open the way for them:  
For God is oft forgiving  
Most merciful."

Abdallah Yousuf Ali in his translation and commentary on the Qur'an makes no mention of the title "Verse of the Sword." He explains passage as a commandment to punish pagan tribes who have repeatedly broken treaties with the Muslim community.

Abdallah Yousuf Ali, The Glorious Kur'an (Libya: The Call of Islam Society, 1973) p. 439.

<sup>64</sup>Zwemer, "The Sword of Mohammed and Ali," p. 120.

## Chapter 6 - Conclusion

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Zwemer, Cover page (January, 1911).

<sup>2</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (January, 1911): 3.

<sup>3</sup>J.M. Kitagawa, "The History of Religions in America," in The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology, ed. Mircea Eliade (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (January, 1911): 3.

<sup>5</sup>Abraham Moorhatch, "Islam for Christ," p. 270.

<sup>6</sup>Moorhatch, p. 270.

<sup>7</sup>Stephen Van Rensselaer Trowbridge, "Mohammed's View of Religious War," p. 27.

<sup>8</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (April, 1911): 97.

<sup>9</sup>Zwemer, "Past and Future," p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Zwemer, "Looking Backward and Forward from the Bridge," p. 175.

<sup>11</sup>Zwemer, "Editorial," (April, 1911): 97.

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