

Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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VOLUME 41

Christians and Muslims have been involved in exchanges over matters of faith and morality since the founding of Islam. Attitudes between the faiths today are deeply coloured by the legacy of past encounters, and often preserve centuries-old negative views.

The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, Texts and Studies presents the surviving record of past encounters in a variety of forms: authoritative, text editions and annotated translations, studies of authors and their works and collections of essays on particular themes and historical periods. It illustrates the development in mutual perceptions as these are contained in surviving Christian and Muslim writings, and makes available the arguments and rhetorical strategies that, for good or for ill, have left their mark on attitudes today. The series casts light on a history marked by intellectual creativity and occasional breakthroughs in communication, although, on the whole beset by misunderstanding and misrepresentation. By making this history better known, the series seeks to contribute to improved recognition between Christians and Muslims in the future.

A number of volumes of the *History of Christian-Muslim Relations* series are published within the subseries *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*.

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Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 16. North America, South-East Asia,
China, Japan and Australasia (1800-1914)

Edited by
David Thomas and John Chesworth

with David D. Grafton, Douglas Pratt, Peter Riddell



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Cover illustration: This is an engraving from the United States of the African Muslim slave ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ben Sori, who was freed in 1828 by order of President John Quincy Adams at the request of the King of Morocco. The king’s identification of him, *ismuhu ‘Abd al-Raḥmān* (‘his name is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’), appears in the original Arabic. Frontispiece from E.S. Abdy, *The colonizationist and journal of freedom*, Boston, 1834; stipple engraving by Thomas Illman after a drawing by Henry Inman. LC-USZ62-39606 courtesy of Library of Congress, Washington DC.

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CONTENTS

Foreword	ix
List of Illustrations	xiv
List of Maps	xvi
Abbreviations	xvii

North America

David D. Grafton, <i>Introduction</i>	3
James Toronto, <i>Interreligious discourse of Protestants, Mormons, and Muslims, 1830-1918</i>	19
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1800-1914	41
Thomas Jefferson	Denise Spellberg 43
Susanna Haswell Rowson	Ian Larson 50
Royall Tyler	Fuad Shaban 55
John Vandike	Ian Larson 63
John Foss	Ian Larson 67
<i>Humanity in Algiers</i>	Zeinab Mcheimech 71
James Riley	Ian Larson 77
Levi Parsons	John Hubers 84
Samuel Lorenzo Knapp	Ian Larson 89
Archibald Alexander	David D. Grafton 93
Pliny Fisk	John Hubers 98
Lewis Eichelberger	David D. Grafton 103
Josiah Brewer	David D. Grafton 108
Edgar Allan Poe	Jacob Rama Berman 113
George Bush	David D. Grafton 118
Eli Smith	David D. Grafton 125
Horatio Southgate	Lucinda Mosher 134
John C. Lowrie	Darin D. Lenz 150
John Hayward	David D. Grafton 156
Albert Leighton Rawson	Patrick Bowen 161
Washington Irving	David D. Grafton 164

James Lyman Merrick	David D. Grafton	174
Charles Mackay	Christine Talbot	180
George Bowen	David D. Grafton	185
John Johnston Walsh	Darin D. Lenz	190
Isidore Loewenthal	Matthew Ebenezer	195
Gulian Lansing	Michael T. Shelley	202
John Porter Brown	Patrick Bowen	213
Mark Twain	Joshua Mabie	215
Andrew Jackson Davis	Tim Rudbøg	226
Robert Morris	Patrick Bowen	236
Paschal Beverly Randolph	Patrick Bowen	239
Rufus Anderson	James Rohrer	243
Nineteenth-century North American	Mohammed Bashir	
Muslim slave narratives	Salau	249
Napoleon Bonaparte Wolfe	Patrick Bowen	260
Herman Melville	Joshua Mabie	262
Edward E. Salisbury	Roberta L. Dougherty ...	272
Helena Petrovna Blavatsky	Tim Rudbøg	279
Charles William Forman	Charles M. Ramsey	288
New England Unitarians	Jeffrey Einboden	297
Thomas Patrick Hughes	Alan M. Guenther	311
Cyrus Hamlin	Bilal Ozaslan with	
	David D. Grafton	320
William Q. Judge	Tim Rudbøg	327
Alexander Russell Webb	Patrick Bowen	334
Henry Preserved Smith	David D. Grafton	337
James Leander Cathcart	Ian Larson	345
Samuel Henry Kellogg	David D. Grafton	351
Anson Atterbury	Martha T. Frederiks	357
William Ambrose Shedd	David D. Grafton	364
Elwood Morris Wherry	Matthew Ebenezer and	
	Charles M. Ramsey	371
Henry Jessup	Deanna Ferree	
	Womack	385
Duncan Black Macdonald	Yahya Michot	401
American Board of Commissioners for	Hami İnan Gümüş	419
Foreign Missions and the Ottoman		
Empire		
Samuel M. Zwemer	David D. Grafton	433

Asia and Australasia

Peter Riddell and Douglas Pratt, <i>Introduction</i>	459
Stuart Vogel, <i>Christian missionaries and the Muslim community in China in the 19th century</i>	473
James Harry Morris, <i>Christian-Muslim relations in 19th-century Japan</i>	485
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1800-1914	507
<i>South-East Asia</i>	509
Muḥammad Anwār al-Dīn	Isaac Donoso 511
Thomas Forrest	Ruth J. Nicholls 515
Stamford Raffles	Malcolm Thian Hock Tan 523
Abdullah Abdul Kadir	Khairudin Aljunied 530
Benjamin Keasberry	Malcolm Thian Hock Tan 537
Vicente Barrantes	Isaac Donoso 544
Sayyid ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Aqīl ibn Yahyā l-‘Alawī	Nico J.G. Kaptein 548
Carel Poensen	Maryse Kruithof 551
<i>Repen Ripangi</i>	Karel Steenbrink 555
José Montero y Vidal	Isaac Donoso 559
Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Daḥlān	Nico J.G. Kaptein 564
Dutch and Malay authors on the Paderi Wars in west Sumatra	Karel Steenbrink 567
L.W.C. van den Berg	Karel Steenbrink 573
Nineteenth-century correspondence between the Sultanate of Aceh and the Ottoman Empire	Ismail Hakkı Göksoy 581
Acehnese, Dutch and Malay authors on the Aceh War (1873-1903)	Karel Steenbrink 592
Dutch and Malay accounts of the conflicts known as the Banjar War, 1859-1905	Karel Steenbrink 602
<i>China</i>	613
<i>The Chinese Repository</i>	Stuart Vogel 615
Samuel Wells Williams	Stuart Vogel 619
Ma Dexin	Wai Yip Ho 622

George William Clarke	Stuart Vogel	625
Missionary articles on Islam in China	Stuart Vogel	628
Charles Frederick Hogg	Stuart Vogel	632
Ma Lianyuan	Wai Yip Ho	638
Sarah Querry Ridley	Emily Dawes	642
Jane Söderström	Emily Dawes	646
Representative Christian works on Muslims and Islam in China, 1800-1914	James Harry Morris	650
Marshall Broomhall	Wai Yip Ho and James Harry Morris	694
<i>Japan</i>		713
Mori Arinori	Alistair Swale	715
Takahashi Gorō	Hans Martin Krämer	719
Christian-Muslim relations in 19 th -century Japan	James Harry Morris	724
Kanzō Uchimura	James Harry Morris	738
<i>Australasia</i>		761
<i>The Coolgardie Miner</i> and other Western Australian mining newspapers, 1894-1914	Katherine Jennings	763
Publications from Australian port towns	Katherine Jennings	770
Accounts by British travellers in Western Australia	Katherine Jennings	776
New Zealand regional newspapers, 1854-1900	Katherine Jennings	784
Australian local and state newspapers, 1836-1914	Katherine Jennings	788
Contributors		793
Index of Names		801
Index of Titles		815

FOREWORD

David Thomas

With this volume, *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history* moves into the 19th century. *CMR* 16, the first of an expected eight volumes surveying the period 1800-1914, covers North America, South-East Asia, China, Japan and Australasia. These regions were far distant from the heartlands where Christians and Muslims had been encountering and picturing one another for well over a thousand years. While there are many similarities of attitude in the reports coming from them and the treatises typical of authors in the Middle East and Europe, there are also clear pointers to other preoccupations.

In North America (effectively, the United States), acute awareness of the Islamic world came in the form of news about American sailors being seized by North African corsairs in the Atlantic, and also through the presence of Muslims among the hosts of West African slaves in plantations in the American south. The age-old perception of Muḥammad as a fraud that had been inherited from European scholarship persisted, and was put to creative use in attacks against the Mormons and their founder, Joseph Smith, who was compared to Muḥammad as a heretic. By contrast, Unitarians continued to see in Islam aspects of their own rejection of Trinitarian ideas and looked on the early Muslims as their precursors.

On a scholarly level, interest in Islam and its scriptural sources corresponded to and frequently drew on works from European authors. There are signs that some American scholars such as Edward E. Salisbury (1814-1901) deliberately moved beyond religious divides to write less biased accounts than their predecessors of Muḥammad and the first Muslims, and appreciated the value of primary sources. Nevertheless, mission to Muslims was a major activity among the American churches, both in the Middle East and in other parts of the Islamic world.

In China and Japan, there is no evidence of encounters on such profound levels. In China, missionaries from American and European agencies gradually grew more aware of Muslim populations that they saw were more ancient and numerous than almost anyone from the West could have predicted. Missionary writings usually took the form of descriptive reports of Muslim communities and estimates of their numbers, with no signs of engagement with them as followers of a competing faith or

any concern about Islam as hostile to Christianity. This was maybe because Muslim communities in China appeared to have lost any continuing communication with the Islamic heartlands and to be absorbed in maintaining themselves quietly among the wider population.

There were very few Christians or Muslims in Japan before the mid-19th century, though with the opening of its borders Christian missionaries were allowed in and converts were made. Attitudes towards Islam among those who showed interest tended to be heavily dependent on European thinking, often repeating the belief that it derived from Christianity and Judaism, though hinting at independent thinking in the early 20th century.

In South-East Asia, while entrenched attitudes of mutual suspicion and opposition lingered among both Christians and Muslims, the 19th century ushered in signs of greater openness and mutual interest. Some Muslims advocated cooperation with colonial powers, while some Christians rejected negative critiques of Muslims and Islam in favour of objective descriptions of beliefs and practices and, in a few cases, immersed themselves in Muslim lifestyles and community networks.

In the predominantly Christian countries of Australia and New Zealand, there was extremely limited awareness of Islam and Muslims, such as existed being heavily influenced by attitudes in Great Britain. In Australia, seasonal visits to the coast of Queensland by Muslim fishermen from Sumatra were noted, and the appearance of Muslim Afghans, brought in with large flocks of camels to work in the outback, was understandably greeted with curiosity; their religious observances such as abstinence from pork and alcohol drew notice. In New Zealand, there were no more than a handful of Muslims, and the few recorded references to Islam as a faith reflected European portrayals of it as a general threat to Christianity and the Christian world. Christians in both countries were conscious of Muslims as the object of evangelisation.

The overall intention of the *CMR* series is to provide full accounts of all the known works that were written by Christians and Muslims about the other and against the other throughout the world in the period 600-1914, as well as accounts that provide direct or indirect evidence of the attitudes that prevailed. As in earlier volumes, here the editors have been generously helped by scholars both new and well-established, who have often written at length and in considerable detail. In some instances they have produced entries that not only sum up past and present knowledge and research but also take it forward.

Like its predecessors, *CMR* 16 starts with introductory essays that outline the historical and social background in the parts of the world to

be covered. Following these come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The principle has been to choose works written substantially about or against the other faith, or containing significant information or judgements that cast light on general attitudes towards it. By their very nature, the few apologetic and polemical works are included, while letters and works of travel and history also often qualify. In the cases of Australia and New Zealand, newspapers are the main providers of information. Sometimes the reason for including a work may not seem obvious because its direct references to Islam are few, though time and again it emerges that the work attests to particular attitudes in the way it is structured or its information has been selected, or occasional insults about the other faith point to its author's prejudice. Everything is present that has been judged to contribute in any significant way towards conveying the information about the religious other that was possessed by 19th-century writers, and towards constructing the impressions about the religious other that they generally held to be true.

In most cases, this principle is easily applicable, though in some instances it proves difficult. The approach has therefore been inclusive (some might think too inclusive), especially regarding works that contain only slight though insightful details or that appear to touch only obliquely on relations. Another principle is that inclusion of works within this volume, like its predecessors, has been decided according to the date of their author's death, not the date when the works themselves appeared (though the date of publication is used where the author is not known). The adoption of this approach has led to evident anomalies at the beginning, where authors may have died in the early 19th century but were mainly or almost entirely active in the 18th century. Other principles could have been adopted, such as an author's most active period, though while this could have worked for some, it would not have helped at all for many others. When it comes to the end-date of the volume, the year 1914, this principle has been relaxed. There is no plan to continue the *CMR* series beyond the early 20th century, and so for the sake of completeness authors have been included who died after 1914, provided that their main period of activity occurred before this limit.

Each entry is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the author: it contains biographical details, an account of their main intellectual activities and writings, the major primary sources of information about them, and scholarly works on them that have mainly appeared since the mid-20th century. A small number of entries are concerned with clusters of authors active at roughly the same time who

wrote on the same theme, in which case they are situated in the sequence of entries as appropriate. Without aiming to be exhaustive in biographical detail or scholarly study, this section contains enough information to enable readers to pursue further points about the authors and their general activities.

The second part of the entry is concerned with the works of the author that are specifically devoted to the other faith. Here the aim is completeness. A work is named and dated, and then in two important sections its contents are described, with particular emphasis on its attention to Islam. Its significance in the history of Christian-Muslim relations is then appraised, including its later influence. There follow sections that list publication details (manuscripts where known, and then editions and translations, except in cases of famous authors, where a selection of the most significant editions and translations is listed) and studies from roughly the middle of the 20th century onwards. Both these sections are intended to be fully up to date at the time of going to press.

Like preceding volumes in the series, *CMR* 16 provides information that will enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and editions and the latest studies located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible together with other works from the same region written at the same time, though this grouping should be regarded as more a matter of organisational expediency than anything else. Proximity between entries is definitely not an indication of any direct relationship between the works analysed in them, let alone influence between them (though this may sometimes be discernible). In this period, just like any other, it is as likely that an author would be influenced by a work written in another country or century as by a work from their immediate locality or time.

The task of producing *CMR* 16 has involved numerous contributors, and it is pleasing to note how many have readily agreed to write entries, and have sometimes produced compositions that will remain authoritative accounts of a work and its author for the foreseeable future. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer), David D. Grafton (North America), Peter Riddell (South-East Asia) and Douglas Pratt (China, Japan and Australasia, and editorial associate), all members of a much larger team that comprises 26 specialists in total, covering all parts of the world. Several other scholars gave assistance in identifying relevant material, finding contributors and generally lending their expertise. Without their help and interest, the task of assembling the material in this volume could

not have been completed. Among many others, special gratitude goes to Charles Tieszen for coordinating work on the essays, and also to James Harry Morris (a loyal friend of *CMR*), Patrick Bowen, Katherine Jennings, Ian Larson, and Stuart Vogel. In addition, Carol Rowe copy-edited the entire volume, Phyllis Chesworth compiled the indexes, Cai Lyons worked on the illustrations and Louise Bouglass prepared the maps. We are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed to bringing this volume into being.

Extensive efforts have been made to ensure the information in the volume is both accurate and complete, though in a project that crosses as many boundaries of time, place, language and discipline as this it would be unrealistic and presumptuous to claim that these have succeeded. Details must have been overlooked, authors and whole works could have been ignored, new historical works may have come to light, new dates and interpretations may have been put forward, and new editions, translations and studies published. Therefore, corrections, additions and updates are cordially invited. They will be incorporated into the online version of *CMR* and into any further editions. Please send details of omissions and corrections to David Thomas at d.r.thomas.1@bham.ac.uk.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1	Thomas Jefferson's copy of George Sale's <i>Koran</i> , vol. 1, p. 113. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, 02004352	48
2	G.A. Jackson, <i>Algiers</i> , London, 1817, 'Christians in slavery' by G.M. Brighty, facing p. 335. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons	73
3	Edgar Allan Poe, by Jacques Reich. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1943.3.7421	114
4	A.L. Rawson et al. (eds), <i>What the world believes</i> , New York, 1886, 'An Arab at prayer', facing p. 181. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons	162
5	Mark Twain, <i>The innocents abroad</i> , New York, 1869, 'A view of a street in Tangier', p. 77. Courtesy of Hathi Trust Digital Library	218
6	Andrew Jackson Davis. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, the New York Public Library. Courtesy of the New York Public Library Digital Collections	227
7	Shriners from the Troy NY Oriental Temple ready to parade in Schenectady, New York, on 10 September 1949. Courtesy of the <i>Daily Gazette</i> , Schenectady, New York	238
8	Madam Blavatsky. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, the New York Public Library. Courtesy of the New York Public Library Digital Collections	280
9	Graduates and professors of Anatolia College, Merzifon, Turkey, 1894. ABAHMRZ149, Courtesy of the United Church of Christ, American Research Institute in Turkey, SALT Research, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0	426
10	Two Afghan handlers with their camels. Copyright State Library of New South Wales	469
11	Japanese families trampling on Christian cult objects (18 th century, London: Alex[ande]r Hogg). Wellcome Library no. 30382i. Courtesy of the Wellcome Collection; attribution 4.0 International, CC BY 4.0	489

12	Thomas Forrest, <i>A voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas</i> , Dublin, 1779, 'A Magindano marriage', facing p. 304. OL17862969M, Courtesy of Internet Archive	518
13	Thomas Stamford Raffles, engraved by James Thomson (1824). Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons	524
14	Claudius Henry Thomsen and Abdullah Abdul Kadir, <i>A vocabulary of the English and Malay languages</i> , Malacca, 1820, p. 47. Bsb10572430, Courtesy of Munchener DigitalisierungsZentrum	531
15	A Javanese court official, by an unknown artist. NG-2010-39, Courtesy of Rijksmuseum	557
16	Henry Landsell, <i>Chinese Central Asia</i> , London, 1893, 'At Kashgar – mullahs indicating the rifled grave of Yakub Khan', vol. 1, p. 450. Courtesy of Hathi Trust Digital Library	668
17	Marshall Broomhall, <i>Islam in China. A neglected problem</i> , London, 1910, 'The baptism of a Chinese Moslem', facing p. 278	709
18	Mori Arinori, 1871. 2002.285, Charles Bain Hoyt Fund. Courtesy of Boston Museum of Fine Arts	716
19	Kanzo Uchimura, from Shigeo Masumoto, <i>Uchimura Kanzo Den</i> , Tokyo, 1936. Copyright National Diet Library, Japan. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons	739
20	David Lindsay. Copyright State Library of New South Wales	779
21	An Act to place certain restrictions on immigration [Immigration Restriction Act 1901]. Copyright National Archives of Australia	790

LIST OF MAPS

1	North America	2
2	South-East Asia	456
3	China and Japan	457
4	Australasia and the Western Pacific	458

ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
BL	British Library
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , Oxford, 1885-1996; https://www.oxforddnb.com/
ECCO	<i>Eighteenth Century Collections Online</i> ; https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online
El ₂	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition
El ₃	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , THREE
EQ	<i>Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān</i>
ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> ; http://estc.bl.uk
ICMR	<i>Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
MW	<i>The Muslim World</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , Oxford, 2004-; http://www.oxforddnb.com
Q	Qurʾan

North America



Map 1. North America

Introduction

David D. Grafton

The long 19th century (1789-1914) witnessed a dramatic shift in relations between Muslims and Christians in both North America and around the world.¹ As the century opened, the relationship was defined on the one hand by the enslavement and transportation of African Muslims to the Americas by European merchants, and on the other by the capture of colonial sailors, merchants and trans-Atlantic passengers by North African pirates. By the end of the century, however, American Christians viewed Islam as a benign and even fascinating Oriental religion, while missionaries sought to convert Muslims in West Africa, South Asia and in the Ottoman Empire. It was at the end of this century that enslaved Muslims established themselves in North America as ethnic and religious minorities, and Ottoman Muslims began migrating to the United States and Canada for economic opportunities, forming the origins of communities that would become established in the 20th century.

Slavery, and Barbary and Ottoman despotism

The earliest known North American encounters with Muslims came about as enslaved Muslims from various parts of Africa were transported to North America. In addition, North American merchants working in the Far East and North Africa trading in coffee, spices and opium encountered Muslims in their travels.² Throughout the 18th century, Europeans and colonial Americans profited from an active slave trade that brought enslaved African Muslims to the North American continent and the West Indies. African Muslims left a relatively small but important number of

¹ The term 'the long 19th century' was coined by the British historian Eric Hobsbawm in *The age of revolution. 1789-1848*, New York, 1962.

² For early North American trade relations with the East, see e.g. D. Finnie, *Pioneers east. The early American experience in the Middle East*, Cambridge MA, 1967; J. Downs, 'American merchants and the China opium trade, 1800-1840', *The Business History Review* 42 (1968) 418-42; J. Einboden, *The Islamic lineage of American literary culture. Muslim sources from the Revolution to reconstruction*, New York, 2016, pp. 33-64, 178 n. 55, 179 n. 65.

records of their lives through letters, journals and interviews.³ The abolition of slavery during the American Civil War prompted some Muslims to seek repatriation, while others contributed to the establishment of an indigenous Muslim culture.⁴ The vast majority of Muslim slaves converted to Christianity or amalgamated Islamic beliefs and practices with other African American religious traditions.⁵ However, in the first half of the 20th century, heterodox versions of Islam began to appeal to African Americans. A mysterious figure, W.D. Fard, appeared in Detroit in 1930 teaching an eccentric form of Islam. His disciple, Elijah Muhammad, further developed these ideas and founded the Nation of Islam, a Black Nationalist movement. However, throughout the turbulent period of the 1960s and 1970s many African Americans 're-verted' to Islam, creating the kernel of what would become Sunnī African American Islam.⁶

Through the early part of the 19th century, on the other side of the Atlantic, white Americans were themselves being subjugated, albeit in smaller numbers.⁷ The Barbary pirates from Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and elsewhere along the North African coast took advantage of American shipping, which lost its protection from the British navy after the War of Independence, to capture American merchant vessels and hold their passengers for ransom. This situation prompted several responses. First, the United States engaged in formal negotiations for the release of some captives through ransoms. Second, the United States government became embroiled in a debate about the defence of the country, resulting in the creation of the US navy and the instigation of the first

³ The literature on the American Muslim slave heritage has grown tremendously. See A. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America. Transatlantic stories and spiritual struggles*, Hoboken NJ, 2012; S.A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah. African Muslims enslaved in the Americas*, New York, 2013²; E.E. Curtis, *The Columbia sourcebook of Muslims in the United States*, New York, 2009, pp. 1-39; M. Gomez, *Black crescent. The experience and legacy of African Muslims in the Americas*, Cambridge MA, 2005. For a German Lutheran immigrant experience of African American Muslim slaves, see M. Gutzler, *Lutheran Salzburger and Muslim African Moors. The earliest evidence of Lutheran-Muslim interaction in North America*, Berkeley CA, 2006. See also Mohammed Bashir Salau, 'Nineteenth century North American slave narratives', in *CMR* 16, 249-60.

⁴ For stories of repatriation, see e.g. Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 126-35.

⁵ For the impact of Muslims on the well-known Gullah community in South Carolina, see M. Gomez, 'Africans, culture and Islam in the Lowcountry', in P. Morgan (ed.), *African American life in the Georgia Lowcountry. The Atlantic world and the Gullah Geechee*, Athens GA, 2010, 103-30.

⁶ S. Jackson, *Islam and the Blackamerican. Looking toward the Third Resurrection*, New York, 2005, pp. 23-57.

⁷ See P. Baeppler, *White slaves, African masters. An anthology of American Barbary captivity narratives*, Chicago IL, 1999; K. Bekkaoui, *White women captives in North Africa. Narratives of enslavement, 1735-1803*, Basingstoke, 2011.

wars waged by the new state, the Tripolitan War that lasted from 1801 to 1805, and the Algerian War from 1815 to 1816. Third, it brought about a new genre of literature based on this American experience. Captivity accounts, such as the diary of John Foss, spawned a wave of embellished stories, novels and plays, among them Peter Markoe's *The Algerine spy, or Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States of America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*, Royall Tyler's novel *The Algerine captive*, and Susanna H. Rowson's play *Slaves in Algiers*. This literature cemented the idea of Muslims as culturally and religiously despotic and barbarous.⁸

American commercial and diplomatic relations

As Ayşegül Avcı has argued, there was 'an organic bond between the activities of merchants and diplomatic relations' concerning North America-Ottoman relations.⁹ As noted above, commerce was the first and primary medium of interaction between Americans and Muslims from North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. This activity was supported by the young nation's diplomatic and military attempts to establish its trading opportunities in the Atlantic and Mediterranean.

Turkish luxury goods began showing up in Boston as early as the 1760s, and Turkish figs were commonly available in Boston by 1785.¹⁰ It was the arrival of fruit, rugs and other items in New England that created further desire for all things oriental.¹¹ The Philadelphian David Offley (1779-1838) established the first American trading house in Smyrna in 1811,¹² though the wealthiest merchant American family was the Perkins. George Perkins (1756-1836) was the long-time foreign resident of Smyrna who worked with his cousins in Boston and developed an international network from New England to China, trading in slaves and opium. Smyrna proved to be an extremely important trading post where

⁸ T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, New York, 2006, pp. 20-68. See F. Shaban, 'Peter Markoe', in *CMR* 12, 843-8; I. Larson, 'John Foss', in *CMR* 16, 67-70; F. Shaban, 'Royall Tyler', in *CMR* 16, 55-62; I. Larson, 'Susan Haswell Rowson', in *CMR* 16, 50-4.

⁹ A. Avcı, 'Yankee Levantine. David Offley and Ottoman-American relations in the early nineteenth century', Ankara, 2016 (PhD Diss. Bilkent University), p. 1.

¹⁰ L.J. Gordon, *American relations with Turkey, 1830-1930. An economic interpretation*, Philadelphia PA, 1932, p. 41.

¹¹ See the examples of American fascination with Oriental styles in T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, New York, 2006, pp. 262-72.

¹² Avcı, 'Yankee Levantine', p. 5.

American merchants could move trade goods not only from New England, but also the West and East Indies, while dates, spices and Oriental rugs were exported to the Americas and opium to China.¹³

The Offley and Perkins families' correspondence provide important insights into a cosmopolitan Ottoman city, where the historic Ottoman Capitulations towards religious and ethnic minorities provided licence for fairly positive and active interfaith relations. Offley was well liked by Ottoman officials and managed to secure a 'most favoured nation' status for the US. He also secured the first United States-Ottoman Treaty in 1830, but the Americans did not have official diplomatic representatives in Istanbul until David Porter arrived in 1831.¹⁴

The capturing of US merchant vessels in 1785 and 1786 by privateers under the authority of Morocco, Algiers, and Tripoli prompted the United States to seek a diplomatic solution to American captives in North Africa. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were the first official American representatives to meet and negotiate with agents from these Muslim majority nations, signing treaties with Tripoli in 1786 and Morocco in 1787.¹⁵ Denise Spellberg provides a record of Jefferson and Adams' diplomatic meetings and their views of Islam, including the notorious discussion over matters of qur'anic interpretation and the justification of piracy by the Tripolitan ambassador 'Abd al-Raḥmān. This official diplomatic activity failed to achieve its objective, as piracy and the ransom of American citizens continued, prompting the US Congress to authorise the establishment of a navy, and to declare the first American foreign war as a nation with Tripoli. American literary responses to the 'Barbary wars' are noted above.

Following the conclusion of hostilities with the Barbary States, the US sought various avenues for developing official treaties with the Ottoman Empire to support commercial activity. It was not until 1831, however, that an official treaty was signed between the US and the Ottoman Empire. David Porter (1780-1843), an American sailor in the Tripolitan war, was

¹³ J.M. Downs, 'American merchants and the China opium trade, 1800-1840', *The Business History Review* 42 (1968) 418-42. See also S.E. Morrison, *The maritime history of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, New York, 1921.

¹⁴ The Offley Family Papers, the Perkins Family Papers and the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri provide important insights into the lives of Americans and their relations with Ottoman society in Smyrna, and also into the Ottoman government's perspective of the Americans from the 1810s to the 1840s. See Avcı's discussion of sources, 'Yankee Levantine', pp. 28-36.

¹⁵ D. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an. Islam and the Founders*, New York, 2013, pp. 124-57.

appointed US Consul General at Algiers. During his time there he provided a record of French occupation of North Africa. He was then sent to Istanbul as the chargé d'affaires to negotiate what would become the initial Ottoman-American commercial treaty, and remained the American representative there until his death in 1843. It was under Porter that American-Ottoman diplomatic relations developed strong ties between the two governments. His memoirs and letters provide an important insight into American views of the Ottomans in anti-bellum America, especially during the Greek War for Independence where there was a great deal of sympathy for the Christian Greeks and antipathy towards the Turks as Muslims.¹⁶ Missionary literature often portrayed the revolt as a 'clash of civilizations', of Christians against Muslims. Porter was supportive of the American missionaries and their educational projects as American citizens, but was often at odds with their religious views, causing him to run into disagreements with them over missionary practices.

American diplomacy sought to support 'individual and group interests', primarily those of its merchants and missionaries.¹⁷ While American missionaries often appealed to the US government for support by pressurizing the Ottoman or Egyptian governments to allow religious freedom (that is to legalise missionary work), the American government usually demurred, only flexing its military muscles when it needed to protect American citizens, property, and commercial interests. The most important examples were the appeals from missionaries for intervention to protect Armenian, Kurdish and Nestorian populations in 1895 and 1917. In response the government refused to provide either diplomatic or military protection. Ironically, however, in 1899 the US government officially appealed to Sultan Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876-1908) to write letters to the Muslims of the Philippines requesting them to accept American rule during the brief American attempt at acquiring imperial territory under the McKinley and Roosevelt presidencies.

¹⁶ D. Porter, *Memoir of Commodore David Porter of the United States Navy*, Albany NY, 1875.

¹⁷ J.A. DeNovo, *American interests and policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939*, Minneapolis MN, 1963, p. 19. See also T.A. Bryson, *American diplomatic relations with the Middle East, 1784-1975. A survey*, Metuchen NJ, 1977; T.A. Bryson, *Tars, Turks, and tankers. The role of the United States Navy in the Middle East, 1800-1979*, Metuchen NJ, 1980.

Missionary perspectives

The Second Great Awakening of the late 18th century created a widespread movement among Protestants, who became interested in saving the lost souls of non-Christians around the world. Imbibing the evangelical ideas of Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) and Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), American Protestants became enthralled with a notion of 'disinterested benevolence'.¹⁸ A combination of Puritan ideals and American notions of progress, 'disinterested benevolence' was a frame of mind in which missionaries became 'disinterested' in all personal cares and comforts of life in order to bring the Gospel 'benevolently' to the world. Thus, they were willing to leave family and homeland for the cause.

As the British Empire expanded its naval presence around the world, American merchants followed. After Independence, American merchants sailed throughout the world looking for new markets. This provided American missionaries with a means of travel to the far reaches of the world, including the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), West Africa, India and the Ottoman Empire. Missionaries were recruited and supported by voluntary missionary organisations with headquarters in Britain and North America. They were financially supported by individual congregations, wealthy donors and women's societies.¹⁹ In addition, missionaries would spend time prior to their departure and irregular furloughs travelling to the supporting congregations and organisations to raise further funds. The largest and most prominent organisation was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Led by Congregational, Baptist and Presbyterian churches, the ABCFM became the most prominent missionary organisation to send missionaries into Muslim-majority countries.²⁰

Pliny Fisk (1792-1825) was the first American missionary to a Muslim-majority land; he arrived in the port city of Smyrna in 1820. He was not, however, the first American to arrive in the Ottoman Empire. He was hosted by the Perkins family,²¹ and he noted with particular distaste

¹⁸ See R.A. Leo, 'Jonathan Edwards', in *CMR* 12, 830-42.

¹⁹ See D. Robert, *Women in mission. A social history of their thought and practice*, Macon GA, 1996.

²⁰ See H.İ. Gümüş, 'American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions', in *CMR* 16, 419-32.

²¹ A. Bond, *Memoir of the Reverend Pliny Fisk*, Boston MA, 1828, p. 109. See J. Hubers, 'Pliny Fisk', in *CMR* 16, 98-102.

that he had to board with and rely upon the generosity of wealthy but ungodly, rum-drinking and opium-trading Bostonian merchants.²²

American missionaries followed their evangelical British and German forbears into foreign lands. However, the Americans soon constituted vast numbers of Protestant missionaries around the world and in Muslim-majority lands. For most of the 19th century, missionary literature provided the bulk of information that North Americans learned about Islam. Missionary reports and journals proved to be important avenues of both news and entertainment. Serialised each month in missionary society journals, reports from missionaries could shape a narrative about the ongoing saga of Muslim converts and struggles against Muslim 'ignorance' and 'fanaticism'.²³ The ABCFM, the largest ecumenical mission organisation of its time, sent missionaries to India, West Africa and Syria, the American and Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians built up networks in India, and the Reformed Church's Arabian Mission began its work in the Gulf, mainly Basra, Bahrain, Kuwait and Oman. Missionaries in these places would send home information about Islam and Muslim cultures that could be shared in churches. They also began to provide access to Islamic historical sources, which they translated from their original languages.

While American missionary views of Islam differed greatly among themselves, there was a generally accepted view that Islam was morally and spiritually bankrupt. It was only a matter of time, it was felt, before Islam would be destroyed or collapse – not through imperial arms but by missionary preaching.²⁴ Cyrus Hamlin in Turkey, Henry Jessup in Syria and Elwood Morris Wherry²⁵ in India proved to be very popular among American Christian readers. However, no one illustrated this evangelical view of Islam more than Samuel Zwemer (1867-1952), 'the apostle to

²² J. Hubers, *I am a pilgrim, a traveler, a stranger. Exploring the life and mind of the first American missionary to the Middle East, the Rev. Pliny Fisk (1792-1825)*, Eugene OR, 2016, p. 133.

²³ See for example the stories of the converts 'Asad Shidyak, in I. Bird, *The martyr of Lebanon*, Boston MA, 1864, and Kamil Abdul Masih, in H. Jessup, *The setting of the Crescent and the rising of the Cross; or Kamil Abdul Messiah, a Syrian convert from Islam to Christianity*, Philadelphia PA, 1898.

²⁴ A. Guenther, 'The image of the Prophet as found in missionary writings of the late nineteenth century', *The Muslim World* 90 (2000) 43-70; T. Kidd, *American Christians and Islam. Evangelical culture and Muslims from the colonial period to the age of terrorism*, Princeton NJ, 2008, pp. 37-57.

²⁵ See B. Ozaslan with D.D. Grafton, 'Cyrus Hamlin', in *CMR* 16, 320-6; D.F. Womack, 'Henry Jessup', in *CMR* 16, 385-400; M. Ebenezer and C.M. Ramsey, 'Elwood Morris Wherry', in *CMR* 16, 371-84.

Islam', who set the tone of 'Evangelical biblicism' for the next century of American Protestant engagement with Islam.²⁶ Zwemer was part of the 19th-century missionary wave of Americans, arriving in the Arabian Gulf in 1890. After 16 years as a peripatetic missionary, he moved to Cairo in 1906 and began his career of promoting Christian evangelism in the Islamic world. He was involved in planning numerous international missionary conferences, including the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh. His writings and pamphlets on Islam continue to circulate among American evangelicals.²⁷

American literature on Islam

Christian missionaries were not the only Americans who encountered Muslims abroad and investigated the teachings of Islam. Throughout the century a growing number of travellers, explorers, pilgrims and tourists made their way abroad, especially to the Holy Land.²⁸ Following the American Civil War, Southern and Northern soldiers found their way into the service of the Ottoman sultan or the nominal Ottoman governor of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī.²⁹ American interest in the Orient was driven by a mixture of Christian devotion to the lands of the Bible, curiosity about the East, and a growing sense of adventure.³⁰ Several factors facilitated this desire and fascination. First, the development of the steamship made travel across the Atlantic comparatively easy and affordable. Second, the stability of local politics in the Ottoman Empire ensured relatively safe travel. Finally, European colonialism and occupation of Muslim-majority lands facilitated transit networks to remote places of the world, including East Africa, the Arabian Gulf and India.

As Americans travelled to Muslim-majority lands, they wrote about their experiences. Travelogues of pilgrimages, such as the missionary William Thomson's *The land and the book* (1859), proved to be the

²⁶ D. Grafton 'Christians and Muslims in the Americas', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Christian-Muslim relations*, New York, 2018, 402-12, p. 407.

²⁷ The standard biography of Zwemer is still J. Wilson, *Apostle to Islam. A biography of Samuel M. Zwemer*, Grand Rapids MI, 1952. See D.D. Grafton, 'Samuel Zwemer', in *CMR* 16, 433-54.

²⁸ J. Berman, *American arabesque. Arabs and Islam in the nineteenth century imaginary*, New York, 2012, pp. 70-3.

²⁹ See the original study by W. Hesselstine and H. Wolf, *The blue and the grey on the Nile*, Chicago IL, 1961.

³⁰ See A. Oliver, *American travelers on the Nile. Early U.S. visitors to Egypt, 1774-1839*, Cairo, 2014.

most popular genre for a large Christian reading audience.³¹ American celebrities and authors also found that writing about their travels to the East made for good copy and sold well. Mark Twain and Herman Melville cashed in on this 'Holy Land mania' by publishing some of their most popular works while travelling to Egypt, Syria and Palestine.³² As a result of this increased traffic, references to Islam, Muḥammad, and Arab culture began to find their way into a vast array of American literature, including the poetry of Edgar Allan Poe.³³ As a result of this rise in American Orientalism, Americans were provided with opportunities to learn about Islam and even to appropriate Islamic cultural trappings for entertainment (what Susan Nance calls 'playing Eastern')³⁴ or economic gain, or to glean ancient secrets from the mysterious East.

American study of Islam

Following the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798, European Orientalists began scouring the East for ancient texts. The works of scholars such as Edward William Lane, William Muir and Gustav Weil made their way across the Atlantic and aroused American curiosity, giving birth to a North American Orientalism. The American Oriental Society, founded in 1840 and led by Edward Salisbury (1814-1901) at Yale,³⁵ produced little in the way of published material on Islam, but its members encouraged the collecting and sharing of books and studies, especially George Sale's 1734 English translation of the Qur'an, which was the standard English edition until the 20th century.

When Americans began to make their own impression on the study of Islam, it had a decidedly religious dimension as American clergy began to explore Islamic texts and ideas. The Unitarian William Bentley (1759-1819) commissioned merchants sailing to the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean to purchase Arabic, Persian and Syriac works for him. While he did not publish any studies on Islam, his sermons often included numerous

³¹ S. Rogers, *Inventing the Holy Land. American Protestant pilgrimage to Palestine, 1845-1941*, Lanham MD, 2011, p. 2.

³² H. Obenzinger, *American Palestine. Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land mania*, Princeton NJ, 1999. See J. Mabie, 'Mark Twain', in *CMR* 16, 215-25; J. Mabie, 'Herman Melville', in *CMR* 16, 262-70.

³³ Berman, *American arabesque*, pp. 119-33. See J. Berman, 'Edgar Allan Poe', in *CMR* 16, 113-17.

³⁴ S. Nance, *How the Arabian nights inspired the American dream, 1790-1935*, Durham NC, 2009, p. 10.

³⁵ R.L. Dougherty, 'Edward E. Salisbury', in *CMR* 16, 272-8.

positive references to the Qur'an and Islam.³⁶ The Presbyterian minister George Bush (1796-1859) completed the first American biography of Muḥammad in 1831,³⁷ which reflected the long-standing Christian polemic against Muḥammad, viewing him as an impostor, and Islam as an enemy of God and a harbinger of the end times.

Other writings opened Americans up to a deeper and more appreciative understanding of Islam. Washington Irving's biography of Muḥammad and history of early Islam (1850), although still critical of the lifestyle of the Prophet, presented a fairly positive view of his 'genius'.³⁸ However, the most important American scholar in the study of Islam was Duncan Black Macdonald (1863-1943). He migrated to the US from Scotland and began teaching at Hartford Seminary. His scholarship tried to 'focus on Islam from within', that is, as Muslims experienced the faith.³⁹ His first major publication, *The development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory* in 1903, became a standard text for Protestant missionaries and scholars. Macdonald's primary interest was in popular piety and cultural practices. He used folk tales to demonstrate that they provided access to authentic Islamic culture, that of ordinary people, rather than the field of classical Islamic studies as established by Europeans such as Ignaz Goldziher, Aloys Sprenger and Theodor Nöldeke. Macdonald often used the tales from *The Arabian nights* as examples of traditional Islamic culture, through which he acquired one of the largest collections of editions of the work. This is now housed in the archives of Hartford Seminary, Connecticut.

In Canada, it would not be until 1952 that the Presbyterian Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1916-2000) founded the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, which would become a leading centre in the study of Islam and Christian-Muslim relations in the 20th century.

³⁶ Einboden, *Islamic lineage*, pp. 33-64. See J. Einboden, 'New England Unitarians', in *CMR* 16, 297-310.

³⁷ See D.D. Grafton, 'George Bush', in *CMR* 16, 118-24.

³⁸ Both biographies have been translated into Arabic for very different purposes and with different results. See J. Einboden, 'Washington Irving in Muslim translation. Revising the American "Mahomet"', *Translation and Literature* 18 (2009) 43-6; J. Einboden, 'Bush book incites controversy', *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 7-13 July, 2005. See D.D. Grafton, 'Washington Irving', in *CMR* 16, 164-73.

³⁹ N. Awad, "Understanding the other from-within". The Muslim Near East in the eyes of Duncan Black Macdonald', *The Muslim World* 106 (2016) 523-38. See Y. Michot, 'Duncan Black Macdonald', in *CMR* 16, 401-18.

Comparing Islam with Christianity

Duncan Black Macdonald's focus of study reflected the broader American fascination with the Orient and the mystical phenomena of the East. This American Orientalism reached fever pitch in 1893 with the Chicago World's Fair. The Presbyterian minister John Henry Barrows wanted to demonstrate that other Oriental religions were part of an inherent human spiritual project and so used the World's Fair to organise a Parliament of World Religions.⁴⁰ While the Parliament was overwhelmingly a Christian endeavour that assumed Protestant Christianity was the pinnacle of spiritual revelation, it opened the door to direct discussions with Catholics, Jews and a few Hindus and Muslims. The Parliament would begin a movement towards a comparative religions perspective.

Islam was presented to the American public at the Fair primarily through the lectures of the convert Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb (1846-1916).⁴¹ Webb's *Islam in America*, written in 1893, is the first known American Muslim exposition of Islam. Although Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) had written *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro race* in 1887, which was originally published in the United Kingdom and received positive reviews, the work was not published in North America until the late 20th century.

Unitarians, who had been an important contingent in New England in the 18th century, came to see Islam as a spiritual cousin and the Qur'an as an important spiritual resource that focused on God's unity (*tawhīd*) and Abrahamic monotheism. William Bentley and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) utilised Islamic theological concepts in their writings.⁴² Others compared and contrasted Islam with other world religions. Hannah Adams (1755-1831) wrote the important *A dictionary of all religions and religious denominations* in 1817 (it was much referred to in American literature of her day). Finally, James Freeman Clarke (1810-88) published his compendium, *Ten great religions*, in 1871.⁴³ While not completely free from bias, these comparative studies left behind the earlier Protestant

⁴⁰ E. Feldman, 'American ecumenicism. Chicago's World's Parliament of Religions of 1893', *Journal of Church and State* 9 (1967) 180-99.

⁴¹ P. Bowen, 'Alexander Russell Webb', in *CMR* 16, 334-6.

⁴² J. Einboden, "'Minding the Koran" in Civil War America. Islamic revelation, U.S. reflections', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 16 (2014) 84-103. See Einboden, 'New England Unitarians'.

⁴³ T.A. Tweed, 'An American pioneer in the study of religion. Hannah Adams (1755-1831) and her "Dictionary of all religions"', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 60 (1992) 437-64. See Einboden, 'New England Unitarians'.

critiques of Islam as a Christian heresy and/or Muḥammad as an impostor, and laid the groundwork for Islam to be considered as an important world religion. It would not be until American political and military involvement in the Middle East that Americans once again began to associate Islam with violence. The Iranian Revolution, the American hostages in Lebanon, and the dual attacks on the World Trade Center in 1993 and 2001 brought back to the fore the association of Islam with barbarity.

For much of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many Americans were fascinated with the Islamic East. American Oriental fraternal organisations provided successful Christian businessmen with an opportunity to create social and business networks, and Islamic history and culture were consequently appropriated. The Free Masons and their related body, the Order of the Eastern Star, the Ancient Arabic Order – Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, otherwise known as ‘the Shriners’, as well as others, adopted Eastern and Islamic cultural trappings for economic and social purposes. It was not uncommon for Anglo-American Christian men to be members of their local church and also full members of an ‘Eastern’ fraternal order. The initiation rite for the Shriners, for example, originally included circumambulating an altar resembling the Ka’ba upon which rested a Bible and a Qur’an.⁴⁴ Contrary to some missionary writings that considered Islam as the foundation of a despotic East, these fraternal orders saw Islam as a part of ancient Eastern wisdom. In these otherwise secular associations, the borders between Christian spirituality, social groups, entertainment and business interests became blurred.⁴⁵

The most singular quasi-religious association to appear in the 19th century was the Theosophical Society, founded by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–91) in 1871.⁴⁶ Certainly not Christian, this was a psychic movement that focused on spiritualism and the occult. Theosophists adopted the old Western explanations that Muḥammad had experienced visions and epileptic fits, and regarded them as proof of his ability as a clairvoyant. In consequence, they would hold séances to contact Muḥammad in the other world.

⁴⁴ Nance, *How the Arabian nights inspired the American Dream*, p. 103.

⁴⁵ Nance, *How the Arabian nights inspired the American Dream*, pp. 92–7.

⁴⁶ See T. Rudbøg, ‘Helena Petrova Blavatsky’, in *CMR* 16, 279–87.

Mormonism, an American Islam

Mormonism has played a truly unique role in American religious history, and in Christian-Muslim relations. Joseph Smith (1805-44) claimed to have received golden tablets from God in upstate New York, and these were published as *The Book of Mormon* in 1830. In the midst of evangelical revivals, Smith was castigated as an 'impostor' and a polygamist. Early detractors immediately began to cast aspersions on his character and religious legitimacy, claiming he was an 'American Mahomet'.⁴⁷ Charles Mackay's *The Mormons*, published in 1851, became a standard reference that made this comparison between Smith and Muḥammad explicit. As James Toronto has further elaborated in his essay in this volume, Mormonism was labelled as a form of 'Cryptomohammedanism'.⁴⁸ In fact, as Mormons ultimately settled in Utah, they became the target of domestic Christian missions. Missionary literature was published attempting to show the similarities between Islam and Mormonism and the need to root out what was considered to be spiritually dangerous to the American way of life.⁴⁹

Mormons were active in mission themselves, sending out missionaries both at home and abroad. Their first engagement with Muslims came in 1844, when they sent missionaries to the Ottoman Empire. Finding difficulties similar to those faced by their Protestant counterparts, they eventually focused their efforts on the Armenians.⁵⁰

Conclusion

By the end of the long 19th century, Islam had become a benign curiosity for most North Americans, though it could also be appreciated as a contributor to human civilisation. Many North Americans regarded Muḥammad as a great leader who brought the Arabs out of pagan idolatry to build an empire and contribute to world culture. Thus, the artist Edwin Howland Blashfield's 1897 painting on the ceiling of the Library

⁴⁷ See C. Talbot, *A foreign kingdom. Mormons and polygamy in American political culture, 1852-1890*, Urbana IL, 2013. See C. Talbot, 'Charles Mackay', in *CMR* 16, 180-4.

⁴⁸ See J. Toronto, 'Interreligious discourse of Protestants, Mormons, and Muslims, 1830-1918', in *CMR* 16, 19-39.

⁴⁹ See B. Kinney, *Mormonism. The Islam of America*, New York, 1912.

⁵⁰ For an overview of the history, see L. Berrett and B. Van Dyke, *Holy lands. A history of the Latter-day Saints in the Near East*, American Fork UT, 2005.

of Congress in Washington DC, entitled 'The evolution of civilization', includes 'Islam' as one of the building blocks of Western civilisation. At the same time, American travellers and missionaries continued to report back that the Islamic 'gunpowder empires' had reached their end and America was now the next contributor to human civilisation. Muslims were part of a culture and religion that had been useful but was now surpassed. Americans contributed financially to missionary endeavours in India, West Africa and the Middle East, not only to proselytise but to educate and bring 'development'.

At the turn of the 20th century, growing numbers of Christians and Muslims from the Ottoman Empire began to emigrate to the US, fleeing drought and famine. They would eventually find their way to the large cities of the Midwest to begin working in the factories of an industrialising economy. Henry Ford's new automobile factory in Dearborn, for example, proved to be an important draw for Syrians, creating what would become a robust American Muslim community. It was the growing Arab and later South Asian migration into the cities that would bring African-American Muslims into contact with a different kind of Islam, leading to an ongoing authority struggle for a truly American form of the faith.⁵¹ The arrival of Middle Eastern and South Asian immigrant Muslim missionaries impacted African American Muslim communities, prompting some leaders to begin study in traditional Islamic centres in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and India in order to develop a recognised status as Sunni scholars.

It would not be until after World War II that Americans would begin to see Middle Eastern Islam as an existential menace. With the increased dependence on Gulf petroleum reserves, the threat of the Soviet presence in Iran and Egypt, and the creation of the modern state of Israel, the United States would be dragged into engagement in a region that a previous generation of Americans viewed with a mixture of curiosity and pity. A myopic perspective on Islam as a backward, despotic Middle Eastern religion returned. This view was underscored by the Iranian revolution of 1979 and the taking of American hostages. Anger over the images of these hostages would continue to unnerve Americans, and it became ingrained in the national psyche for another generation as the Twin Towers crashed down on 9/11. In addition, the rise of the vocal African-American Nation of Islam during the 1960s prompted Christians to feel that Islam was not only anti-Christian but also anti-American.

⁵¹ Jackson, *Islam and the Blackamerican*, pp. 131-3.

Nevertheless, a wide variety of disparate American Muslim communities has continued to develop and prosper, creating their own indigenous American Islamic institutions and spaces.

To date there has been no comprehensive set of studies on the history of Islam in Canada pre-9/11. There has, however, been research on recent immigrant Canadian Muslim communities. Although there have been *hijāb* and anti-*sharī'a* debates⁵² that have raised security concerns among the broader public, by and large the integration of Muslims into Canadian society has been an exception to the situation in Europe and the United States,⁵³ although the history of 19th-century immigration has yet to be thoroughly addressed.

⁵² A. Korteweg and J. Selby, *Debating Sharia. Islam, gender politics, and family law arbitration*, Toronto, 2012.

⁵³ A. Kazemipur, *The Muslim question in Canada. A story of segmented integration*, Vancouver, 2014; J. Zine, *The hinterlands. Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, Vancouver, 2014.

Interreligious discourse of Protestants, Mormons and Muslims, 1830-1918

James Toronto

Protestant polemics and the Islam-Mormonism comparison

Protestant clergy and journalists were the first to promulgate comparisons of Islam and Mormonism¹ in an effort to undermine the young Mormon community and its founder, Joseph Smith. Detractors attempted to stigmatise Smith by associating him with well-known controversial figures in religious history, including Catholic popes, Protestant visionaries and mystics, and the Prophet of Islam, Muḥammad.²

In a series of lectures on Islam delivered in the United States in 1914, the Dutch Orientalist C. Snouck Hurgronje³ stated that the use of such invidious comparisons originated in the Christian polemics of 16th-century Europe: 'The Roman Catholics often vilified Protestantism by comparing the Reformed doctrine to that of Mohammedanism.' In retaliation for this 'reproach of Cryptomohammedanism', the Swiss Protestant scholar Johann Hottinger⁴ had alleged that 'Bellarminus' proofs of the truth of [Catholic] Church doctrine might have been copied from the Moslim dogma'.⁵ Over time, this polemical strategy – attempting to denigrate a religious tradition by identifying it with Islam, ascribing to it the alleged vices of Muḥammad, and accusing its adherents of being furtive Muslims – migrated into the interreligious discourse of 19th-century America.⁶ 'Having been its target in Europe since the 1520s,' Arnold Green

¹ The official name of the religion is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, often abbreviated as the LDS Church.

² Bushman notes that Enlightenment Christians, in order to counter 'unwanted claims to divine power', often 'adopted the practice of grouping religious frauds together and dismissing them all as the products of human ignorance'; R. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the beginnings of Mormonism*, Urbana IL, 1984, p. 121.

³ See F. Wijzen, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in *CMR* 17, forthcoming.

⁴ See J. Loop, 'Johann Heinrich Hottinger', in *CMR* 9, pp. 906-14.

⁵ C. Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism. Lectures on its origin, its religious and political growth, and its present state*, New York, 1916, p. 18.

⁶ In his meticulous study of 'American Islamicism', Timothy Marr argues that a deeply embedded ethos of loathing, fear and animosity towards Islam and Muḥammad, considered the arch-enemy of Western Christian civilisation, crossed the Atlantic with the first

observed, 'Protestants redirected the charge of Cryptomohammedanism against the Mormons in North America after the 1820s.'⁷

The Islam-Mormonism analogy surfaced in the earliest days of Mormon history. During this initial phase of anti-Mormon polemics, the strategy and its concomitant themes of imposture, delusion and fraud focused on promoting 'Anti-Smithism' – the effort to discredit the church's founder. Soon after the publication of the Book of Mormon in 1830 and the organisation of the church that same year in Palmyra, New York, a local newspaper editor, Abner Cole, initiated a press campaign to debunk Mormonism.⁸ Starting in January 1831, Cole published a series of six articles promising to provide 'a plain and unvarnished statement of facts' concerning Smith and the Book of Mormon, with related information about 'superstitions of the ancients', 'hidden treasures', 'money diggers' and 'impostures' such as Mohamet, the Morristown Ghost, and Jemima Wilkinson.⁹ In subsequent articles Cole elaborated the Smith-Muhammad analogy, propounding motifs that became a familiar pattern in early anti-Mormon discourse: human ignorance creates fertile ground for the success of charismatic imposters like Muhammad and Smith, whose fraudulent promises of material gain attract masses of fanatical acolytes.¹⁰

settlers in the British colonies. By the time of the Second Great Awakening, these negative attitudes and tropes about Eastern Islamic culture had gained currency and powerful sway in American culture; see T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, New York, 2006. Marr's study is noteworthy for its comprehensive bibliography and discussion of primary source materials dealing with American Christian views of Islam in the 19th century. Marianne Perciaccante asserts that 'American readers had a long history of telling lurid tales of the Muslims', in 'The Mormon-Muslim comparison', Charlottesville VA, 1988 (MA Diss. University of Virginia), p. 54.

⁷ A. Green, 'Mormonism and Islam. From polemics to mutual respect and cooperation', *BYU Studies* 40 (2001) 199–220, p. 200. See also A. Green and L. Goldrup, 'Joseph Smith, an American Muhammad? An essay on the perils of historical analogy', *Dialogue. A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (1971) 46–58; and A. Green, 'The Muhammad-Joseph Smith comparison. Subjective metaphor or a sociology of prophethood', in S.J. Palmer (ed.), *Mormons and Muslims. Spiritual foundations and modern manifestations*, Salt Lake City UT, 1983, 63–84.

⁸ *The Reflector*, Palmyra NY, 19 April, 1 May, and 1 June 1830. In the 1 June edition, the editor refers to Smith as 'this second Mohamet'; cited in F. Kirkham, *A new witness for Christ in America. The Book of Mormon*, Independence MO, 1942 (1947²), pp. 272–3; also at <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/ny/wayn1830.htm#010631>.

⁹ 'Gold Bible', *The Reflector*, 6 January 1831; cited in Kirkham, *New witness for Christ*, pp. 283–5, p. 284; also at <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/ny/wayn1830.htm#010631>.

¹⁰ 'Gold Bible', *The Reflector*, 18 January 1831, and 28 February 1831; cited in Kirkham, *New witness for Christ*, pp. 285–6, 290–3; also at <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/ny/wayn1830.htm#011831>.

Over time, efforts to cast Joseph Smith as a new Muḥammad and thus inimical to American Christian society gained momentum and wider exposure. Influential Protestant opinion leaders echoed the refrain of ‘anti-Smithism’ in their treatises examining the rise and appeal of Mormonism in America.¹¹ Alexander Campbell, a religious reformer who helped found the Restoration Movement during the Second Great Awakening in the US, viewed Joseph Smith as a religious rival. Among the ‘Smithisms’ that he addressed in his newspaper article entitled ‘Delusions’, was the Mormon argument that Smith, an unlettered frontiersman, could not possibly be the author of the Book of Mormon because ‘he cannot write a page’. Campbell rejoined with an analogy: ‘Neither could Mahomet’, who nevertheless ‘gave forth the Alcoran’.¹² In 1834, Eber D. Howe, the editor of the *Painesville Telegraph* in Ohio, published one of the first anti-Mormon books that employed Cryptomohammedanism to disparage Joseph Smith as a fraud:

The extreme ignorance and apparent stupidity of this modern prophet [Smith] ... have ever been the ward-robe of impostors. They were even thrown upon the shoulders of the great prince of deceivers, Mohammed, in order to carry in his train the host of ignorant and superstitious of his time.¹³

Following Smith’s death in 1844, a second trend in anti-Mormon polemics began to emerge. The focus gradually shifted away from

¹¹ J. Spencer Fluhman argues that early anti-Mormon literature ‘depended on a Protestant version of religious history that fixated on religious “frauds” [...] and on Smith himself and his “pretensions” to prophetic authority’; J.S. Fluhman, ‘An “American Mahomet”’. Joseph Smith, Muhammad, and the problem of prophets in antebellum America’, *Journal of Mormon History* 34 (2008) 23-45, pp. 24-5. That view of history was rooted in a theory of imposture and religious fraud that, according to Peter Harrison, ‘was the most popular of all seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts of religion’; see P. Harrison, *Religion and the religions in the English Enlightenment*, Cambridge MA, 1990, p. 16, cited in Fluhman, ‘An “American Mahomet”’, p. 25 n. 6. Protestant polemicists expected that Mormonism would die with its founder; hence the narrow focus on ‘Anti-Smithism’ for the first two decades; see J. Turner, ‘More than a curiosity. Mormonism and contemporary scholarship’, *The Journal of Religion* 94 (2014) 229-41, p. 230; also J. Fluhman, ‘A peculiar people’. *Anti-Mormonism and the making of religion in nineteenth-century America*, Chapel Hill NC, 2012.

¹² A. Campbell, ‘Delusions’, *Millennial Harbinger*, Bethany VA, 2 (7 February 1831) 85-96, p. 95; *Delusions. An analysis of the Book of Mormon with an examination of its internal and external evidences, and a refutation of its pretences to divine authority*, Boston MA, 1832, p. 15. For an LDS response, see O. Cowdery in the *Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate*, Kirtland OH, 1 (March 1835) 90-3.

¹³ E. Howe, *Mormonism unvailled. Or, a faithful account of that singular imposition and delusion, from its rise to the present time*, Painesville OH, 1834, p. 12.

anti-Smithism and Cryptomohammedanism to the broader theme of Mormonism and Islam as analogous belief systems characterised by the allure of sensual rewards, the exercise of coercion and violence aimed at dominating the world, and the propagation of fraudulent scriptures. These themes are evident in two New York City-based literary/scientific periodicals that published essays in the mid-19th century examining the phenomenon of a new American religion, Mormonism, and its similarities to the origins and teachings of Islam. In 1850, the *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art* published a lengthy exposé of Mormonism's alleged 'imposture', seeking to explain why 'crowds of deluded fanatics' have migrated westward to 'a new land of promise'. The article avers that the attraction of Mormonism is explained by a constellation of factors: 'fanatical expectations of worldly prosperity and temporal glory' combined with 'bitter hostility against every existing religious system'. Thus, the author concludes, it is 'truly surprising' that there are still thousands who join the religious community of Joseph Smith, 'the vilest religious impostor which the world has seen since the days of Mahomet'.¹⁴ In the *American Whig Review*, an article (the first of a five-part series on Mormonism) entitled 'The Yankee Mahomet' explores the charismatic qualities of religious founders and the appeal of theology as factors that promote the rise and influence of new religions.¹⁵

These themes associated with the Islam-Mormonism simile persisted into the late 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly in the anti-Mormon literature produced by Mormon dissidents and Protestant missionaries living in Utah.¹⁶ Thomas Brown Holmes (T.B.H.) Stenhouse, a native of

¹⁴ 'Origin and history of the Mormonites', *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art* 21 (November 1850) 400-19, pp. 400, 419. The first two editors of this literary journal, John Agnew and Walter Bidwell, were pastors in the Presbyterian and Congregational churches respectively.

¹⁵ 'The Yankee Mahomet', *The American Whig Review* 13 (June 1851) 554-64, pp. 556, 559. The remaining four articles in the series, authored by R.W. Mac, are entitled 'Mormonism in Illinois' and found in 15/3 (March 1852) 221-7; 15/4 (April 1852) 327-33; 15/6 (June 1852) 524-34; and 16/5 (November 1852) 511-36. It is unclear whether Mac was the anonymous author of part one, but Donald Andrews, in his study of the political and literary journal, lists him as the series author; see D. Andrews, 'The American Whig Review, 1845-1852. Its history and literary contents', Knoxville TN, 1977 (PhD Diss. University of Tennessee) p. 128. A digitised version of *The American Whig Review* is available through Hathi Trust Digital Library: 006062027.

¹⁶ For analysis of contentious issues such as polygamy and theocracy in late 19th- and early 20th-century Mormonism, see T. Alexander, *Mormonism in transition. A history of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930*, Urbana IL, 1986; L. Arrington and D. Bitton, *The Mormon experience. A history of the Latter-day Saints*, Urbana IL, 1979 (1992²); and J. Shippis, *Mormonism. The story of a new religious tradition*, Urbana IL, 1985.

Dalkeith, Scotland, disavowed Mormonism after serving for more than 20 years as a prominent missionary, church leader, journalist and public relations advocate in the Latter-day Saints (LDS) church. Both he and his wife, Fanny, published widely acclaimed books about Mormon life that, according to Ronald Walker, helped foster a 'national climate' of negative opinion, opposing the church's practice of polygamy and theocracy and delaying Utah's admission to the Union.¹⁷ In *Rocky Mountain saints* Stenhouse employs the Islam-Mormonism metaphor to explain the 'submission and credulity' of many Mormons who, like himself at one time, practised polygamy. These subservient attributes develop in response to religious stimuli – 'when the mind is properly worked up with devotional feeling and is awe-stricken by threats of damnation'. For this reason, 'not inaptly or without logical force has Joseph Smith been designated the Mohammed of America'.¹⁸

Jennie Fowler Willing was a leader in the Methodist Episcopal Church who travelled widely to organise and support women's foreign and home missionary societies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹⁹ After several

¹⁷ T.B.H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints. A full and complete history of the Mormons*, New York, 1873; F. Stenhouse, *Exposé of polygamy in Utah. A lady's life among the Mormons*, New York, 1872; and Mrs. T.B.H. [Fanny] Stenhouse, *'Tell it all'. The story of a life's experience in Mormonism*, Hartford CT, 1874. For an assessment of the Stenhouses' work and influence, see R. Walker, 'The Stenhouses and the making of a Mormon image', *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974) 51–72, pp. 52, 71. Walker views *Rocky Mountain Saints* as a 'seminal historical survey' despite its polemical purpose – a volume that became 'one of the nineteenth century's standard references on Mormonism' and 'left an indelible mark upon subsequent Mormon historiography' due to its rich array of primary source materials and original analysis ('The Stenhouses', pp. 51, 70–1).

¹⁸ Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, p. 203; see also p. 21 footnote. It is quite possible that Stenhouse became aware of the Islam-Mormonism motif while employed as a journalist at *The New York Herald* in the 1850s. There, he became a protégé of its editor, James Gordon Bennett, who wrote numerous articles about Mormonism and frequently employed similar analogies in analysing the life and teachings of Joseph Smith; see Walker, 'The Stenhouses', pp. 53, 72. Stenhouse's comparisons of Mormonism and Islam influenced William Linn's 1902 history of the Mormons; see W. Linn, *The story of the Mormons. From the date of their origin to the year 1901*, London, 1902, p. 109 n. 2. Linn concludes his study by quoting Governor Thomas Ford of Illinois, who referred to Mormonism as 'this modern Mahometanism' (*Story of the Mormons*, p. 618; T. Ford, *A history of Illinois. From its commencement as a state in 1818 to 1847*, Chicago IL, 1854, pp. 359–60).

¹⁹ See R. Keller, 'Leadership and community building in Protestant women's organizations', in R. Keller and R. Ruether (eds), *Encyclopedia of women and religion in North America*, Bloomington IN, 2006, vol. 2, 851–64. For further context on Protestant mission among the Mormons, see T.E. Lyon, 'Evangelical Protestant missionary activities in Mormon dominated areas. 1865–1900', Salt Lake City UT, 1962 (PhD Diss. University of Utah); J. Riess, 'Heathen in our fair land. Anti-polygamy and Protestant women's missions to Utah, 1869–1910', New York, 2000 (PhD Diss. Columbia University); C. Paul, *Converting the saints. A study of religious rivalry in America*, Draper UT, 2018.

years of missionary labour among the Mormons in Utah, she penned a lengthy broadside against Mormonism, *On American soil. Or, Mormonism the Mohammedanism of the West*, in which she equated it with the perceived absurdities and dangers of Islamic theology, history and politics.²⁰ She echoes many of the earlier refrains in the Mormon-Muslim comparison – e.g. the ‘low origin’ and sensual character of the two religions, the promulgation of inferior scriptures, and the absolute power of Smith and Muḥammad over fanatical disciples. Her anti-Mormon/Muslim diatribe, however, reaches new heights of hyperbole in alleging that both religions ‘proselyte by violence’ and ‘aim at universal dominion’.²¹

A similar conflation of Mormonism and Islam appears in another piece of Protestant missionary literature entitled *Mormonism, the Islam of America*.²² Its author, Bruce Kinney, was a contemporary of Willing and served as superintendent of Baptist missions in Utah for several years. True to its genre, Kinney’s volume briefly mentions similarities in the two religions – a material heaven, polygamy and sensuality, and resemblances between the Book of Mormon and the Qur’an – without providing detail or nuance. It then employs a *non sequitur* to connect the two religions: ‘As all ancient religions have a modern equivalent, Mormonism can justly be claimed to be the modern form of Mohammedanism.’ In addressing ‘the Mormon problem’, the book suggests that Mormon beliefs and practices should be a cause for ‘national concern’ because they promote treason and the overthrow of the American way of life: ‘There is no other body of people from whom we have so much to fear in proportion to their numbers. No one else is trying to set up an *imperium in imperio* or to control either the state or national government.’²³

Protestant authors, however, did not uniformly evince a strident, partisan stance in appraising Mormonism. Some observers adopted a more nuanced approach in explaining the enigma of Joseph Smith, portraying him as a flawed and complex but, in some ways, admirable figure in America’s changing religious landscape. Scottish-born James Gordon Bennett became the editor of *The New York Herald* and one of America’s

²⁰ J. Willing, *On American soil. Or, Mormonism the Mohammedanism of the West*, Louisville KY, 1906.

²¹ Willing, *On American soil*, pp. 3-6, 23, 88-93.

²² B. Kinney, *Mormonism. The Islam of America*, New York, 1912.

²³ Kinney, *Mormonism*, pp. 5-7, 9, 160-1. These themes of Mormonism’s perfidy, spiritual and temporal control over adherents’ lives, and quest for world domination migrated into a prominent Protestant periodical published in Arabic in the Middle East; see *Al-Muqtaṭaf* 6 (Beirut, Ḥaḏīrān/June 1881) 33-7, Marriott Library Special Collections, Salt Lake City UT, University of Utah.

most influential journalists after his immigration. Early in his career, he took a keen interest in the religious excitement sweeping across western New York State and published dozens of comparatively even-handed articles about the Mormons and Joseph Smith, often employing the Mormon-Muslim trope to make his point.²⁴ In one editorial, he opined that 'Joseph Smith is undoubtedly one of the greatest characters of the age. He indicates as much talent, originality, and moral courage as Mahomet, Odin, or any of the great spirits that have hitherto produced the revolutions of past ages.'²⁵

Another native of Scotland and a prolific author, poet, historian and journalist in Britain, Charles Mackay, compiled a history of the Mormons in 1851 that became a landmark in the growing body of literature about the Latter-day Saints. His history reflects a trend towards greater balance and objectivity that began to emerge by mid-century in treatments of the Mormon-Muslim analogy. Published anonymously, the volume appeared initially as a series of three newspaper articles in the *Morning Chronicle* and later in book form.²⁶ It attempts to provide impartial information and analysis, referring to Joseph Smith as perhaps an impostor or a visionary, 'but in either case one of the most remarkable persons who has appeared on the stage of the world in modern times'.²⁷ This book introduced the fledgling Mormon community to a much wider audience

²⁴ See, for example, J. Bennett, 'Part two. Mormon religion, clerical ambition, western New York, the Mormonites gone to Ohio', *Morning Courier and Enquirer*, New York, 1 September 1831. The entire two-part article is printed in L. Arrington, 'James Gordon Bennett's 1831 report on "The Mormonites"', *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970) 353-64, p. 362. Following the journalistic custom of the time, Bennett's original article later appeared in several other newspapers, including the *Christian Register* (Albany NY), 24 September 1831, and the *Hillsborough Gazette* (Ohio), 29 October 1831.

²⁵ *The New York Herald*, 3 April 1842; cited in D. Hill, *Joseph Smith, the first Mormon*, Garden City NY, 1977, p. 6.

²⁶ C. Mackay, *The Mormons. Or, Latter-day Saints, with memoirs of the life and death of Joseph Smith, the American Mahomet*, London, 1851. Regrettably, the book's anonymous authorship has created a muddled picture of its provenance. Some editions add the words 'History of' to the title; libraries and bibliographies variously list Charles Mackay or Henry Mayhew, a contemporary British journalist, as the author; and the dates of publication are inconsistent. Five editions appeared in London (1851, two in 1852, 1856 and 1857), two in New York State (Auburn NY, 1852, 1854), and several with the names of various authors in France and Germany. For detailed analysis of the origins of the Mackay volume, reasons for its anonymous authorship, and impact as a literary landmark in Mormon history, see L. Arrington, 'Charles Mackay and his "true and impartial" history of the Mormons', *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (1968) 24-40. See C. Talbot, 'Charles Mackay', in *CMR* 16, 180-4.

²⁷ C. Mackay, *History of the Mormons. Or, Latter-day Saints, with memoirs of the life and death of Joseph Smith, the American Mahomet*, Auburn NY, 1854, pp. iv, 18, 19.

and helped change the tenor of discourse surrounding the Islam-Mormonism analogy.²⁸

A third trend in Protestant polemics appeared in the late 19th century as European scholars of the Orient and Islam took an interest in comparing and contrasting the two religions primarily for academic purposes. These writings reflect a degree of objectivity and understanding of Muslim and Mormon religious life that was often absent in earlier polemical sources, although some of the more obvious tropes persist and analysis is at times superficial.

The noted Arabist Richard Francis Burton,²⁹ explorer of the Upper Nile, traveller in disguise to Mecca, and translator of *1,001 Arabian nights*, visited Utah for three weeks in 1860 and published *City of the Saints* the following year in London.³⁰ Drawing on his first-hand experience in both communities, he sees many parallels between Mormon and Muslim life and provides extended analysis of the similarities and differences. Both Mormonism and Islam, he argues, claim to be 'a restoration by revelation of the pure and primeval religion of the world' that includes the practice of polygamy, assignment of women to 'inferior status', and a concept of physical resurrection. He condemns polygamy as a 'great social evil' that in Europe would, like slavery, 'die a natural death' but that 'in Arabia and in the wilds of the Rocky Mountains [...] maintains a strong hold upon the affections of mankind'. The impact of 'austere morals and manners', of the 'semi-seclusion' of women, and of suspicion towards strangers is evident in 'a Moslem gloom' that 'hangs over society' in the Mormon capital, Salt Lake City.³¹

David Samuel Margoliouth,³² a British Orientalist of Jewish background whose family converted to Anglicanism, authored several volumes on Islamic history and literature that became influential works in

²⁸ LDS historian Leonard Arrington asserts that Mackay's volume, despite its flaws (being primarily a compilation of quotations from other authors), was 'the most widely reviewed book on the Mormons in nineteenth-century Britain' and 'catapulted the Mormons into a topic of international conversation'. By including both pro- and anti-Mormon material in his book, Mackay 'elevated the writing of Mormon history to a new plateau. [...] He demonstrated that the topic was worthy of the attention of British and Continental intellectuals, and he thus opened up a new era in Mormon literature' (Arrington, 'Charles Mackay and his "true and impartial" history', pp. 26, 40).

²⁹ See A. Dingle, 'Richard Burton', in *CMR* 17, forthcoming.

³⁰ R. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and across the Rocky Mountains to California*, London, 1861; New York, 1862.

³¹ Burton, *City of the Saints*, New York, 1862, pp. 383, 397-8, 418, 430.

³² See M.T. Shelley, 'David. S. Margoliouth', in *CMR* 17, forthcoming.

Islamic studies.³³ His 1905 biography of Muḥammad explored historical factors that might shed light on the origins of new religious movements and employed the Islam-Mormonism simile as a tool for inquiry. Two analogous situations in Islamic and Mormon history captured his attention as particularly useful in understanding questions of authority, revelation and scripture in religion. First, Margoliouth noted that both Muḥammad and Joseph Smith ‘received early impulse’ in their religious formation from having witnessed sectarian rivalries that created deep rifts in society. Both men reached the same conclusion: the authority of a new prophet was the only way to settle the confusion and to ‘put them right where they disagreed’.³⁴ Second, Margoliouth examined controversies that both prophets faced about the nature of revelation and the authenticity of their holy book. Was the Qur’an created or uncreated – a product of Muḥammad’s mind compiled piecemeal in response to unfolding questions and crises, or the eternal word of God copied from a ‘well-guarded tablet’ (Q 85:22)? He dismisses the theory of the ‘well-guarded tablet’ as a philosophical contrivance, arguing that for both religious founders it was ultimately ‘as a living well of revelation that [they] won the reverence’ of followers.³⁵

A book by the classical historian Eduard Meyer entitled *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen* (‘The origin and history of the Mormons’) provides by far the most extensive application of the Islam-Mormonism simile in the period covered by this overview.³⁶ Published in Germany in 1912, his study represented a sharp departure from his field of expertise in ancient Oriental languages and history, and some scholars viewed it as substandard – a curious anomaly in his body of work.³⁷ Meyer became

³³ See, for example, D.S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the rise of Islam*, New York, 1905, and D.S. Margoliouth, *The early development of Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered in the University of London*, London, 1914.

³⁴ Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the rise of Islam*, pp. 76-7.

³⁵ Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the rise of Islam*, pp. 135-6.

³⁶ E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen, mit Exkursen über die Anfänge des Islāms und des Christentums*, Halle, Germany, 1912; E. Meyer, *The origin and history of the Mormons. With reflections on the beginnings of Islam and Christianity*, trans. H. Rahde and E. Seaich, Salt Lake City UT, 1961. For two thoughtful critiques of Meyer’s use of the Islam-Mormonism comparison, see J. Lyon, ‘Mormonism and Islam through the eyes of a “Universal Historian”’, *BYU Studies* 40 (2001) 221-36, and Green and Goldrup, ‘Joseph Smith, an American Muhammad?’

³⁷ Lyon, ‘Mormonism and Islam’, p. 221. Lyon further asserts that, due to its oversimplifications and flawed theory and methodology, Meyer’s book ‘is rarely cited in Islamic studies and has all but been forgotten’ (‘Mormonism and Islam’, p. 234). Conversely, however, ‘researchers in German-speaking countries today continue to cite this work as an authoritative source on Mormonism’.

fascinated with analysis of what he called ‘analogies’ between modern and ancient religions, convinced that this method of inquiry yielded valuable insights into how local belief systems develop. ‘There is hardly a historical parallel which is so instructive as this one, and through comparative analysis both receive so much light that a scientific study of one through the other is indispensable.’³⁸ By examining both parallels and divergences between Smith and Muḥammad, Meyer saw a model by which to explore, *inter alia*, prophethood, revelation and scripture, and religious fanaticism. He believed that, compared to the great prophets of previous religions, these two men were not ‘towering personalities’, a fact that can help explain the incongruities and ‘the driving forces behind the prophet’s life’.³⁹ Meyer also mined the Islam-Mormonism analogy for insights about the sources of extremist behaviour and the drive for world domination.⁴⁰ Meyer cites the Mountain Meadows massacre of innocents by the Mormons in 1857 as an example, comparing it to the blind obedience of the Turkish Muslims who murdered Armenians when the Ottoman caliph ordered them to do so.⁴¹

Mormons’ sundry and evolving views of Islam

Mormons were keenly aware of their association with Islam in the public eye – an analogy that they understood, in the fraught religious milieu of the times, to be a profoundly offensive epithet.⁴² Ironically, they themselves sometimes turned the tables on their critics by applying the same tactic to rebut Protestant invective, even while church leaders made public their admiration for Islam and its founder and their support for the principle of religious freedom for all faith communities, including Muslims. Arnold Green cites two reasons for Mormonism’s ‘attitudinal variety’ towards Islam. First, Mormonism absorbed ‘a North American culture emanating from European Christian civilization which had nourished anti-Islamic attitudes’ that surfaced at times in LDS discourse. Second, Mormon leaders and authors employed ‘analogical reasoning’, based on principles drawn from scripture, to adapt policy and doctrine

³⁸ Meyer, *Origin and history*, p. 44; see also p. i.

³⁹ Meyer, *Origin and history*, pp. ii–iii.

⁴⁰ Meyer, *Origin and history*, pp. i, 64, 124, 146, 160–1, 214.

⁴¹ Meyer, *Origin and history*, p. 176. For analysis of the Utah massacre, see J. Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows massacre*, Stanford CA, 1950, and R. Walker, R. Turley and G. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows. An American tragedy*, Oxford, 2008.

⁴² M.S.C., ‘Mormonism’, *Painesville Telegraph*, 15 February 1831, cited in Kirkham, *New witness for Christ*, pp. 80, 84.

to their evolving relations with nonbiblical groups such as Muslims. These adaptations, however, 'varied according to the particular eras, issues, and officers'.⁴³

In 1838, an excommunicated Mormon apostle, Thomas Marsh, signed a court affidavit that provides an example of Mormonism's ambiguity vis-à-vis the Joseph Smith-Muhammad analogy. In contrast to Sidney Rigdon, who took umbrage at a critic's attempt to conflate Mormonism and Islam,⁴⁴ according to Marsh's testimony Joseph Smith embraced the comparison and was in fact a source of it. Smith allegedly vowed that 'if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed' to his enemies, and that 'like Mohammed, whose motto in treating for peace was, "the Alcoran or the Sword", so should it be eventually with us, "Joseph Smith or the Sword"'.⁴⁵ Marsh, however, may have fabricated this statement. Orson Hyde, another ex-Mormon apostle who originally supported Marsh's allegations, later recanted and confessed that Marsh had concocted some portions of the affidavit.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, a number of subsequent biographies of Joseph Smith cited the Marsh affidavit as evidence that Smith was the source of the Smith-Muhammad analogy.⁴⁷

In 1840, following persecution and expulsion in Missouri, the Mormons obtained a city charter and established headquarters in Nauvoo, Illinois. The charter enabled them to form a city government, militia, university and other institutions of civic life. During this formative period, the Nauvoo city council passed resolutions that embodied core principles of Mormon theology and ethics. Mentions of Islam and Muhammad appear frequently in this literature, cast generally in a positive light. An 1841 public pronouncement sought to make it 'distinctly understood' that Latter-day Saints 'claim no privilege but what we feel cheerfully disposed

⁴³ Green, 'Mormonism and Islam', p. 199.

⁴⁴ See n. 42 above.

⁴⁵ J. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Salt Lake City UT, vol. 3, 1948, p. 167 note.

⁴⁶ Green and Goldrup, 'Joseph Smith, an American Muhammad?', p. 47 n. 6. See also Smith, *History of the Church*, vol. 3, 167-8 note; and J.F. Smith, *Essentials in church history*, Salt Lake City UT, 1950, pp. 225-7.

⁴⁷ Green and Goldrup, 'Joseph Smith, an American Muhammad?', p. 47 n. 7. Three books on Mormonism that reference the Marsh testimony are H. Caswell, *The city of the Mormons. Three days at Nauvoo in 1842*, London, 1842, p. 77; J. Hunt, *Mormonism. Embracing the origin, rise and progress of the sect*, St Louis MO, 1844, p. v; and W. Simpson, *Mormonism. Its history, doctrines and practices*, London, 1853, p. 33. Caswell quotes another witness, George Hinkle, who corroborated Marsh's testimony: 'I have heard Joseph Smith say that he believed Mahomet was a good man; that the Koran was not a true thing, but that the world belied Mahomet as they belied him, and that Mahomet was a true prophet' (*City of the Mormons*, p. 77).

to share with our fellow citizens of every denomination and every sentiment of religion'.⁴⁸ That same year the city council passed a resolution that reflected the Mormons' commitment – rooted in their own painful experience with religious intolerance – to ensuring respect for all faiths, including Islam.⁴⁹

An exchange of letters between William Crowel, a Baptist minister, and Orson Spencer, a former Baptist minister and Mormon intellectual, illustrates the generally favourable view of Islam and Muḥammad that prevailed in early Mormon thought of the Nauvoo period.⁵⁰ Spencer's response to Crowel's queries about the character of Joseph Smith reflects his awareness of the Mormon prophet's image in American public opinion. With the depredations against the Mormons in Missouri in mind, Spencer draws on the Islam analogy to justify the need for a strong 'military chieftain, like the ancient Mahomet' who will convey 'fear and dread of us' to those 'who watch for prey, and spoil, and booty'. Spencer makes an important distinction in the analogy, however, assuring Crowel that 'neither Mr. Smith, nor any other intelligent Latter Day Saint, ever intends to make one convert by the sword'.⁵¹

Following the 1844 assassination of Joseph Smith, the Mormons began an exodus from Nauvoo and migration westward to the Great Salt Lake

⁴⁸ J. Smith, S. Rigdon and H. Smith, 'Proclamation to the Saints scattered abroad', *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 January 1841) 273-7.

⁴⁹ 'Ordinance in relation to religious societies, City of Nauvoo, [Illinois], headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1 March 1841', in Archives Salt Lake City UT, Joseph Smith Papers, *History of the Church*, 1838-1956, vol. C-1 [2 November 1838-31, July 1842], p. 1169. See also 'The Joseph Smith Papers', <https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-1838-1856-volume-c-1-2-november-1838-31-july-1842/341#historical-intro>.

⁵⁰ The Revd William Crowel was a prominent Baptist leader and the editor of *The Christian Watchman*, a Baptist newspaper published in Boston MA. Orson Spencer graduated from Union College and later from Hamilton Literary and Theological College in New York, then served as a Baptist minister for 12 years in New England before his conversion to the LDS church in 1841. From 1842 to 1853 the two men continued their correspondence, with Spencer penning a total of 15 letters that present a systematic, in-depth exposition of Mormon beliefs. His letters subsequently appeared in numerous publications and played an influential role in the consolidation of LDS theology. See O. Spencer, 'Letters exhibiting the most prominent doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints ... in reply to the Rev. William Crowel, A.M.', Salt Lake City UT: Deseret News (1874⁵) v-viii; <https://archive.org/details/lettersexhibitin21spen/page/n3>.

⁵¹ W.C., 'Correspondence', 21 October 1842, and O. Spencer, 'Letter of Orson Spencer', 17 November 1842, *Times and Seasons* 4 (2 January 1843) 49-59, p. 57. See also 'Correspondence between the Rev. W. Crowel, A.M., and O. Spencer, B.A.', p. 10, in Digital Collections, Nineteenth Century Mormon Publications, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo UT; <https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/NCMP1820-1846/id/14534>.

Valley of the Rocky Mountains. From the 1850s to the 1880s, the Mormons faced hostilities from the US government over their practice of polygamy, conflict with non-Mormon migrants and defiant anti-government rhetoric.⁵² Against a backdrop of political and military confrontation, heated national debate about 'the Mormon problem' and the church's expansion in the international arena, Mormon attitudes and associations vis-à-vis Islam fluctuated according to the particular issues at play and the personal views of interlocutors. At this early stage of development, LDS thought on relations with Islam was inchoate, and as a result, discourse of church leaders was often contradictory – by turns derogatory and complimentary.

During this period, millenarianism and philosemitism gained momentum as themes in Mormon discourse, along with associated unflattering statements about Islam and Arabs. These perspectives derived from scriptural interpretations, based on biblical and Book of Mormon prophecies, concerning the return of the Jews to Palestine to inherit their promised ancient homeland as a sign portending the end times and beginning of the millennium. In this regard, Mormon attitudes reflect a number of themes in 19th-century Protestant missiological literature that also sees the Jews as a chosen people divinely ordained to reclaim the Holy Land as a precursor to the second coming of Christ.⁵³

The earliest example of this genre of LDS thought is Orson Hyde's *A voice from Jerusalem*,⁵⁴ a compilation of the letters that Hyde, a Mormon apostle, sent during his journey to the Holy Land to offer a dedicatory prayer for the return of the Jews. Most of Elder Hyde's descriptions focus on the Christian missionaries he encounters, as well as on the Jewish nation whose restoration he ardently desires. Occasionally though, he makes disdainful comments about the Muslim and Arab peoples who inhabit the region. Hyde speaks of his imminent return to Europe, where

⁵² For more on Mormon settlements in the American West and relations with non-Mormons and the US government, see L. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, Cambridge MA, 1958; M. Hunter, *Brigham Young the colonizer*, Santa Barbara CA, 1973; J. Allen and G. Leonard, *The story of the Latter-day Saints*, Salt Lake City UT, 1976; D. Moorman, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons. The Utah War*, Salt Lake City UT, 1992; and T. Alexander and J. Allen, 'The Mormons in the Mountain West. A selected bibliography', *Arizona and the West* 9 (1967) 365-84.

⁵³ See, for example, G. Underwood, *The millenarian world of early Mormonism*, Urbana IL, 1999; and T. Marr, 'Drying up the Euphrates'. Muslims, millennialism, and early American missionary enterprise', in A. Amanat and M. Bernhardtsson (eds), *U.S.-Middle East historical encounters. A critical survey*, Gainesville FL, 2007, 60-76.

⁵⁴ O. Hyde, *A voice from Jerusalem, or, a sketch of the travels and ministry of Elder Orson Hyde*, Liverpool, 1842.

he will again be able 'to breathe the air of freedom in a land where he is not annoyed by the sight of the star and crescent, the turban and the covered face – all of which are an abomination in my sight'. He yearns to be back in 'a civilized country', where he will no longer see turbans, camels or 'land pirates, in the shapes of Arabs'. He expresses concern about the persistent threat of violence emanating from the general (assumedly Muslim) public towards local Christian missionaries as expressed by the Ottoman sultan. He also references the impending driving out of the Canaanites, which may refer to the Arabs in this case, and expresses his view that 'the fact is, this land belongs to the Jews'.⁵⁵

Statements by Charles Penrose and John Taylor also reflect this trend of supporting Jewish gathering in Palestine and criticising Islam and Muḥammad as violent and obstructionist in nature – impediments to the fulfillment of God's purposes. Penrose, in a speech addressing eschatological signs, declares that the Jewish people are gathering 'to their own land [Palestine] that they may build it up as it was in former times; that the temple may be rebuilt and the mosque of the Moslem [al-Aqsā] which now stands in its place may be moved out of the way'.⁵⁶ In response to Protestant polemicists who accused Mormons of using coercion and violence to subordinate all other religions, Taylor distinguished the church's stance on religious tolerance from Muḥammad's, denouncing 'the power, prowess, and bloodshed introduced by Mahomet in his day'. In a later sermon, he deplores the coercive measures commonly attributed to Islam: 'We [Mormons] are not placed here to control people; we are not placed here to use any improper influence over the minds or consciences of men. It is not for us to attempt to do what Mahomet did [...] by force compel all others to acknowledge [his beliefs]'.⁵⁷

In contrast to these negative attitudes towards Islam, other church leaders expressed favourable views, employing the Islam-Mormonism analogy as a rhetorical weapon in the vitriolic national debate about 'the Mormon problem' and affirming the church's respect for Muslims

⁵⁵ Hyde, *A voice from Jerusalem*, pp. 22, 27-8, 34-5.

⁵⁶ C.W. Penrose, 'Prophecies relating to our day – ...', *Journal of Discourses* 24 (1883) 203-17, p. 215.

⁵⁷ J. Taylor, 'The people of God in all ages led by one spirit, and subject to persecution. Condition of the world', *Journal of Discourses* 7 (1860) 118-25, p. 121; and J. Taylor, 'The mighty mission of the saints ...', *Journal of Discourses* 23 (1883) 257-70, p. 261. The *Journal of Discourses* is a rich repository of Mormon thought containing hundreds of sermons by senior church leaders over a 32-year period, 1854-86. This compendium contains many of the LDS references to Islam during the period of Mormon settlement in the American West; <https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/JournalOfDiscourses3/id/9614/rec/20>.

and other faith communities. In September 1855, during a time of heightened tensions with federal officials, George A. Smith and Parley P. Pratt delivered sermons in a general conference that highlighted the important role of Islam and Muḥammad in religious history, casting them as instruments in God's hands.⁵⁸ Smith gives a lengthy exposition of the history of Islam and laments that it is difficult to find an unbiased text about the Muslims. He compares this to the Mormons' struggle to find an accurate depiction of their religion. Smith believes that Muḥammad carried out God's will in eliminating idolatry in the Arabian Peninsula and in punishing the world for its idolatrous forms of worship.⁵⁹ Pratt vilifies contemporary Christian denominations, stating that the world of Islam, while in need of purification by the restored gospel taught by the LDS church, possesses stronger morals and institutions than the present apostate branches of Christianity. The French naturalist Jules Rémy was visiting Utah at this time and attended the conference in the LDS tabernacle. A Mormon publication reported that, after hearing the talks of Smith and Pratt, Rémy was surprised by these positive portrayals of Islam and asked, 'Who could have seen a person educated in Protestantism become the apologist of Mohammedism in the XIXth century?'⁶⁰

LDS discourse from senior leaders such as Brigham Young, John Taylor and George Q. Cannon often elaborated themes drawn from Joseph Smith's proclamations and teachings in Nauvoo, calling for religious tolerance and freedom for all faiths in Utah, including Islam.⁶¹ In one sermon, Taylor cites a poem by Parley P. Pratt that reads in part, 'Indian, Muslim,

⁵⁸ G. Smith, 'The history of Mahomedanism', *Journal of Discourses* 3 (1856) 28-37; P. Pratt, 'Mahometanism and Christianity', *Journal of Discourses* 3 (1856) 38-42.

⁵⁹ In later years, Smith's sermons continued to show evidence of his interest and objectivity in treating issues of Islamic history and religion. See G.A. Smith, 'The Lord's Supper – historical reminiscences – the Puritans', *Journal of Discourses* 12 (1869) 210-17, p. 215; G.A. Smith, 'The Sacrament ...', *Journal of Discourses* 12 (1869) 332-8, p. 332; and G.A. Smith, 'An account of his journey to Palestine', *Journal of Discourses* 16 (1874) 87-102. In 1872-3, Smith and several other prominent church members travelled to the Middle East. Their letters record impressions of the Ottoman Empire, Muslims, Jews and Christians, and were later bound and published in a volume entitled *Correspondence of Palestine tourists*, Salt Lake City UT, 1875.

⁶⁰ G. Cannon. *Writings from the 'Western Standard'*, San Francisco CA, 1864, p. 51. Jules Rémy subsequently published a book about the Mormons entitled *A journey to Great Salt Lake City*, London, 1861.

⁶¹ See, for example, B. Young, 'Salvation ...', *Journal of Discourses* 12 (1869) 111-16, p. 112; and B. Young, 'The one-man power ...', *Journal of Discourses* 14 (1872) 91-8, p. 94; J. Taylor, 'Truth – freedom ...', *Journal of Discourses* 14 (1872) 336-43, p. 341; G. Cannon, 'The influence of the Latter-day Saints', *Journal of Discourses* 20 (1879) 195-205, p. 204; and, in general, *Correspondence of Palestine tourists*, Salt Lake City UT, 1875.

Greek or Jew, Freedom's banner waves for you'.⁶² In 1893, Cannon, editor of *The Juvenile Instructor*, a literary magazine for Mormon youth, penned a lengthy editorial commenting dispassionately on a new campaign by Muslims to evangelise America and England, led by an American convert to Islam, Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb.⁶³ Rather than raising the alarm and condemning Muslims' effrontery, Cannon noted the irony of their having turned the tables. '[Christians] have been sending troops of missionaries to convert the Mohammedans of Asia' for many years without success, he observed.

But now Mohammedans say, 'Since you have not been able to convert us, we will try and convert you'. It will be very interesting to watch the efforts which will be made by Mr. Webb and his friends in their missionary labors among the people of England and the United States.⁶⁴

Mormon interactions with and commentary on Islamic religion and culture increased sharply with the opening of LDS missionary work in the Ottoman Empire in 1884.⁶⁵ In contrast to Orson Hyde's 1841 visit to Palestine motivated by LDS millenarian interest in the return of the Jews, the opening of the Turkish Mission reflected an evolved and more inclusive view of mission to all peoples in the region. Initially working among the diverse ethnic and religious populations of Istanbul, missionaries began to range more widely throughout the empire, eventually focusing their proselytising activities in eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and Mount Lebanon – regions with large Armenian Orthodox communities, who tended to be more receptive to Mormon preaching than Muslims, Jews and Catholics. Missionaries became familiar with several cultures and languages, including Turkish, Arabic and Armenian, and consequently

⁶² J. Taylor, 'The Temples in course of erection ...', *Journal of Discourses* 20 (1879) 348–61, p. 356.

⁶³ See P. Bowen, 'Alexander Russell Webb', in *CMR* 16, 334–6. 'Mohammedanism in America', *The Juvenile Instructor* 28 (1 July 1893) 413–14.

⁶⁴ 'Mohammedanism in America', p. 414.

⁶⁵ For more on LDS missions in the Middle East, see J. Toronto, 'Early missions to Ottoman Turkey, Syria, and Palestine', in *Out of obscurity. The LDS Church in the twentieth century*, Salt Lake City UT, 2000, 339–62; D. Charles, 'You had the Alps, but we the Mount of Olives', Mormon missionary travel in the Middle East (1884–1928)', *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (Spring 2000) 93–126; J. Toronto, 'LDS missionary work in the Middle East. The deaths of Emil J. Huber and Joseph W. Booth in Aleppo, Syria', *Mormon Historical Studies* 14 (Spring 2013) 83–108; 'Manuscript history of the Turkish Mission', LDS church history archives, Salt Lake City UT; R. Lindsay, 'A history of the missionary activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Near East, 1884–1929', Provo UT, 1958 (MA Diss. Brigham Young University); and L. Berrett and B. Van Dyke, *Holy Lands. A history of the Latter-day Saints in the Near East*, American Fork UT, 2005.

their writings reflect a deepening understanding of and association with local ethnic groups and Ottoman government officials.

Mormon discourse on Islam during this first missionary foray into Muslim lands is generally of two kinds: personal observations at the grass-roots level found in missionary correspondence and journals, and official communications between church leaders in the field and at church headquarters. On both levels, comments generally reflect positive attitudes towards and interactions with Muslims, but also frustration with Muslim social norms and Ottoman legal strictures that presented obstacles to evangelisation efforts.⁶⁶ Missionaries' journals and letters contain observations about quotidian details of life among Muslims: Islamic cultural practices and holidays, cordial relations with Muslim friends and townspeople, and admiration for Islamic religious beliefs and values, often tempered by partisan bias. A few examples from the meticulously kept journals of Joseph Booth, a missionary in Turkey for 17 years, will illustrate these themes in turn-of-the-century Mormon discourse. A Muslim neighbour in Zara, Turkey, offered her services to assist him and his wife, Reba, with the trauma of their 'childless condition'. Hearing a story from Islamic culture involving a rich man, a corrupt judge, and a 'plucky and honest woman', Booth – a published author and amateur poet – wrote it up as a long poem and submitted it to a Mormon literary periodical in Utah. After reading a book entitled *Faith of Islam*, he noted that 'the Moslems have much good in their religion' but that 'the great difference between theirs and mine is that "Mormonism" embraces all the truth of Islam [...] besides rejecting their errors'.⁶⁷

While missionary records provide ample evidence of respectful, even amicable, relations between Mormons, Protestants and Armenians, at times sectarian rivalries escalated into conflict, and LDS sources frequently credit Muslims with protecting the rights and safety of the small Mormon community. In 1899, Booth and another missionary, Philip Maycock, attended an Armenian holiday observance at the cemetery in

⁶⁶ On Ottoman policies governing relations with Christian missionaries, see C. Erhan, 'Ottoman official attitudes towards American missionaries', *The Turkish yearbook of international relations* (2000) 191-212; U. Makdisi, *Artillery of heaven. American missionaries and the failed conversion of the Middle East*, Ithaca NY, 2008; S. Deringil, *Conversion and apostasy in the late Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 2012; and D. Ümit, 'The American Protestant missionary network in Ottoman Turkey, 1876-1914', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4 (April 2014) 16-51.

⁶⁷ Archives Provo UT, Brigham Young University – Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 155, 'Joseph W. Booth', 25 November 1898; 25 June 1901; 22-5 October 1901; 10 August 1905 (journal).

Aintab, Turkey, and, by invitation from friends, went to a private area and began teaching them the tenets of Mormonism. A large crowd of curious onlookers gathered around them and became unruly, interrupting their preaching. Epithets and stones began to fly, and only the timely intervention of the 'brave sons of Mohamed' – Ottoman police officers who threw stones back at the angry protesters and quickly escorted the Mormons to safety – prevented serious physical harm to the Mormon preachers.⁶⁸ Maycock observed acerbically that 'it is a significant comment on the so-called Christianity of to-day' that followers of Jesus 'should have to be restrained in their mobbish intention to injure fellow-Christians by the disciples of [Muḥammad] whom they regard as a barbarous impostor'.⁶⁹ A few months later Booth caused a commotion while distributing religious tracts in public. Again, the police helped him find refuge, and Booth's journal acknowledges that the Muslims were generally 'ready to offer aid in protecting me from the assaults of Christians'.⁷⁰

Mormon views of Muslims were not consistently favourable, however. Islamic social taboos and Ottoman legal constraints on proselytising inhibited Christian evangelisation, a reality that irritated missionaries and provoked condemnation of Muslims in Mormon literature. These proscriptions included the mingling of men and women, door-to-door proselytising, holding meetings and distributing Christian literature in public, and the conversion of Muslims. Working at the turn of the century in the political tinderbox of Ottoman society, missionaries sometimes experienced arrest, imprisonment and banishment. In particular, journals and correspondence reflect deep consternation at Ottoman maltreatment of Christian minorities, whom the government distrusted because of their religious ties with the Christian West.⁷¹ Missionaries lamented that under the Ottoman *millet* system governing religious communities in the empire, citizens who left one religious group to join another were 'ostracized' and 'lose all their civil and religious rights' including Christian marriage and burial.⁷² Albert Herman laid blame for the 'wretchedly slow progress' of evangelisation in Turkey on Sultan

⁶⁸ Booth (journal), 13 March 1899. See also D. Charles, 'The day the "brave sons of Mohamed" saved a group of Mormons', *BYU Studies* 40 (2001) 237-54.

⁶⁹ P.S. Maycock, 'On the condition of things in Aintab ...', *Millennial Star* 61 (20 April 1899) 246-7.

⁷⁰ Booth (journal), 16 September 1899.

⁷¹ F.F. Hintze, 'Report on Turkish mission', *Millennial Star* 62 (1 February 1900) 73-5, p. 74.

⁷² Archives Salt Lake City UT, LDS church archives – Papers of Anthon H. Lund, 10 August 1900; cited in Berrett and Van Dyke, *Holy Lands*, p. 38.

Abdul Hamid II's (r. 1876-1909) repressive government, which granted the Mormons 'no rights, no privileges, no protection as a religious organization' and refused to allow the word 'Mormon' on their passports.⁷³ To avoid offending cultural mores and violating legal strictures, missionaries were obliged to find alternative methods for contacting people. One missionary explained that, because the 'subjection of the women is fanatically severe' among the Muslims, it was dangerous to go indiscriminately from door to door. As a result, they began going 'from shop to shop, where the men are at work weaving'. There among the looms, 'we generally succeed. A crowd soon gathers [...] and we have some interesting and at times exciting occurrences'.⁷⁴

Muslim commentary on Mormonism

During the period under discussion, Mormonism was an emergent religion, little known outside North America and Europe. Before 1884, when the LDS Church initiated an evangelisation campaign in the Ottoman Empire, interaction between Mormons and Muslims was rare, and so few Muslim sources mention Mormonism. However, from 1884 to 1918, as the first missionaries encountered the various faith communities in the empire, more documentary evidence of Muslim concern about the Mormon presence began to appear. In particular, correspondence and reports indicate that Ottoman officials, as part of the bureaucratic protocol designed to regulate religious practice and avoid sectarian strife, investigated the Mormons' background and reputation in the US, monitored the activities and movements of the missionaries, and kept track of the growth of this new religious community in the empire.

Communications between the Ottoman embassy in Washington DC and the Sublime Porte in Istanbul reflect Ottoman interest in knowing more about Mormon history, beliefs and status in the US. In 1871, an Ottoman diplomat, writing to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Server Pasha, provided a well-informed, objective overview of the Mormons. He notes their history of persecution and describes their activities in Utah, the coming of the transcontinental railway two years earlier, and the 'incontestable services' that Mormons have rendered to the American republic. The Mormons and the US government, he observes, are on a collision

⁷³ Papers of Anthon H. Lund, 23 July 1901, cited in Berrett and Van Dyke, *Holy Lands*, pp. 168-9.

⁷⁴ P. Maycock, 'Abstract of correspondence', *Millennial Star* 61 (23 March 1899) 189-92, p. 191.

course because of the Mormons' practice of polygamy, but he makes no comments either for or against this volatile issue. He evinces a tone of sadness that the government will inevitably eradicate the Mormons and opines that Brigham Young and his people will have to find another place if they want to escape this fate. Some Mormons suggested Tahiti as a new settlement, while others wanted to stay and fight.⁷⁵ An 1888 communique from Washington to Istanbul updates the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Said Pasha, on political issues in the US, including the status of the Mormons. The letter reports that Congress directly supervises the territory of Utah, that American politicians are concerned about the Mormons, and that the Mormons' petition for Utah to become a state was facing problems due to the polygamy issue. Overall, this report is somewhat less positive than the first, but does objectively analyse press coverage and political attitudes in Washington DC about Mormons.⁷⁶ This information and analysis proved decisive when, in 1887, the Mormon missionary Ferdinand Hintze submitted an *arzuhal* (official petition) to the Ottoman government seeking to achieve legal recognition, become part of the *millet* system governing religious minorities in the empire, and obtain permission to publish and distribute church literature. The petition was eventually rejected or ignored, mostly because the Mormons, due to their reputation for being isolationist and antithetical to American political values, had no influence with the US government, which the Ottomans were cultivating as a strategic ally.⁷⁷

With the arrival of Mormon missionaries in Ottoman lands after 1884, surveillance and communication by local government officials reflect a process of sorting out the status and rights of an unfamiliar, growing religious community viewed as potentially destabilising to the public order. The *Zabtiyye Nezareti* (Security Ministry) of Iskenderun reported in January 1899 that 'a director of American schools in Aintab and Marash and a publisher of the Mormon sect by the name of Ferdinand who is tall, blond, bearded and capable of speaking Turkish had wanted to give a sermon here [Iskenderun] yesterday but was refused'.⁷⁸ In 1902, the

⁷⁵ Archive Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv – BOA HR.SYS 44/38, 3 November 1871, Letter (in French) to Server Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

⁷⁶ Archive Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv – BOA HR.SYS 59/33, 21 January 1888, Letter (in French) to Said Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

⁷⁷ Archive Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv – BOA 104090, 20 November 1887; BOA 104092, 8 February 1888. Cited in S. Akgün, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda Mormon misyoneler*, İstanbul, 2008, pp. 134-6.

⁷⁸ Archive Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv – BOA, DH.TMIK.M 00067.5/13, İstanbul, 13 March 1899.

İskenderun district office communicated with the Aleppo governorate about problems with Mormon missionary travel and proselytising in the region. They also submitted a lengthy abstract of their correspondence to the office of the Grand Vizier in Istanbul to keep Sultan Abdul Hamid II apprised of these developments. The issue under discussion was how to deal with two Mormon missionaries on their way to the city of Aintab, who were members of an unauthorised religion but were also American citizens who had certain rights. Although the men's religion was not officially recognised by the state, 'this circumstance could not exclude them from [the privileges of] American nationality according to their transit visa (*mürur tezkeresi*). In accordance with the current treaty obligations, such travellers must be aided by the local [Ottoman] government' and must 'not be interfered with'. Nevertheless, the governor's office 'had wanted to outlaw this sect' because of a report that they 'had converted one of their rooms for the purpose of worship and attempted to propagate Mormonism' and succeeded in converting 25 individuals to this faith. For this reason, the Foreign Ministry finally declared that the two missionaries must 'return to the place from which they came' and apply to the embassy for permission 'to spread the Mormon faith'.⁷⁹ In a series of reports spread over several months in 1905, officials of the Security Ministry discussed the apprehension of 'an American publisher (*nâşiri*) of the Mormon faith (*mezhep*) [...] in order to investigate the six books belonging to the aforementioned faith'. The officials stated that the language of his materials was 'German and Russian'. The *Maârif Nezâreti* (Education Ministry) informed the officers that 'on account of the fact that the Mormon faith is not among the officially recognised faiths in the Ottoman lands, [such works] were not permitted'. It was noted that, nevertheless, the man 'continued to distribute these pamphlets'.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Archive İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv – BOA 104085, 'Geniş Özet. Sadrazamlık Makamına', 19 March 1902, cited in Akgün, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda Mor-mon misyonerler*, p. 370.

⁸⁰ Archive İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv – BOA, MF.MKT 874/22.1, İstanbul, 24 May 1905; BOA, MF.MKT 874/22.2, İstanbul, 8 August 1905; BOA, MF.MKT 874/22.2.2, İstanbul, 8 August 1905; BOA, MF.MKT 874/22.4, İstanbul, 8 August 1905.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1800-1914

Thomas Jefferson

DATE OF BIRTH 13 April 1743
PLACE OF BIRTH Shadwell, Virginia
DATE OF DEATH 4 July 1826
PLACE OF DEATH Monticello, Virginia

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Jefferson was born in 1743 in Shadwell, Albemarle County, Virginia. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a member of the local aristocracy. Thomas was baptised an Anglican, and was also buried as an Anglican, although his religious views were privately Deist and, later in life, Unitarian.

At the age of five, Jefferson began his education, guided by a private tutor for reading, writing and arithmetic. At the age of nine, he began his study of Latin and Greek and by 15 he was studying the Bible in earnest under the tutelage of the Huguenot parson, James Maury. When he was 14, his father died, leaving him 7,500 acres of land including a property called Monticello. At 17, in 1760, he began his college education at Williamsburg, Virginia, where one Dr William Small, a Scottish professor of mathematics, who was dedicated to the principles of the Enlightenment, tutored him in logic, ethics, rhetoric, natural history and philosophy. At around the age of 19, Jefferson began the study of law with local practitioners, including George Wythe, his mentor.

From 1762 to 1767, Jefferson dedicated himself to legal scholarship. In the midst of buying many books on British law, he also bought a Qur'an in October 1765, which he had shipped from London. However, his strong interest in politics was also emerging, and by the time he left Williamsburg he revered a 'trinity' of great minds, Isaac Newton, John Locke and Francis Bacon.

Jefferson practised law in Virginia from 1767 to 1771. In 1774, he wrote 'A summary view of the rights of British America', an early revolutionary salvo against unjust British government practices. He ceased the practice of law about this time, when he inherited 11,000 acres and 135 slaves from his father-in-law. In 1775, he was elected to the Continental Congress and, the following year, he penned the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia. He was also elected to the Virginia House of Delegates, and set

out to draft new American laws for his commonwealth. Being appointed to the Committee on Religion, in 1777 he wrote his most enduring legislation, 'A bill for establishing religious freedom', but there was staunch resistance to it.

Jefferson served as governor of Virginia from 1779 to 1781. He was elected to Congress in 1783 and served in France as minister and commissioner from 1784 to 1789. In 1786, during his absence, his ally James Madison ensured that his legislation, now known as the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, was passed. Jefferson published his *Notes on Virginia* in France (1785) and in the US (1788); it contains some of his only public thoughts on the role of religion and government. He served as the first US secretary of state, 1790-3, and vice president under John Adams, 1797-1801, and he became the third US president in 1801, serving two terms in office.

In 1815, Jefferson sold most of his personal library of about 6,700 books, the largest private collection in the US, which became the core of the Library of Congress. In his retirement at Monticello, he founded the University of Virginia, which he visited for the last time in 1826, the year in which he died on 4 July at the age of 83.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Thomas Jefferson's references to Muslims and Islam

DATE 1764

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Thomas Jefferson wrote nothing about Islam as such, but was influenced by several English sources on Islam, including Sale's translation of the Qur'an, as well as his audiences with envoys from Islamic nations.

In October 1776, Jefferson took note of his hero John Locke's phrase from *A letter concerning toleration* (1689) about pagans, 'Mahometans' [Muslims] and Jews deserving not to be excluded from 'the civil rights of the Commonwealth' on account of their religion. During the 18th century, Muslims were imagined as the ultimate outsiders in the new republic of the United States, but Jefferson included them as pivotal to a robust notion of religious pluralism and civil rights. This can be seen from his most famous legislation, drafted in 1777, which argued 'that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions' (Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, p. 117). While Jefferson was away in France,

James Madison made the bill law in 1786. It is now known as the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. In his autobiography, Jefferson explicitly states that the bill's intent was 'universal', and included 'Mahometans' [Muslims] among those he intended to 'comprehend within the mantle of its protection' (Jefferson, *Autobiography*, p. 46). Arguing this lofty principle as a marker of the furthest reaches of legal equality regardless of religion, Jefferson never identified the practice of Islam among West African slaves until 1807, when as president he was shown Arabic writing by two runaway enslaved Muslims. This evidence prompted him to suggest they should be emancipated, though their fate remains unknown (Einboden, *Jefferson's Muslim fugitives*, pp. 1, 253), nor did the knowledge of Islam as practised by Muslim slaves alter Jefferson's position on slavery or the enslaved in his own plantations.

Jefferson's engagement with Islam was not purely academic, but pragmatic and political. Together with John Adams, he met an envoy from Tripoli, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, in London in 1786. The Americans attempted to negotiate terms of peace during the corsairs' raids on American vessels and their capture of American citizens, but the Tripolitan envoy insisted on payment for a treaty with a ten per cent commission for himself. Writing about this in a co-signed letter with Jefferson, John Adams explained that 'the laws of the Prophet' (i.e. the Qur'an) provided the legal precedent for Muslim corsairs to raid American civilian shipping in the eastern Atlantic and the Mediterranean (Papers of *Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 9, p. 358). Jefferson's own notes about the meeting render the term 'Prophet' as 'profit' (Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, p. 149), an orthographic lapse that may deliberately have reflected his view that the roots of the conflict with the Barbary States were economic not religious. Secretly, and unlike John Adams, Jefferson preferred a military solution to the problem of corsair raids, a strategy he instituted as president, proceeding to wage an undeclared war against Tripoli during his first term in office (1801-5).

In 1805, he entertained a Tunisian ambassador, the first Muslim to visit the White House. Since it was Ramaḍān, Jefferson accommodated the ambassador by changing the time of a state dinner from the afternoon to sunset. Article 14 of Jefferson's 1806 Treaty of Peace with Tripoli insisted: 'As the Government of the United States of America has in itself no character of enmity against the Laws, Religion, or Tranquility of Muselmén [Muslims]' (Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, p. 216).

Jefferson purchased a Qur'an 11 years before he wrote the Declaration of Independence. In 1765, he ordered the 3rd edition of George Sale's

English translation, published in two volumes in 1764. Jefferson's only written response to this purchase remains his initials 'T' and 'J', the 'J' standing for the Latinized 'J' of Jefferson. Known to initial many of his large collection of books, Jefferson sometimes did so randomly, but here the placement of his initials at the bottom of a page beneath Q 4:94-6, which references those who fight 'in the path of God', may not have been accidental. He may have been prompted to check these verses after the Qur'an was mentioned by a Tripolitan envoy in a 1786 London interview. He may also have been particularly interested in them because of the maritime depredations of the Barbary corsairs of Algiers and Tripoli against American shipping, a foreign conflict of importance in the period Jefferson served as the first US Secretary of State (1790-3), and beyond in his two terms as president (1801-9).

Although Jefferson commented on the Qur'an abstractly, there is no evidence of his immediate reaction to the copy he owned, either because he left no notes, or because any notes he made were destroyed five years after the purchase of his Qur'an in a 1770 fire at Shadwell, which consumed 'every paper' and 'almost every book'. It is possible, then, that he purchased a second copy of the Qur'an when he was in Europe, though this cannot be proved. His copy currently resides in the Library of Congress.

SIGNIFICANCE

The dearth of Jefferson's documented engagement with Islam and the Qur'an does not mean that he had nothing to say about either. He learned from Voltaire, incorrectly, that Muslims cared nothing for scientific inquiry but only wanted to extend the Qur'an over all they conquered, and he repeated this argument in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1776. Jefferson derived this and other negative characterisations about Islam from European prejudices, but never cited Sale's introduction in any of his notes. These prejudices, however, did not preclude him from considering the question of religious toleration with reference to Muslims, and he conducted political negotiations with them abroad and in Washington DC, and finally decided upon an appropriate place for his Qur'an in his library, which was based on a complex epistemological model that reflected his views of knowledge.

His elaborate design for the order of books in his library may reveal in the placement of the Qur'an an implicit appreciation of the monotheist character of Islam and the importance of the sacred text as a repository of law (Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, pp. 235-6). Placed under the

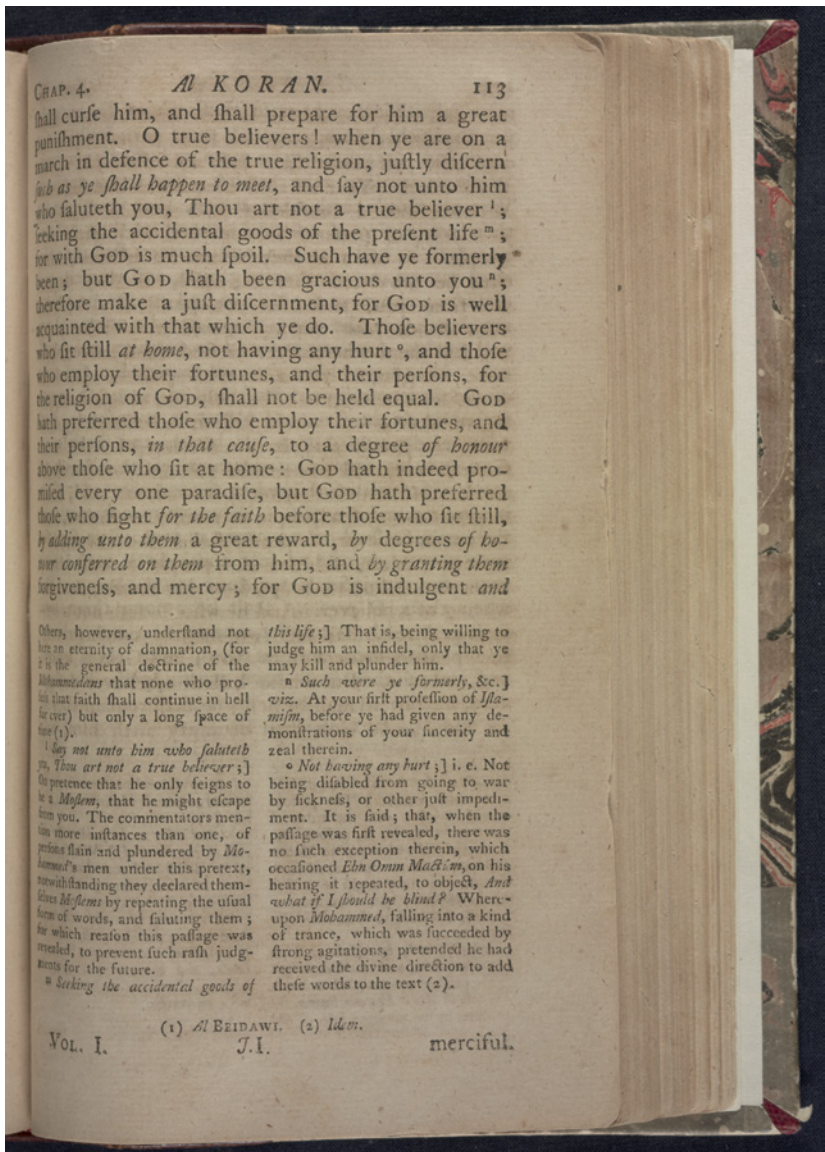


Illustration 1. Thomas Jefferson's initials J.I. in his copy of George Sale's *Koran*, vol. 1, p. 113

category of religion, which Jefferson saw as a sub-category of law, the Qur'an is situated between three works on polytheism and several copies of the Old Testament. It may be that he understood the Qur'an as connected in communality with the Old Testament as both the expression of an uncompromising monotheism and as a book of law.

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Denise Spellberg

Susanna Haswell Rowson

DATE OF BIRTH February 1762
PLACE OF BIRTH Portsmouth
DATE OF DEATH 2 March 1824
PLACE OF DEATH Boston, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHY

Born into a British naval family, Susanna Haswell spent much of her childhood in colonial Massachusetts. During the American Revolution, her father remained loyal to the Crown, prompting local authorities to intern the family and confiscate its property. After being deported to England in 1778, Haswell became a governess and her family's main financial support. In 1786, she published the first of her ten novels and married the aspiring actor William Rowson. The couple migrated to Philadelphia in 1793 to join the New Theatre Company, and within a year Rowson staged her first play, *Slaves in Algiers*.

Though she was working as an actress, Rowson continued to write prolifically, and her novel *Charlotte* – first published in Britain in 1791 – became an American bestseller. Heartened by this commercial success, Rowson quit the stage and in 1797 opened her Young Ladies' Academy, where she educated the daughters of some of New England's most prominent families. She wrote multiple pedagogical and religious texts, and continued to use her popular novels as a platform for instilling moral values in readers.

Although she never disowned her English heritage, Rowson was ardently supportive of American republicanism. She died having attained fame as an actress, playwright, educator and the author of the most popular American novel of her day.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Slaves in Algiers; or, a struggle for freedom

DATE 1794

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

A three-act play that unfolds over 70 pages, *Slaves in Algiers; or, a struggle for freedom* uses Barbary captivity as a platform for inculcating moral virtue. Although interactions between Christian and Muslim characters drive the plot in this comic melodrama of family reunion and republican moralising, *Slaves* addresses Islam only superficially. In the few instances in which it does reference Islamic doctrine, the representations are largely dogmatic, as the work is focused principally on issues such as personal liberty and sexual fortitude. Thus, *Slaves* characterises Islam's tolerance of polygamy as a patent abuse of liberty. The work likewise presents the Algerian Dey, 'Muley Moloc', as capricious and domineering, yet he is himself a slave to 'rude, ungoverned passion' (1794 edition, p. 60). The play culminates with Muley demanding that the American captive Olivia should convert to Islam and submit to be his wife in order to free her family. Olivia, played by Rowson herself, is ultimately spared being forced to 'tarnish her name by apostacy' (p. 68) after a revolt led by American captives cows Muley into rejecting the errant ways of his 'ancestors' and embracing American ideals of republican governance.

Rowson wrote *Slaves* over the course of some two months with the self-stated purpose of promoting 'social virtues' and ridiculing vice. Although she declared the play to be 'the offspring of fancy' (1794 edition, preface) and inspired by Miguel Cervantes, it appeared at a time of great American public interest in North Africa and Islam following the capture of more than 100 American sailors by corsairs sailing out of Algiers. Unlike the popular accounts of captive American sailors, which rarely addressed institutional slavery in the United States, Rowson's play declares slavery inimical to American values. *Slaves* is, moreover, a continuation of Rowson's lifelong promotion of the cause of women. Not only does it grant female characters its most critical roles, but it opens with the Dey's favourite courtesan – a Muslim – declaring that women possess 'the power to render ourselves superior' to men.

SIGNIFICANCE

Backed by music by one of America's leading composers and staged by a popular theatre troupe, *Slaves* received 'unbounded marks of approbation' (1794 edition, preface, p. ii) and was performed in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Both in its jingoistic prologue and throughout its main text, the topical work rallied support for the American sailors who were then being held in Algiers.

However, Rowson did have critics. William Cobbett's polemical attack on her appeared in two pamphlet editions and excoriated *Slaves* for its jab at the government's slowness in ransoming American captives. Cobbett also took aim at the work's proto-feminist streak. In a provocative epilogue to *Slaves*, Rowson appeared on stage declaring, 'Women were born for universal sway, / Men to adore, be silent, and obey' (1794 edition, epilogue). Among the various marginalised groups whose interests *Slaves* promoted were captives, American slaves and women.

Rowson's play was not a minute exploration of Christian-Muslim relations, but it does reveal some of the myriad ways in which Islam furnished early Americans with an imaginative dramatic setting for exploring their own social and political issues.

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Ian Larson

Royall Tyler

DATE OF BIRTH 18 July 1757
PLACE OF BIRTH Boston, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 26 August 1826
PLACE OF DEATH Brattleboro, Vermont

BIOGRAPHY

Royall Tyler was born in Boston, Massachusetts, and received a classical education at Boston Latin School and Harvard University. He later studied law, and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1780.

Tyler's chequered professional career included a short term of service in the army, involving participation in the American War of Independence, and in the suppression of Shays' Rebellion. He also served as Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, and as Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Vermont. Tyler married Mary Palmer in 1794, and they had 11 children, some of whom became prominent clergymen.

Tyler wrote plays, satirical essays, poems and a famous satirical novel, *The Algerine captive*. His play *Contrast* was reputed to be the first American drama to be performed on stage. *The Algerine captive* was the first American novel to be republished in England shortly after it had been written. On 17 August 1797, an advertisement appeared in the *Independent Chronicle* saying, 'The Algerine Captive, which has, for a few weeks since excited so much curiosity, and which on perusal, has been pronounced by a few men of taste, *The Rabelais of America*' (Tanselle, *Royall Tyler*, p. 140). The *Boston Columbian Centinel* wrote in 1826 that it was 'Unquestionably one of the most original and brilliant productions of this generation, [and] will forever secure him a high rank among American writers' (Tanselle, *Royall Tyler*, p. viii). In the mid-19th century, Evert and George Duyckinck wrote of Tyler in their *Cyclopaedia of American literature* (vol. 1, p. 415): 'His life certainly deserved to be narrated with more particularity than it has yet received. [...] American literature cannot be charged with poverty while it has such valuables uninvested in its forgotten repositories' (see Tanselle, *Royall Tyler*, p. ix).

With regard to the question of Christian-Muslim relations, it is important to recognise Tyler's contemporary and later reputation if we are to comprehend his countrymen's awareness of Islam, especially since he

was the first American writer to address the 'Islamic threat' in a more or less objective manner in *The Algerine captive*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Algerine captive

DATE 1797

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Algerine captive (in full, *The Algerine captive, or, The life and adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill. Six years a prisoner among the Algerines*) is a satirical novel published anonymously, in which the hero, Captain Updike Underhill, relates his life story in two Books, covering 211 and 239 pages respectively in the 1797 first edition. In Book 1, Underhill tells the story of his early life and career in the United States, giving a strong satirical treatment of Southern cruelty towards slaves and the institution of slavery, and of superficial Puritan faith and practice. This is seen, for example, in his treatment of a Southern pastor who arrived 'with a switch called a supplejack in his hand [and] belaboured the back and head of the faulty slave all the way from the water to the church door, accompanying every stroke with suitable language'. After a lofty, eloquent 'eleven-minute' sermon on the virtues of Christian life and a reading of the 'fourth commandment in the communion', the parson and the congregation hastened to the horse race. At the race, the parson distinguished himself. His parishioners, says Underhill, 'assured me, upon oath

and honour, that he was a gentleman of as much uprightness as his grace the archbishop of Canterbury' (Book 1, pp. 136-7).

Book 2, which is of significance to the theme of Christian-Muslim relations, relates the fictional story of Underhill's capture and enslavement. His slave ship, ironically named *Sympathy*, is attacked by Algerian pirates and he is taken captive to Algeria, where he is subjected to the cruelty and torture commonly popularised in contemporary accounts. Within this story, Tyler provides a fictional debate between Underhill and an Algerian mollah, a cleric whose goal is to convert Underhill to Islam. The 'debate' is set in the traditional Western form of Christian-Muslim 'controversy' between representatives of the two religions, and in the context of the popular contemporary literature of American captivity in Muslim North Africa. Here, Tyler shows extensive knowledge about Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad, and has a significantly balanced attitude towards Islam, which was unusual for the time. The debate provides what could be described as a treatise dealing with Islam and Muḥammad that went against the prevailing opinion of the day. In addition to the analysis of Muḥammad's character and the new religion in this five-day dialogue, Underhill provides what may be the sum of the traditional Western argument against Islam. But Tyler breaks new ground by giving the mollah ample opportunity to counter Underhill's argument, point for point, with surprising impartiality. For example, when the captive tells the mollah that he 'will bring [his] religion to the test [and] compare it with...the... the [hesitation]', the captor gently interrupts him, 'Speak out boldly, no advantage shall be taken.' Underhill then says that the 'Bible was written by men divinely inspired' (Book 2, pp. 42-3). The mollah replies that the Qur'an is divine revelation too. What proof can either of them offer? This is one Christian's word against one Muslim's. Each is speaking for himself.

Underhill's claim that 'our religion was disseminated in peace; yours was promulgated by the sword' provides the mollah with a chance to display his knowledge of the history of atrocities committed in the name of Christianity: 'My friend, you surely have not read the writings of your own historians.' He then proceeds to remind Underhill of the 'bloody massacres' that characterised the 'history of the Christian church', of the 'thundering legions under Constantine the Great', of the Inquisitions and persecutions of the Moors in Spain, and of 'the dragooning of the Hugonots from France under Louis the Great' (Book 2, p. 49).

In contrast, the mollah claims that Muslims 'never yet forced a man to adopt their faith'. They revere the Christian and Hebrew religions and

sacred books. They 'leave it to the Christians of the West Indies, and the Christians of your southern plantations, to baptize the unfortunate African into your faith, and then use your brother Christians as brutes of the desert' (Book 2, p. 50)

The hero's only comment on this is a silent remark to the reader: 'Here I was abashed for my country, I could not answer him.' Yet he still has some arguments, obviously drawn from traditional polemics. Underhill says to the mollah, 'But you hold a sensual paradise.' This draws from the mollah a long speech in which he cites an equally sensuous paradise promised to Christians by their religion. He sums up the case for Islam by exhorting the Christian slave to read the Muslims' 'spotless book'. He says,

You will learn the necessity of being virtuous here, that you may be happy and not miserable hereafter. You will learn resignation to the will of the Holy One; because you will know what all the events of your life were, in the embryo of time, forged on the anvils of Divine Wisdom. In a word, you will learn the unity of God, which, notwithstanding the cavil of your divines, your prophet, like ours, came into the world to establish, and every man of reason must believe. You need not renounce your prophet. Him we respect as a great apostle of God; but Mahomet is the seal of the prophets. Turn then my friend, from slavery to the delights of life. (Book 2, pp. 52-3)

Underhill's final remarks demonstrate his faithful adherence to his religion in spite of the promise of freedom and a luxurious life. 'After five days' conversation, disgusted with his fables, abashed by his assurance, and almost confounded by his sophistry, I resumed my slave's attire, and sought safety in my former servitude' (Book 2, p. 53).

On the Prophet Muḥammad, Tyler dismisses the claim that he was illiterate, and states that, as a camel driver, he 'gained the most significant knowledge of each country he visited' and contemplated a reform programme for Arabia. Muḥammad, he says, 'secluded himself from company, and assumed the austerity of manners becoming the reformer of a vicious world' (Book 2, p. 134).

In an attempt to defend Muḥammad against the charges that he was thirsty for power, Underhill recognises the conditions prevailing in Arabia at the time, and credits Muḥammad with the sincere selfless aim of undertaking a programme of social and religious reform. He says that Muḥammad was surrounded by 'Arian Christians' and Jews, both of whom had been persecuted by the established church, 'by Pagans, whose belief in a plurality of gods made them ready proselytes of any novel system; and by the wise of them who were disgusted with the gross absurdities of

their own mythology' (Book 2, p. 133). Muḥammad appealed to all these groups by gratifying their principles and needs.

As for Muḥammad's character and personal merits, Underhill says:

He is represented as a man of a beautiful person and commanding presence. By his engaging manners and remarkable attention to business, he became the factor of a rich Arabian merchant, after whose death he married his widow, the beautiful Cadija, and came into the lawful possession of immense wealth, which awakened in him the most unbounded ambition. (Book 2, pp. 131-2)

Underhill dismisses Western writers' claims that Muḥammad had fits of epilepsy and that a monk and a Jew compiled the Qur'an for him as 'fit only to amuse the vulgar'. From what he heard of the Qur'an chanted at funerals and quoted in conversation, it 'ever exhibited the purest morality and the sublimest conception of the Deity'. Its fundamental doctrine, as he understood it, included the unity of God, the divine messages of Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad, and the 'belief in the eternal decrees of God, in a resurrection and final judgement to bliss or misery. [...] The Alcoran also forbids games of chance and the use of strong liquors; inculcates a tenderness for idiots and a respect for age' (Book 2, pp. 142-4).

Underhill concludes:

There do not appear to be any articles in their faith which incite them to immorality, or can countenance the cruelties they commit. Neither their Alcoran nor their priests excite them to plunder, enslave, or torment. The former expressly recommends charity, justice, and mercy, towards their fellow men. I would not bring the sacred volume of our faith in any comparative view with the Alcoran of Mohamet; but I cannot help noticing it as extraordinary, that the Mahometan should abominate the Christian on account of his faith, and the Christian detest the Musselman for his creed; when the Koran of the former acknowledges the divinity of the Christian Messiah, and the Bible of the latter commands us to love our enemies. If either would follow the obvious dictates of his own scripture, he would cease to hate, abominate, and destroy the other. (Book 2, pp. 144-5)

Although Underhill (i.e. Tyler) takes the traditional stand against Islam, he declares that he would 'endeavour to steer the middle course of impartiality, influenced neither by the bigoted aversion of Sales [*scil.* George Sale] and Prideaux, nor the specious praise of the *philosophic* Boulainvilliers' (Book 2, pp. 129-30).

SIGNIFICANCE

The Algerine captive (specifically Book 2: 5, 6, and 7) can be considered the earliest significant treatment of Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad by an American author. It contains an unusually clear lesson in tolerance by an 18th-century American, and, judging from the succession of reprints, it appears to have been well received by an educated readership in the early American republic.

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- G.T. Tanselle, 'Some uncollected authors, XLII. Royall Tyler, 1757-1826', *Book Collector* 15 (1966) 303-20
- G.T. Tanselle, 'Early American fiction in England. The case of *The Algerine captive*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 59 (1965) 376-84
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- C. Rourke, *The roots of American culture and other essays*, New York, 1942

R.E. Spiller (ed.), *The roots of national culture. American literature to 1830*, New York, 1942

Art. 'Royall Tyler', in A. Johnson and D. Malone (eds), *Dictionary of American biography*, New York, 1936, vol. 19, pp. 95-7

Fuad Shaban

John Vandike

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; if Chapman Whitcomb, 1765
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; if Chapman Whitcomb, 1833
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

John Vandike is the pseudonym used by the still-unknown author of a fictitious 18th-century Barbary captivity account. The sole source of information about the author comes in this epistolary captivity narrative, which was purportedly translated from a letter written in Dutch by Vandike to his brother. In this account, Vandike claims to have spent three years in Algiers following his capture by pirates while sailing from Amsterdam to Alexandria in 1791.

Chapman Whitcomb (1765-1833) is the only historically verified figure who has been suggested as the work's author. Born in Massachusetts, Whitcomb was a grammar instructor who supplemented his income through the occasional sale of pamphlets. He is known to have printed and sold the Vandike account and at least three other captivity narratives. Although Whitcomb is the acknowledged author of some of the pamphlets he circulated, whether he himself wrote the Vandike narrative cannot be said with certainty.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

J. Vandike, *Narrative of the captivity of John Vandike, who was taken by the Algerines, in 1791*, Leominster MA, 1801

Secondary

J.C.L. Clark, *Notes on Chapman Whitcomb*, Lancaster MA, 1911

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Narrative of the captivity of John Vandike, who was taken by the Algerines, in 1791

DATE Approximately 1797

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

John Vandike's *Narrative* is a 30-page account of his captivity in Algiers (in full, *Narrative of the captivity of John Vandike, who was taken by the Algerines, in 1791: an account of his escape, bringing with him a beautiful young English lady, who was taken in 1790; the ill usage she received from her master. The whole in a letter to his brother in Amsterdam*). The work is supposedly translated from Dutch into English by 'Mr. James Howe of Holland'. It is framed as a letter to a recipient referred to only as 'brother', although it is unclear whether this address is literal. The work describes Vandike's capture aboard a Dutch vessel en route to Alexandria, and it moves briskly through his three years in North Africa.

Early in his captivity Vandike ingratiates himself with his master by revealing the existence of a chest of gold and silver hidden in the hold of the captured vessel. Following this act and his feigned conversion to Islam, Vandike is granted freedom of movement. While out hunting, he discovers an English maiden named Polly living in a remote cave. She reveals to Vandike that she escaped from the seraglio of a 'lascivious' corsair after spurning his sexual advances. Moved by Polly's plight, Vandike disguises the lady as a young man and orchestrates the takeover of his former vessel, which he sails to Gibraltar as a prize. There, Polly is reunited with her family, and she and Vandike marry in a joint ceremony alongside Polly's sister and Vandike's cousin, who had been among the captives.

The few instances of religious interaction contained in the work are subsidiary to its narrative development. Where it does depict Christian-Muslim relations, it tends to do so in order to emphasise proper modes of Christian behaviour in contrast to those encouraged by Islam. Polly's master, for example, ridicules her objections to polygamy, her 'modesty, and virtue and the devil knows what'. This master praises the liberty the 'alcoran' grants for a man to have as many wives or concubines as he desires, while Polly warns that a 'just God would reward him according

to his works'. Vandike is likewise appalled by the Algerian practice of 'buying and selling women, as we do horses or cattle'. In general, *Narrative* depicts Algerians as 'debauched', 'ungodly', and only nominal observers of their own religious mores, including the prohibition on drinking alcohol. The supposed national celebration on the Dey's birthday, for example, is a 'drunken frolic'. Curiously, Vandike's own 'pretended' conversion to Islam in order to ease his life among Muslims receives almost no attention in the work.

This apparently fictional work lacks the descriptions of geography, social customs and sufferings and punishments that are the stock-in-trade of other captivity accounts. Its focus, rather, is Vandike's escape with Polly and his courtship of her. Unflagging in her faith and willing to die rather than compromise her sexual and religious fidelity, she is typical of the female characters who recur across the various captivity forms. Polly shares such characteristics with the fictional Barbary captive Maria Martin, as well as the American Indian captive Mary Rowlandson, whose famous account is among the works printed and sold by Chapman Whitcomb. Moreover, Polly's solitary life in the wilderness bears strong resemblance to that depicted in the so-called 'Panther narrative', an epistolary account that describes a woman who preserved her chastity in captivity and survived in a cave until her rescue by the tract's putative author, Abraham Panther. Like the Vandike account, the 'Panther narrative' is among the captivity texts Whitcomb published without an author imprint, although both bear the words 'Printed for Chapman Whitcomb'.

Publication dates for Whitcomb's pamphlets are difficult to establish with certainty. The first known edition of *Narrative* appeared in Massachusetts, probably in 1797, and a later edition is known to have followed in 1801. A 1799 edition printed in New Hampshire has also been recorded.

SIGNIFICANCE

Narrative enjoyed at least three printings, although the work's scarcity and lack of outside attestation suggest it had a limited reach. The first known edition of the work appeared around 1797, shortly after the redemption of some 100 American sailors held captive in Algiers. The most widely circulated and read edition, printed in 1801, coincided with the outbreak of war between Tripoli and the United States, capitalising on renewed American interest in North Africa and captivity. Modern scholarship has largely overlooked the work, although its themes and structure place it squarely within captivity literature.

PUBLICATIONS

John Vandike, *Narrative*, Leominster MA, 1797, 1801; (digitised by Readex in Early American Imprints)

John Vandike, *Narrative*, Hanover NH, 1799

STUDIES

T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, Cambridge, 2006

P. Baepler, *White slaves, African masters. An anthology of American Barbary captivity narratives*, Chicago IL, 1999 (appendix of American captivity accounts referencing the 1797 and 1801 Vandike editions)

J.P. Melish, *Disowning slaves. Gradual emancipation and 'race' in New England, 1780-1860*, Ithaca NY, 1998

Ian Larson

John Foss

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably mid-18 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH	1800
PLACE OF DEATH	Matanzas, Cuba

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the early life of the sailor John Foss, except that he is said to have lived in Byfield parish near Newburyport, Massachusetts. He sailed from New England aboard a merchant brig, and was captured by Algerian corsairs off Cape Saint Vincent in October 1793. In Algiers, Foss and more than 100 other American captives quarried rocks for the city's harbour mole and outfitted vessels in the marina. In September 1795, he and two other captives were permitted to work as servants to the American diplomats who were negotiating with the Algerian Dey, Hasan Pasha. The American captives left Algiers after their redemption in July 1796. Foss returned to Newburyport, and in 1798 published two editions of an account describing his experiences.

Foss suffered continual ill health as a result of his hard labour in Algiers, and he died in 1800 in Matanzas, Cuba.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

J.L. Cathcart, *The captives, by James Leander Cathcart, eleven years a prisoner in Algiers*, LaPorte IN, 1899 (a highly detailed account of American captivity in Algiers concurrent with Foss, though it does not mention Foss by name)

United States Office of Naval Records and Library, *Naval documents related to the United States wars with the Barbary powers*, Washington DC, 1939, vol. 1 (references Foss in several places, clarifies the negotiations regarding his redemption)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A journal, of the captivity and sufferings
of John Foss

DATE 1798

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Foss's *Journal* (in full, *A journal, of the captivity and sufferings of John Foss; Several years a prisoner at Algiers: Together with some account of the treatment of Christian slaves when sick: – and observations of the manners and customs of the Algerines*) proceeds episodically as it relates 'some of the most particular occurrences' that Foss recorded in a diary he kept during the nearly three years he spent in Algiers. It loosely follows Foss from his departure from New England until his return, and it contains numerous original anecdotes, many describing the harsh living and working conditions of Christian captives. Punctuating this narrative are sections on the history, ethnography and geography of North Africa that borrow substantially from earlier British and American sources. The latter parts of the *Journal* focus on the protracted redemption and treaty negotiations between Algiers and the United States, and they invite comparison between the two societies. Thematically, the *Journal* is a didactic and patriotic text that describes tyranny in Algiers in the hope of encouraging Americans to appreciate 'the blessings of liberty and good government'.

In addressing Islam, Foss's *Journal* recycles many polemical tropes that appear throughout the greater Barbary captivity literature. Foss presents Muslims as benighted and violent, and he offers myriad examples of corruption, fecklessness and lassitude in Algiers. The Muslims appearing in the *Journal* secretly drink alcohol to excess, shun education and, with only one exception, lack even the 'smallest spark' of humanity, while the *Journal's* only Christian convert to Islam, a Frenchman, repents of his apostasy and is beheaded after attempting an escape. In the few instances in which Foss treats Islam favourably, he does so in order to attack Catholicism. Many anecdotes appearing in the *Journal* relate the labours of overworked Christians who are forced to work in the quarries and are prodded like oxen, while their deaths from accidents, exhaustion or plague are met with indifference. Foss criticises Islamic law as capricious, and he cites as evidence multiple instances of arbitrary

punishments, including the use of the bastinado 'for very small offences or rather no offence at all'. Other vignettes demonstrate the fragility of the Algerian government and the despotism of the Dey.

The 80-page *Journal* was published with significant appendices in January 1798. A second edition published in November 1798 ballooned to 189 pages with the inclusion of more original anecdotes, far more voluminous copied passages, and more extensive back matter that incorporates multiple appendices, including a copy of the US-Algiers treaty, a list of captured American ships, etc.

Appended to the second edition is 'The Algerine slaves', a poem attributed to 'a citizen of Newburyport'. Foss, a self-described 'illiterate mariner', has sometimes been credited as the author of this poem, but this attribution has been credibly disputed. Both this poem and David Humphreys' 'A poem on the happiness of America' – extracts of which appeared in both versions of the *Journal* – affirm the patriotic tenor of the *Journal* as a whole. The *Journal's* somewhat impersonal narrative style and its attention to the American diplomatic negotiations preclude a detailed discussion of many aspects of the interactions between Foss and the Algerians. A more comprehensive examination of these relationships and the daily experiences of Americans in 18th-century Algiers is given in *The captives*, the posthumously published memoir of James Leander Cathcart.

SIGNIFICANCE

Foss's *Journal* is the earliest published first-hand account of captivity in Algiers written by an American. Its apparent popularity and wide distribution suggest that it catered to the public's interest in eyewitness information regarding Islam and North Africa. Its value as a work on Christian-Muslim relations is somewhat blunted by the fact that large sections are copied from earlier sources, and its aloof narrative style lacks the detail of some other texts. The *Journal* is significant, however, in demonstrating the way in which patriotic and nationalistic forces influenced some early American views of Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

John Foss, *A journal, of the captivity and sufferings of John Foss; Several years a prisoner at Algiers: Together with some account of the treatment of Christian slaves when sick:—and observations of the manners and customs of the Algerines*, Newburyport MA, 1798

John Foss, *A journal, of the captivity and sufferings of John Foss*, Newburyport MA, 1798²; CW3315983946 (digitised version available through ECCO)

P. Baepler, *White slaves, African masters. An anthology of American Barbary captivity narratives*, Chicago, 1999, pp. 71-102 (first edition of Foss's *Journal*)

STUDIES

J.R. Berman, 'The barbarous voice of democracy', *American Literature* 79 (2007) 1-27

P. Baepler, 'The Barbary captivity narrative in American culture', *Early American Literature* 39 (2004) 217-46

Baepler, *White slaves, African masters*

J.R. Lewis, 'Savages of the seas. Barbary captivity tales and images of Muslims in the early republic', *Journal of American Culture* 13 (1990) 75-84

Ian Larson

Humanity in Algiers

DATE OF BIRTH Late 18th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 19th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author of *Humanity in Algiers* remains unknown, though Duncan Faherty and Ed White have concluded that the novella's subscribers were affiliated or belonged to communities in the Shaftsbury Baptist Association ('Introduction', p. 1). This being so, it is unsurprising that the author's critique of slavery is set in a religious context, though rather than extolling orthodoxy or doctrinal principles, the author constructs a fiction that underscores religious toleration. This would be in line with the secularisation process that, as David Reynolds argues, characterised American religious fiction between 1785 and 1859 (*Faith in fiction*, p. 2). Essentially, Reynolds continues, works such as this replaced the image of a wrathful and punitive God with one of a benevolent and democratic God (pp. 4-5). *Humanity in Algiers* engages in this shift by 'emphasiz[ing] the interchangeability of Islamic and Christian concepts' (p. 18), and by imagining a universal God that is unencumbered by dogma.

The author promotes religious toleration through Islam and borrows from the conventions of Barbary captivity narratives and the Oriental tale to construct an antislavery message. Often read alongside another fictional captivity narrative, Royall Tyler's *The Algerine captive, or, the life and adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill. Six years a prisoner among the Algerines* (Walpole NH, 1797), which is usually considered superior in content and style, *Humanity in Algiers*, like *The Algerine captive*, reflects on American slavery through the experience of white American captives in North Africa. This genre is often deployed to highlight America's failure to live up to its democratic ideals. While *Humanity in Algiers's* abolitionist vision pivots on the question of universal morality, it also depends, as Timothy Marr contends, on Muslim benevolence (*Cultural roots of American Islamicism*, p. 145). More specifically, the Christian encounter with Islam that the novella pursues offers a critique of slavery that centres on oblique references to Islamic creeds and Islamic prayer.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Humanity in Algiers. Or, the story of Azem. By an American, late slave in Algiers,
Troy NY, 1801

Secondary

D. Faherty and E. White, 'Introduction to *Humanity in Algiers: or, the story of Azem*', *Common Place. The Journal of Early American life* (2013); <http://jto.common-place.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/08/Humanity-in-Algiers-1801-for-JTO.pdf>

T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, Cambridge, 2006

A. Majid, *Freedom and orthodoxy. Islam and difference in the post-Andalusian age*, Stanford NY, 2004

R. Allison, *The crescent obscured. The United States and the Muslim world, 1776-1815*, Oxford, 1995

D.S. Reynolds, *Faith in fiction. The emergence of religious literature in America*, Cambridge, 1981

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Humanity in Algiers

DATE 1801

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Humanity in Algiers: or, the Story of Azem by an American, late slave in Algiers is an anonymously published novella narrated by an American captive in Algiers. This early 19th-century work, totalling 130 pages, begins with a preface that announces its antislavery message before turning to a brief introduction detailing the narrator's captivity in Algiers. The story of Azem, which is the main narrative, follows from the introduction.

On 20 June 1785, during a business trip to an East Indian island, the narrator was captured by Algerian corsairs, and then sold to a rich planter in Algiers. He remained in bondage for nine years until he gained his freedom at the behest of a formerly enslaved Senegalese man, Azem. Intrigued by his benefactor, the narrator sets out to learn Azem's story.

The story of Azem begins in the plains of Natola around Algiers, where Selictor and his wife, Sequida, live. During a battle, Sequida's brother, Selim, kidnaps Azem, who is a child, and gifts him to Sequida and Selictor. The couple teach Azem Arabic and how to read the Qur'an, and they instil in him a commitment to Islam. Growing up alongside Sequida and



Illustration 2. European Christian captives in North Africa, with a mosque in the background

Selictor's four children, Azem develops an independent spirit and refuses to submit to them. Fearing Azem's insubordination, Selictor sells him to his neighbour, Testador.

Becoming despondent at the thought of his enslavement and the depravity of the slave trade, Azem contemplates suicide but perseveres as he dreams of freedom. However, as this dream begins to fade, Azem's despondency returns and he confides in Omri, an Algerian physician and the executor of Selictor's will, about his desolate state. Touched by Azem's pleas, Omri appeals to Sequida to purchase Azem's freedom, in return for which Azem will serve each family member for a year. Initially, Sequida refuses Omri's proposal, fearing that Azem would commit a crime, but that night the Prophet Muḥammad appears to her in a dream and offers a vision of paradise that Sequida can only attain once she makes a change in her life. Omri interprets Sequida's dream as a divine instruction to emancipate Azem. Convinced by Omri's interpretation, the family complies. While serving Narina, Sequida's eldest daughter, Azem proves his loyalty and humanity when he saves her from a near-rape by a young Arab.

In return for his fidelity and bravery, Azem is granted immediate freedom. Free from servitude, he turns his attention to the slave girl Alzina, with whom he has fallen in love. Yet his attempts to free Alzina are rejected by her owner. Heartbroken, Azem leaves for Senegal on a

business venture. There, he chances upon a company of men who have taken an elderly woman prisoner. Horrified at their inhumane treatment of the woman, Azem purchases her freedom only to discover that she is his mother. He brings her with him to Algiers where, to his surprise, his mother recognises Alzina as her daughter. Upon this discovery, Azem replaces his romantic love for Alzina with brotherly love.

He then redirects his energy towards his business and his learning, and he eventually marries Shelimah and has a son with her. He loses both his wife and son tragically to the plague. Nonetheless, his commitment to the dispossessed and disenfranchised continues. Before his death, he enlists Arramel, Omri's only son, to execute his will in which half of his estate will provide 'relief of the poor and unfortunate, and the interest of the other half for the yearly release of some honest slave' (p. 124).

Azem's story ultimately offers a critique of American slavery by establishing a shared humanity between black and white subjects, as well as a shared religious ethos between Muslims and Christians. Robert Allison succinctly argues that this novella is aimed 'not at the brutality of the Barbary states but at the inhumanity of the United States' (*Crescent obscured*, p. 95). To expose this inhumanity, the author opens with an epigraph from John Milton's *Paradise lost* to intimate that slavery is ungodly:

I found them free, and free they must remain
Till they inthral themselves: I else must change
Their nature, and revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
Their freedom – (says JEHOVAH). (p. 2)

These lines spoken by God establish that human beings are born free, and in their emphasis on freedom they invoke the rhetoric of the American Revolution. The rest of the preface declares liberty as the constitutional right of all men and women, which, for the American reader, also extends to Africans in America. Importantly, as editors, Faherty and White note in their introduction to the recent edition of *Humanity in Algiers*, the author substitutes Milton's 'formed' with the word 'found'. While this move conjures the history of European conquest of Africa and the Americas, it also serves to distance God from the fate of humanity. In other words, the discourse and reality of bondage are human-made.

In the same preface, the author cites from the antislavery article 'An essay on Negro slavery', written under the name Othello and published in 1788. Like Milton's Jehovah, Othello elaborates on how slavery negates the God-given right to freedom: 'Slavery [...] is repugnant to the feelings

of nature, and inconsistent with the original rights of man. [...] Tis an outrage to providence and an affront offered to divine Majesty' ('On negro slavery', pp. 49-50). Consequently, then, Christians who defend slavery jeopardise their Christianity. At the same time, the author posits Islam as a viable vehicle for abolitionist rhetoric. In doing so, the author contests the assumption of Christian moral superiority and suggests that Christianity is not 'the only mark of civilisation, [Christians] can scarcely think it possible that a Mohometan should possess a feeling heart, or perform a virtuous deed' (p. 4).

The novella opens with an appeal for religious toleration, yet the author's universal appeal at times leads him to conflate Islamic and Christian scriptures. For example, after Azem reunites with his mother and sister, Omri claims he is quoting from the Qur'an, when in fact he is citing the Epistle to the Colossians 4:1, 'Masters, treat your servants with kindness.' He follows this biblical quotation with a verse from the Acts of the Apostles 17:26, which reads: 'Of one blood have I created all nations of men that dwell upon the face of the earth' (pp. 98-9). Despite this conflation, which points to the author's apparently rudimentary knowledge of Islam, *Humanity in Algiers* introduces arguments for gradual emancipation that are compatible with an Islamic framework. In fact, by bequeathing his fortunes to ransom an honest slave every year, Azem fulfils the qur'anic injunction to free slaves: 'And what is the ascent to virtue: it is to free a slave' (Q 90:12-13). By blurring the lines between qur'anic and biblical texts, the author embraces a fluid religious identity that is motivated by the desire to lead a virtuous life.

For Azem, virtue is deeply entangled with prayer, one of the Pillars of Islam. The God who opens up the narrative decrying human bondage is also receptive to prayer. In a moment of utter despair at his unjust fate, Azem retreats to a field and beseeches God to free him from his life of servitude:

O gracious God! O Universal Father of all men, who hath formed from the dust all the nations of the earth! Hear now thy creature; for thou disdainest not the works of thy hands. Thou art a God that loveth and rewardeth virtue. [...] Thou art a God that searcheth the heart, and respecteth not the person or colour of man; and [...] hath bestowed on all thy children life and liberty, which no one can deprive another of, without breaking the laws of nature and his God. (pp. 23-4)

In his prayer, Azem implores a benevolent and merciful God who rewards the virtuous believer, and God answers his prayers by sending his last messenger Muḥammad to appear in Sequida's dream. Reynolds

reads Azem's prayer as a critique of 'religious exclusiveness and gloom of any sort' (*Faith in fiction*, p. 18). By positing a universal God, the author moves beyond Christian and American exceptionalism. Moreover, the idea of a universal God would invoke for a Muslim reader the notion of *tawhīd*, or 'the oneness of God'. It is through this formula of oneness that *Humanity in Algiers* suggests that the universal ideals of liberty thrive.

SIGNIFICANCE

Slavery involved Christians and Muslims, with the former often in the role of slave master and the latter of slave. In addition, in this case, the United States is identified as a Christian nation that is being called to account. The significance of this work for Christian-Muslim relations, therefore, lies in its interweaving of Christian and Muslim motifs and references in the critique of slavery and the call for its abolition. It demonstrates at least an assumption of underlying commonality or commensurate ethical ideals and values. Ultimately, the author's antislavery message relies on humanising the 'other', sustained by faith in a just God. As a consequence of this humanising of the other, *Humanity in Algiers* constructs an imaginative and inclusive genealogy that can be traced back to a formerly enslaved Senegalese man. That is, although Azem dies without heirs, his unwavering commitment to freedom creates a family beyond blood ties, inclusive of white and black, Christian and Muslim subjects. To eradicate slavery, *Humanity in Algiers* intimates that Americans must dismantle the colour-line and transcend religious divisions. In so doing, they will be met with a family that extends beyond national borders and is guided by the oneness of God.

PUBLICATIONS

Humanity in Algiers. Or, the story of Azem. By an American, late slave in Algiers, Troy NY, 1801

'*Humanity in Algiers: or, the story of Azem*', *Common Place. The Journal of Early American life* (2013) 3-28 (annotated edition)

STUDIES

Faherty and White, 'Introduction to *Humanity in Algiers*'

Marr, *Cultural roots of American Islamicism*

Majid, *Freedom and orthodoxy*

Allison, *Crescent obscured*

Reynolds, *Faith in fiction*

Zeinab Mcheimech

James Riley

DATE OF BIRTH 27 October 1777
PLACE OF BIRTH Middletown, Connecticut
DATE OF DEATH 13 March 1840
PLACE OF DEATH At sea, en route to St Thomas

BIOGRAPHY

James Riley was born into a poor Connecticut farming family during the American Revolution. He went to sea when he was 15 and sailed throughout the Americas until war broke out between Britain and the United States in 1812. Failing to secure a naval command, Riley organised a militia and undertook odd jobs until the British wartime shipping embargo ended.

In 1815, he sailed from Hartford as master of the brig *Commerce*. The vessel ran aground in heavy fog and sank near Cape Bojador, marooning Riley and his ten-man crew on the coast of what would become Spanish Sahara. After exhausting their meagre supplies, the Americans surrendered themselves to local nomads in hopes of being redeemed by an American or European consul. Two Moroccan brothers returning from an ill-fated trade mission to Timbuktu purchased Riley and four of his men, then set off on camel-back in order to collect the redemption monies promised by Riley. A punishing trans-Saharan journey of nearly two months and an estimated 1,000 kilometres brought the caravan to the city of Mogador (Essaouira), where the British consul redeemed the Americans.

Riley returned to the United States to significant fanfare and celebrity. He enjoyed audiences with Secretary of State James Monroe as well as numerous congressmen, who encouraged him to publish an account of his experiences. Riley seized the opportunity, and his publishers coordinated the simultaneous release of *Authentic narrative* in New York and London in 1817. The following year, he set off for the American interior and adopted a pioneer lifestyle. He was elected to the Ohio General Assembly in 1823, but ill health and a lack of political graces stunted his ambitions for national office. By 1829, Riley had taken to the sea once more. He spent the last 11 years of his life trading, mostly in the West Indies and the Mediterranean, often returning to the ports of the Maghreb, where

his experiences as a captive earned him audiences with local rulers. Riley died en route to St Thomas in 1840 and was buried at sea.

On the wave of publicity aroused by his experiences, 'Capt. Riley' became a household name. American parents named their children after figures appearing in Riley's account, and American authors as prominent as Henry David Thoreau and James Fenimore Cooper casually referred to him in their works. Capitalising on his celebrity status, Riley attempted to influence fields as diverse as the consular appointment system and naval strategy, but his most public target was slavery. Imbued with a sense of divine purpose following his redemption, he became an ardent and vocal opponent of slavery and supported the establishment of an African colony for manumitted American slaves.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

James Riley, *An authentic narrative of the loss of the American brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815 [...]*, New York, 1817

A. Robbins, *Journal, comprising an account of the loss of the brig Commerce, of Hartford, (Con.) James Riley, master, upon the Western coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; also of the slavery and sufferings of the author and the rest of the crew upon the desert of Zahara, in the years 1815, 1816, 1817; with accounts of the manners, customs, and habits of the wandering Arabs; also, a brief historical and geographical view of the continent of Africa*, Hartford CN, 1817

James Riley, *Sequel to Riley's narrative: being a sketch of interesting incidents in the life, voyages and travels of Capt. James Riley, from the period of his return to his native land, after his shipwreck, captivity and sufferings among the Arabs of the desert, as related in his narrative, until his death*, ed. W.W. Riley, Springfield OH, 1851

Secondary

D.J. Ratcliffe, 'Selling Captain Riley, 1816-1859, How did his "Narrative" become so well known?', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 117 (2007) 177-209

D. King, *Skeletons on the Zahara. A true story of survival*, Boston MA, 2004

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- S.S. Scranton (ed.), 'Capt. James Riley', *History of Mercer County, Ohio and representative citizens*, Chicago IL, 1907
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

An authentic narrative of the loss of the American brig Commerce

DATE 1817

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Riley's *Authentic narrative* appeared in more than two dozen editions in addition to its numerous truncated appearances in anthologies and newspapers. The first American edition (its full title is *An authentic narrative of the loss of the American brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815. With an account of the sufferings of her surviving officers and crew, who were enslaved by the wandering Arabs on the great African desert, or Zahahrah; and observations historical, geographical, & made during the travels of the author, while a slave to the Arabs, and in the empire of Morocco*) runs to 554 pages, although later editions varied in length, with some versions being cut down to around 270 pages. The greater part comprises a first-person account of Riley's shipwreck on the west coast of Africa, his two-month trek across the Sahara as a captive, and the circumstances of his redemption. Ten copperplate engravings embellish the book. Riley also added second-hand descriptions of Timbuktu and the Niger River, along with an appendix describing winds and ocean currents. Some editions conclude with a rudimentary Arabic vocabulary and phrasebook.

Authentic narrative does not address Christian-Muslim relations in any systematic way, but Riley was an astute observer and he describes prayer, circumcision, *ḥalāl* butchery, toilet practices and conjugal relations. *Authentic narrative* relates numerous confrontational interactions between Christians and Muslims, but among its more ecumenical scenes are two different instances in which Muslims assured Riley that all men were 'children of the same heavenly Father'. Riley enjoyed a particularly close relationship with his master Sidi Hamet, who after liberating him vowed to continue his work of redeeming 'Christians from slavery'.

Despite these instances of apparent détente, Riley maintained a jaundiced view of Islam, which he criticised for its 'pretended promises' and what he saw as its deviations from Mosaic law. Moreover, Riley believed that just as God had specially preserved his life in order that he might lead his crew and other slaves out of bondage, Sidi Hamet's assistance was merely the fulfilment of this divine will.

Riley wrote *Authentic narrative* based on recollections from his captivity, and he published the work some two years after his shipwreck. Because his education was limited to the study of a Presbyterian catechism, psalms and the Bible, he hired an amanuensis to assist him in compiling the work. He also relied on a New York script doctor to polish his meandering prose. Although some have speculated that *Authentic narrative* was largely the work of these or other editors, the handwritten comments on the 1816 manuscript affirm that, in spite of this outside assistance, Riley remained the work's principal author.

SIGNIFICANCE

Authentic narrative was a 19th-century literary phenomenon. By the middle of the century, the work had appeared in more than two dozen American editions in addition to a British printing, as well as translations into French and Dutch. Although it has been frequently reported that *Authentic narrative* sold one million copies, this claim is most likely a misreading of a publisher's preface to the work's 'sequel', compiled by Riley's son after his father's death. This 1851 text expounded upon Riley's later life, and it touted *Authentic narrative* as having reached more than one million readers. It is estimated that 19th-century printers turned out as many as 50,000 copies of the work.

Riley anticipated public scepticism of his account's veracity, and he appended to it corroborating statements from respected officials and other captives. He also encouraged and financially supported the publication of captivity accounts by the American sea captain Judah Paddock,

as well as Archibald Robbins, his former shipmate aboard the *Commerce*. The 1818 publication of Paddock's account describing his own shipwreck, captivity and redemption in Morocco some two decades earlier largely allayed the doubts of Riley's readers. Only one year before Riley published *Authentic narrative*, the American sailor Robert Adams had stoked interest in West Africa with an account of his captivity in the Sahara and his purported residence in Timbuktu. Catering to such interest, Riley stocked *Authentic narrative* with first-hand observations of Morocco and the Sahara, as well as second-hand information about Timbuktu and the River Niger. Riley also included voluminous data on ocean currents, port facilities and trade routes, but *Authentic narrative* remained popular for its ideological breadth, not its demotic value. Carefully pared versions of the account were marketed as the tale of a fantastic adventure, a denunciation of slavery, or an example of Christian forbearance. Such abridged versions and excerpts appeared in children's books, maritime anthologies and newspapers. The proliferation of Riley's story in both full and truncated forms kept it in the public imagination until at least the middle of the 19th century. That the US president Abraham Lincoln's reading of *Authentic narrative* informed his anti-slavery views further burnished the work's reputation.

Despite the literary success of the work, and its didactic appeal, there exists little evidence to suggest it had a major effect on the views about Muslims held by American or European readers. Riley's *Authentic narrative* is principally significant as an anti-slavery text. Nonetheless, it remains the most widely read of the American accounts describing captivity among Muslims, and it furnishes a great deal of information about the western Maghreb before extensive European exploration or colonisation.

PUBLICATIONS

MS New York, New-York Historical Society – BV Riley, James Non-circulating (1817)

James Riley, *An authentic narrative of the loss of the American brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815. With an account of the sufferings of her surviving officers and crew, who were enslaved by the wandering Arabs on the great African desert, or Zahahrah; and observations historical, geographical, & made during the travels of the author, while a slave to the Arabs, and in the empire of Morocco*, Hartford CN, 1817, 1828,

1829, 1831, 1833, 1836, 1843, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1850, 1851, 1928; New York, 1817, 1818, 1859; Lexington KY, 1823; Chillicothe OH, 1820; DT189 .R5 1817A (digitised version of the 1817 edition available through The Lincoln Collection)

James Riley, *Loss of the American brig Commerce*, London, 1817; NYP.33433082454947 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

James Riley, *Naufrage du brigantin américain, Le Commerce, perdu sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique, au mois d'août 1815; accompagné de la description de Tombuctoo et de la grande ville de Wassanah, inconnue jusqu'à ce jour*, trans. M. Peltier, Paris, 1818 (French trans.); NYP.33433061810846 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

James Riley, *Verhaal van het verongelukken der Amerikaan'sche brik de Koophandel, en beschrijving der groote steden Tombuctoo en Was-sanah; door Kapitein James Riley*, 2 vols, Dordrecht, 1818-19 (Dutch trans.); 223 M 28 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

G.H. Evans, (ed.), *Sufferings in Africa. Captain Riley's narrative; an authentic narrative of the loss of the American brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815*, New York, 1965, 2000, 2006, 2007 (abridged modern edition, with the lattermost featuring an introduction by D. King)

STUDIES

J.R. Berman, *American Arabesque. Arabs and Islam in the nineteenth-century imaginary*, New York, 2012

G.M. Sayre, 'Renegades from Barbary. The transnational turn in captivity studies', *Early American Literature* 45 (2010) 325-38

H. Blum, *The view from the masthead. Maritime imagination and antebellum American sea narratives*, Chapel Hill NC, 2008

Ratcliffe, *Selling Captain Riley*

M. Mason, *Slavery and politics in the early American republic*, Chapel Hill NC, 2006

J.C. Brezina, 'A nation in chains. Barbary captives and American identity', in J. Haslam and J.M. Wright (eds), *Captivating subjects. Writing confinement, citizenship, and nationhood in the nineteenth century*, Toronto, 2005, 201-19

J.E. London, *Victory in Tripoli. How America's war with the Barbary pirates established the U.S. Navy and built a nation*, Hoboken NJ, 2005

King, *Skeletons on the Zahara*

Baepler, 'Barbary captivity narrative'

H. Blum, 'Pirated tars, piratical texts. Barbary captivity and American sea narratives', *Early American Studies* 1 (2003) 133-58

L. Cook, 'A proposal for convenient travel in Africa', *Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East* 15 (2003) 28-9

M.E. Rojas, "Insults unpunished". Barbary captives, American slaves, and the negotiation of liberty', *Early American Studies* 2 (2003) 159-86

P. Baepler, *White slaves, African masters. An anthology of American Barbary captivity narratives*, Chicago IL, 1999

Allison, *Crescent obscured*

Blassingame, *Slave community*

Ratcliffe, 'Captain James Riley and antislavery sentiment'

N.R. Bennett, 'Christian and negro slavery in eighteenth-century North Africa', *Journal of African History* 1 (1960) 65-82

McMurtry, 'Significance of Riley's narrative'

Ian Larson

Levi Parsons

DATE OF BIRTH 18 July 1792
PLACE OF BIRTH Goshen, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 10 February 1822
PLACE OF DEATH Alexandria, Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Levi Parsons was born the son of a Congregational minister in rural Massachusetts in the late 18th century. By the age of 16, he had received the requisite 'born again' experience that would launch him into a career as an evangelical missionary.

Parsons was known for his fervent evangelical spirit. This was evidenced during his undergraduate studies at Middlebury College in Vermont where he met Pliny Fisk, who would become his missionary companion in the first American missionary venture in the Muslim-majority world. At Andover, he was one of the leaders in the student-led society that prepared students for missionary service to Asia, Africa, the Ottoman Empire and Hawaii.

Along with Pliny Fisk, Parsons was appointed to establish a missionary presence in the Holy Land under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). They arrived in the Ottoman Empire in December 1819. While Parsons' time of service was short, only three years, before he died in Alexandria, it was made memorable by the fact that he was the first American missionary, and almost certainly the first American, to visit Jerusalem. This makes the letters and journal entries he wrote on his trip from Smyrna (Izmir) to Palestine in 1821 of special interest to students of 19th-century Ottoman and Palestinian history in the context of American Christian encounters with Muslims, Jews and Eastern Christians.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Middlebury, Middlebury College, Davis Family Library – Special Collections,
C115 Fisk (autograph; letters and MSS from Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk)

- MS New York, Union Theological Seminary – Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries), MRL 2: Pliny Fisk Papers, Box 1, Missionary Research Library Archives, Section 2: Near/Middle East (autograph; *Fisk and Parsons Journal*)
- MS New York, Union Theological Seminary – Burke Library Archives, *Pliny Fisk Diary*, vols 1 and 4 (autograph)
- MS Middlebury, Middlebury College, Davis Family Library – Special Collections, C115 Fisk, *Pliny Fisk Diary*, vols 2 and 3 (autograph)
- D.O. Morton, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, first missionary to Palestine from the United States*, Hartford CN, 1830

Secondary

- S. Khalaf, *Protestant missionaries in the Levant. Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860*, London, 2012
- T.S. Kidd, *American Christians and Islam. Evangelical culture and Muslims from the colonial period to the age of terrorism*, Princeton NJ, 2009
- U. Makdisi, *Faith misplaced. The broken promise of U.S.-Arab relations, 1820-2001*, New York, 2009
- U. Makdisi, *Artillery of heaven. American missionaries and the failed conversion of the Middle East*, Ithaca NY, 2008
- T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, New York, 2006
- H. Obenzinger, 'Holy Land narrative and American covenant. Levi Parsons, Pliny Fisk and the Palestine Mission', *Religion & Literature* 35 (2003) 241-67
- C.J. Phillips, *Protestant America and the pagan world. The first half century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*, Cambridge MA, 1969
- A.L. Tibawi, *A modern history of Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine*, Edinburgh, 1969
- D.H. Finnie, *Pioneers east. The early American experience in the Middle East*, Cambridge MA, 1967
- J. Tracy, *History of American missions to the heathen, from their commencement to the present time*, Worcester MA, 1840

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Diaries and letters

DATE Between 1814 and 1817
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Whatever diaries Levi Parsons may have kept have been lost. What is extant is a collection of letters he wrote to family members during his

time at Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary. These are kept in the archives of Middlebury College. He is also mentioned by Pliny Fisk on numerous occasions in the complete set of Fisk's diaries found partly at Middlebury College (vols 2 and 3) and partly in the archives of Columbia University kept at Union Theological Seminary, New York (vols 1 and 4). Most important in terms of research are the official journals Parsons kept with Fisk, which are held in the Columbia University archives, as well as personal journals, which are part of the ABCFM collection in Houghton Library at Harvard, with microfilmed copies at the Congregational Archives in Boston. The library at Andover Theological School also has copies of at least two 'dissertations' Parsons wrote during the time he was a member and then president of the missionary society there. His outgoing president's address is particularly interesting, as a large section is devoted to an ideological attack on Islam, which is used as a rallying cry for an aggressive missionary campaign in the Muslim-majority world.

Of critical interest are the letters and journal entries Parsons wrote during his solo trip to Jerusalem in 1821. These are kept in the ABCFM archives and are reproduced in Daniel Morton's memoir. Of all these resources, the most important is this memoir because it contains long quotations from Parsons' journals and from letters he wrote from the mission field, which are found nowhere else.

Since he wrote neither articles nor books reflecting on his experience, it is difficult to determine what legacy Parsons left in terms of Christian-Muslim relations. The picture that emerges from his journal entries and letters is of a person whose perspective on Islam followed a pattern familiar in early 19th-century American Evangelicalism. The statement he includes in his address to the missionary society at Andover Seminary more or less sums up his consistent critique:

We have to contend with a more formidable foe – a more destructive enemy to the Christian religion – the empire of MAHOMEDANISM. [.. T]here the Kingdom of Satan is firmly established – favored by the prejudice of the people – strengthened and upheld by the power of Magistrates – by the arts and subtlety of Politicians – guarded by all the power & terrors of the world on the one hand, and by all its pomp and allurements on the other (Levi Parsons, *Address to Society* (Sept, 1817). Archives of Franklin Trask Library of Andover Newton Theological School Library, vol. 7/ Dissertations).

SIGNIFICANCE

The primary significance of Parsons' work was its pioneering nature as that of the first Protestant American missionary to take up residence in the Ottoman Empire, along with Pliny Fisk. Unlike Fisk, he tended to see Ottoman realities through an apocalyptic lens. His reference to the 'Kingdom of Satan' in his Andover presidential address is reflective of this, picking up on a trope common in early 19th-century American Evangelical theology that saw the Catholic Church and the Ottoman Empire as two hands of the anti-Christ, which would be abolished with the restoration of the Jews to their divinely ordained homeland in Palestine.

Parsons' reflections offered little to challenge the essentialising Orientalist paradigm of Islam and Muslims that prevailed among Protestant Americans of his era.

PUBLICATIONS

Levi Parsons, *The dereliction and restoration of the Jews. A sermon, preached in Park-Street Church, Boston, Sabbath, Oct. 31, 1819, just before the departure of the Palestine Mission*, Boston MA, 1819

MS Middlebury, Middlebury College, Davis Family Library – Special Collections, C115 Fisk (up to 1822; letters and MSS from Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk folder)

MS New York, Union Theological Seminary – Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries), MRL 2: Pliny Fisk Papers, Box 1, Missionary Research Library Archives, Section 2: Near/Middle East (up to 1822, *Fisk and Parsons Journal*)

D.O. Morton, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, late missionary to Palestine, in three parts*, Poultney VT, 1824

D.O. Morton, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, first missionary to Palestine from the United States: Containing sketches of his early life and education, his missionary labours in this country, in Asia Minor and Judea, with an account of his last sickness and death. Second edition. Containing two discourses in defence of missions and revivals of religion, written in Palestine, and now first published. Also extracts from a farewell address delivered before "The Society of Enquiry upon the Subject of Missions," at Andover, September, 1817*, Hartford CN, 1830, Edinburgh, 1832 (expanded from the 1824 edition); NYP.33433082360805 (digitised version of 1830 edition, available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

- J. Hubers, 'A reasonable mission in an unreasonable world. The encounter of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, first American missionary to the Middle East, with the Ottoman religious other', Chicago IL, 2013 (PhD Diss. Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago)

Phillips, *Protestant America and the pagan world*

John Hubers

Samuel Lorenzo Knapp

Ali Bey ibn Othman Bey el Abassi

DATE OF BIRTH 19 January 1783
PLACE OF BIRTH Newburyport, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 8 July 1838
PLACE OF DEATH Hopkinton, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHY

Born into a Massachusetts sailing family in 1783 at the close of the American Revolution, Samuel Lorenzo Knapp was a prolific biographer and miscellaneous writer who commented extensively on American national culture. He trained as a lawyer after graduating from Dartmouth College, and in 1809 he established a legal practice in Newburyport, Massachusetts. He was elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1812, and two years later attained the rank of colonel in the state militia. He cultivated relationships with some of the leading political and literary figures of his day, but he lacked the temperament for a legal career, was dogged by professional disappointment, and in 1816 was sent to a debtors' prison.

Knapp found more satisfaction in literary pursuits and was a founding member of the Newburyport Athenaeum. He enjoyed some success as an orator at public functions and Masonic lodges throughout New England and the Mid-Atlantic, and pamphlets of these orations were among his early published works. In the 1820s, Knapp moved from Boston to New York and eventually Washington, working as a writer and editor. He wrote biographies of 'distinguished women' and common folk as well as notable political figures including the Marquis de Lafayette, Aaron Burr and Daniel Webster. He spent the final years of his life in ill-health and returned to Massachusetts, where he died from tuberculosis.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Knapp's career and death were widely reported in American newspapers, many of which are digitised and searchable through Readex.com.

There is no large repository of Knapp's papers, but his correspondence with prominent individuals is found among collections at Rauner Library of Dartmouth College, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and elsewhere.

Secondary

B.H. McClary, art. 'Knapp, Samuel Lorenzo', in *American national biography*

K.S. Langlois, art. 'Samuel Lorenzo Knapp', in J.W. Rathbun (ed.), *American literary critics and scholars, 1800-1850*, vol. 59, 1987, 193-8

B.H. McClary, 'Samuel Lorenzo Knapp and early American biography', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 96 (1985) 36-67

Art. 'Samuel Lorenzo Knapp', in *Dictionary of American biography*

G.T. Chapman, *Sketches of the alumni of Dartmouth College*, Cambridge MA, 1867, p. 118

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Extracts from a journal of travels in North America

DATE 1818

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Extracts from a journal of travels in North America, consisting of an account of Boston and its vicinity purports to give an 'impartial' view of the United States as related in the journal of the undercover Ottoman agent Ali Bey. At 124 pages, the 'great project' consists of chronologically arranged chapters containing observations of the Boston area made by the author as he travelled in the guise of a Frenchman. It provides a wealth of commentary on Americans' morals and habits, government, institutions and faults. The work is principally concerned with American culture as understood by its supposedly foreign author, and expressly religious considerations are of secondary importance.

The work demonstrates only a cursory awareness of Islamic practice, which it uses to highlight aspects of Boston society that would facilitate the 'covert project' of propagating Islam there and throughout the United States (p. 5). In a 14-page appendix dedicated to 'the Grande Signior', the author describes a plan to exploit the 'religious interregnum' among American Christians for 'the conversion of this new world to the true faith' (pp. 119, 109). It speculates that Islam will gain an easy foothold through appeals to wealthy Bostonians' vanity and by improving the religious status of the 'common people', who were marginalised

by the church. Purportedly a translation made from an 'original manuscript', *Travels in North America* occasionally employs Arabic terms such as 'pachas, fakirs and cadis', though these words are used as literary blandishments with only tenuous relationships to their actual meanings (p. 13). The work does comment favourably on Islam's 'simplicity and intelligibility' as well as the succinctness of the *shahāda* when compared with the Nicene Creed (p. 112).

Travels in North America presents itself as a sequel to the *Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey*, published in Paris in 1814 and in an American edition two years later. That the Ali Bey of the earlier text was a persona fabricated by the Spaniard Domingo Badía y Leblich had been reported in Boston in 1816, and that work was subsequently advertised as the travel account of a Christian who used his knowledge of the Arabic language and Islamic practice to travel freely to Mecca and other places ordinarily inaccessible to his coreligionists. *Travels in North America* makes explicit reference to doubts over 'the reality of the character' of the earlier Ali Bey, but it quickly dismisses them and moves on from any discussion of that text's authenticity or its own (p. 20). *Travels in North America* bears thematic resemblance to Peter Markoe's *The Algerine spy* (1787), a collection of letters purportedly written by another covert agent scouting the United States for weaknesses to exploit in overthrowing the government. Both it and *Extracts* use the frame of a foreign travel account to lend authorial distance to their observations on American society. This format is also apparent in Knapp's *Extracts from the journal of Marshal Soult* (1817) and *The letters of Shahcoolen, a Hindu philosopher* (1802), which is of disputed authorship but has been attributed to Knapp.

SIGNIFICANCE

Travels in North America engages only superficially with the theological dimensions of Christian-Muslim relations. The work does, however, evince Americans' increasing awareness of Islam in the early 19th century, in particular the appropriation of Islam for literary and rhetorical purposes. *Travels in North America* followed the publication of numerous American editions devoted to Islam and the life of Muḥammad, as well as the widely reprinted captivity accounts by American sailors shipwrecked in the Maghrib or taken captive there from the late 18th century. The work includes an epigraph quoting the 1806 American edition of Alexander Ross's 17th-century *Alcoran* (quoting Q 8:41). Like many of its peer works of literary fiction, *Travels in North America* draws on Islamic

practice as a means of providing distance for its commentary on American culture. The publication was little advertised, even in Boston newspapers, and only a single published edition is known. The significance of *Travels in North America* is in demonstrating the appropriation of Islam as a window onto American culture in the early national period.

PUBLICATIONS

S.L. Knapp, *Extracts from a journal of travels in North America, consisting of an account of Boston and its vicinity*, Boston MA, 1818; 008651130 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

S. Wright, 'Reproducing fear, Islamophobia in the United States', in D. Pratt and R. Woodlock (eds), *Fear of Muslims? International perspectives on Islamophobia*, Cham, Switzerland, 2016, 45-65

T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 59-62

Langlois, art. 'Samuel Lorenzo Knapp'

Ian Larson

Archibald Alexander

DATE OF BIRTH 17 April 1772
PLACE OF BIRTH Lexington, Virginia
DATE OF DEATH 22 October 1851
PLACE OF DEATH Princeton, New Jersey

BIOGRAPHY

Archibald Alexander was born in 1772 of Scots-Irish parentage. His grandfather had emigrated from Ireland, and his parents settled as farmers. His family was very religious, his father serving as an elder in the local presbytery. Alexander demonstrated an affinity for academic pursuits, and when he was only 17 he was offered the position of tutor to the children of General Thomas Posey, a decorated veteran of the American War of Independence. It was during his time at the Poseys' house that he was influenced by the evangelical Baptist teachings that were circulating through Virginia. This prompted a conversion experience, which led him to study theology under William Graham.

Alexander served as an itinerant preacher until he was ordained in 1794. In 1797, at the age of 25, he was offered the position of president of Hampton Sydney College in Virginia. He held this post until 1801, when he resigned and decided to travel to New England. Along the way, he attended the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, where he was ultimately offered a call at the Pine Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, in 1802.

At the beginning of the 19th century, American Protestant denominations began to create their own ministerial training seminaries, rather than relying on the divinity schools in New England. In 1812, Alexander helped to found Princeton Seminary, the first Presbyterian seminary in the United States. He moved the nearly 50 miles from Philadelphia to Princeton, New Jersey, the site of the college, and served as the principal and first theology professor until 1840. He exerted a profound influence both on the Presbyterian Church in the US and on the students who studied at Princeton.

Alexander's engagement with Islam was peripheral. As far as we know, he never studied Islam or read a complete translation of the Qur'an. His references to Islam were primarily in response to English philosophers,

historians and Deists, who saw Muḥammad as a positive force for Arab society. These English works on Islam were readily published in the United States and collected in the Princeton Seminary library.

After his retirement from teaching, Alexander remained in Princeton, writing and preaching until his death in 1851.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- J.H. Moorhead, *Princeton Seminary in American religion and culture*, Grand Rapids MI, 2012, pp. 28-44
 J.M. Garretson, *A scribe well-trained. Archibald Alexander and the life of piety*, Grand Rapids MI, 2011
 L.A. Loetscher, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism. Archibald Alexander and the founding of Princeton Theological Seminary*, Westport CT, 1983

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion

DATE 1825

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Alexander wrote *A brief outline* in response to the challenge issued to biblical revelation by rationalist, Deist and Enlightenment thought in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. First published in 1825, it originated as a sermon, and was later expanded twice, first into the publication of *A brief outline*, and then into *Evidences of the authenticity, inspiration, and canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures*. The 1825 edition is 287 pages long.

Alexander responds most directly to the arguments of David Hume's *An inquiry of human understanding* (1748), and others like him, who argue that miracles, which are often used to prove the veracity of Christianity, are contrary to natural law and reason. He sets out to prove that Christianity is a reasonable religion and that its miracles are verifiable, given the evidences of the positive effects of Christianity in the world. He developed his book from a sermon originally preached at Princeton Seminary in response to debates among some of the students, and it reflects

the ongoing philosophical arguments of the Deists and other religious sceptics in North America.

Chapter 7 of the work deals directly with Islam. Here, Alexander remarks that the 'Mohammedan religion is often brought forward by the enemies of revelation' (1825 edition, p. 194), who claim that Islam, contrary to Christianity, is a rational religion and that Muḥammad had a positive influence as an Arab leader and prophet. He responds to claims that Muḥammad never performed miracles to prove that he was a prophet and that Islam follows natural law. Alexander argues that, according to rational criteria, Islam cannot claim to be from God, but that, contrary to the Enlightenment thinkers, Muslims believe in miraculous events as revealed in the Qur'an and Hadith. He briefly provides examples of stories about supernatural events claimed for Muḥammad, including the *mi'rāj* and *isrā'*, which, along with the splitting of the moon, are mentioned by William Paley.

Alexander then goes on to compare Islam with Christianity. He first compares the life of Muḥammad with that of Jesus, calling Muḥammad 'ambitious, licentious, cruel, and unjust', whereas Jesus was 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners' (p. 199). This is followed by a short comparison of the contents of the Qur'an and the Bible, where Alexander focuses on the 'inconsistencies' found between passages of the Qur'an that led Muḥammad to develop the idea of 'abrogation'. He implies that Muḥammad was both the originator of the Qur'an and at the same time unable to sustain a coherent strand of thought, which led to the changes. This was due to his 'vicious passions' as an 'artful impostor'.

Next, Alexander compares the propagation of Islam with that of Christianity. While Christianity spread easily and quickly throughout the Roman Empire, Muḥammad had difficulty in convincing people of his beliefs and had to resort to violence and the sword: 'The Koran, death, or tribute,' he writes (p. 203). Muslim society has since followed these dictates through the violent application and prosecution of warfare, which feeds Muslims' desire to achieve martyrdom.

Alexander concludes his critique of Islam by arguing that a simple evaluation of Muslim nations compared with Christian nations reveals that Islam holds sway over lands that are uncivilised and impoverished, as opposed to Christian lands that reap the benefits of an enlightened freedom. He underscores this argument by referring to the contemporary Greek uprising against the Turks, which he sees as a 'noble exertion' of a Christian people to be free from Muslim tyranny (pp. 180-1). Drawing on

common biblical interpretations of the time that portrayed the Muslims as the 'locusts of the abyss' from Revelation 9:3, he foresees that Islamic 'despotism' will be brought to a close (p. 181).

There is no indication that Alexander had direct access to any Muslim sources. His concern was to reply to the critiques of Christianity by Deists such as David Hume, and also by Edward Gibbon in *The decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88), and his arguments were not novel among Reformed Christians in early America, who followed Scottish common sense theology. The main ideas for his sermon and his book were taken from Soame Jenyns, *A view of the internal evidence of the Christian religion* (1776), which he had read at college, while the more specific views about Islam came from Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet* (1697). In his work, he was combining English Orientalist views of Islam with North American positivism.

SIGNIFICANCE

While Alexander's work is not by any means a substantial study of Islam, it demonstrates a shift in American theological thought from the previous century and the likes of Jonathan Edwards (1703-58). Edwards and others viewed Islam through an eschatological lens, in which its rise was interpreted as part of the coming return of Christ predicted in the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation. This new generation of theologians saw Islam as the product of an inferior religious system that could be exposed by means of rational evidence.

In 1830, the book was enlarged with a new section focusing upon proofs of the inspiration of the Bible and given the title, *Evidences of the authenticity, inspiration, and canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures*. Both works were in wide circulation among Presbyterian and other evangelical leaders who were seeking to prove the superiority of Protestant Christianity over the beliefs of Deists, humanists, Jews and Muslims. They were read by students in various theology schools, including Yale, Andover and the newly-formed seminaries in the United States. His work undoubtedly influenced a new generation of American Protestant clergy who would employ Alexander's arguments to develop an American Orientalist view of Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

Archibald Alexander, *A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion*, Princeton, 1825 (many later editions); C1103.43.39 (digitised version of the second edition available through Harvard Library)

Archibald Alexander, *Evidences of the authenticity, inspiration, and canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures*, Philadelphia, 1830, 1836 (enlarged edition); BT 1101.A56 (digitised version of the 1836 available through University of Virginia Library)

Archibald Alexander, *Dalīl al-sawāb ilā šidq al-kitāb*, trans. J. Wortebet, Beirut, 1851 (Arabic trans. of *A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion*)

STUDIES

Moorhead, *Princeton Seminary in American religion and culture*, pp. 67-9

E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America. Christian thought from the age of the Puritans to the Civil War*, New Haven CT, 2003, pp. 173-90

David D. Grafton

Pliny Fisk

DATE OF BIRTH 24 June 1792
PLACE OF BIRTH Shelburne, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 23 October 1825
PLACE OF DEATH Beirut

BIOGRAPHY

Pliny Fisk was born in rural Massachusetts in 1792, into a family and context that was heavily invested in an evangelical Calvinism that drew its inspiration from the work of Jonathan Edwards. At the age of 16, Fisk had what Edwardsian Calvinists determined to be a necessary 'born again' experience, which would lead him to seek a ministerial career in the fledgling American missionary movement in the first decades of the 19th century. The two institutions where Fisk received his theological education, Middlebury College in Vermont and Andover Seminary in Massachusetts, were seedbeds of this early American missionary movement. Andover would, in fact, produce almost all the first Protestant American global missionaries in the first half of the 19th century.

In 1819, Fisk and his friend Levi Parsons were sent to the Ottoman Empire as pioneering missionaries by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). By the time he died of an undetermined illness in Beirut in 1825, he and Parsons would have distributed thousands of Bibles, Bible portions and Christian tracts to indigenous Christians, Jews and Muslims in both the Greek- and Arabic-speaking parts of the empire, and also scouted out the territory for information that would be helpful for missionaries coming after them.

The ABCFM envisioned Fisk and Parsons establishing a permanent station in Jerusalem that would serve as a launching pad for a regional evangelical mission. This goal, however, was never reached, despite the fact that Fisk made three trips to Jerusalem. Those who followed determined that Beirut was a more suitable place for their work, which would eventually lead to the establishment of schools in Turkey, Syria and Lebanon.

Fisk's only published writings were excerpts from his letters and diaries that appeared in the periodicals of the evangelical Calvinist establishment in America, but these writings had an impact on an American

public that was hungry for information about the wider world, particularly that part of the world they called the 'Holy Land'. Fisk and Parsons' observations about life in the Ottoman Empire were, in fact, among the first to be conveyed to an American audience.

Pliny Fisk's writings include letters sent to the ABCFM, and personal diaries he kept to record his thoughts and observations of life in the Ottoman Empire. The latter date from November 1819 to May 1825 (when Fisk made his last entry).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- MS New York, Union Theological Seminary – Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries), MRL 2: Pliny Fisk Papers, Box 1, Missionary Research Library Archives, Section 2: Near/Middle East (autograph; *Fisk and Parsons journal*)
- MS New York, Union Theological Seminary – Burke Library Archives, *Pliny Fisk diary*, vols 1 and 4 (autograph)
- MS Middlebury, Middlebury College, Davis Family Library – Special Collections, C115 Fisk, *Pliny Fisk diary*, vols 2 and 3 (autograph)
- MS Harvard, Houghton Library and Archives, Harvard University – American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives 6 vol. 1; 16.5; 16.6; 30 vol. 4
- Pliny Fisk, *The Holy Land. A sermon preached in the Old South Church, Boston, Sabbath evening, Oct. 31, 1819, just before the departure of the Palestine mission*, Boston MA, 1819
- A. Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A.M. late missionary to Palestine*, Boston MA, 1828
- J. Tracy, *History of American missions to the heathen, from their commencement to the present time*, Worcester MA, 1840

Secondary

- J. Hubers, *I am a pilgrim, a traveler, a stranger. Exploring the life and mind of the first American missionary to the Middle East, the Rev. Pliny Fisk (1792-1825)*, Eugene OR, 2016
- S. Khalaf, *Protestant missionaries in the Levant. Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860*, London, 2012
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- U. Makdisi, *Faith misplaced. American missionaries and the failed conversion of the Middle East*, New York, 2009
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- T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, New York, 2006
- H. Obenzinger, 'Holy Land narrative and American covenant. Levi Parsons, Pliny Fisk and the Palestine mission', *Religion & Literature* 35 (2003) 241-67
- C.J. Phillips, *Protestant America and the pagan world. The first half century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*, Cambridge MA, 1969
- D.H. Finnie, *Pioneers east. The early American experience in the Middle East*, Cambridge MA, 1967

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Diaries and letters

DATE Between 1819 and 1825

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Pliny Fisk kept two written records of his thoughts and observations. The first was a set of personal diaries which are currently housed in the Middlebury College archives in Middlebury VT (vols 2 and 3) and in the archives of Columbia University, Union Theological Seminary, New York City (vols 1 and 4). These are hand-written diaries that record daily thoughts and observations arising out of his experiences in the Ottoman Empire. They are dated from the time of his departure from Boston Harbor to several weeks before his death in Beirut.

The second written record takes the form of official journals he kept with his partner, Levi Parsons, for the ABCFM, which are part of the Columbia University collection. Excerpts from these journals made their way into *The Missionary Herald*, the magazine used by the ABCFM to publicise their mission activities, between the years 1820 and 1825.

While a few of the letters Fisk wrote to family members and friends are found in the archived collections at Andover Theology School, Middlebury College and the Houghton Library and Archives at Harvard University (including the first letter he wrote to his father from Andover Seminary), most of the letters that have survived are found in the ABCFM collection at Harvard, with microfilm versions at the Congregational Library in Boston. These are official letters written to his supervisors, having to do with financial issues as well as occasional reports that more or less duplicate what he and Parsons recorded in their journals. Some less official, more personal letters are included here, one of the most notable being a letter he and Parsons received from a British

missionary attempting to dissuade them from making Jerusalem their mission station due to what he perceived to be its hostile environment. Some of Fisk's correspondence with other missionaries is also included here.

The picture that emerges from his diary entries and letters is of a person whose perspective on Islam followed a familiar pattern of early 19th-century American Evangelicalism. The Prophet Muḥammad is consistently described as an 'imposter', a designation drawn from the work of the Anglican clergyman Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724), while Islam itself is perceived as a suffocating, morally degraded religious system, which, although bearing some resemblance to Christian understandings of God, fails to recognise God's Trinitarian nature, thus giving it some of the same distorted characteristics as the Evangelical establishment's greatest nemesis, Deism.

This critique remained more or less consistent throughout Fisk's short sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, even as he came to recognise diversity within the Muslim community that he had not been aware of before he met practising Muslims. In general, however, the only time he was able to speak appreciatively of Muslims is when he met practitioners who had received a Western education which, in his mind, suggested that they are stepping outside the prescribed boundaries of a faith system that had little to commend it.

SIGNIFICANCE

The primary significance of Fisk's work was its pioneering nature, as he and Levi Parsons were the first American Protestant missionaries to take up residence in the Ottoman Empire. Because he wrote neither articles nor books reflecting on his experience, as would be the case with others who came after him, such as Isaac Bird, his Andover classmate, it is difficult to determine what legacy he left in terms of Christian-Muslim relations.

Fisk's reflections offer little to challenge the essentialising Orientalist paradigm of Islam and Muslims that prevailed among Protestant Americans of the era. His life, however, became a recruiting tool for further American missions to the Middle East. Fisk's classmate, Alvan Bond, rushed his memoir into publication after his death to create a hagiography that would encourage others to follow in his wake. However, at this point it is hard to trace how much impact this had, as a group of missionaries had already begun to arrive in the field while Fisk was alive. How many were influenced by his biography is difficult to tell.

PUBLICATIONS

MS New York, Union Theological Seminary – Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries), MRL 2: Pliny Fisk Papers, Box 1, Missionary Research Library Archives, Section 2: Near/Middle East (autograph; *Fisk and Parsons journal*)

MS New York, Union Theological Seminary – Burke Library Archives, *Pliny Fisk diary*, vols 1 and 4 (autograph)

MS Middlebury, Middlebury College, Davis Family Library – Special Collections, C115 Fisk, *Pliny Fisk diary*, vols 2 and 3 (autograph)

MS Harvard, Houghton Library and Archives, Harvard University – American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, 6 vol. 1; 16.5; 16.6; 30 vol. 4

STUDIES

Hubers, 'A reasonable mission in an unreasonable world'

Phillips, *Protestant America and the pagan world*

John Hubers

Lewis Eichelberger

DATE OF BIRTH 1801
PLACE OF BIRTH Frederick County, Maryland
DATE OF DEATH 1859
PLACE OF DEATH Winchester, Virginia

BIOGRAPHY

Lewis Eichelberger was a well-respected Lutheran pastor in the mid-Atlantic seaboard of the United States in the first half of the 19th century. He was very active in creating Lutheran theological institutions for a newly forming American Lutheran Protestant community that was struggling to find its place among other Protestant denominations. Eichelberger was married twice, first to Mary Ann Miller, and then to Penelope A. Hay, with whom he had five children.

Lewis was born to Frederick and Anne Motter Eichelberger in Frederick County, Maryland. His mother died suddenly when he was young. Frederick's father made sure that Lewis had a classical education by having him tutored in classics and theology by the Revd David F. Schaeffer. He briefly attended a private school in Washington DC before enrolling at Dickenson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He graduated in 1826 and immediately commenced studies in the newly formed Lutheran seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He completed his studies two years later as part of the seminary's first graduating class.

During his time at seminary, Lewis was a founding member of the Evangelical Lutheran Society of Inquiry on Missions. The small community of theological students were part of the larger American movement that was interested in foreign missions after the Second Great Awakening. The Society's records indicate that the students were in correspondence with other mission societies in the United States and Europe, including those at Andover, Princeton, the Basel Missionary training centre in Switzerland and the Berlin Theological Seminary. The student mission society met to hear speakers and give papers on evangelism. Lewis gave one of the first, focusing on Islam. The paper was an epitome of Archibald Alexander's views on Muḥammad in his recently published *A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion*. Eichelberger's paper represents the first American Lutheran reflection on Islam.

Following his theological education in Gettysburg, Eichelberger was offered a position as pastor to the Lutheran congregation in Winchester, Virginia. During his time in Winchester, he established a seminary for women and edited the journals *The Virginian* and the *Evangelical Lutheran Preacher*. In 1849, he moved to Lexington, South Carolina, to serve as professor of theology at the newly formed Lutheran Southern Seminary. During this period, he received a doctorate from the College of New Jersey in Princeton. He returned to Winchester in 1858 in semi-retirement and died the next year.

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Primary

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- J. Jenson, art. 'Rev. L. Eichelberger DD', in *American Lutheran biographies*, Milwaukee WI, 1890, 188-90

Secondary

- D. Grafton, 'An early American Orientalist Lutheran perspective of Islam. Lewis Eichelberger and his sources', *Journal of the Lutheran Historical Conference* (2008) 181-96

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

By what arguments can we best convince the Mohammedan of the falsity of his religion

DATE 1827

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

By what arguments is a 20-page paper in Eichelberger's hand that he presented at a meeting of the Society of Inquiry on Missions at Gettysburg Seminary in 1827. It is primarily a recapitulation of *A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion*, written in 1823 by Archibald Alexander, president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). Accordingly, it puts forward five arguments for the superiority of Christianity over Islam to aid preachers and future missionaries. First, Christianity

provides opportunities for humans to develop 'virtue, enlightenment and happiness' as opposed to Islam, which keeps individuals in ignorance and degradation. Eichelberger notes that one can simply witness to the fact that Christian nations are 'virtuous, enlightened and happy', while Muslim nations are stuck in barbarism. Second, the example of the life of Muḥammad leads Muslims to immoral lives, as opposed to the example of the virtuous life of Jesus and its impact on Christians. The examples provided include the issue of polygamy and the well-trodden criticism of Muḥammad's marriage to Zaynab. Third, true religion leads to the moral development of the believer. By contrast, Muḥammad never exercised restraint in his human desires. Fourth, true religion is reasonable, whereas Islam is given to 'flights of fancy', specifically concerning the belief in Gabriel speaking to Muḥammad to provide revelations and Muḥammad's Night Journey. Fifth, true religion seeks truth and light, which is the true reflection of human nature, whereas Islam does not allow its believers to inquire as to why they are not 'virtuous, enlightened and happy'.

By what arguments is taken almost *verbatim* from Alexander's work *A brief outline*, and thus does not provide any new information on how Americans may have viewed Islam. It rather maintains and reinforces an existing attitude and perception. It also demonstrates that Eichelberger had no direct knowledge of the Qur'an or of Muslim faith and its practices. He simply relies upon Alexander's sources and previous criticisms of Islam from English-language European sources, including claims that Muḥammad was an 'impostor' and led Arabs into a life of debauchery and immorality.

Images of Muslims were to be found in American newspapers and literature on account of the Barbary Wars from 1801 to 1805 and 1815 to 1816. In addition, American missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had begun working within the Ottoman Empire from Malta, Smyrna and Beirut. They wrote home to their growing American constituency about the trials and tribulations of living in Ottoman lands and the opportunities for missionary work among the 'superstitious' Oriental Christians and 'fanatical' Muslims. The Society of Inquiry on Missions read these reports. This general atmosphere, as well as the fervour for foreign mission resulting from the Great Awakening, provided the impetus for this paper to encourage seminary students to

take up the cause of missionary work among Muslims. The underlying perspective rests upon the view that whereas Christianity fulfils human needs and provides a reasonable and rational response to the human condition, Islam keeps people under despotism and degradation.

SIGNIFICANCE

As the first American Lutheran reflection on Islam, this work demonstrates North American Lutheran engagement with English language material on Islam that was already circulating, and an interest in missionary work among Muslim communities in India and the Ottoman Empire. While the views of Islam are taken directly from other Protestant works then in the public domain in the early United States, it does show that German Lutherans were beginning to participate in the dominant English Protestant culture and its views on Islam, which were primarily negative and dismissive. Lutherans were historically non-English immigrant communities (e.g. Finnish, German, Norwegian and Swedish), and for most of the 18th and early 19th centuries Lutheran communities maintained their cultural distance from the dominant English Protestant culture of the Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians. However, debates among German Lutherans in the early 19th century over the future identity of the Lutheran Church revolved around either maintaining an independent ethnic identity or assimilating into broader English culture.

This document demonstrates that one segment of Lutherans was willing to engage in the broader English language material on Islam that originated from English Orientalist sources and was then being disseminated in the American context. Works on Islam by German scholars would not begin to be read until a generation later and would not become part of the available information on Islam until the late 19th century. Thus, while they had once been a sectarian community in the religious landscape of American society, Lutherans were directly impacted by popular English language sources on Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

Archives Gettysburg PA, Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg – Wentz Library, Archives of the 'Society of Inquiry on Missions', box 3, folder 41 (1827)

STUDIES

D. Grafton, *Piety, politics and power. Lutherans encountering Islam in the Middle East*, Eugene OR, 2009, pp. 153-8

Grafton, 'An early American Orientalist Lutheran perspective'

David D. Grafton

Josiah Brewer

DATE OF BIRTH 1 June 1796
PLACE OF BIRTH Monterey, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 19 November 1872
PLACE OF DEATH Stockbridge, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHY

Little information is currently available regarding Josiah Brewer's early years. It is known is that in 1822 he enrolled to pursue theological studies at Andover Seminary, and then transferred to Yale College in 1824. Brewer excelled there, and was appointed as a tutor from 1824 to 1826. Following his graduation, he was ordained as a Congregationalist Minister and in 1826 was commissioned as a missionary, supported financially by the Boston Female Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missionaries (ABCFM). His original intention was to go to Jerusalem to survey the potential for work among the Jews of the Ottoman Empire but, on his arrival in Malta, he was advised by other Protestant missionaries that Jerusalem was in a state of turmoil owing to the Greek War of Independence. Furthermore, on finding that there were actually more Jews living in Constantinople than in Jerusalem, he decided to change his original plan and instead took passage for Smyrna and then Constantinople, rather than continuing on to Beirut and Jerusalem. Throughout his travels, his primary method of evangelisation was to pass out tracts in Hebrew, Greek and Turkish, and to seek out conversations with rabbis. In the event, he spent fewer than two years in Constantinople and its environs and returned to the United States in September 1827 when the Greek War of Independence made the status of foreign residents insecure. On his return, he published *A residence at Constantinople* to raise interest in Christian evangelical work among Jews in the Ottoman Empire.

In 1829, he married Emilia A. Field and returned to the Ottoman Empire. This time, having withdrawn from service with ABCFM following disagreements between himself and other ABCFM missionaries, Brewer was supported by the Ladies Greek Association in New Haven. At this point, he and Emilia took up residence in Smyrna, where they

remained until 1838, focusing their work on establishing schools for girls among the Greek Christians.

In 1835, his association with the Ladies Greek Association ended and the Brewers were briefly engaged by the Presbyterian Western Missionary Society in Pittsburgh. They raised six children, two sons, and four daughters. One son, David Josiah Brewer, became a Justice of the Supreme Court.

On returning to Connecticut, Brewer became a prison chaplain and worked tirelessly for an abolitionist society. He returned to educational pursuits, founding the Young Ladies' Seminary in New Haven, which he directed from 1850 to 1857, when he moved to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and served as the 'stated supply' of the Congregational Church there until his retirement in 1866. Emilia died in 1861 and Josiah married Lucy T. Jerome in 1863. He remained in Stockbridge until his death in 1872.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Archives New Haven CT, Yale University, Sterling Memorial Library – Brewer Family Papers, Series II, MS 99

'Report of the Western Missionary Society', *Foreign Missionary Chronicle* 4 (October 1836) 161-6

'Annual board minutes', *The Missionary Herald* 36 (November 1840) 459-62

Obituary record of graduates of Yale College, New Haven CT, 1873, pp. 83-4

F.P. Brewer, *Sketch of the life of Rev. Josiah Brewer, missionary to the Greeks*, [s.l.], 1880

M. Gates, *Men of mark in America*, Washington DC, 1905, p. 68

J. Kelso, *The centennial of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, 1831-1931*, Philadelphia PA, 1931, pp. 55-6, 152

P.E. Shaw, *American contacts with the Eastern churches, 1820-1870*, Chicago IL, 1937, 108-20

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A residence at Constantinople

DATE 1829

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This book by Josiah Brewer comprises a missionary travelogue and research on the Jews of the Ottoman Empire written under the patronage of the Boston Female Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. An initial printing was undertaken in 1829, but the publishers deemed that they did not make enough copies for those interested and they ran a second printing in 1830. The 384-page book follows the pattern of other missionary travelogues, which include individual entries or letters in a journal form, later compiled for publication.

A residence focuses primarily on the Jewish communities in the Mediterranean and especially in the Asian and European parts of the Ottoman Empire. Only at the end, in ch. 27 (pp. 378-84, in the second printing), is there information on the 'religion of the Turks'. There, Brewer calls Muḥammad 'the great deceiver' (p. 378) who intermingled portions of pagan, Jewish and Christian religions. He notes that Islam is similar to Judaism, in that 'theology and jurisprudence' are linked together and believers abide by the teachings of the Doctors of the Law (p. 378).

Brewer perceives the Grand Mufti to be the spiritual counterpart to the Catholic pope, even wearing his own symbolic mitre. However, the sultan wields supreme temporal power and often persuades the mufti and other religious leaders to follow his wishes when they issue *fatwas*. Brewer then describes the *moolahs* as 'doctors of the law', the *imams* as 'parish priests', the *sheiks* as 'preachers', and the *dervishes* as 'monks' (p. 379). They are all 'hostile to the progress of civilization and political reform' (p. 380).

Brewer does note that the sultan (Mahmud II, r. 1808-39) was beginning to attempt some reforms of the faith, but this was merely a matter of encouraging engagement in pious acts rather than substantial reforms. Brewer makes special mention of fasting during Ramaḍān. It was his belief, however, that increased acts of public piety were an anxious response to Russian aggressions against the Ottoman Empire and the need for solidarity (p. 381). In this context, he remarks that there is no hope of converting Muslims or preaching Christianity publicly.

Brewer asks a final question of how Christian mission might be advanced in such a situation. He eschews the violence of a 'crusading spirit', which might be too easy to adopt, and instead implores his constituencies to develop attitudes of philanthropy. 'It is time that Christians should rise above the vulgar prejudices, which in one quarter and another have so long prevailed against the Indian, the African, the Jew, and the Turk. They should regard all men as the brethren of one great family. [...] Even in the bosom of the Turk, there are remains of human virtue' (p. 383). In reality, Brewer claims that the work of Protestant missionaries in Egypt and Syria has been effective, and that the hindrance of their work is the result of efforts by Catholics and Jews rather than Muslims (p. 384).

SIGNIFICANCE

Josiah Brewer exhibits significant dislike towards the Jews, holding that their 'prejudices against Christians are so strong and so deeply rooted' (p. 258). He demonstrates this same dislike towards the Eastern Christian communities, and a deeply rooted pejorative Orientalism that was a standard frame of reference for the early Protestant American missionaries. However, in regard to Christian-Muslim relations, his position is much more nuanced than other American missionaries who worked in the Ottoman Empire, especially the likes of an Isaac Bird or Henry Jessup. The early American missionaries saw the Ottoman Empire as a tyrannical Islamic entity oppressing its minority communities and forbidding freedom of religion (which was a critical *sine qua non* to their mission to convert individuals to an evangelical faith). By contrast, Brewer, in the final paragraphs of his work, is clear that philanthropic activities are necessary not only to win over souls but to carry out a Christian vocation to care for all those in need, regardless of their religious affiliation, for they are all 'children of one common Father' (p. 383). It is through patient presentation of an enlightened Christianity that mission will ultimately be successful. Nevertheless, 'the sword of the Mussulman will present a more successful obstacle to the progress of the gospel' (p. 384). These ideas were consistent with his other work later in life, among prisoners and for the abolition of slavery.

Brewer supported mission work in Constantinople rather than Jerusalem, Smyrna or even Beirut, because of the large presence of religious minorities, easy access to Europe, and the presence of foreign embassies for protection (p. 228-9). It is hard to gauge whether his views made an impact, as there is evidence that he did not see eye-to-eye with his fellow

missionary colleagues of the ABCFM. Even though the initial publication of *A residence* was met with great interest among the supporting mission agency, he did not continue to publish on this topic. In addition, the interest of the Boston Female Society and the Ladies Greek Association of New Haven ended prematurely, as these supporting agencies soon became consumed with other local and national interests.

PUBLICATIONS

Joseph Brewer, *A residence at Constantinople in the year 1827. With notes to the present time*, New Haven CT, 1830, pp. 366-72; 008648986 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Joseph Brewer, *A residence at Constantinople in the year 1827. With notes to the present time*, New Haven CT, 1830², pp. 378-84; 009833203 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

F. Sha'ban, *For Zion's sake. The Judeo-Christian tradition in American culture*, London, 2005, pp. 131-8

F. Sha'ban, *Islam and Arabs in early American thought*, Durham NC, 1991, pp. 39, 132

David D. Grafton

Edgar Allan Poe

DATE OF BIRTH 18 January 1809
PLACE OF BIRTH Boston, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 7 October 1849
PLACE OF DEATH Baltimore, Maryland

BIOGRAPHY

Edgar Allan Poe was an American author, poet, editor and literary critic. He was a pioneer in several literary forms, including detective fiction and science fiction, but is most often associated with his Gothic tales and the poem that brought him a measure of contemporary literary fame, 'The raven' (1845). He dabbled in many of the popular genres of his period, always conscious of the literary market, but often satirising the style of writing he was mimicking. Poe's references to Islam, found in both his short stories and his poetry, were part and parcel of the popularity of Oriental themes in America as well as Europe. In addition to including Islamic references in his fiction and poetry, he also wrote an important review of John Lloyd Stephens's popular *Incidents of travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Lands* (1837). Stephens's book was part of America's 'Holy Land mania' and Poe's review gave him a chance to comment on Islam, Bedouins, America's relationship with the Middle East and the meaning of biblical prophecy.

Edgar Allan Poe was born Edgar Poe, the second of three children, in Boston on 19 January 1809. By 1810, his father had deserted the family, and a year later his mother died. It was the beginning of a series of familial deaths and tragedies that would haunt him throughout his life and contribute to his obsession with themes of loss, mourning and death. After his mother died, Poe was separated from his older brother Henry and his younger sister Rosalie and taken in by the wealthy Virginia tobacco merchant John Allan and his wife Frances. Raised in the Allans' Richmond home, he was close to Frances but frequently clashed with John. The conflict with John came to a head after Poe left home to attend the University of Virginia in 1826. He returned from university with considerable gambling debts, which Allan refused to pay. Forced to leave the university and eventually the Allan home, Poe enlisted in the army under the name Edgar A. Perry. Eventually, with John Allan's help, he enlisted at West Point, where he lasted only eight months before being

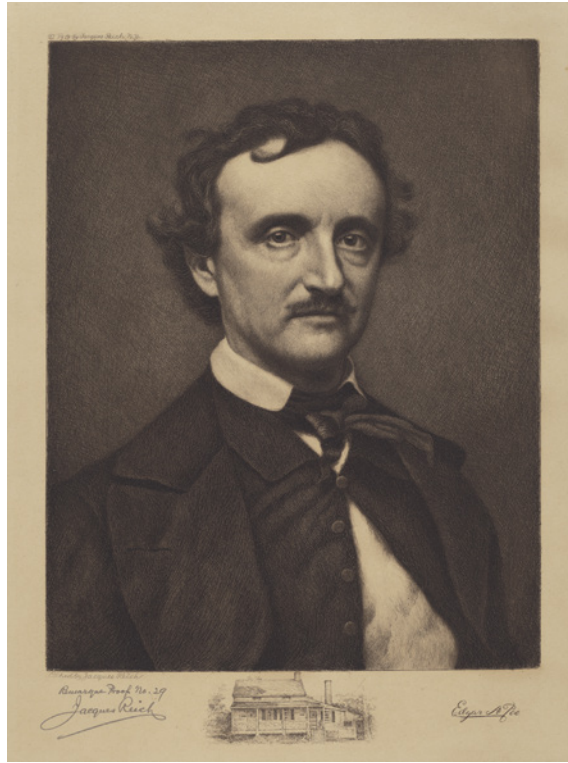


Illustration 3. Edgar Allan Poe

thrown out in 1831. Poe's relationship with John Allan was now destroyed and his lifelong financial struggles began. Soon after being removed from West Point, he moved to Baltimore and devoted his time and energies to a career as a writer and critic.

Poe began his publishing career with an anonymous collection of poems, *Tamerlane and other poems* (1827). Two more poetry collections would follow, *Al Aaraaf* (1829) and *Poems* (1831). In the years that followed, he turned his attention fully to his literary career. He won a literary contest in 1833 with his story 'MS found in a bottle' and in 1838 he published his only novella, *The narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket*. The following year he published a collection of short stories, *Tales of the grotesque and arabesque* (1839), and in 1845 his poem 'The raven' was published in the *Evening Mirror*. It was an almost instant literary sensation.

In early October 1849, Poe was found by a local painter in a Baltimore tavern, 'rather worse for the wear' and 'in great distress'. He died some days later at Washington Medical College; all medical records, including his death certificate, have been lost. He had originally set out from Richmond on a steamer and was heading back home to New York. Why he ended up in Baltimore on the day he was found, wearing someone else's clothes, remains a mystery.

Poe's use of the term 'arabesque' (*tawrīq*) throughout his works as both a stylistic description and an organising aesthetic principle is of particular interest in terms of his engagement with Islam. This pattern appeared in a version of its distinctive Arab form as early as the 8th century, and achieved its definitive form in the 11th century under the Seljuks and Fāṭimids. A non-progressive pattern defined by repetition and symmetry, it expresses the Islamic concept of *tawḥīd* (unity), reminding the viewer of the oneness and utter transcendence of Allāh. In Poe's aesthetics, however, it comes to symbolise not unity, but doubling, duality and the uncanny. Though Poe himself makes no mention of Sufism, critics such as Berman have linked his secular aesthetics of sensation to Islamic theories of *ma'rifa* ('intimate knowledge') espoused by writers such as al-Ghazālī and Ibn al-ʿArabī.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al Aaraaf

DATE 1829

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Edgar Allan Poe did not speak Arabic, and his knowledge of Islam was largely derived from secondary sources. Nevertheless, references to Islam and to Arab and Islamic culture appear throughout his works, in both short stories and poems. There are direct references to qur'anic material in the poems 'Al Aaraaf' and 'Israfel'. Near the end of his only novella, *The adventures of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket*, Arabic script appears alongside other mysterious writings etched onto a cave wall at the South Pole. His short story, 'The thousand and second tale of Scheherazade', borrows its premise directly from the *Thousand and one nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*). 'A tale of the ragged mountains', another short story, introduces the reader to an 'Eastern-looking city, such as we read of in the Arabian Tales' that includes a mosque with 'minarets and oriels' in its midst (*Complete tales and poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. A.H. Quinn and E.H. O'Neill, New York, 1992, pp. 682-3).

Poe's poem *Al Aaraaf* derives its name from *Sūrat al-a'rāf* (Q 7, 'The heights'), which addresses the origins of creation and details prophecies regarding Judgment Day. Poe told potential publishers that he had named the poem after a place described in the Qur'an that was a mid-point between paradise and hell where men suffer no punishment, but have not attained the tranquillity of heavenly enjoyment. Consisting of 422 lines, it is Poe's longest poem.

Though there is no extensive engagement with qur'anic material or Islamic eschatology in *Al Aaraaf*, Poe uses the Islamic reference as a point of departure for exploring his own theories of the afterlife. Here, as elsewhere in his writings, he engages Islam as a way of spurring his poetic imagination. The poem makes mention of a character, Ligeia, who appears elsewhere in his writing, including his short story of the same name, in connection with Islamic references and thematic concerns with the afterlife.

SIGNIFICANCE

Poe's use of Arab and Islamic references was part and parcel of the wider 19th-century American fascination with the Orient. While this produced

predominantly superficial engagements with Islam that often did little more than employ icons, images and words borrowed from Arab-Islamic culture to lend Western romantic writing an air of exoticism, the distant references here to the mid-point between heaven and hell recall the qur'anic allusions to the *barzakh* (Q 23:100; also 25:53, 55:20), interpreted by Muslim theologians as a barrier between this life and the next where souls went after death and were often thought to undergo purgative punishment. These suggest Poe may have possessed detailed knowledge about Islamic eschatology.

PUBLICATIONS

The poem has been published in many collections of Edgar Allan Poe's writings. Only the earliest editions are listed here.

Edgar Allan Poe, *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and minor poems*, Baltimore MD, 1829, pp. 13-38 (first full text)

Edgar Allan Poe, *Poems, by Edgar A. Poe*, New York, 1831 (with later substantial revisions)

Edgar Allan Poe, 'The messenger star', in *The Herring copy of Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and minor poems*, 1845 (Poe's alternative title for the poem); <https://www.eapoe.org/works/editions/atmpeh.htm>

Edgar Allan Poe, *The raven and other poems*, New York, 1845, pp. 56-73

STUDIES

Berman, *American arabesque*, pp. 109-37

D. von Mucke, *The seduction of the occult and the rise of the fantastic tale*, Palo Alto CA, 2003, pp. 148-96

S. Peeples, *Edgar Allan Poe revisited*, New York, 1998

Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe. A critical biography*

Jacob Rama Berman

George Bush

DATE OF BIRTH 12 June 1796
PLACE OF BIRTH Norwich, Vermont
DATE OF DEATH 19 September 1859
PLACE OF DEATH Rochester, New York

BIOGRAPHY

George Bush, born on 12 June 1796, was the eldest of four siblings. His mother, Abigail Maroin, died when he was four and his father, John Bush, when he was 22. His family soon recognised that George was fit for academia. After a time at Dartmouth College, he enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1818. Following graduation, he was ordained in the Presbyterian Church and in 1824 went to Indiana to serve as a missionary on the frontier. He married his first wife, Anna Byrum Condict who remains unnamed in his biographical records, and who died in 1827 several days after giving birth to their son. George would later marry Mary W. Fisher, with whom he had three children.

During his time in Indiana, Bush began to make known his critical views concerning Presbyterian Church polity and the authority of scripture, questioning traditional Calvinist perspectives. This ultimately led to his being asked to leave his Presbyterian congregation in 1828, whereupon he returned to New York. There, he began teaching and writing and ultimately joined the New Jerusalem Church, founded on the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), who claimed that he had received revelations from Jesus and that the Bible had special spiritual meanings to be unlocked through his divine teachings. This led Swedenborg to found a 'new' Christian Church.

Noted for his skills in languages, Bush was appointed professor of Hebrew and Oriental literature at the University of New York, and as the superintendent of the American Bible Society publishing house located in New York City. The appointment reveals his reputation as a widely respected biblical scholar. It was at this time that he began working on the biography of Muḥammad, which was his first published monograph (1830). The biography marked an important shift in his thinking about the 'millennium' in the book of Revelation that ultimately led him to join the New Jerusalem Church.

In 1835, Bush published a Hebrew grammar that became popular and went into several editions. In 1836, he released *Scriptural illustrations* for a general readership. This drew on images and travelogues of pilgrims and travellers to the Holy Land. In 1840, he began publishing commentaries on the books of the Old Testament, including Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua and Judges. The commentary on Genesis was the most popular, running into six editions.

By 1844, Bush's heterodox Christian views were becoming more prominent through his involvement in *Heirophant*, a journal dedicated to reviewing biblical prophetic literature. It is here that his ideas about the 'millennium' as having already commenced in history became public and very popular. However, it was the publication of *Anastasis, or the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, rationally and spiritually considered* and his *Statement of reason for embracing the doctrines and disclosures of Swedenborg* in 1845, that cemented his role as a theologian and scholar of the New Jerusalem Church, in which he was ordained in 1848. In *Anastasis* he argued that the resurrection of Jesus was in soul only and not in bodily form, leading to a spiritual understanding of the afterlife, rather than a bodily resurrection.

By now, Bush was fully committed to the teachings and activities of the New Jerusalem Church. He assisted in translating Swedenborg's personal diaries from Swedish in 1849-50, and edited the New Church's monthly journal, the *New Church Repository*, from 1846 to 1854. *The Repository* was one of the main channels through which Swedenborg's teachings were disseminated and it serialised portions of his diaries.

Bush's theological positions were publicly challenged and debated and he was discredited within Presbyterian and other traditional Christian circles, especially in light of his rejection of the orthodox Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the atonement, justification by faith through grace, and bodily resurrection. Bush accepted Swedenborg's belief that the spiritual realm was the true ongoing cause of all events in the material realm. He indicated that it was an 'out of body experience' through mesmerism (Fernald, *Memoirs*, p. 130) that led him to accept Swedenborgian ideas. This experience led him to conclude that the human body of Jesus was the medium in which God began the process of the salvation of humanity, which was then continued through the medium of each human body, and extended through the spiritual experiences of each person. In 1848, he published *A plea in behalf of Swedenborg's claim to intercourse with the spiritual world. Compiled from his life, letters, and*

works, in which he articulated Swedenborg's views of the reality of the spiritual realm.

Bush was an acquaintance of Andrew Jackson Davis and became interested in the concept of mesmerism. In 1847, he published *The relation of the developments of mesmerism to the doctrines and disclosures of Swedenborg*. This caused some controversy within the New Jerusalem Church because it seemed to unite the Church with the Theosophy movement of Helena Blavatsky and with the concept of mesmerism, with which many members did not agree.

While we cannot be certain when Bush began his detailed thinking about Swedenborg's spiritualist philosophy, he began to demonstrate non-traditional Christian views in his study of the Bible as early as 1829 (Fernald, *Memoirs*, p. 374). He had already been wrestling with questions about the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. In his earliest published work, the biography of Muḥammad, he began to articulate his views that the book of Revelation was a series of past, present and future unfolding spiritual events of the millennium in which the coming of Islam was one part. The following year, in 1833, he published *Treatise on the millennium*. This solidified his views on the end times. However, it was his biography of Muḥammad that contributed to his radical re-thinking, and ultimately his leaving the Presbyterian Church to join the New Jerusalem Church. Bush passed away at his home in Rochester, New York, in 1859, with his wife, Mary, and his eldest son Lewis, at his side.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Primary documents concerning Bush are held in the Swedenborgian Library, Pacific School of Religion of the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California. Most of his personal papers are kept in the libraries of Dartmouth College and the University of Michigan.

W. Fernald, *Memoirs and reminiscences of the late Prof. George Bush*, Boston MA, 1860 (the earliest biography)

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The life of Mohammed

DATE 1830

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The life of Mohammed. Founder of the religion of Islam, and of the empire of the Saracens was Bush's first work. It is 261 pages long, and includes a Preface with a guide to Arabic and Islamic terms (1831 edition, pp. 7-12), and concludes with five appendices: an interpretation of Islam as fulfilling the apocalyptic visions of Daniel 7:8-26 and Revelation 9:1-19; a description of the Ka'ba, compiled primarily from the travels of Johann Burckhardt as they were serialised in *The London Quarterly Review*, and Charles Forster's *Mahometanism unveiled* (1829); a description of the Qur'an with passages which Bush argues were from the Bible; an exposition of a 'Mohammedan Confession of Faith' compiled from Joseph Morgan's *Mahometism explained* (1725); an annotated bibliography of previous authors who had written on the life of Muḥammad, assembled from the works of Humphrey Prideaux and Edward Gibbon (pp. 181-261).

In the Introduction, Bush admits that his book offers nothing new and is merely a compendium of previous works on the topic. He utilises most of the well-known Western sources on Islam available at the time, including George Sale's translation of the Qur'an (1734), from which he quotes liberally. He also uses Edward Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-89), Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (1708), Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture* (1697), Barthélemy D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), and Paul Rycaut's *The present state*

of the *Ottoman Empire* (1686), and relies heavily upon Burckhardt's published record of his travels in Egypt, Palestine and Arabia.

The intention of the biography is to bring together a variety of sources and provide a 'candid moral estimate of the character of the Founder of Islam' (p. 6). Bush makes no secret of the fact that he finds the Prophet wanting, and agrees with Prideaux that Muḥammad is the great 'imposture' (*sic*). In this regard, the work does not provide any new information.

The biography is a standard review of Muḥammad's life, in 16 chapters, beginning with pre-Islamic Arabia and concluding with his death. It covers the major events in Muḥammad's life, highlighting those traditionally featured in other Western sources, in order to demonstrate the weakness of Islam. It includes what Bush regarded as the creation of the 'extravagant fiction' of the Night Journey (ch. 7), the persecution of the Jewish tribes of Medina (ch. 12), and a review of Muḥammad's multiple marriages, especially his marriage to Zaynab (ch. 16). In the end, Bush concludes that Muḥammad's 'whole history makes it evident, that fanaticism, ambition, and lust were his master-passions' (p. 161).

What distinguishes the work as unique, however, is Bush's biblical interpretive framework. He was interested in setting out the view that the life of Muḥammad and the rise of Islam were within the scope of Providence, and were part of the 'great scheme of the Divine administration of the world' (p. 12). The first Appendix thus includes interpretations of apocalyptic references from Daniel and Revelation. Bush writes that these expansive works describing the end times certainly would not have left out the rise of Islam. Like other contemporary detractors of Islam, he sees the reference to the locusts rising from the bottomless pit of smoke in Revelation 9:1-2 as representing the coming of Islam:

It is reasonable therefore to expect that a system of predictions thus large upon the history of the world, would not omit a revolution of such magnitude and prominence as that occasioned by Mohammed and Mohammedanism. No event, moreover, has had a more direct and powerful bearing upon the state of the Church than the establishment of this vast imposture. (p. 182)

In this, then, one can see the beginning of Bush's view that the end times had already begun and were in process. For this, Bush relied heavily on the thinking of his contemporary, the Anglican George Faber, and his 1828 publication, *The sacred calendar of prophecy*. The biblical perspective afforded here would be further explained in Bush's next work *Treatise on the millennium*, published in 1832.

SIGNIFICANCE

While this biography of Muḥammad does not provide any new information on the life of the Prophet or employ any direct primary resources that might lead to new insights, it is significant for three reasons.

First, it was the first North American biography of Muḥammad to be published (Washington Irving had begun writing his biography in 1828, but it was not published until 1859). Second, it provides a unique interpretation of the role of Islam in the biblical prophetic schema. Other English and North American authors had long seen the coming of Islam predicted in Daniel 7 and Revelation 9 (as had many earlier scholars), but for Bush Muḥammad and Islam were part of the unfolding process of the End Times that had already begun to take place. It was this thinking that, ultimately, led him to conclude that some of the major Christian doctrines were logically untenable, to repudiate his Calvinism, and to join the New Jerusalem Church. It might be said, then, that his review of the coming of Islam was one of the primary motivating factors that prompted him to accept the Swedenborgian perspectives.

Third, this 19th-century work became associated with George Bush's distant relative US President George W. Bush in 2004 after the American-led invasion of Iraq. Rumours circulated in the Middle East either that President Bush had written the biography or that it was written by his great-grandfather, and that the biography described Muslims as 'insects, rats and snakes'. This signified to Arab Muslims that the American president was invading Iraq because of his anti-Islamic views and that he believed Islam was the enemy of God. (While Bush the biographer does not refer to Muslims as 'insects, rats and snakes', he does allude to their representation as locusts and scorpions in Revelation 9.) The biography was then translated into Arabic in 2004, and caused a great deal of controversy, forcing the United States government to issue a statement that the author of the 19th-century biography was not a direct ancestor of the American president.

PUBLICATIONS

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George Bush, *The life of Mohammed. Founder of the religion of Islam, and of the empire of the Saracens*, Niagara, Canada, 1831

George Bush, *The life of Mohammed. Founder of the religion of Islam, and of the empire of the Saracens*, New York, 1837 (Harper's

stereotype edition, multiple reprints); 100281303 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

George Bush, *The life of Mohammed. Founder of the religion of Islam, and of the empire of the Saracens*, New York, 1900; BP75.B8 1900 (digitised version available through Brigham Young Library)

George Bush, *Muḥammad mu'assis al-dīn al-Islāmī wa-mu'assis imbrātūriyyat al-Muslimīn*, trans. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh al-Shaykh, Riyadh, 2004 (Arabic trans.)

STUDIES

Bowen, 'Islam and "scientific religion"'

United States Department of State, 'Is the author of a book critical of Islam an ancestor of President Bush?', 2004; https://web.archive.org/web/2008112171741/http://usinfo.state.gov/media/Archive_Index/Life_of_Mohammed_Book_NOT_Authored_by_Grandfather_or_Ancessor_of_President_Bush.html

David D. Grafton

Eli Smith

DATE OF BIRTH 13 September 1801
PLACE OF BIRTH Northford, Connecticut
DATE OF DEATH 11 January 1857
PLACE OF DEATH Beirut, Lebanon

BIOGRAPHY

Eli Smith was born into a simple farming family in western Connecticut in 1801, and brought up in a traditional pious New England Congregationalist community. His parents recognised his academic promise and sent him to study at Yale College. After graduating in 1821, he attended Andover Theological Seminary. It was here that he met the young biblical scholar, Edward Robinson, and they struck up a lifelong friendship. Smith's early life and training followed that of many other early American evangelical missionaries who were products of the Second Great Awakening. He demonstrated interest and skill in biblical languages as well as a call to foreign missions. He graduated from Andover in 1826 and was commissioned by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missionaries (ABCFM) to serve as an assistant to Daniel Temple at the American Mission Press in Malta.

Smith was not satisfied with this posting to a Christian enclave in the middle of the Mediterranean, and he successfully argued that he needed further Arabic language training to assist in publishing Arabic texts. He then undertook the first of many travels, and went to Alexandria and Beirut to study Arabic. However, his language studies were interrupted when the American and British communities were evacuated from Beirut due to concerns over Turkish reprisals against foreigners in response to Western support for the Greek War of Independence.

Smith then spent the better part of three years travelling on behalf of ABCFM. He first accompanied Rufus Anderson, the chair of the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM, to Greece for several months in 1829, where they surveyed possible missionary opportunities for several months. After this, he and a fellow missionary, H.G.O. Dwight, were in Persia and surrounding regions for almost two years to reconnoitre possibilities for mission work among the 'Nestorians' and Armenians. In 1832, they returned to Malta, where they prepared a report in the form

of a travelogue, *Researches through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia*. Smith took the manuscript to the US for publication and there he married his first wife, Sarah Lanman. During his time in the US, Smith also did some itinerant preaching to raise funds for the ABCFM. He duly impressed his listeners with his stories of the 'Orient', and was encouraged to have his sermons published for popular consumption among the mission-minded Protestant congregations. Three of the sermons and two speeches were collected and published as *Missionary sermons and addresses* in 1833. On returning to Malta in 1834, he was asked to move with his wife and an Arabic printing press to Beirut, where he was to be in charge of the new Arabic Mission Press. He served there until his death in 1857.

Smith was a perfectionist in his work. In fact, the Mission Press was not as active or as successful as it could have been in the early years because of Smith's insistence on reviewing and editing every work to be published. Nevertheless, the two major successes of the American Mission Press were due to his skills and abilities. These were the development of a new 'American Arabic font', which became widely used during the literary renaissance in Beirut and Cairo, and his original translation work with Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Nāṣif al-Yāzījī on the Arabic translation of the Bible that has come to be known as the 'Van Dyck Bible'. It was Smith's skills as a biblical scholar and his relationships with other German and American textual scholars who utilised the latest research in 19th-century higher critical and manuscript studies that laid the foundations for the translation. Following his death, the medical missionary Cornelius Van Dyck and the Egyptian Reformist Shaykh Yūsuf al-Asīr reviewed and completed the translation in 1865.

In 1838 and again in 1852, Smith guided his longtime friend, the American 'biblical archaeologist' Edward Robinson, on tours through Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and served as his Arabic and cultural translator. The result of these journeys was the three-volume publication of *Biblical researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea. A journal of travels in the year 1838*, and *Later biblical researches in Palestine and the adjacent regions. A journal of travels in the year 1852*. The initial journey became famous for Robinson's 'discovery' of 'Robinson's arch' on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

Smith was deeply engaged in the Arab literary and cultural revival of the 19th century. He was a founding member of *Al-jam'īyya l-Sūriyya li-iktisāb al-'ulūm wa-l-funūn* ('Syrian society for the acquisition of arts

and sciences'), and gave to the society presentations on Arabic language and culture that were later published by Buṭrus al-Bustānī in *A'māl al-jam'īyya al-Sūriyya*.

He entertained a wide variety of relationships with local Christians and reformist Muslim scholars in Beirut, believing that the Tanzimat reforms of the Ottoman Empire were positive steps towards the modernisation and ultimately the evangelisation of the empire.

In addition to Sara Lanman, who tragically died from exposure after a shipwreck in 1834, Smith went on to marry twice. His second wife, Maria Chapin, died shortly after her arrival in Syria in 1841. They had one child, Charles, who became a professor at Yale. His third wife, Henrietta Butler, outlived him and resettled back in the US after his death in 1857. Eli and Henrietta had five children, three daughters, and two sons.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Archives New Haven CT, Yale Divinity School Library – Eli Smith Family Papers, 1821-1930

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- R. Anderson, *History of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, vol. 1, Boston, 1872, pp. 77-89, 224-35

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Missionary sermons and addresses

DATE 1833

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Missionary sermons and addresses is a 229-page collection of three sermons and two speeches by Eli Smith, given during his furlough in the US in 1832-3. Written after six years as a missionary but only one year into his life in Beirut, *Missionary sermons* reflects an early stage of his understanding of the 'wants of its inhabitants' (1833 edition, p. 136) and his desire to preach the gospel as an evangelical missionary.

In his first sermon, 'Moral and religious conditions of western Asia', Smith comments on his perception of the weakness of Islam in the Near East and outlines the cruelty of the Turks over their subject communities, specifically the indigenous Christians. First, he notes that the imposition of governmental force leads to 'bloodthirsty cruelty' that can only be practically equated to the beast of the Papist's religion which destroys its own heretics (p. 22). Second, he remarks that Muslims are prone to ignorance and slothfulness, not desiring the physical improvement of their lives or communities. This indolence paralyses individual moral development and the industriousness of the nation (p. 25). Thus, 'Mohammedanism is destructive to temporal prosperity and a curse to man' (p. 29).

Smith continues that the indigenous Christians of the Ottoman Empire have lost their 'saltiness' and ceased to abide by the 'essential principles of the gospel' (p. 30). Rather, the churches of the Orient have relied upon rites, rituals, ceremonies and idolatry in place of the reading of the Bible, preaching repentance, and leading moral lives. This corrupted form of Christianity has enabled the rise and rule of Islam. Thus, the goal of missions should be the revival of a 'true' Christianity.

The second sermon is entitled 'The duty of Christians to live for the conversion of the world'. This sermon provides little information regarding the Christian-Muslim encounter, but does uncover an important theological perspective of American missions in the 19th century. Intent on encouraging the support of missions among congregations and pietistic Protestant communities, Smith states that all Christians have a duty to live sacrificially, either directly engaging in, or prayerfully and financially supporting, the advancement of the gospel to the whole world. The sermon, and its publication, can be seen as part of the larger American Protestant missionary enterprise that tapped into American philanthropy and created a large reading public that supported American missions.

The third sermon, 'Farewell request in behalf of the Syrian Mission', describes the difficult life that the missionaries faced in the land of 'nominal' Christians and 'Mohammedans'. Brief descriptions are offered of each of the religious communities, including the Sunnīs, Shī'a, and Druze (p. 144), though the majority of the information offered focusses upon the various Christian communities, noting their 'papist' and 'nominal' religious rites, which are all in 'spiritual declension' (p. 151) as opposed to the truths of Christian doctrines of 'justification by faith' and 'spiritual regeneration' (p. 154). The impiety of these Christians has led the

Muslims to believe in the corruption of the Bible, abhor the veneration of images (icons), and disrespect the Christian faith.

The intention of the sermon was to provide an image of missionary life that compared to the life of New Testament missionaries, such as the apostles Paul and Peter. Smith encourages pious Americans to pray for and provide financial gifts to the mission and those missionaries serving as 'soldier[s] in a post of danger' on their behalf (p. 144). The sermon provides an overview of the work of the missionaries for American audiences, of their preaching, mission schools, and the work of the American Mission Press to remove the 'blindness of the ignorant' and renew 'the hearts of the sinful' (p. 170).

These sermons are followed by the texts of two speeches given to mission-minded communities. The first address, 'Trials of missionaries', much like the third sermon, sought to provide an image of the life of a missionary among the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. However, in this case, the address was given on the occasion of the commissioning of three other missionaries, the Rev. Elias Riggs, the Rev. William M. Thomson, and Dr Asa Dodge, to the American Syrian Mission in October 1832. The address sought to encourage the new missionaries in their work to 'reform and save the degenerate and perishing people' (p. 190).

The second address, entitled 'Present attitude of Mohammedanism, in reference to the spread of the Gospel', was delivered at a meeting of the board of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in May 1833. Smith begins by noting that it was illegal to proselytise or to defame the name of Muḥammad and that missionaries should seek to argue in a 'sober and convincing' way to prove that Muḥammad was a 'false prophet' (p. 208). However, he remarks that Christian work in the Ottoman Empire has now reached a positive stage with a reference to the defeat of the Turks at Navarino Bay in 1827, and to the military reforms of the sultan. These 'Christian improvements' are nothing less than providential, and have humbled the religious leaders (p. 216). Opportunities for Christian discussions with Muslims had become possible, especially under the tutelage of European protection. Smith notes that the Egyptian occupation of Syria (1832-40) had begun to bring about this 'liberalising' atmosphere, and that the same results could be seen in Istanbul itself, where the British and Foreign Bible Society was effective in its sales of Turkish and Arabic Bibles. Smith argues for further support and for missionaries to go and work in Turkey, where there was now no opposition to preaching to the 'nominal' Christians.

These Christians would then ultimately serve as 'cities on a hill' for their Muslim neighbours. The key to this effective Christian work, in his view, was the distribution of the Bible.

SIGNIFICANCE

Smith's works provide an early 19th-century American pietistic view of the culture and disposition of the people of the Middle East, both Christian and Muslim, by one of the more important American missionaries to the region. He remarks that the ruling Turkish Muslims were guilty of fanaticism and 'arbitrary despotism' (p. 133), while the 'nominal' Christians were guilty of 'dishonesty, sloth, and ignorance' (p. 226). His derogatory views of the Turkish overlords and the Muslim 'Arab mind' of the 'descendants of Ishmael' (p. 164) can be read throughout. In the end, his sermons and addresses provide the arguments for an indirect missionary approach to Islam, that is, the reformation of the indigenous Christian churches of the Orient, so that they could provide a credible Christian witness to their Muslim compatriots.

These views were the perspectives commonly accepted among the leadership of the Protestant mission societies, especially the early ABCFM missionaries. The publication and distribution of Smith's sermons and speeches demonstrates that there was interest in disseminating these ideas among Christian supporters in America. The ABCFM and other American mission agencies believed that an enlightened Protestant Christian America could influence the 'darkened east' by the revitalisation of the 'atrophied' ancient churches and the proselytisation among the Muslims of the 'despotic' Ottoman Empire.

Smith's sermons reflect the pre-millennialism that encouraged American philanthropy and religious giving, and distinguished it from British Restorationism (the belief in the return of the Jews to their homeland) or later 20th-century pre-millennialism that would attempt to hasten the return of Jesus through their mission work. His sermons also simply reflect the desire and belief that it was within their power to actively save the lost who were perishing. Thus, the collection and publication of these individual sermons and addresses by a visiting missionary on furlough advanced the missionary cause among a wider constituency in order to create interest in mission work in the Ottoman Empire. It also provided opportunity to offer spiritual and financial support, and encourage others to take up the missionary life.

In his 1833 address to the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM, Smith provides a glimpse into American evangelical views of the 'Eastern

Question'. While the US was not involved in the politics of the Russian and Turkish wars of the early 19th century, its missionaries were able to take advantage of the European victories of Navarino Bay and Turkish 'liberalisation' of the early Tanzimat period without the shackles of American political involvement. American missionaries served under the protection of the British crown until an American-Ottoman treaty in 1830 and so saw themselves as having a non-imperial and purely spiritualising status.

In an interesting theological argument, Smith notes to his supporters that, if the Russians had succeeded in taking Istanbul from the Turks, American mission work would have been in jeopardy, as the Russians would have supported only the Orthodox Churches. Rather, God's providence had seen fit to keep the Turks in control of their empire, but 'humbled' enough so that Protestant missionaries could work effectively among the Christian communities. In a plea for further funding and more commissioned missionaries, Smith invokes the images of the past European Crusades. Whereas Europe sent forth its crusaders to reconquer the Holy Land, he calls for missionaries who are 'a whole assembly of prophets, apostles and martyrs' (p. 229). Smith embodies the 19th-century missionary tendency to spiritualise a war against Islam by invoking previous military language and imagery.

Missionary sermons and addresses reflects the thinking and excitement of a young Eli Smith after only six years with the ABCFM, and only one year in Beirut. He would go on to live and work another 24 years there, including tours of Greece, the Caucasus region, and two lengthy visits to Palestine with his friend Edward Robinson. During his time in Beirut, Smith was involved in the literary renaissance, and what Fruma Zachs calls the 'middle stratum' of Beirut literary society (Zachs, 'Pioneers of Syrian patriotism', p. 91). Through his role as the director of the American Mission Press, Smith participated in the emerging new market of readers, engaged in learned societies in a modernising Beirut, and directed the work on a new Arabic Bible translation that greatly impacted Arab Christian communities. His important and deep relationships with Christian Syrian thinkers, such as Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Nāṣif al-Yāzījī and Mikhā'il Mishāqa are reflected in his private correspondence. Thus, while he became a senior colleague of the second generation of American missionaries in Syria, he also contributed to the ongoing 'cultural awakening' of the *nahḍa* (Zeuge-Buberl, *Mission of the American Board*, p. 126). Whether his later years challenged or changed his early American

exclusivist views of the degenerate Muslim 'oriental' that appear in *Missionary sermons and addresses* is not yet fully clear.

PUBLICATIONS

- Eli Smith, *Missionary sermons and addresses*, Boston MA, 1833; 009717846 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
 Eli Smith, *Missionary sermons and addresses*, New York, 1842; 011625868 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

- Zeuge-Buberl, *Mission of the American Board*, pp. 97-127
 Grafton, *Contested origins of the 1865 Arabic Bible*
 F. Zachs, 'Pioneers of Syrian patriotism and identity. A re-evaluation of Khalil al-Khuri's contribution', in A. Beshara (ed.), *The origins of Syrian nationhood. Histories, pioneers and identity*, London, 2011, 91-107
 U. Makdisi, *Faith misplaced. The broken promise of U.S.-Arab relations. 1820-2001*, New York, 2010
 Zachs, *Making of a Syrian identity*
 Khalaf, *Cultural resistance*
 Glass, *Malta, Beirut, Leipzig, and Beirut again*

David D. Grafton

Horatio Southgate

DATE OF BIRTH 5 July 1812
PLACE OF BIRTH Portland, Maine
DATE OF DEATH 12 April 1894
PLACE OF DEATH Astoria, Queens, New York

BIOGRAPHY

Horatio Southgate was from Portland, Maine. He graduated from Bowdoin College in Maine in 1832, and then entered Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts to train as a Congregationalist minister. However, he soon embraced Anglicanism and was confirmed as an Episcopalian in 1834. He was ordained to the diaconate at Trinity Church, Boston, on 12 July 1835.

At five meetings held between September 1835 and January 1836 with the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, Southgate proposed a missionary expedition to Muslim-majority lands. The committee decided in his favour and held a public farewell for him at the Church of the Ascension, New York, on Easter evening, 3 April 1836, at which Southgate preached. Soon after its delivery, the text of Southgate's sermon, as well as other material, was published as a booklet entitled *Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans*. Southgate departed from New York City on 24 April 1836, heading first for Constantinople. Throughout his 20 months abroad, he kept a journal in considerable detail. It was published in 1840 as the two-volume *Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia*.

Southgate returned to New York in December 1838, married Elizabeth Browne of Portland, Maine, and was ordained to the Episcopal priesthood at St Paul's Chapel, New York City. He set out for Turkey for a second time in the spring of 1840, this time with his wife. Five of their six children were born in Istanbul during their time in the Ottoman Empire. The Episcopal Church having recently decided that foreign missionaries should be bishops, Southgate returned to the USA for consecration to the episcopate on 26 October 1844, at St Peter's Church, Philadelphia. Thus, during his third missionary tour abroad from 1845 to 1849, he bore

the title of missionary bishop in the dominions and dependencies of the sultan of Turkey.

Southgate's third stay 'among the Mohamedans' coincided with a period of denominational rivalries in the mission field, as well as antagonism between European and American missionaries and indigenous Christian bodies. The intra-Christian nature of this controversy can be seen in a series of open letters published as tracts that, notably, say nothing about the evangelisation of Muslims *per se*, such as Southgate's *Vindication of the Rev. Horatio Southgate. A letter to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, in 1844; the American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions' *Mr. Southgate and the missionaries at Constantinople. A letter from the missionaries at Constantinople in reply to the charges by Rev. Horatio Southgate*, in 1844; and Southgate's *A letter to a friend, in reply to a recent pamphlet*, in 1845. This controversy, coupled with his own changing attitude towards Islam and his Christian millennialist theology, brought Southgate's missionary career to an end. During this period, he received degrees of Doctor of Sacred Theology from Columbia University in 1845, and from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut in 1846.

In 1850, Southgate returned permanently to the USA. This was due in part to the ill health of his wife, who was pregnant. She died 12 days after giving birth to their sixth child. This change in family circumstances precluded his return to Turkey, so Southgate resigned his episcopacy in a letter to the House of Bishops in September 1850. Having thus turned away from foreign missionary endeavours, he continued his ministry in Portland, Maine, founding St Luke's Church in 1851, and serving there until May 1852. He then moved to Massachusetts, where he served as rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston, from 1852 to 1858.

In 1859, Southgate moved to Lower Manhattan, where in September 1859 he became rector of Zion Church, serving there until his resignation in September 1872. While at Zion, he married the much younger Sarah Elizabeth Hutchinson, and with her had seven children.

Southgate spent his retirement in Ravenswood, Astoria, Queens, New York. In 1878, he published a fictional work, *The cross above the crescent. A romance of Constantinople*, which indicates that his fervour for Christian outreach to Muslims had never been quenched entirely. In addition to his writings directly on Christian-Muslim relations, his letters and speeches about intra-Christian relations in Muslim-majority lands are of interest for understanding his shifts in attitude and theology, as are his

assessments of the forms of Christianity he found in the Middle East and Central Asia. His *Narrative of a visit to the Syrian [Jacobite] Church of Mesopotamia; With statements and reflections upon the present state of Christianity in Turkey, and the character and prospects of the Eastern Churches* in 1856 was a prime example of his shift in thinking.

Southgate died in Astoria, Queens, on 12 April 1894, at the age of 81, and was buried in the Southgate family plot in Kensico Cemetery, Valhalla, New York.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Horatio Southgate, *Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans. A sermon, by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Jun.*, New York, 1836
- Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia with observations on the condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in those countries*, London, 1840
- Horatio Southgate, *Vindication of the Rev. Horatio Southgate. A letter to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, New York, 1844
- American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions, *Mr. Southgate and the missionaries at Constantinople. A letter from the missionaries at Constantinople in reply to the charges by Rev. Horatio Southgate*, New York, 1844
- Horatio Southgate, *A letter to a friend in reply to a recent pamphlet from the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Constantinople*, New York, 1845
- Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a visit to the Syrian (Jacobite) Church of Mesopotamia; With statements and reflections upon the present state of Christianity in Turkey, and the character and prospects of the Eastern Churches*, New York, 1856
- Horatio Southgate, *The cross above the crescent. A romance of Constantinople*, New York, 1878 (first released in serial form as 'Athanasius and Mirameh. A tale of Oriental life', in *The Christian Year. A Monthly Magazine of Church Literature for the People*, 1871)
- Project Canterbury, *Horatio Southgate, 1812-1894* (includes images of Southgate and a list of his published works); <http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/hsouthgate/>

Secondary

- T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamism*, New York, 2006, pp. 117-33
- K.W. Cameron, (ed.), *American Episcopal clergy, registers of ordinations in the Episcopal Church in the United States from 1785 through 1904, with indexes*, Hartford CT, 1970

- K.W. Cameron, 'The manuscripts of Horatio Southgate ... A discovery', *American Church Monthly* (1937) 155-73
- L.B. Chapman, *Monograph on the Southgate family of Scarborough, Maine. Their ancestors and descendants*, Portland ME, 1907, pp. 14, 32-3
- W.S. Perry, art. 'Horatio Southgate', in W.S. Perry, *The bishops of the American Church past and present. Sketches, biographical and bibliographical, of the bishops of the American Church*, New York, 1897, 103

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans

DATE 1836

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The booklet *Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans. A sermon, by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Jun.* is a publication of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. It contains the complete text of the sermon given by Southgate as a 23-year-old Episcopal Church clergyman during a meeting at the Church of the Ascension, Manhattan, on 3 April 1836. Also included are resolutions of the Foreign Committee pertinent to Southgate's impending mission, passed at their five meetings between 24 September 1835 and 19 January 1836, and an account of the public farewell meeting at which Southgate preached. This last item includes details of the structure of the event and the names of major personalities involved; the text of the *Letter of instructions of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions to the Rev. Horatio Southgate, jun., Missionary to Persia, &c.* that was read aloud during the meeting; and the text of Southgate's lengthy and polished response. The text of Southgate's sermon is found on pp. 5-32.

Southgate's sermon comprises nearly 9,500 words. At least an hour would have been required to deliver it during an event meant to provide the public with an opportunity to hear from him and to bid him farewell prior to his departure on an exploratory Christian mission to Turkey and Persia. Presiding at this event was the Right Reverend Benjamin Treadwell Onderdonk, then bishop of the Diocese of New York.

With Isaiah 60:7 as its scriptural basis ('All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee ...'), Southgate's sermon is a rationale for aggressive proselytising throughout Muslim-majority regions. For Southgate, this verse was a prediction of the overthrow of Islam, a term he never uses, speaking instead of 'Mohamedism' or 'that false religion' or 'Islamism' or the 'pernicious faith of the Koran', and referring to its followers as 'Mussulmans' or 'Mohamedans' or 'disciples of the false prophet'. Believing the Islam of his day to be 'feeble and broken' and thus surely ready to crumble under the progress of the Gospel, Southgate's thesis was that the time was ripe for fulfilment of the biblical prophecy of Islam's demise, thus the need for 'Christian missions among the Mohamedans' was urgent.

As evidence of Islam's decline, Southgate points to strife between the 'Sonnee' [Sunnī] and Shī'a sects, Islam having 'degenerated into a mere observance of external rites' (p. 15), having 'lost its primitive purity' in favour, especially in Persia, of superstitious saint-worship 'not unlike that of the Romish Church' (p. 16), and 'the prevalence and rapid increase of infidelity [to Islamic doctrine] among its professed adherents' (p. 17), as characterised by the popularity of Sufism, which he calls 'the sect of the Sooffees' or 'Sooffeeism'.

He presents four detailed arguments in favour of an immediate aggressive mission among Muslims: first, that the most effective way to convert the entire world to Christianity is to convert the Muslims before others; second, that Muslims, especially Persian Muslims, are uniquely 'capable of receiving knowledge' due to their high 'intellectual character' and great 'fondness for religious inquiry' (pp. 9-10); third, because Islam has from its onset been promulgated as a successor to Judaism and Christianity and 'the facts of sacred history are not wholly unknown' to Muslims (p. 10), the Christian missionary has a ready point of entry for correction of errors in the Islamic narrative and in the Qur'an itself; fourth, while military efforts have been commonplace over the centuries, a concerted irenic programme of offering the gospel to Muslims has barely been tried. Southgate enumerates examples of European, hence 'Christian', approaches to government, education, dress, military tactics, and more by officials in Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Persia as indications that these populations will be open to an irenic presentation of the Gospel (pp. 19-24). The Episcopal Church has a unique opportunity at this time, he argues, to offer 'a new and efficient missionary organization', that is, all communicants of the Episcopal Church are members of the corporation.

Drawing on Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet* (1697) for support, he surmises that the rise of Islam was God's punishment for the 'impurity' of and numerous schisms among the Eastern Churches. The reason Muslims disdain Christianity, he asserts, is that they have been exposed to it only in a corrupt form, that of the Eastern Churches. That the Bible is so little known among Muslims, he says, is the fault of Christian apathy, which he seeks to eradicate.

Southgate had been in conversation with the Episcopal Church's board of missions about the possibility of an exploratory expedition to Muslim-majority countries. In his sermon of 3 April 1836, he lays out such an expedition's threefold purpose: 'to ascertain more fully the present moral condition of the Mohamedans; the facilities and difficulties of missionary effort among them; and to select sites for missionary stations – all with reference to the ulterior design of establishing missions' (p. 28). Its goal, he assures his audience, is 'the salvation of the whole body of Mussulmen – at the complete subversion of Islamism' (p. 30). Southgate's prejudices concerning Islam and Muslims are clear here. He again quotes Prideaux, who claims that 'dictating war, bloodshed, and violence in matters of religion' is one of Islam's 'chiefest virtues'. Islam 'is essentially intolerant and bigoted. [...] It is, and must ever be, a religion of malice, cruelty, and violence', riddled with 'gross errors in philosophy' (pp. 10, 13). Yet Muslims themselves, he suggests, are intelligent, well-educated and visionary.

Given that Southgate was only 23 years old at this time, had been an Episcopalian for two years at most, and had been a deacon for not quite nine months, the confidence conveyed by his oration is striking. Yet his arrogance is characteristic of the time and context: he had the support of the Episcopal Church's Board of Missions and, while his rhetorical style is that of argument, his point had been won well before he stepped into the pulpit on Easter evening 1836. The publication containing his sermon is related to such early 19th-century publications as Eli Smith's *Missionary sermons and addresses* (1833), a work with which he was familiar.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of *Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans*, and particularly of Southgate's sermon text within it, lies in its provision of a window onto Episcopalian attitudes towards Islam and Muslims some 50 years after the founding of the Episcopal Church. Given its legal name, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, it is not surprising that

the commissioning and deploying of missionaries was a major concern for Episcopalians in the early 1800s. New York City's Church of the Ascension, the host institution for the event at which this sermon was given, was a stronghold of the Episcopal Church's evangelical wing, which was millennialist in its theological perspective. Southgate's sermon and the accompanying charge from the Board of Missions exemplify the rhetoric of Christian imperialism. The US and European missionary movement of the 1830s was optimistic. Its adherents were convinced that they were on the cusp of the evangelisation of the whole world.

Similar to *Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans* is the 1847 tract *An appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* by James Lyman Merrick, who received a commission from them in 1834 to be a missionary to West Asian Muslims, and whom Southgate actually met. Southgate's Easter 1836 sermon is similar to Merrick's appeal in basic argument, although Merrick's was an argument for continued support, and Southgate's an initial request for funding.

Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans also indicates that it was possible in the United States during the early 19th century to acquire a fairly sound academic knowledge of Islam, its beliefs and practices. While Southgate's intent was to make the case that Islam was in sufficient decline to leave Muslims open to missionary preaching of Christianity, Southgate's sermon nevertheless demonstrates what has been termed 'an unusual knowledge of the religion of Islam' (Cameron, 'Manuscripts of Horatio Southgate', p. 155). Of particular interest, as well as Southgate's pre-departure sermon, is the *Letter of instructions of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions to the Rev. Horatio Southgate* that itself quotes extensively from a letter written to Southgate by the Right Reverend William White, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church. White urges Southgate to eschew 'an attitude of hostility' and to 'avoid as much as possible all controversy' with other Christian denominations' missionaries, which was a foreshadowing of the very issues that would end Southgate's overseas missionary career.

PUBLICATIONS

Horatio Southgate, *Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans. A sermon, by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Jun., missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to Persia, &C., to which are annexed, an account of the meeting held at the Church of the Ascension, on the evening of Easter Sunday, April 3, 1836 with the address delivered thereat by the Rev. Mr. Southgate,*

and his letter of instructions, New York, pp. 5-32; 101788996 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

Marr, *Cultural roots of American Islamism*, pp. 117-33

Cameron, 'Manuscripts of Horatio Southgate'

Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia

DATE 1840

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia, with an introduction, and occasional observations upon the condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in those countries was published in 1840 in London and New York. Both editions are in two volumes, but they are paginated differently, and thus differ in length. London: vol. 1 has 325 pages, vol. 2 has 335; New York: vol. 1 has 334 pages, vol. 2 has 354. Here the London edition is followed. Both volumes in the New York edition include a Preface, annotated Table of Contents, fold-out map of the route of the author's travels, and various illustrations and plates, thus accounting for the extra pages. The appendix in vol. 2 of both editions includes 14 notes on certain points in the main text. Then follows an essay entitled 'Remarks on the use of wine and distilled liquors among the Mohammedans of Turkey and Persia', a paragraph on Eastern coinage, a guide to the pronunciation of Arabic, Turkish and Persian terms, and a Table of Distances.

Vol. 1 documents Southgate's travels from New York to Constantinople, his extended sojourn there and his tour from Constantinople to Trebizond, Gumush Khaneh, Erzurum, Moush, Bitlis, Vastan, Van, Salmas, Ourmiah, Khoy and Tabriz. The 24 chapters of vol. 2 take the reader from Tabriz to Mianeh, Koflan Koh, Kazvin, Tehran, Hamadan, Kermanshah, Baghdad, Kirkuk, Mosul, Mardin, and Diyarbakir. The author, who calls himself a member of 'the Episcopal Church of America', explains in his Preface and also his rather brief conclusion to vol. 2 that he has omitted accounts of his visits to European Turkey and

Western Asia Minor. Southgate defines foreign terms when they first occur, and his transliterations of these terms can at times be as misleading as they are creative. For example, he speaks of 'vodou' at one point, by which he does not mean a religion from Haiti, but rather *wuḍū*, the ablutions in preparation for *ṣalāt*, ritual prayer. When he quotes from the Qur'an in English he uses George Sale's 1734 translation.

Southgate calls the religion under study 'Mohammedanism' in some instances and 'Islamism' in others. 'Mussulmans' is his most frequently used term for the adherents themselves. In order to study Islam properly, he deems it 'necessary [to] make a distinction between it as it exists among the learned and as it is found among the multitude'. Despite his generally respectful tone, his underlying disdain is evident in such remarks as 'the revelations which Mohammed pretended to receive from heaven'. In fact, Southgate shows equal disdain for Turkish-Muslim and Eastern-rite Christian 'fondness for the miraculous and the supernatural', saying that 'from the highest to the lowest [...] Eastern minds are subject to the most childish superstitions'.

The introduction to vol. 1 is essentially a primer on Islam. Having stated his decision to limit his 'survey of Mohammedanism' to the essentials, his account of the religion's beliefs and practices is surprisingly thorough and, for the most part, accurate. For example, his account of the Five Pillars of Islamic practice is quite detailed, with each step or aspect numbered; he describes the Six Articles of belief; he gives an overview of early Islamic history and the emergence of Shi'ism (to which he gives quite a lot of attention from a Sunnī perspective) and of Persian Twelver polity, noting that Persians prefer to be called 'Friends of Ali, The Company of the Just' rather than 'Shiah'. He also indulges in sweeping comparative stereotyping of Turks versus Persians.

The first chapter of vol. 1 provides a brief account of Southgate's commissioning as a missionary, his departure from New York City, and his eventual arrival in Constantinople. He views Constantinople primarily as a venue for language study in preparation for moving on to Persia, which he expects to be his main field of operation. His plan was to learn Arabic and Persian as well as Turkish. He quickly realised how severely he had underestimated the time needed to achieve any useful command of Arabic and that Turkish was in fact the *lingua franca* of the entire region he wished to explore. He then limited his studies to Turkish, a decision that proved to serve him well. He notes the lack of resources for English-speakers wishing to learn Turkish, and for Turkish-speakers wishing to learn English. (French-Turkish resources were much more developed.)

In addition, by the time he had settled in Constantinople, Southgate had come to realise that he had no frame of reference for the region and people he was proposing to study: 'I had begun to study the East with a Western mind. I had applied a standard of judgment which necessarily presented a false measurement.' He determined to discard his prejudices by immersing himself in the culture, and 'departing from Western habits' as best he could.

Southgate's language-study sojourn in Constantinople enabled him to experience Ramaḍān, a fasting season he perceives as having been established in Islam 'apparently in imitation of the Christian Lent', of which he was no fan, calling Lent and Ramaḍān 'equally superstitious'. As he explains the Muslim practice, he notes that Turkish Muslims observe or support the Christian fast, noting a general respect for Christian feasts and fasts among the Muslims he has encountered. He writes,

I have not only often heard them spoken of by Mussulmans with the utmost deference, but have heard a Mussulman upbraiding a Christian for a violation of his fast. In travelling during Lent, I have seen Mussulmans subject themselves to inconvenience to avoid compelling Christian families to prepare food which they were unaccustomed to use at that season. During some of the Christian festivals, especially at Constantinople, the crowd of Mussulmans who join in the public diversions is hardly inferior to that of the Christians. The Easter feast is particularly well-known to the Turks. They speak of it as a Christian *Bairam* (the preferred term in Turkey for *Eid*), corresponding to their own festival so called, which follows close upon Ramazan'. (vol. 1, pp. 95-6)

However, he also notes that Ramaḍān may occasion Muslim scorn for, and even bullying of, local Christians, behaviour that he finds less prevalent in the early 19th century than reported in the past but still occurring. Be this as it may, he asserts that 'points of resemblance' between Islam and Christianity ought to 'be regarded as indications of good', arguing that they are 'moral links which sustain union and check prejudice; they are [...] parallel openings in the two religions, by which Christianity, when once purified, will transmit her heavenly and renovating influence into the corrupted mass of Islamism' (vol. 1, pp. 95-6).

As his travelogue continues, Southgate gives attention to terrain, weather, local customs, interesting persons and architecture. He describes the different sorts of mosques he finds in Turkey and Persia, asserting that in certain regions through which he travelled, many mosques were formerly churches, which he terms 'a degradation'. However, he notes that this was not the case in Persia: 'In Persia I did not meet a single

instance of such a desecration.' He attributes this to Persia's different history, i.e. the possibility that the Christian structures were simply long gone (vol. 1, pp. 95-6).

At various points in the travelogue, the reader is given clues regarding sources that informed Southgate's knowledge of and attitude towards Islam. For example, in his description of Muḥammad, he cites what he calls Charles Forster's *Mohammedanism exposed*, in fact a reference to Forster's *Mahometanism unveiled*, mentioned by Sir William Muir in *The Mohammedan controversy and other Indian articles* (Edinburgh, 1897). His narrative also includes demographic statistics, and offers some insight into local and regional politics.

As Southgate assesses Islam and Muslims, he notes that he has heard Muslims 'read and expatiate on "the Sermon on the Mount" with great delight'. He finds it odd, on the one hand, that Muslims deem Christian scriptures 'corrupt' yet, on the other enjoy reading Jesus's teachings as found there and even find predictions of the coming of Muḥammad. A portion of vol. 1, ch. 21 ('Khoy. Journey to Tebriz'), is devoted to the 'Mohammedan idea of Christianity'. Here, Southgate reports a conversation with a Persian who had many questions about England and Christianity.

I described to him, as well as I could, the character of the English church, and pointed out the difference between Eastern and Western Christianity. [The Persian] expressed himself much pleased to hear that certain corruptions which he had been accustomed to associate with Christianity, were not essential parts of it, but accidental appendages which Western Christians had cast off. He had never before heard that picture-worship did not belong to our religion, as he had always understood it to be practiced by Eastern Christians. When he had finished his inquiries, I began, and asked him if he had ever read the New Testament. He had read, he replied, [Henry] Martyn's translation [completed in 1812], and spoke highly of it. He had also heard of Martyn himself, and said that he was a good man. Much more conversation of the same character passed between us, and I went away more pleased than ever with the accessibleness and affability of Persians. (vol. 2, p. 320)

During his travels, Southgate met Armenian, Chaldean, Jacobite and Nestorian Christians. His travelogue includes specifics about each, with Eastern Christian diversity becoming a fascination of his. For example, most of vol. 2, ch. 23, which focuses on Mardin, discusses Jacobite Christianity, while the earlier ch. 19 ('The Chaldean Church'), attempts to explain the history and practice of 'Nestorians', members of what he

terms an 'ancient and venerable Church'. Southgate notes that 'in the Churches of Mossoul the Lessons and Gospels are read from Arabic manuscripts, for the better understanding of the people' (vol. 2, p. 234).

In vol. 2, ch. 21, Southgate explains that, although he was 'deeply engaged and interested in pursuing inquiries among the Christians', he did not forget to attend to the followers of Muḥammad, calling them 'my own people'. Of the Muslims of Mosul, he notes that their Islam seemed 'less severe' to him than had Islam in Baghdad. Of Mosul's some 40 mosques, most were formerly Christian churches. 'One of them is the reported burial-place of St George', he writes. 'The Mohammedans have taken it, tomb and all, and converted it into a Moslem Sanctuary' (vol. 2, p. 252).

While in Mosul, Southgate says, 'I was sometimes accompanied by one or another of the Chaldean or Syrian priests, and I always observed with surprise, the cordial and respectful manner in which they were everywhere saluted by the Musselmans' (vol. 2, p. 253). Southgate's explanation for such positive interfaith relations is that Mosul's Muslims recall and appreciate the role of Christians in defending the city in war-time; that Christians tend to occupy professions that convey influence and command respect; and that most of the city's Muslims are in fact of Christian descent. (In this last regard, he notes that high-ranking Mosul officials were known to maintain the graves of their Christian ancestors.) As evidence of Muslim respect for Christians and their rites in Mosul, Southgate reports that it was the practice among Muslim parents who had lost a child to seek baptism of subsequent children in order to ward off infant or early childhood mortality. To him, the standard Iraqi Christian explanation for such behaviour is that Christians in this region had become Muslim under duress from violent persecution centuries before, not through a 'sincere change of faith', so it should not be surprising that an affinity for Christian belief and practice might persist. Southgate also stresses that, while such things happen, they are not regular occurrences and should not blind his readers to the fact that a 'genuine spirit of Mohamedan bigotry' persists in the region through which he is travelling. That said, he observes that, wherever he has found Christians enjoying Muslim regard as a matter of course, the Christians themselves are more generous, frank, cordial and kind.

Clearly, Southgate had many interesting and complex interreligious theological discussions during his travels. In vol. 2, ch. 22, several pages are devoted to his description of Muslim misapprehension of the doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity. He asserts,

There is no subject upon which a Mohammedan is more apt to converse with a Christian than the nature of Christ. Among the Persians especially, it is even difficult to avoid it, for it is to them the great stone of stumbling and rock of offence. They almost always contrive to turn the conversation to it, and they are never weary of disputing about spiritual entities and metaphysical abstractions'. (vol. 2, p. 259)

However, he stresses,

I never heard a Mohammedan speak irreverently of Christ. They acknowledge that they receive him as we receive Moses, a true prophet from God, but of a past dispensation. They use his name with titles of respect, as for their own prophet. They hardly ever fail, when speaking of him, to fall upon his divinity, which is exceedingly offensive to them. The only thing, however, which makes it so, is their own misunderstanding of the doctrine. They suppose, as Mohammed did, that it involves the idea of a natural sonship, like that among men. That such was the misconception of the false Apostle is evident from many parts of the Koran, and that the same idea was prevalent among the early Mussulmans is plain from a letter of Omar, the second Caliph, to Heraclius, the Greek Emperor. (vol. 2, pp. 259-60)

Yet, although this 'false faith' exerts 'malignant influence', Southgate admits that 'as an honest reporter, I cannot deny to Islamism whatever of good I have found in it' (vol. 2, p. 264). Indeed, he says, 'I have often met with Musselmans who seemed to possess a deep religious feeling, and with whom I could exercise something of religious communion. I have sometimes had my own mind quickened and benefitted by the reverence with which they spoke of the Deity and have sometimes mingled in harmonious converse with them on holy things.' We should not be surprised by this, he notes, since Islam 'is essentially a transcript of the religion of the Old Testament' (vol. 2, p. 242).

Having described local participation in the *hajj* and explained that, while in Bitlis, he found evidence of Christians and Muslims celebrating together the return of pilgrims from Mecca, Southgate returns to one of his core themes near the end of the work, saying,

In a word, the conclusion to which the diligent investigator of Mohammedanism must come, is, I believe, this – that the most distinguished features of the religion are either borrowed from Christianity, or are what, in common language, we call accidents, having become important by the course which circumstances have taken, and which the founder of the religion could never have dreamed of their taking. (vol. 2, p. 294)

In spite of his clear warm regard for most of the Muslims with whom he had interacted for the previous year-and-a-half, Southgate's assessment of Islam as a Christian clergyman from the US is that it is a 'monstrous heresy', the rise of which God has permitted for purposes beyond human comprehension.

It arose with the growing corruptions of the Church, and out of them. May not the day of its downfall, therefore be that which shall see the Church in those lands restored to her pristine purity, and looking forth again, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banner? Such is my own conviction, and it is one of the reasons which have prevailed with me in giving my future labours a new direction, and turning the current of my interest for the Mohammedans, not indeed away from them, but through a new channel and towards them still. By education, by private conversation, and by the private distribution of the word of God, much, very much may be done for them, but by the nature of things, it is impossible that they should in great numbers be converted to the faith of the Gospel, while Christianity appears before their eyes shorn of the beauty of holiness and stripped of her moral power. Oh, that we would consider these things, and that, guarding our own hearts from the inroads of corruption, we would rise to a work whose greatness no human mind can conceive. (vol. 2, p. 294)

While Southgate blames the rise of Islam on the 'impurity' of and numerous schisms among the Eastern churches, a related theme is his insistence that the Islam of his day is 'feeble and broken', thus surely ready to crumble under the progress of the Gospel. 'There is a decline in the rigid observance of Islam', he avers. 'Such I know to be a common sentiment among Mussulmans. The general confession that the religion is waning, has been made to me by numerous individuals among them in different parts of the empire' (vol. 1, p. 163).

Southgate's *Narrative of a tour* falls squarely within the genre of English Protestant missionary travel literature in Muslim-majority lands, including the likes of William Jewett, *Christian researches in the Mediterranean* (1824), Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia* (1833), Edward W. Hooker (ed.), *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah L. Huntington Smith, late of the mission in Syria* (1839), Joel Hawes, *Travels in the East, the religion of the East, with impressions of foreign travel* (1845), and Daniel H. Temple Jr, *Life and letters of Reverend Daniel Temple, for twenty-three years a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Western Asia* (1855), in which Western Protestant missionaries detail their views of Islam and Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Horatio Southgate was one of the first persons deployed as a foreign missionary by the Episcopal Church as an ecclesial body that was separate from the Church of England and headquartered in the United States. Like a number of famous missionaries who preceded and followed him, he adopted the posture of the empathetic visitor, embracing local customs of attire and socialising.

Narrative of a tour proved to be widely popular, enjoying positive reviews in publications such as the *Eclectic Review*, 4th Series 8 (p. 680), the *Athenæum* (London, 1844, p. 620), the *Christian Examiner* 29 (p. 115) and the *New Englander* 3 (p. 244). The richness of anecdotal data informing it bears witness to the effectiveness of its approach.

Towards the end of vol. 2, Southgate makes an explicit connection between the eradication of Islam and the gloriousness of the apocalypse, giving the reader a good example of a prevailing American Christian theological millennialist stance of the early 1800s. Yet it paves the way for understanding the ineffectiveness of Christian proselytisation based on a millennialist theology. With his active work in the foreign mission field at an end by 1850, Southgate had come to realise how far off the mark had been his assessment of Islam and of how Muslims see the world, and that far more study would be required than he was willing to undertake before he would possess any depth of understanding. He no longer thought that the time was ripe for converting Muslims to Christianity.

Southgate made two more trips to Constantinople after 1850, but was engaged in inter-missionary debates and work. Because *Narrative of a tour* also portrays his increasingly respectful engagement with Eastern Christian churches, it assists in understanding the dynamics between diverse missionary agencies at work in the Ottoman Empire in that era. In addition, Southgate's decision to study and report on the state of the churches of Turkey, Persia and Asia Minor provides insight into the range of Eastern Christian polities, practices and architecture in Muslim-majority contexts during the early 1800s, and lastly provides a glimpse of the complexity of Christian-Muslim relations in those regions during the 1830s.

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Lucinda Mosher

John C. Lowrie

DATE OF BIRTH 16 December 1808
PLACE OF BIRTH Butler, Pennsylvania
DATE OF DEATH 31 May 1900
PLACE OF DEATH East Orange, New Jersey

BIOGRAPHY

John C. Lowrie was the eldest son of Walter and Amelia (McPherrin) Lowrie. He was educated at Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and graduated in 1829. He attended Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, from 1829 to 1832, and Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, from 1832 to 1833. In March 1833, he married Louisa Ann Wilson, and was ordained by the Presbyterian Church on 23 May that year.

The Lowries arrived in Calcutta on 15 October 1833, operating under the auspices of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, the predecessor to the Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign Missions. They were joined by another American Presbyterian couple, William and Harriet (Wells) Reed. John and William had been classmates at Jefferson College and Western Theological Seminary. They were the first missionaries sent to India by the Presbyterian Church in the United States. On 21 November 1833, Louisa Ann died in Calcutta at the age of 24. In an attempt to restore William's ill health, the Reeds soon departed for the United States, though William died aboard ship. Lowrie, the sole survivor in India of the original group, travelled throughout North India and worked to establish a viable mission station at Lodiāna. However, he too became ill and returned to the United States in 1836.

After recovering, Lowrie served as the assistant corresponding secretary of the Western Foreign Missionary Society (later the Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign Missions) from 1838 until 1850. In this role, he aided his father, a former US senator from Pennsylvania, who had resigned from his position as secretary of the senate in December 1836 to serve as the corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. John married his second wife Elizabeth Boyd in 1839 and their marriage produced two daughters, Anna and Amy. From 1845 to 1850, he was the pastor of 42nd Street Presbyterian

Church in New York City. In 1850, he began a long tenure as secretary of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions until 1891. He remained secretary emeritus until his death in 1900.

Lowrie helped edit a number of missionary periodicals, including *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle* (1838-49), *The Foreign Missionary* (1842-65), and *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1850-8, 1861-86). Two of his brothers, Walter M. (1819-47) and Reuben (1827-60), lost their lives while serving as missionaries in China, and a third, his youngest brother, who died as an infant, was named Henry Martyn in honour of the revered English missionary who served in India and Persia. Lowrie was awarded a Doctor of Divinity degree by Miami University, Ohio, in 1852, and was also elected moderator of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1865.

Lowrie published a number of books over his lifetime, including *Travels in North India* (1842), *Two years in Upper India* (1850), *A manual of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1868), *Missionary papers* (1882), *Presbyterian missions* (1893), and *Memoirs of Hon. Walter Lowrie* (1896).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Two years in Upper India

Travels in North India

DATE 1842

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Originally published in 1842 as *Travels in North India. Containing notices of the Hindus; journals of a voyage on the Ganges and a tour to Lahor; notes on the Himalaya Mountains and the hill tribes. Including a sketch of missionary undertakings*, this work was revised and published in 1850 as *Two years in Upper India*. The 1850 edition is 276 pages long and includes additional appendix material and a detailed map of Hindustan, which is not in the 1842 edition.

The work is primarily a travel narrative, and deals with Christian-Muslim relations in a sporadic fashion. The longer sections that offer detailed observations run to as many as a half a dozen pages or more, while some references to Muslims and Islamic influences in India are more concise. These sections include information on Islamic architecture, literacy, the Qur'an, Christian-Muslim understandings of the Bible, Muslim influence on Hindu political regimes, and the state of Muslim life in pre-1857 India.

Two years in Upper India offers critical insight into Christian-Muslim relations in northern India in the mid-1830s. Lowrie provides an overview of missionary activity in the region and a culturally astute description of the subcontinent for the benefit of future missionaries. He also makes a concerted effort to distinguish Muslim communities from Hindus, Sikhs and other religious groups that he encountered. He describes

the physical state of mosques and the influence of Islam on architecture and culture in India, and he estimates the size of the Muslim population in the locations he visits. Lowrie also visited Agra and the Taj Mahal, and he describes the declining state of Mughal rule. As well as observing Muslim populations and architectural achievements, he discusses the virtues of Islam, the issue of forced conversions to Islam, and the authority of the Qur'an.

Lowrie also debated Christian beliefs and the Bible with Muslims in North India. His most important Christian-Muslim interactions were with two of the three famed Fakir brothers, Nur ud-Din and Azizuddin, who were Sufi Muslims serving at the court of the Sikh ruler Maharajah Ranjit Singh in Lahore. In addition to writing about his visit to the maharajah's court, Lowrie also includes his observations about the state of literacy and illiteracy among Muslims, their involvement in local and regional politics and the conversion of some Muslims to the Sikh religion. In addition, Lowrie reflects on the development of the Christian Church in the Indian context and the need for indigenous church leaders, and also addresses Hindu religious practices, such as the worship of Kali and human sacrifice, and makes observations about Hindu holy sites.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lowrie's work was highly regarded during his lifetime, and his insights into everyday life on the subcontinent were considered authoritative. His experience as a missionary and his advocacy for missions resulted in his writings also becoming authoritative among Protestant Christian communities in the United States.

As a member of an esteemed American Presbyterian family distinguished by their commitment to missions, Lowrie's personal experience as a missionary to India, including the death of his wife on the mission field, only added to his credibility. The pivotal role that he and his father, Walter C. Lowrie, played in American Presbyterian missions through their appointment as corresponding secretaries for the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions gave his voice unique influence over US missionary practice and attitudes throughout the century. Due to his personal experience as a missionary in India, Lowry was optimistic about the ability of missionaries successfully to present the gospel to Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and other religious sects on the subcontinent. He was also acutely aware of the challenges associated with missionary work under the policies of the East India Company and, after 1858, the British government.

Two years in Upper India was widely praised in book reviews in the early 1850s. Reviewers especially appreciated Lowrie's insights into the interreligious context, his nuanced cultural observations, and his depiction of the 'condition of India'. They also noted the human cost of overseas missions with the death of Lowrie's wife and his missionary partner, William Reed.

Lowrie's work provides a window onto a world where Christians and Muslims were trying to understand one another within the framework of competing political and economic empires, the declining Mughal Empire and the rising British Raj before the 1857 Mutiny. The work offers insight into the ways social, political and economic factors influenced the attitudes of Christians and Muslims when they met to discuss differences in the 19th century. These Christian-Muslim exchanges reveal a mutual respect that appears to focus on gaining understanding without fear of betraying or abandoning one's own faith in the process.

PUBLICATIONS

John C. Lowrie, *Travels in North India. Containing notices of the Hindus; journals of a voyage on the Ganges and a tour to Lahor; notes on the Himalaya Mountains and the hill tribes. Including a sketch of missionary undertakings*, Philadelphia PA: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1842; 011606986 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

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Darin D. Lenz

John Hayward

DATE OF BIRTH 24 January 1784
PLACE OF BIRTH Braintree, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 13 October 1869
PLACE OF DEATH Boston, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHY

Very little information is available about John Hayward. He was possibly the son of one Dr Lemuel Hayward of Braintree, Massachusetts, who was a surgeon in the American War of Independence. Born in Braintree in 1784, as an adult John Hayward was a dealer in flour until the age of 36. In 1833, he began to collect statistics about religious institutions from encyclopaedias and dictionaries, as well as gathering information from Christian sources on the various religious communities. This resulted in the publication of his *Religious creeds of the United States and of the British provinces* in 1837. He followed this up with several geographical dictionaries on the states of New England, including *The New England gazetteer* in 1839, and later *A gazetteer of the United States* in 1843, and gazetteers on Massachusetts in 1848, Vermont in 1849, and New Hampshire in 1849.

The success of his early publications prompted him to expand his work beyond New England to publish an encyclopaedia of the geography, resources and history of the United States. After his initial success with the encyclopaedia on the *Religious creeds of the United States and of the British provinces* in 1842, Hayward decided to create an encyclopaedia on the major religions of the world, *The book of religions*.

The thoroughness of Hayward's research must have required extensive correspondence with a wide variety of religious leaders, scholars and mission societies throughout the United States. However, his work did not result in a recognised academic or ecclesiastical position, nor was he able to support himself through this time-consuming hobby. He eventually died alone in a home for elderly men in Boston, in 1869.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

J. White, *The national cyclopaedia of American biography*, vol. 10, New York, 1900, p. 46

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The book of religions

DATE 1843

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The book of religions: comprising the views, creeds, sentiments, or opinions, of all the principal religious sects in the world is a 432-page dictionary, largely organised alphabetically, on the major world religions and philosophies, including 'Indian religions', Deism, Judaism and Islam ('Mahometanism'), among many others. Most of the book focuses primarily on Christian denominations and sects. A section includes a list of the major Protestant missionary agencies and movements (pp. 333-49), commencing with the Moravians, and concluding with statistics on Protestant missions among Native Americans. There is no explanation as to the order of agencies, which are not listed alphabetically or chronologically. The final section (pp. 350-432) is a compilation of biographies of important figures of the Reformation and early American Protestantism. Again, no explanation is given of the rationale for the inclusion or order of the biographies.

The information for entries was taken from a variety of previously published late 18th- and early 19th-century English and American dictionaries and encyclopaedias, including the *Encyclopedia Americana*, Charles Buck and Ebenezer Henderson's well-known *Theological dictionary*, and John Newton Brown's *Encyclopedia of religious knowledge*. These were principal resource materials widely available in the United States in the early part of the 19th century.

In the entry on Islam, or 'Mahometanism', which runs to 13 pages (pp. 220-33), Hayward quotes heavily from previous encyclopaedias and dictionaries. He relates the common view that 'Mahomet' fabricated Islam by combining elements of Judaism, Christianity and paganism (p. 220) and, quoting from Charles Buck's *Theological dictionary*, he notes that Muslims believe in 'God, angels, scriptures, prophets, the

resurrection and final judgment, and God's absolute decrees', and in the practices of 'prayer, with washings, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, and circumcision' (p. 220; see C. Buck, *The theological dictionary, containing definitions of all religious terms*, Philadelphia, 1824, p. 330). There is no mention of the *shahāda*.

Quoting directly from another source, Hayward indicates that Muslims believe 104 books were granted to the 124,000-240,000 prophets of God, but only the Pentateuch, Psalms, Gospel and Qur'an survive (p. 222; see D. Williamson, *Reflections on the four principal religions, which have obtained in the world. Paganism, Mahometanism, Judaism, and Christianity*, London, 1824, p. 97). Regarding the Day of Judgement, he says they believe that all individuals will be required to balance out their life's deeds. Those who are judged to have offended another individual 'will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered' (p. 223). God will then send some to Paradise and others to the torments of Hell. In an interesting reversal of standard orthodox Islamic teaching, Hayward claims that those whose bad deeds outweigh their good deeds will have their punishments doubled and added to by those they offended, 'that [they] may be punished for them in their stead' (p. 223). What then follows are several pages of 'very exact' descriptions of hell and paradise, including the 'ravishing girls of paradise' (p. 227). In his description of the religious organisation of Islam, Hayward quotes *A history of all religions* by David Benedict, who claims that 'Mahometans have an established priesthood and a numerous body of clergyman' made up of *Imams* and *Sheiks*, who preach in the manner of Christian ministers (D. Benedict, *A history of all religions, as divided into Paganism, Mahometanism, Judaism and Christianity*, Providence, 1824, p. 37).

The second-to-last entry on Islam is a two-page description of Muḥammad's Night Journey, when he received the command to pray five times a day. Hayward takes this material directly from another source, this time an anonymous English work, which claims that this tradition is 'related in the Koran' (p. 230; *A new and general biographical dictionary*, vol. 3, London, 1783, pp. 475-7).

Hayward concludes his final entry with a sermon about the end of days from Joseph White, the Regius Professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford University. 'At that day, when time, the great arbiter of truth and falsehood, shall bring to pass the accomplishment of the ages, and the Son of God shall make his enemies his footstool, – then shall the deluded followers of the great Impostor, disappointed of the expected intercession

of their prophet, stand trembling and dismayed at the approach of the glorified Messiah' (p. 233; J. White, *A comparison of Mahometism and Christianity in their history, their evidence and their effects; Sermons preached before the University of Oxford*, London, 1784, pp. 190-1).

Reflecting the Puritan society of New England in the late 18th and early 19th century, Hayward builds upon several reference works by Puritan authors that were readily available at the time. His *Book of religions* provides a very different perspective on religion from, for example, the work of Hannah Adams (*A dictionary of all religions or religious denominations*, 1791), or of the Unitarians and Transcendentalists of New England, who viewed all religions as possessing some form of positive spirituality. On the contrary, the sources used by Hayward intimate judgement on all non-puritanical Christians, which called for the support of Christian missions and preaching to the 'pagans' and those who refused to accept the truth of Christianity. His dictionary demonstrates that by the middle of the 19th century very divergent images of Islam were developing within American religious literature.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hayward did not employ any primary Muslim sources, not even the Qur'an, for his entry on Islam, nor does it appear that he had any direct knowledge of Muslim sources. *The book of religions* does not provide any unique research on religion or religious communities, though the numerous editions of it that appeared rather point to the reality of abundant material being circulated and consumed among the general reading public in America during the first part of the 19th century without critical assessment of its reliability. Hayward recycled information already published in other Christian dictionaries and encyclopaedias, which included both accurate and inaccurate material from third-hand sources.

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David D. Grafton

Albert Leighton Rawson

DATE OF BIRTH 15 October 1828
PLACE OF BIRTH Chester, Vermont
DATE OF DEATH 15 November 1902
PLACE OF DEATH New York

BIOGRAPHY

In his youth, Albert Rawson studied law, medicine and theology under private tutors and at the Black River Academy in Ludlow, Vermont. By the age of 17, he had begun publishing books on a variety of topics, including biblical studies and comparative religion. Rawson is also remembered for his artwork; he produced several landscape paintings as well as etchings for his own and others' books.

In the 1870s, he became involved in the Theosophical Society, which was part of the American Free Thought movement, as well as in various Masonic organisations that took an interest in Muslims. He claimed to have travelled to the East in the 1850s and that he had been initiated as a Druze and Bektashi Sufi, though evidence shows that this was probably not true. In the 1890s, he became for a brief period a leader in Alexander Webb's Islamic propaganda movement, and then broke with Webb to help form an American branch of William Quilliam's Islamic organisation.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Illustration 4. An Arab at prayer beside his hobbled camel

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Evidences of the truth and divine origin of the Christian revelation

DATE 1847

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Evidences of the truth and divine origin of the Christian revelation purports to make accessible for young Christians proofs of the authenticity and superiority of Christianity that have been provided by previous scholars.

The book contains 95 pages, 11 of which deal with Christian-Muslim relations. In these 11 pages, Rawson, who cites Sale's translation of the Qur'an, presents several well-known arguments as to why Christianity is superior to Islam: Muḥammad is said to have indulged in the grossest of human vices, which Islam itself permits and supports for its male followers; Muḥammad's communications with God were secret while Jesus's were open to the public; the biblical prophets never predicted the coming of Muḥammad; Muḥammad was never able to predict the future nor did he have the power to perform miracles like Jesus; and finally, Jesus gained followers faster than Muḥammad by using peaceful means. In reference to the Qur'an, Rawson argues that the Muslim claim for the inimitability of the Qur'an based on the unsurpassable beauty of its language must be rejected because many other well-known non-divine works are also beautiful; the Qur'an's narration is boring while the Bible's is interesting and exciting; and finally, the claim that the Qur'an's evidence for its own authenticity is itself evidence that it is inauthentic, because only inauthentic works attempt to defend their authenticity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Being written by an unknown and extremely young author, this book attained little, if any, recognition. However, it is important because it demonstrates Rawson's early knowledge and understanding of both Islam and the popular Christian critiques of it that were widely available at the time.

PUBLICATIONS

A.L. Rawson, *Evidences of the truth and divine origin of the Christian revelation*, Auburn NY, 1847

Patrick Bowen

Washington Irving

DATE OF BIRTH 3 April 1783
PLACE OF BIRTH Manhattan, New York
DATE OF DEATH 28 November 1859
PLACE OF DEATH Sunnyside, New York

BIOGRAPHY

Washington Irving was one of the most popular American authors through the first half of the 19th century. He was born in 1783, the youngest of the 11 children of William and Sarah Irving, a well-known and well-connected family in New York City. William had been a patriot in the American War of Independence and was a deacon in his church. William Jr, Washington's elder brother, was a local Manhattan politician. The family members were active and moderately well-educated Presbyterian citizens of the young republic.

Washington Irving was named after General George Washington. According to a story recorded in the first official biography by Irving's nephew Pierre, when George Washington came to New York for his inauguration as the first president of the United States, Irving's nursemaid took the young boy to meet him. The president famously placed his hand on the head of the young Irving and blessed him.

While Irving pursued work as a lawyer in Manhattan, his real passion was writing. He began writing for several periodicals, where his *The letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.* (1802), a satirical take on New York society, became extremely popular. This work was followed by *A history of New York* (1809), which was the story of the fictitious Diederich Knickerbocker of Manhattan. Irving was interested in local folklore and stories, and so developed his most popular work, *The sketch book* (1819), which included the stories 'Rip Van Winkle' and 'The legend of Sleepy Hallow'. *The sketch book* was widely acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic, and cemented Irving's reputation as the most popular American author of the early 19th century. He followed this with *Bracebridge Hall* (1821), which was another series of stories, this time set in an English manor house.

Irving spent 17 years of his adult life in Europe (1815-32), first working with his brother on a failed business venture in Liverpool, then in association with the American legation in Paris, Madrid and London. Wherever

he went, Irving was well received as a guest, and participated in a variety of literary circles. While best known for recrafting traditional stories for a popular audience, he fancied himself an amateur historian. Thus, when the opportunity came for him to review and translate the recently published Spanish diaries of Christopher Columbus by Don Martin Fernández de Navarrete, Irving jumped at the opportunity. Between 1826 and 1829, he lived as the guest of the American consul in Madrid to begin working on a translation of the work, published as *A history of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828). It was here that he fell in love with the history and stories of southern Spain. He would spend hours in the home of the American bibliophile Obadiah Rich, and the Jesuit library at the Convent of San Isidro in Madrid. It was during this time that Irving researched and completed *The conquest of Granada* (1829), *The voyages and discoveries of the companions of Columbus* (1830), *The Alhambra* (1832), and an outline for his later work *Mahomet and his successors*. He would later return to Spain as the US ambassador for President Van Buren from 1842 to 1845. After his service, he retired to New York and moved into his home, Sunnyside, north of Manhattan along the Hudson River. Here, in his final days, he completed his first edition of *The life of Mahomet* (1849) and the second volume, *Lives of Mahomet and his successors* (1850). His final work, the *Biography of George Washington* (1859), was completed only months before his death on 28 November 1859.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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 W. Irving, *The works of Washington Irving*, ed. R.D. Rust et al., 30 vols, Madison WI, 1969-86 (considered the definitive collection of Irving's works)

Secondary

- Short studies on Washington Irving can be found in many biographical dictionaries of American authors.
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The life of Mahomet. Mahomet and his successors

DATE 1849

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The original manuscript (MSa) from which *The life of Mahomet* was published is 558 pages of handwritten text, dating from 1831. A subsequent handwritten manuscript (MSb) was prepared, of which only 43 pages remain. A book was prepared from MSb in 1850 by Putnam publishers in New York, and in London by John Murray the same year, under the cloud of a copyright infringement. Vol. 1, *The life of Mahomet*, runs from pages 5 to 219, and includes an appendix of 16 pages titled 'Of the Islam Faith'. Vol. 2, *Mahomet and his successors*, runs from pages 225 to 510. The definitive Wisconsin edition of 1970, which is used for this entry, is 510 pages long, together with an 'editorial appendix' written by E.N. Feltskog and H.A. Pochmann that includes 135 pages of historical notes and a thorough commentary on the manuscripts.

Irving began researching *The life of Mahomet* during his three years in Spain, where he lived from 1826 to 1829 as the guest of the American consul, Alexander Hill Everett. *The life* was originally intended to be called 'The legendary life of Mahomet'. This was to be part of a new 'Spanish sketchbook', much like his collection of American tales, which would

also include the history of the conquest of Spain by the 'Omniads' and the *Reconquista* by Ferdinand and Isabella.

Irving originally came to Spain when he was asked to read and translate the recently published Spanish biography of Christopher Columbus, based upon Columbus's personal papers. He quickly decided to write his own biography rather than translate the Spanish version. *The life and voyages of Christopher Columbus* became his first work of non-fiction and was published to much acclaim in 1828 while he was still living in Spain, spending days wandering through ancient libraries and medieval sites, and even living for a time in the Alhambra. Fascinated by the history of Moorish Spain, he then began working on *The conquest of Granada and Alhambra*, which was later published in 1832.

In 1829, Irving was offered a post as secretary to the American ambassador to the United Kingdom. He took his notes and drawings with him to England, and it was during his residence in England that he began writing *The life of Mahomet*. However, he did not make much progress and the work would not be completed until after he had returned to New York. An initial volume was finally published in 1849, followed by a second in 1850 called *Mahomet and his successors*. These two works were combined into one larger volume in 1850, published in London. In 1970, a new critical edition was released as part of a definitive 39-volume collection of *The complete works of Washington Irving*, with extensive notes as an 'Editorial appendix'.

While Irving had already written the non-fiction biography of Christopher Columbus, and was known to be working on the biography of George Washington, critics were not kind to his biography of Muḥammad. He was much better known for his stories, such as 'The legend of Sleepy Hallow' and 'Rip Van Winkle', and reviewers were sceptical of his work. The negative reviews may have had more to do with the fact that he cast Muḥammad in a more positive light than previous English biographies, especially that of Humphrey Prideaux, whose *The nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet*, first published in the United States in 1798, was still a popular reference for the life of Muḥammad and Islam. Irving used George Sale's English translation of the Qur'an, from 1734, which also viewed Muḥammad in a positive light. Sale's 'Introductory remarks' questioned traditional Western derogatory tropes of Muḥammad. The early reviewers either appreciated Irving's fair-minded presentation of Muḥammad or claimed that he was guilty of subverting history to legend and fable and would have been better to keep to

his previous genres of story-telling. Nevertheless, the biography sold very well and numerous editions were released in the US and England.

Irving presents Muḥammad not as a 'gross and impious impostor', but as 'a man of great genius and suggestive imagination' (p. 198). Irving repudiates the Western Orientalist charge that Muḥammad was a schemer who tricked his illiterate followers into believing he was a prophet in order to gain wealth and power, a portrayal that was familiar in the Latin medieval sources. Irving wrote that it was illogical to suggest that Muḥammad subjected himself to the 13 years of abuse and persecution during the time that he was suffering under the ridicule of the Meccans, when he was already from a prominent family and had married into wealth through Khadija. His *hijra* from Mecca and subsequent success as a recognised prophet and political leader in Medina was not an ultimate plan to gain power, but rather it was only where 'worldly passions and worldly schemes too often give the impulse to his actions' (p. 197). Irving states that Muḥammad was a truly spiritual man with 'heartfelt piety', whose spiritual experiences were real and not nefarious, who was convinced that he was a 'divine agent for religious reform' (p. 196).

As circumstances changed in Medina, Muḥammad responded to those followers who encouraged him in his worldly ambitions where the 'ray of mental hallucinations which flashed upon his enthusiastic spirit during his religious ecstasies' ultimately led him to be deluded by opportunity and power (p. 200). In fact, Irving lays the blame for Islam's military character and Islamic 'fabrications' at the feet of Muḥammad's Companions. Muḥammad was guided by those with less spiritual and more worldly motives, including the 'fiery spirits' of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Khālīd ibn al-Walīd (p. 198).

It was Zayd ibn Thābit, Muḥammad's secretary, who was primarily responsible for collecting the revelations of the Qur'an under the direction of the 'zealous' Abū Bakr, which accounts for the 'incoherencies, repetitions and other discrepancies charged upon this singular document' (p. 195). While the revelations uttered by Muḥammad may have been pure and clear, their collection and compilation by the Companions were rather thrown together to benefit and support the new Arab Islamic empire of the caliphs. This view and argumentation parallels the traditional Islamic concept of *tahrīf*, the corruption of the Christian and Jewish scriptures.

Irving also highlights the use of the apocryphal stories of later biographies. Of particular interest to him are the birth narratives of Muḥammad, including the traditions that on the day of Muḥammad's birth the towers

of the palace of Khosru 'were toppled to the earth' and that the fire of Zoroaster 'was suddenly extinguished' (p. 16). Similarly, the stories of Muḥammad's ability to perform miracles were based upon 'fables' and 'Arabian legends' (p. 17). Irving not only criticises Muḥammad's Companions for haphazard protection and self-serving promotion of the revelations and the generation of legend for a burgeoning empire, he also accepts the role and impact of a heterodox Arab Christianity, from which Muḥammad drank 'from broken cisterns and streams troubled and perverted by those who should have been their guardian' (p. 197).

Irving includes an appendix to vol. 1, which is a brief review of the beliefs and practices of Islam entitled 'Of the Islam faith' (pp. 203-19). This section reviews the pillars of faith and practice. In addition, he includes a simple explanation of the differences between the 'Sonna or Oral Law' of Sunnī and Shī'a Islam and describes the hostilities between the two 'sects almost as virulent as those which, between Catholics and Protestants, have disgraced Christianity' (p. 205).

A significant amount of space in the appendix is given to explaining Muslim belief in the resurrection and judgement day (pp. 206-13), including various traditions on the soul's encounter with the angel of death on its journey to 'Jehennam' or 'al Jannat', as well as a description of the 'Houris'. Irving recognises the various schools of thought among the 'doctors of the law' regarding Judgement Day, and how some scholars note that Christians, who have Jesus Christ as an intercessor, will be pardoned. He also provides a description of the *hajj*, for which he relies upon John Lewis Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, originally published in 1829 (pp. 215-18). He uses Christian terms and concepts as the frame of reference for these Islamic beliefs and practices.

Vol. 2, *Mahomet and his successors*, which was originally published in 1850 as *Lives of Mahomet and his successors*, was immediately bound together with vol. 1. However, publishers in New York and London continued to release separate editions as well, which increased sales. Vol. 2 reviews the history of the caliphate from the election of Abū Bakr in 632 to Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr's crossing of the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain in 711. This historical sequence completed what was, in essence, a prequel to Irving's interests in the history and culture of the Alhambra. Of particular interest in the areas of Christian-Muslim relations is the conquest of Damascus, Jerusalem and Alexandria (in chs 5-10, 18 and 19, respectively). The accounts of these capitulations and treaties became the locus of the debates on the rights and roles of Christians under Islam.

Irving's biography was influenced first by his fascination with the Arab-Islamic culture of medieval Spain. His visit to the great Islamic monuments of southern Spain, including the Alhambra, and his interest in Spanish Islamic culture led him to use a variety of libraries during his first stay in Spain in 1826-9. It was in the Jesuit library at St Isidro in Madrid that he came across Jean Gagnier's Latin *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis* of 1723, which was mostly a translation of the 14th-century biography by Abū l-Fidā'. This material provided the rough draft of the work he was initially going to entitle 'The legendary life of Mahomet'.

While it is difficult to ascertain from the original handwritten manuscript of Irving's work when and how he added materials over a period of 20 years, he did continue to supplement notes and details from a variety of popular sources, including Edward Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), François Augier de Marigny's *Histoire des arabes sous le gouvernement des califes* (1750), Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (1718), who drew from al-Wāqidi's history, Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), Humphrey Prideaux's *The nature of imposture* (1697), and Edward Pococke's *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1650), which was based on the history of the 13th-century Syrian historian Gregory Bar Hebraeus. In the preface to vol. 1, Irving notes his dependence on Gustav Weil's biography, *Mohammed der Prophet* (1843), which he acquired during his second residence in Spain. Finally, in the definitive 1970 edition of *Mahomet and his successors*, E.N. Feltskog remarks that Irving had in his library in New York many works, including George Sale's translation of the Qur'an (1825), from which he utilised the Preliminary Discourse about Muḥammad, John Lewis Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia* (1829), on which he depended for his interpretation of Muslim faith practices, Edward Lane's *Selections from the Kuran* (1843), and John P. Brown's *Et-Tabary's conquest of Persia by the Arabs* (1849).

Washington Irving's biography of Muḥammad was not a novel contribution to the study of Islam. In fact, it gleaned from previous popular Orientalist works as well as more recent Western scholarship. His initial interest was piqued by the discovery of Gagnier's Latin *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis*. His research continued to utilise Western translations and recapitulations of various works on Islamic history and the then most recent study of Muḥammad by Weil.

SIGNIFICANCE

As was common with Irving's works, the biography of Muḥammad with the history of the caliphs was released in both England and the United States. While it received mixed reviews in the American literary journals and was not one of his more popular works, it did attract some attention in England. Given his popularity as an author, the work was always in print in various formats, and was later translated into a variety of languages. It so happened that it was translated into Arabic in the same year that Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's popular biography of Muḥammad was republished in Cairo in 1960. There was obvious interest in comparing a modern Muslim biography with a Western biography that did not excoriate the Prophet.

Irving's was the first positive American biography of Muḥammad. (The first American biography, written by George Bush in 1837, was largely negative.) Drawing on the themes of his other historical biographies of Columbus and the later completed biography of George Washington, Irving's popularity as a story-teller placed Muḥammad in the American public imagination as an important hero of Antiquity; even if the Prophet was ultimately carried away with earthly desires of conquest, he was a 'man of great genius and suggestive imagination' (p. 198). This was a unique perspective among Americans of his day.

PUBLICATIONS

A detailed description of the two MSS of the work can be found in Feltskog and Pochmann's 1970 edition, pp. 560-603.

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David D. Grafton

James Lyman Merrick

DATE OF BIRTH 11 December 1803
PLACE OF BIRTH Monson, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 18 June 1866
PLACE OF DEATH Amherst, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Monson, Massachusetts, in 1803, James Merrick attended Amherst College, Princeton University, and Union Theological Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina. He wrote in his diary that from his early teens he had felt a desire to become a missionary, specifically to Persia. This dream came true when he applied to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Boston, and was appointed as a missionary to Persia in 1834. The Board charged him with travelling to Persia and collecting information on the feasibility of missionary work there, with the ultimate goal of engaging directly with Muslims. The ABCFM had already set up a mission among the Assyrian Christians in Persia. Merrick's specific responsibility was to study Islam in its Sunnī, Shī'a and Sufi forms, in order to discern new methods of missionary work with Persian Muslims.

In August 1834, Merrick travelled to the Ottoman Empire, arriving in Istanbul to learn Turkish. In 1835, he went with other ABCFM missionaries to Tabriz, and then continued on to Shiraz, where he began learning Persian under a Sufi scholar, Mullā Muḥammad. It was here that he also met Mīrzā Sayyid Alī, who had worked with Henry Martin on his translation of the Bible. In August 1838, Merrick returned to Tabriz in order to set up the mission. He obtained a *firman* from the Shah to establish a religious school there, and it was at this point that he met and married Eunice Taylor, the sister of a local British officer.

Merrick was convinced that direct personal evangelism among Persian Muslims was possible, but it would take time to produce any conversions. However, by 1839, the mission board reversed its original commission to engage directly with Muslims, unconvinced that it would produce results. Merrick was ordered to return to Urumia and begin work with his American colleagues in their mission among the Assyrian Christians. But he refused to leave and engaged in a lengthy debate with

Rufus Anderson, the general secretary of the ABCFM. Merrick appears to have been influenced by the theology of William Miller and his view of the Second Coming of Jesus, which, according to Miller, was to take place in 1843. This biblical perspective influenced his views of Islam, putting him at odds with his fellow ABCFM missionaries and leading him to translate Alexander Keith's *Evidence of prophecy* into Persian during his time in Urumia. Originally published in 1823, Keith's book called for Christians to work for the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land in order to fulfil biblical prophecies and bring about the return of Christ.

In 1845, the ABCFM finally withdrew its support of Merrick and he was forced to return to Massachusetts. He became embittered with the mission agency and he engaged in a public dispute with the board over its policies in Persia, publishing *An appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* in Springfield in 1847.

After his return to Massachusetts, he published two works: *The pilgrim's harp* and *The life and religion of Mohammed*. The former, published in 1847, is a book of poetry born of his experiences in Persia, and reflections on America. The latter is a translation of a Muslim Persian text, with Merrick's own commentary. He eventually became the pastor of South Amherst Congregational Church and professor of Oriental languages at his *alma mater*, Amherst College, from 1852 to 1857. It was at this time that he also became a member of the American Oriental Society. He died in Amherst in 1866.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The life and religion of Mohammed

DATE 1850

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This 454-page book (its title in full is *The life and religion of Mohammed: as contained in the Sheeah traditions of the Hyât-ul-kuloob*) is a translation of the second volume of a three-volume work by Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (1627-98). Majlisī was Shaykh al-Islām during the time of the Twelver Shīʿa Safavid dynasty (see V.B. Moreen, 'Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī', *CMR* 10, 688-91); he was one of the greatest teachers of his day and well-known for his work on Hadith. The first volume of *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* focusses on the stories of the prophets and the second is the biography of Muḥammad, while the third volume, on the Imamate, was never finished.

The translation is organised in 21 chapters that begin with the story of creation, then move to the miraculous birth of the Prophet and the important events of his life and death. The biography is followed by 71 pages of notes by Merrick (pp. 383-454), explaining various Islamic words and phrases, as well as a variety of Muslim traditions for his American readership. On occasion, he is critical of the traditions and stories of the prophets, noting that they 'bear the stamp of extravagant fiction, founded on fact' (p. 405). As was common in Western Christian literature of the time, he believed that the sources of Islam were a mixture of material borrowed from Judaism, Christianity and Arab traditions. For example, he argues that the story about the dream Muḥammad has after his heart was cleansed by Jibrīl was taken from Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel 4 (p. 407 n. 47). He also intimates that the story of 'Uzayr (Ezra) was taken directly from the Bible (p. 437 n. 116).

The notes at the end of the book indicate a significant engagement with Islamic sources and contemporary Shīʿa piety and belief. Throughout the

notes, Merrick recalls his encounters with mullahs in which he engaged in discussions and dialogue about Islamic sources. He liberally references the traditions of the prophets Ibrāhīm and Idrīs (Enoch), and he utilises Majlisī's other works, including vol. 1 of *Ḥayāt al-qulūb*. In addition, there is generous use of George Sale's translation of the Qur'an, specifically the Preliminary Discourse. Examples of his use of Sale can be found in his notes on *Ashūra*, p. 435 n. 110; *Hubel*, p. 437 n. 115; and the Last Judgment, pp. 451-3 n. 158. He also uses Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, published in 1829. A listing of all Majlisī's works is given on pp. 384-8, followed by a comparison of genealogies of Muḥammad's life as referenced in several Islamic sources and compared with Genesis and Luke (pp. 455-6). *The life and religion of Mohammed* concludes with a 26-page general index of Islamic terms (pp. 457-83).

Majlisī's biography itself is of late origin and is specifically Shī'a in perspective. *The life and religion of Mohammed* is not a critical or complete edition of the biography, and to date there has not been any analytical comparison of the original work with this translation. However, this English translation is an important text in that it reveals Safavid Shī'a piety to English-speaking readers. Majlisī includes a narration of the creation of Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn from the Light of God before time (p. 4), and a reference to the 'Muḥammedan Light' being brought down to the Hāshim clan prior to his birth (p. 11). Majlisī's biography also includes Muḥammad's designation of 'Alī to the 'imāmat and khalāfat' (p. 336). In the notes, Merrick adds further biographical material on 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and the Imams from Western sources, including Edward Gibbon and Barthélemy d'Herbelot (pp. 430-3).

Majlisī includes many miracles associated with the life of Muḥammad, such as the defeat of the Ethiopian King Abraha in Mecca as a consequence of the faithfulness of his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (p. 27), on the night of his conception (p. 36) and on the day of his birth (p. 34). In addition, there are the more common traditions of the washing of Muḥammad's heart by Jibrīl (p. 58), miracles associated with his meeting Baḥīrā the monk (pp. 61-5), and his taming of Khadija's camel (p. 74).

As regards Christian-Muslim relations, the biography includes a tradition reportedly from the *Injīl* where 'Isā predicts the coming of Muḥammad (pp. 91-2). The biography also narrates the story of the little *hijra* of Muḥammad's followers to Abyssinia. In this instance, the narration includes a palace intrigue: one of the Najāshī's attendants falls in

love with one of the Quraysh and then plots to assassinate the king. The plan is foiled, and there follows a correspondence between the Najāshī and Muḥammad that ultimately leads to the conversion of the Abyssinian king (pp. 208-12). Of further interest for Christian-Muslim relations is the inclusion of Muḥammad's letters to the kings of the earth before his death. In this version, Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, has a dream preceding the arrival of the Muslim emissaries who read out Muḥammad's letter inviting him to Islam. While the court erupts in anger, one of the courtiers, a certain Askaf, confesses that the Arabian Prophet is the one foretold by Jesus. In secret, Heraclius then declares his faith in the Prophet as well (pp. 277-9, 281). In addition, there are the numerous traditions comparing the miracles of Muḥammad with those of 'Isā (see e.g. p. 137).

Finally, the story of Muḥammad's treaty with the Christians of Najrān is of interest. The episode is a lengthy narrative (pp. 305-23) describing how the Najrānīs submit to the authority of Muḥammad while maintaining their Christian faith. In this version as told by Majlisī, the Christian community gathers in a council to decide how to respond to Muḥammad's emissary calling them to Islam, either to pay the *jizya* or 'prepare for war' (p. 305). Majlisī introduces three Christians, named Hārisah, Aukib and Sayyid, who hold a council for five days debating what to do. Hārisah is introduced as 'of the true faith of Esa' (p. 307). He argues that Muḥammad is the long-awaited Arab prophet who is foretold in the Torah (Deuteronomy 18) and the Gospel (John 14). After much debate, Hārisah produces the 'Book of Adam', the 'Book of Idris' and the 'Book of Ibrahim', each foretelling the coming of Muḥammad. The 'Book of Adam' prophesies the coming of the 'Light of Muḥammad' and 'four others' as 'five luminous spirits', referring to the family of the Prophet (p. 315). The 'Book of Ibrahim' is then read, in which God reveals images of Muḥammad, 'Alī and the twelve Shī'a Imams descended from Fāṭima (p. 319). Ultimately, Aukib and Sayyid decide to visit Muḥammad in Medina and question him for themselves to ascertain whether he is the longed-for prophet. The narrative then provides an explanation for the calling down of God's name to adjudicate the dispute between Muḥammad, his family and the Najrānī representatives, as found in Q 3:53. Although the two Christians refuse to accept his prophethood and Islam, they do negotiate a treaty.

An interesting component to this debate among the Najrānī Christians is Aukib's retelling of a prophecy in which a 'usurping party' of followers

of ‘Aḥmed’ will take over the Muslim community until they shall ‘at last be broken’ and overthrown (p. 312). This is a Shīʿī reference to the Sunnī caliphate, as related through the dispute among Arab Christians. Thus, the narrative of the Christians of Najrān, as well as being a vehicle for interpreting Christian-Muslim relationships, is primarily a commentary on intra-Muslim relations.

SIGNIFICANCE

The translation of the work into English made early modern Shīʿī thinking available, though it is not clear how influential Merrick’s work was among Western readers at the time. Given his acrimonious public disagreement with the ABCFM, it would not be surprising if his work did not have much authority or impact in North American missionary circles. The lack of later published editions would also suggest that the work was not in high demand.

While Merrick did teach at Amherst College and was part of the American Oriental Society, he did not publish any other works on Islam. Nevertheless, that this was a translation of a Persian Shīʿī text, itself a biography of Muḥammad, is significant in that it provided an English readership with distinctions between Sunnīs and Shīʿa.

PUBLICATIONS

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James Merrick, *The life and religion of Muhammad. As contained in the Sheeah traditions of Hyât-ul-kuloob*, San Antonio TX, 1982

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James Merrick, *The life and religion of Muhammad. As contained in the Sheeah traditions of Hyât-ul-kuloob*, Ithaca NY, 2014

David D. Grafton

Charles Mackay

Charles Mackay or Henry Mayhew

DATE OF BIRTH 27 March 1814
PLACE OF BIRTH Perth, Scotland
DATE OF DEATH 24 December 1889
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

While many bibliographies, including the Library of Congress, continue to list Henry Mayhew as the author of *The Mormons: or Latter-day Saints. With memoirs of the life and death of Joseph Smith, the 'American Mahomet'*, the historian Leonard J. Arrington has proved fairly conclusively that the book was actually compiled and annotated by Charles Mackay, a Scottish poet, songwriter, historian and journalist. Mackay was born in Perth, Scotland, in 1814. As a young man, he moved south to England in search of a literary career. He served in a variety of positions as a journalist, working for *The Sun*, *The Morning Chronicle*, the *Argus* and the *Illustrated London News*. He wrote several books before writing *The Mormons*, as well as some poetry and prose. He is best known for *Extraordinary popular delusions and the madness of crowds*, first published in 1841, in which he examined and debunked popular delusions such as alchemy, fortune telling and haunted houses.

Mackay came to write *The Mormons* while he was working as a journalist for *The Morning Chronicle*. During that time, he worked on a series of articles on 'Labour and the poor'. In his literary autobiography, *Forty years' recollections of life, literature, and public affairs, from 1830 to 1870*, he describes a scene that occurred while he was in Liverpool investigating the conditions of the city's poor. He was told that a party of Mormons was to depart for the United States the next day. Curious, he went to the docks and was introduced to some of the elders of the Church who were on board ship. They introduced Mackay to the faith and its immigration programme. One elder gave Mackay 'a whole barrow-load' of Mormon publications, from which he compiled the material he used to compose a series of three letters for *The Morning Chronicle*. He was then given more material with which he supplemented the letters and which were

republished in the early 1850s. This republication was most probably *The Mormons; or Latter-day Saints*.

Mackay went on to lecture in the United States in the 1850s. During the American Civil War, he served as a correspondent in New York for *The Times* of London. He wrote several other books, many of which focused on the origins and nature of western European languages. He died in 1889 in London.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

C. Mackay, *Memoirs of extraordinary popular delusions*, London, 1841, 1850², 1856³

C. Mackay, *Forty years' recollections of life, literature, and public affairs, from 1830 to 1870*, London, 1877

C. Mackay, *Through the long day, or, memorials of a literary life through half a century*, London, 1887

Secondary

A. Calder, art. 'Mackay, Charles (1812-1889)', in *ODNB*

L.J. Arrington, 'Charles Mackay and his "True and Impartial History" of the Mormons', *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968) 25-40

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Mormons

DATE 1851

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Mormons: or Latter-day Saints: With memoirs of the life and death of Joseph Smith, the 'American Mahomet' is a 326-page work. It was first published in London in 1851 by the Office of the National Illustrated Library. It is largely a compilation of writings, both by Mormons and by non-Mormons, related to or descriptive of aspects of the history of Mormonism in the United States, with brief annotations by the author. The sources and brief annotations trace a detailed history of Mormonism and the migrations of the Mormons through their arrival and settlement of the Salt Lake valley in Utah. The last chapter of the 1851 edition contains more authorial reflection on 'Mormonism – Its present state, and social, political, and religious aspect'.

The book is an early example of anti-Mormon themes in the United States and Europe that linked the Mormon prophets Joseph Smith and Brigham Young to the Prophet Muḥammad, and their religion to Islam. Some observers in the book describe Joseph Smith as a 'new' or 'second' Muḥammad (1851 edition, pp. 16, 84), while Smith himself is quoted as comparing himself to Muḥammad, among several other biblical, religious, political and literary figures (pp. 116-18). The basis for these comparisons is often quite vague. Anti-Mormon writers suggest that both Smith and Muḥammad were founding prophets of religions identified as fraudulent. Other writers seem to link Smith's prophetic style to Muḥammad's (p. 122). One American observer, Thomas B. Marsh, suggests that a spirit of military expansion linked the two prophets. As Islam had expanded militarily, March argues, so would Mormonism under Smith's leadership. He writes, 'like Mahomet, whose motto, in treating for peace, was "the Alcoran or the sword", so should it be eventually with us, "Joseph Smith or the Sword"' (p. 84).

SIGNIFICANCE

The book was widely reprinted in the United Kingdom and the United States throughout the 19th century. Five editions emerged in the United Kingdom: in 1851, two in 1852, in 1856 and in 1857. The final two chapters of the 1856 edition were additions that contained updated statistics about the success of the Mormons in the United Kingdom and a discussion of the missionary work, immigration programme, prosperity, social life and practice of polygamy of the Mormons in Utah. The book was more widely reprinted in the United States, with editions appearing in 1852, 1853, 1854, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1866, and 1881. After 1856, American editions appeared under the title of either *The religious, social and political history of the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, from their origin to the present time. Containing full statements of their doctrines, government, and condition and memoirs of their founder, Joseph Smith*, or *Life among the Mormons. Or the religious, social, and political history of the Mormons, from their origin to the present time; containing full statements of their doctrines, government and conditions, and memoirs of their founder Joseph Smith*. All American editions after 1856 include additional material written by Samuel M. Schmucker (listed in some bibliographies as Samuel M. Smucker). Various editions boast 'important additions' by H.L. Williams. The 1881 edition, published only in the United States, also contained a 13th chapter, presumably by Schmucker, which detailed the history of the Mormons from their arrival in Utah through to the 1880s.

Translations of Mackay's book also appeared in Swedish, German and French. None of these credits Mackay with the authorship, and the German edition lists Theodor Olshausen as the author. The LDS Church History Library Catalog claims that the German edition is 'a translated and somewhat abbreviated version of Charles Mackay's *The Mormons*, with additions from Howard Stansbury's *An expedition to the valley of the great Salt Lake of Utah*, and John W. Gunnison's *The Mormons*'. A French edition, *Les Mormons*, was translated and shortened by Amedée Pichot, who also added his own commentary.

The 1859 edition of the book picked up a theme that had by then become a staple of anti-Mormon rhetoric in the United States, linking the Mormon practice of polygamy to 'their kindred Mahometans' (p. 233). Anti-Mormons in both the US and Europe would develop this theme over the latter half of the 19th century, linking polygamy in Mormonism and Islam and characterising it as salacious sexual behaviour that corrupted the practice of 'true' religion. Such links served to racialise and Orientalise Mormons in ways that marked them as un-American.

PUBLICATIONS

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- C. Mackay and H. Mayhew, *The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints. A contemporary history*, New York, 1852
- C. Mackay and H. Mayhew, *History of the Mormons: or, Latter-day Saints. With memoirs of the life and death of Joseph Smith, the 'American Mohamet'*, New York, 1852, 1853, 1854
- [C. Mackay], *Mormonerne eller dy Yttersta Dagarnes Helige: ett bidrag dill nutidens historia, ur Engelska källor*, trans. J.W. Gunnison, Stockholm, 1853 (Swedish trans.)
- A. Pichot, *Les Mormons*, Paris, 1854 (abbreviated French trans.)
- C. Mackay and H. Mayhew, *The religious, social and political history of the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, from their origin to the present time. Containing full statements of their doctrines, government, and condition and memoirs of their founder, Joseph Smith / Edited, with important additions, by Samuel M. Smucker*, New York, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1860

- [C. Mackay], *Geschichte der Mormonen. Oder Jüngstentages heiligen in Nordamerika*, trans. T. Olshausen, Göttingen, 1856 (German trans.)
- C. Mackay and H. Mayhew, *Life among the Mormons; or, the religious, social, and political history of the Mormons, from their origin to the present time; containing full statements of their doctrines, government and condition, and memoirs of their founder, Joseph Smith / by Samuel M. Smucker; with important additions by H.L. Williams*, New York, 1881

STUDIES

- M.J. Grow, 'The suffering saints. Thomas L. Kane, democratic reform, and the Mormon question in antebellum America', *Journal of the Early Republic* 29 (2009) 681-710
- J. Shipps, 'From peoplehood to Church membership. Mormonism's trajectory since World War II', *Church History* 76 (2007) 241-61
- J.F. Peters, 'The Kinderhook plates. Examining a nineteenth-century hoax', *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 96 (2003) 130-4
- M.S. Hill, 'The historiography of Mormonism', *Church History* 28 (1959) 418-26

Christine Talbot

George Bowen

DATE OF BIRTH 30 April 1816
PLACE OF BIRTH Middlebury, Vermont
DATE OF DEATH 4 February 1888
PLACE OF DEATH Bombay

BIOGRAPHY

George was the eldest son of Charles Bowen. He grew up working for his father until he was 18, when he decided he wanted to pursue academic studies. He did not have a formal education, but rather read Greek, Latin, French, Italian languages, philosophy and a wide variety of classics, especially Edward Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, which was a primary cause of his religious cynicism. He had always read voraciously throughout his youth and thus fancied himself as an author, which he pursued as a career on and off throughout his younger adult life.

It was during this time that Bowen became an avowed 'sceptic, or rather a disbeliever' (Speer, *George Bowen of Bombay*, p. 18). His early criticism of Christianity grew from his readings and was based on philosophical arguments regarding supernatural events. He believed Christians simply deluded themselves with their beliefs, especially in the resurrection of Jesus.

In 1836, he left to travel the world with several members of his father's family. He travelled to England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. He then went on to Egypt, Palestine, Syria and finally Istanbul. Throughout his travels in the Ottoman Empire he was hosted by several American missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), but was not very impressed by them. He did not comment on these encounters at any length and summarily dismissed them.

Bowen returned home to New York and spent several years in a desultory lifestyle, reading and writing, hoping to produce some works of literature. He remarks in his journals that he probably read 150 books in 1842 (Speer, *George Bowen of Bombay*, p. 53). Despite his father's disappointment that he did not participate in the family business, Charles continued to underwrite his son's lifestyle.

According to his letters, in the summer of 1843 Bowen met Emma Morris, and they fell in love. However, she suffered from a debilitating disease, perhaps cancer, and died in January 1844. Morris was a devoted Christian and she bequeathed to him her Bible on her death. Out of love for her, he began reading it. While he was not particularly taken with it, he decided to read further about Christianity. In the spring of 1844, he read William Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* and, according to his journal, he was convinced that the Gospels were an accurate portrayal of events of the life of Jesus and of their impact on the people around him. Much to the surprise of his family, he announced that he had found his Christian faith. The following autumn he enrolled at Union Theological Seminary in New York to begin theological studies. Even though he did not have a previous degree like his classmates, he managed well, having been self-taught through an inquisitive mind and judicious reading. He was highly regarded for his deep piety.

Following two years of study, Bowen applied to the ABCFM in Boston to be a missionary. He was accepted on 29 December 1846 and was assigned to the Maratha Mission in India. He utilised his six-month journey to India to prepare further for evangelistic ministry by learning Marathi, and he developed a daily routine of Bible reading, devotions and study.

Bowen arrived in Bombay in 1848 and spent the rest of his life there. He quickly became active as the founder and editor of the missionary journal *Bombay Guardian*. He spent most of his days in public preaching among Hindus, Muslims, Jews and others, disregarding the Indian caste system, which he believed to be irrational.

In 1849, he decided to sever his ties with the ABCFM. This was not due to any theological dispute but rather because of his belief that he should live like the Apostle Paul and earn his own living. From this point, he lived a frugal existence, surviving on his fees for tutoring young students, as well as on the generosity of his friends and admirers. He became known as the 'white yogi', the 'Christian faqir' and the 'saint of India' (Speer, *George Bowen of Bombay*, p. 357).

In 1859, he re-established formal ties with the ABCFM in order to undertake joint work with other missionaries. While he did have some theological disagreements with the Calvinist perspective on baptism and predestination, considering a 'believer's baptism' to be truly biblical, this issue never became an impediment to his work with Christians from various traditions. Sometime in 1870, Bowen met the Methodist Bishop

William Taylor. He was very impressed with Taylor's piety and the work of the Methodists, and by 1872 he had joined the Methodist Episcopal Church.

At the age of 63, Bowen took up Hindustani in order to begin preaching to Hindustani speakers. Up to this point, he had only been able to master Marathi, as well as French and Italian. He died in Bombay on Sunday, 4 February 1888 at the age of 70. He was so highly respected that his biography was serialised as 'Reminiscences' in the *Bombay Guardian* throughout the 1880s while he was still alive, and completed after his death.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Archives Princeton, Princeton Theological Seminary Library, Special Collections, The George H. Bowen Manuscript Collection (the primary cache of letters and journals written by Bowen, his family, friends, and colleagues)
- Archives Princeton, Princeton Theological Seminary Library, Special Collections, The Robert E. Speer Manuscript Collection, Boxes 93, 115, and 154
- W. Taylor, *Four years campaign in India*, New York, 1875
- Bombay Guardian*, 1879-88
- W. Taylor, *Ten years of self-supporting missions in India*, New York, 1882, pp. 148, 338, 384, 417
- B. Badley, 'A saintly worker crowned', *Central Christian Advocate* 4 (April 1888) [pages unnumbered]
- 'The Late Rev. George Bowen', *The Voice of India* 6 (1888) 183-4
- W. Aikman, 'Rev. George Bowen', *The Missionary Review of the World*, new series 1 (June 1888) 416-19
- J. Thoburn, *India and Malaysia*, Cincinnati, 1893, p. 429
- E. Smith (ed.), *The gospel in all lands*, New York, 1894, p. 427
- W. Taylor, *Story of my life*, New York, 1895, pp. 543-639
- J. Stone, 'George Bowen, the white yogi', *Forward*, 23 December 1899

Secondary

- C. Lacy, art. 'Bowen, George', in G.H. Anderson, *Biographical dictionary of Christian missions*, Grand Rapids MI, 1997, 82-3
- C. Barnhart, art. 'Bowen, George', in *New century cyclopedia of names*, New York, 1954, vol. 1, p. 606
- R. Speer, *George Bowen of Bombay. Missionary, scholar, mystic, saint*, New York, 1938 (the primary biography, using personal and family letters)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Life of Mohammad

DATE 1853

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Life of Mohammad is an unsigned tract of 160 unnumbered pages, printed in Bombay in 1853. It was originally written in English by George Bowen, and then translated into Marathi by Bowen and Haripant Ramchandra. It was also translated into Gujarati and reissued by the Bombay Tract and Book Society.

The tract is divided into six chapters, as follows: Arabia and the Arabs; Life of Mohammad; Last years of Mohammad; Character of Mohammad; Religion of Mohammad; The success of Mohammadism; Explanation of it.

Of particular interest to Christian-Muslim relations are Bowen's views in chs 1 and 5. In the first chapter, he indicates that any information about Christianity received by Muḥammad would have been from heretical or schismatic Christians. In ch. 5, he compares the Bible with the Qur'an, and Jesus with Muḥammad, asking: 'How can we compare the licentious polygamist, the robber, the fiery warrior, the inexorable bigot, with the benevolent and majestic "Son of Man"? (1853 edition, p. 152).

The work is not an original contribution to Islam and the life of the Prophet, nor does it draw on any Muslim sources. Rather, it is a recapitulation of the Prophet's life as portrayed in a number of 19th-century American sources, including George Bush's *Life of Mohammed* (1839), Washington Irving's *The Life of Mahomet* (1850), and the classical British sources on Islam, including George Sale's *The Koran* (1764), and Edward Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1776). The tract simply rehearses the common Western critique of Muḥammad as an 'impostor'.

Responding to the relatively positive interpretations of Muḥammad's life in Sale, Gibbon and Irving, Bowen surmises that, in lying to his own followers, Muḥammad became enveloped in his own self-deception and actually began to believe he was a prophet. While he may have been a 'superior cast of character' and leader, he was a man of a barbarous people and ultimately succumbed to the baser expressions of human 'ambition and lust'. According to Bowen, Muḥammad was not unusual in that, like other impostors, he succumbed to the desire to be a called messenger of God and to be given authority and power by his followers.

Bowen did not read Arabic, and so relied on Sale's translation of the Qur'an. In several places he conflates the Qur'an with the biography of the Prophet and remarks incorrectly that each chapter of the Qur'an denotes whether it was from Mecca or Medina.

He concludes his work with a review of the beliefs and practices of Muslims. In this, he adds the belief in 'heaven' and 'hell' as separate doctrines, distinguished from the belief in Judgement Day, and he does not include the *shahāda* as a pillar of action. It is clear that he had not made any sustained study of Islam but relied primarily upon non-Muslim sources in English.

SIGNIFICANCE

Bowen was an extremely popular missionary in western India and well-liked by many communities for his generous spirit and simple lifestyle. He had a high reputation among the missionary community, even if he was considered somewhat extreme in his asceticism. His primary focus was on evangelising Hindu Indians, and this tract was a new venture into a critique of Islam. *Life of Mohamammad* is not a thorough study of Islam, but a derivative work that rehashes older Western Christian critiques of Islam and Muḥammad. Nevertheless, given Bowen's standing among Christians in India, his work was considered reputable, and was even referenced by Robert Speer, his primary biographer and a prominent American Presbyterian missiologist.

PUBLICATIONS

George Bowen, *Life of Mohamammad*, Bombay, 1853 (repr. 1855, 1856, 1858)

George Bowen, *Mahamadācā vṛttānta*, trans. Haripant Ramchandra and George Bowen, Bombay, 1853 (Marathi trans.); 011560703 (digitised copy available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

George Bowen, *Life of Mohamammad*, trans. Nanabhai Haridass, revised by D. Nauroji, Bombay, 1853 (Gujarati trans.)

STUDIES

Bombay Tract and Book Society, *Twenty-sixth annual report*, 1854, p. 13

J. Murdoch, *Catalogue of the Christian vernacular literature of India with hints of management of Indian tract societies*, Madras, 1870, pp. 117, 128

Speer, *George Bowen of Bombay*, pp. 292-3

John Johnston Walsh

DATE OF BIRTH 4 April 1820
PLACE OF BIRTH Newburgh, New York
DATE OF DEATH 7 February 1884
PLACE OF DEATH Amenia, New York

BIOGRAPHY

John Johnston Walsh was born in Newburgh, New York, on 4 April 1820. He was schooled at Newburgh Academy and became a full member of the Presbyterian Church in Newburgh when he was 18 years old. He attended Union College, Schenectady, New York, graduating in 1839, and went on to the Associate Reformed Theological Seminary in Newburgh for a short period, before commencing studies at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1840. He graduated from Princeton in 1843 and was licensed and ordained by the Presbytery of North River, New York. In the same year, he married Emma Brett.

Before his marriage, Walsh had been appointed to go to India as a missionary for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. In the autumn of 1843, he and his wife left for Calcutta. They served at Futtehgurh until 1845, when they were sent to Mynpoorie, returning to Futtehgurh in 1851. In 1857, he and his family left for a visit to the United States just before the outbreak of the First War of Indian Independence, more commonly known as the Sepoy Mutiny, or Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. Their colleagues at the Futtehgurh mission station were executed by order of Nana Sahib at Cawnpore, where they had fled to seek protection. As the sole survivor from the mission, Walsh wrote *A memorial of the Futtehgurh Mission and her martyred missionaries. With some remarks on the Mutiny in India* (1858) in remembrance of his slain colleagues.

In 1859, Walsh returned to India, where he carried on his missionary work at Allahabad, in particular supplying Christian literature to Indians through the Allahabad Mission Press. From 1868 to 1872, he was the founding editor of *Makhzan i Masihi* ('The Christian treasury'), a magazine in Urdu published for the American Presbyterian Mission, aimed at encouraging the faith of Urdu-speaking indigenous Christians. The magazine printed standard Christian works in serial form along with contributions from many missionaries of all denominations, including a sizeable number of female authors. Four hundred copies were printed

each month, and the magazine had an active circulation of 270 readers, located primarily in the Punjab, Rajputana and Oudh. The magazine and other publications of the Allahabad Mission Press were sold and distributed by colporteurs. Walsh also translated and published an Urdu translation of John Flavel's *Chashma i zindagi* ('Fountain of life').

Walsh and his wife had seven children, four sons and three daughters. By 1873, he was facing declining health and cataracts were affecting his eyesight. After 30 years as active missionaries, the couple left the subcontinent to seek medical treatment in the United States. In 1874, Walsh was installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church in Millerton, New York, but his worsening health forced him to retire from the pastorate in 1876 and he moved to Amenias, New York, where his wife cared for him until his death.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A memorial of the Futtehgurh Mission and her martyred missionaries

DATE 1858

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The original edition of *A memorial of the Futtehgurh Mission and her martyred missionaries. With some remarks on the Mutiny in India* was published in 1858, and proved extremely popular among clergy and missionaries, as well as general readers. The volume is 339 pages long and includes numerous images of key persons and a detailed map of mission stations in India. It provides a thorough overview of the work of American missionaries in North India operating under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, most notably their philanthropic and educational efforts, translation and publication work, and their attempts at evangelism. In addition, it also examines Christian relations with Muslims, Hindus and other religious traditions in India. The narrative delves into distinctions between the various religions and what these differences meant in the Indian context. Notably, Walsh describes in detail the tensions between Muslims and Hindus and how Muslims perceived the religious practices of their Hindu neighbours. He highlights the lack of tolerance for non-monotheists among Muslims, and the power of caste over Hindu attitudes and behaviours.

Walsh describes how religious belief shaped domestic practices, the treatment of the disabled, the care of the sick and the bodies of the dead, and sheds light on the sensual power of women in Islam, mainly to inspire architecture, such as the Taj Mahal. He also articulates Muslim anger at the presence of the British and the power of the East India Company. Walsh attributes Muslim discontent with the British to the decline of the Mughals. He explains Muslim and Hindu attitudes towards foreigners, who were regarded as impure, and the belief that the British promoted and protected Christianity to the detriment of other religions.

The perceived privilege accorded to Christianity is linked to an undercurrent of anger that fuelled the eventual insurrection. The book also examines the development of the indigenous Indian church within the context of Indian beliefs about caste. Walsh notes the dependency and cultural alienation of Indian Christians due to caste, while highlighting their courage in the face of persecution. He includes in the narrative a detailed account of the conversion of Maha Rajah Duleep Singh, a former Sikh ruler who became the first native prince to embrace Christianity, and his promotion of the religion.

SIGNIFICANCE

Promoted as the work of the sole surviving missionary from the American mission, Walsh's book took on unique authority because he was also memorialising the lives of the American missionaries who were killed as Christian martyrs together with the British in the Sepoy Mutiny. The book was widely reviewed in religious periodicals in the United States and abroad. Highly praised, it became an inspirational account that emphasised the sacrificial nature of Christian missionary service. In the preface, Walsh noted that he was leaving behind his wife and children in America to return to his labours in India despite the fear of further violence and possible death. This level of commitment to missions brought him further acclaim and credibility among Christian supporters of the mission.

Walsh's book is important for the various insights he offers into the indigenous Indian Christian community, as well as the religious tensions that marked India in the mid-19th century. He was viewed as an authority by those who wrote about everyday life in India.

The book's significance is due to the focus of the account, Walsh's use of primary sources, particularly letters from missionaries, and the way in which he defined the religious and political tensions fermenting in India.

This made it more than a mere re-telling of the mission's history and the lives lost during the revolt. It stood as an important paradigm from which Americans and others understood Islam, Hinduism and East India Company policies and power in India. Walsh highlights an undercurrent of religious division that defined everyday life for Muslims, Hindus and those of other faiths. He viewed India from the aftermath of the Sepoy Mutiny, and therefore tried both to explain what caused the insurrection and also what course of action should follow in the wake of the event. The book is especially useful for analysing religious tensions among Muslims, Christians and other religious traditions on the subcontinent.

In response to demand, the book was re-published in 1859 and was available in a variety of bindings.

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STUDIES

Hunter, *A Princeton martyr*

J. Newton, *Historical sketches of the India missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, known as the Lodianna, the Farrukhabad, and the Kolhapur Missions, from the beginning of the work, in 1834, to the time of its fiftieth anniversary, in 1884*, Allahabad, 1886

Darin D. Lenz

Isidore Loewenthal

DATE OF BIRTH 1826
PLACE OF BIRTH Posen, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 27 April 1864
PLACE OF DEATH Peshawar, Afghanistan

BIOGRAPHY

Isidore (Isidor) Loewenthal was a German Jew who fled to America to escape imprisonment for his anti-nationalist activities. In America, he became a Christian and studied at Princeton Theological Seminary. After graduating, he volunteered to be a missionary to Muslims in Afghanistan. He served there with the American Presbyterians for seven years until his untimely death in 1864. Loewenthal, who often took walks around his house, was shot accidentally by his night watchman when he mistook him for a thief – an event that is shrouded in mystery.

Loewenthal's breadth of knowledge helped him view the mission field and its people from a broad perspective. He was competent in several languages and translated the New Testament into Pashtu. Unfettered by the traditional conservatism of the Princeton school, he was independently minded in his approach to evangelising Muslims. Indeed, he proposed some revolutionary ideas for evangelising Afghans, including an incarnational model for missionary work which, he argued, would be more effective in reaching Afghans than the conventional types of missionary work, such as public preaching. Although there is no evidence that he adopted an Afghan lifestyle, Loewenthal's provocative suggestion of becoming like an Afghan in order to evangelise Afghans is striking. His hope was that, through a close identification with their lifestyles, missionaries would have greater access to the people of Afghanistan. Further, he was one of the first missionaries to Afghanistan to propose organising medical missionary work in the area. Loewenthal also volunteered for the British expeditions against warring Afghan tribes. This allowed him the opportunity to serve as a chaplain to the troops and as a teacher and evangelist in the British corps in Afghanistan.

Loewenthal was a keen writer, producing several descriptive articles on Afghanistan and his journeys. His writings also reveal that he had few friends in American Presbyterian mission circles. He would often get

into disagreements with his missionary colleagues and the Presbyterian Mission Board. Despite this, he was respected by his colleagues and superiors. Perhaps his most enduring theological contribution was his writing on the use of the name 'Īsā for Jesus. Fifty years after its first publication in 1861, it was republished in *The Moslem World*.

The article brings Loewenthal's reasoning skills and philological insights on the subject into focus. However, in his approach to evangelising Muslims, he was influenced by prevailing colonial practices that included biased views about the local people. He often described Afghans in crude terms, though he was also willing to admit some positive aspects of Afghan culture. These mixed attitudes combined, and Loewenthal evinced a deep commitment to communicating the gospel to the people of Afghanistan.

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W. Allison, *One hundred years of Christian work. Of the north India mission of the Presbyterian Church*, Mysore City, India, [1941?]

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The name 'Īsa

DATE 1861

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The name 'I'sa. An investigation is a pamphlet published in response to a debate among American Presbyterians in India in 1858 and 1859 about the correct name to be used for Jesus in Urdu (the form 'I'sa is clearly Loewenthal's transliteration of the qur'anic name of Jesus, which today is generally transliterated as 'Īsā). In 1858, the majority of missionaries of the Ludhiana Mission decided to abandon the commonly used form 'I'sa in Urdu, and use Yisu instead as the standardised form in missionary publications. However, John S. Woodside brought eight objections to this idea: 1. The change created a new name introduced by 'doctrinaire' missionaries; 2. It amounted to subversion of mission practice that had worked in the past; 3. It was a departure from the generally accepted use of the name 'I'sa for Jesus in Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and the tongues of North India; 4. There was no 'satisfactory reason' for such a change; 5. It was not possible to change the name because of practical difficulties in typesetting; 6. 'I'sa was 'more euphonious, and more intelligible than the other', and the change opened missionaries to ridicule and the charge of trying to propagate religion through deceit; 7. Forming new derivatives was problematic; 8. Woodside did not want to abandon a name that he had used in the past. His protest was referred to the mission committee for a decision (*Minutes of the twenty fourth annual meeting of the Lodiana Mission held at Saharanpur, in November, 1859*, Ludhiana, 1860, pp. 21-4).

The committee's answers were mostly spontaneous attempts to quell the current objections. They responded with eight arguments of their own: 1. The issue of creating a new name was nothing new in intercourse between nations – 'I'sa itself had been a new name once; 2. There was no difference between the Saviour who had been preached and would be preached; though the spelling was different the gospel message would be the same; 3. 'I'sa was the only name known for Jesus in north India, and this had been introduced by Muslim conquerors. Over the past 50 years Yisu has been used extensively in missionary publications in Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, and Punjabi; 4. Yesu was the original word for Jesus which was later changed to 'I'sa; 5. There was no difficulty in converts becoming accustomed to using the name Yisu because it was the form they would learn from their teachers; 6. The committee disagreed with Woodside that the former name was more euphonious and intelligible than the latter. Further, the form 'Isa had no intrinsic meaning. The fears expressed by Woodside were unfounded because there had been no adverse reactions to the name Yisu up to that point; 7. Forming derivatives was not as difficult as was assumed; 8. Individuals could use whatever term they

wanted, and there was no binding of anyone's conscience (*Minutes of the twenty fourth annual meeting of the Lodian Mission*, pp. 26-30).

The discussion on the proper name for Jesus in Urdu did not close with the Mission Committee's answers. With the presence of Loewenthal, who was appointed clerk for the 1860 meetings, Woodside's party seemed poised for victory. However, the matter was indefinitely postponed. Loewenthal had prepared a scholarly etymological study favouring the continued use of 'T'sa, but a motion to print 1,000 copies of his study was defeated at the mission meeting; it was subsequently printed privately. The missionaries were then divided as to the most suitable solution to the problem.

Loewenthal begins his paper with a discussion of the place of words in any language. He declares that each nation has a right to use words of its own choice. Citing several examples, he concludes that no one group of people has a monopoly over a word. Giving several examples from both the East and the West, he proves that names for places differ between peoples, these changes having taken place for a variety of reasons. Occasionally, intentional changes convey negative connotations, but at other times they have taken place gradually with no apparent dubious motives.

Again, taking several examples from the East, he argues that Westerners should use words that are current in their own language when trying to discuss common issues. Having established this foundation, Loewenthal addresses the function of a Christian missionary. This he identifies as 'making known the name of Jesus' and 'setting forth of the person of Jesus of Nazareth' ('The name 'T'sa', pp. 269-70). He argues that a missionary can introduce the Greek form of the name Jesus to a people that has never heard the name before. However, given the complexities of language, he adds that this was not possible, as he has proved with various forms of the name Jesus in different languages.

Loewenthal is concerned with how the missionary is to introduce Jesus to Muslims. He affirms that Muslims do know something about Jesus because of what is in the Qur'an and Islamic literature. Further, he observes that many of the Muslim ideas about Christ are 'extremely correct' ('The name 'T'sa', pp. 270-1), and then proceeds to refer to John the Baptist's announcement of Christ's coming, the virgin birth, his miracles, his anointing by the Holy Spirit, and his second coming, all of which are in the Qur'an. He further cites Muslim theologians and commentators who explain and describe Jesus in positive terms. Loewenthal argues that Christian missionaries, using the point of contact afforded by these facts,

should proceed to correct false teachings. They should be glad that they already have this much foundation from which to work.

Loewenthal then responds to what he sees as the two objections to the use of the name 'I'sa: the 'I'sa of the Muslims is not the Jesus of the Bible, and 'I'sa is a corrupted form, whether by accident or design. Answering the first objection, he writes that, even if the name were corrected in all Muslim literature and usage and even in the minds of believers, Muslims would continue to adhere to their beliefs. He points out that to Muslims and other non-believers, sin, righteousness, justice, mercy, heaven, hell, forgiveness, faith and prayer all carry meanings different from those understood by Christians. The Christian missionary can only correct their false associations gradually and then in a limited manner. He cannot change names in the hope of changing concepts. This is true, says Loewenthal, even with respect to the name of God. Though the Christian and Muslim may use the name of God, there will always be a vast difference in their concept of His being and attributes. Though these misconceptions need correction, according to Loewenthal, the missionaries should not change the name of God.

If the Muslim were to ask why the name of Jesus by which they know him is altered, should the missionary answer that it is because it was not the name given by the angel in the Gospel of Matthew? This forms the background of the second objection, that the name 'I'sa is a corruption of the original. Through a careful examination of the differences between the Greek Yeasoos and the Hebrew Yehoshua, Loewenthal proves that not only was the original Greek word changed but even the Hebrew itself had undergone revision that resulted in the later form Yeshua. He then systematically refutes two views about the name 'Isa: first that it was accidentally changed, and second that it was changed through 'Jewish malignity'. Loewenthal also asserts that it is wrong to hold that Muḥammad changed the name so that it would not have any connection with salvation. In Greek, he writes, the name has no meaning and in Hebrew it is not certain what the original term means. He argues that, if this was Muḥammad's design, he could have succeeded by transliterating the Hebrew letters into Arabic. Loewenthal thinks there must be a more reasonable explanation.

With his background in Jewish studies, and his linguistic and philological skills, Loewenthal provides a surprising explanation. He concludes that the change is explained by the practice of the Oriental mind in which a modification is executed in order to bring a sense of balance. He suggests: 'In the masterpieces of Oriental architecture, rhetoric, and

poetry, the most striking characteristic is that of correspondence and proportion.' He then provides several examples of this, and concludes that rhyme is a 'product of the East'. Moving to the Qur'an, he cites several examples to show the use of rhyme to maintain symmetry. His conclusion is that there is no corruption in the name 'T'sa in the Qur'an. Rather, it is the product of a literary device that changes the name of Jesus, the prophet of the Christians, to correspond with Moses, the prophet of the Jews. He claims that 'T'sa is less a change than other names for Jesus that have been used in other languages. Providing a few more practical examples, Loewenthal then categorically demolishes the arguments for using Yisu. The missionaries trying to introduce Yeshua took the position that it did not matter which name was used. However, for Loewenthal this is no small concern. It is a question of maintaining the truth without compromise.

SIGNIFICANCE

Loewenthal's views on the use of the qur'anic name for Jesus stand out in comparison with the position of most of his fellow missionaries. For Loewenthal, from an etymological and historical viewpoint, it was not only proper to use the name 'T'sa, but it was also inappropriate to alter it to Yisu. Though his arguments were strong, the question of standardising the name as it was being printed in different parts of India posed a problem for the American Presbyterians. His defence of the name and its use reveals a certain freedom and boldness in his stepping outside the accepted circle of orthodoxy in order to communicate the gospel. His perspective on the matter would probably have been thought suspect by both the conservative Old School and the New School factions within the Presbyterian Church. His style of approach, however, reveals a closer affinity to New School convictions that gave communicating the gospel priority over dogmatic adherence to doctrinal issues.

Loewenthal's article was first published in 1861. Its significance was thought so great that it was republished 50 years later in *The Moslem World*.

PUBLICATIONS

Isidore Loewenthal, *The Name 'T'sa. An investigation*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1861

Isidore Loewenthal, 'Extracts from Mr. Loewenthal's report. From October 1, 1861, to August 21, 1862', *The Foreign Missionary* 21 (1863) 237-40

Isidore Loewenthal, 'The name 'T'sa', *The Moslem World* 1 (1911) 265-82

STUDIES

Ebenezer, 'American Presbyterians and Islam in India'

Archives Philadelphia PA, Presbyterian Church in the USA, Board of Foreign Missions: Missions correspondence and reports, microfilm series (these archives include important references to this debate about the name 'Isa')

Presbyterian Church in the USA, Board of Foreign Missions, *Missions correspondence and reports. Microfilm Series*. India letters: 1861-4, vol. 10

Matthew Ebenezer

Gulian Lansing

DATE OF BIRTH 1 February 1825
PLACE OF BIRTH Lishaskill, Albany County, New York
DATE OF DEATH 12 September 1892
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Born at Lishaskill, New York, in 1825, Gulian Lansing graduated from Union College in 1848. He studied theology at Newburgh, New York, and was licensed by the presbytery of New York on 22 May 1850. Shortly after, he was appointed by the American Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (ARPCNA) as a missionary to Syria. He was ordained on 7 August 1850, and on 12 December 1850 he sailed for Syria. He served as a missionary in Damascus until he was transferred in October 1856 to Egypt, where he joined the mission of the ARPCNA, which came to be known as the 'American Mission'. (In 1858 the ARPCNA combined with the Associate Presbyterian Church to form the United Presbyterian Church of North America.) Initially, he worked in Alexandria, but in the autumn of 1861 he was transferred to Cairo, where he remained until his death in September 1892. He was buried in the American cemetery at Old Cairo.

Lansing's missionary labours centred on evangelistic tours in Upper and Lower Egypt, where he distributed Christian literature and engaged primarily with Coptic Orthodox Christians, but also Muslims, teaching, preaching and leading worship. He was considered 'genial and social, keen and cool in argument, dignified and kingly in his bearing', and for that reason 'was the spokesman of the Mission in official circles' (Watson, *Egypt and Christian crusade*, p. 187, and *In the valley of the Nile*, p. 178). Colleagues gave him much credit for securing legal recognition of the Protestant Church by the government in Egypt. He endured personal tragedies during his time in Egypt: his first wife and their year-old child died of cholera in 1865, then he, too, contracted the disease, but survived. In August 1866, he married Sarah Dales, a missionary colleague, who remained with him in Egypt until her death in November 1889.

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Secondary

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- C.R. Watson, *In the valley of the Nile. A survey of the missionary movement in Egypt*, New York, 1908, pp. 135, 139-45, 177-8
- C.R. Watson, *Egypt and the Christian crusade*, New York, 1907, p. 187

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Religious toleration in Egypt

DATE 1862

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

While published under his name, *Religious toleration* (in full, *Religious toleration in Egypt. Official correspondence relating to the indemnity obtained for the maltreatment of Faris-el-Hakim, an agent of the American missionaries in Egypt*) was not, in fact, written by Lansing. Rather, it is a collection of official documents that were bundled together as a 'Message from the President of the United States', Abraham Lincoln, to the 37th US Congress. They pertain to the case of an Egyptian Christian who was physically and verbally abused by Egyptian judicial and religious authorities and some city residents in the Upper Egyptian city of Asyut in the summer of 1861.

The larger portion of the collection had already been printed by order of the US Congress. It was hoped that the publication of the documents for a wider audience under the title *Religious toleration in Egypt*, for which Lansing wrote a brief one-paragraph cover note dated July 1862, would provide 'a noted example of religious toleration successfully vindicated, or as an authentic index of the advance of Mahammedan civilization' (Lansing's note).

The published collection contains the following:

1. A short one-paragraph message from President Abraham Lincoln to the House of Representatives dated 22 May 1862, indicating that this collection of documents was presented to Congress in response to its resolution of 20 May requesting information about the case in question.
2. A short one-paragraph message from Secretary of State William H. Seward to President Lincoln dated 21 May 1862, indicating that he was presenting to the president copies of documents in the State Department's files that he had gathered for the president to submit to Congress in response to its resolution of 20 May.
3. A report of over three printed pages from the US Consul-General in Egypt, W.M.S. Thayer, dated 26 August 1861, to Secretary of State Seward, giving an account of the case in question and its resolution.
4. An account of over three printed pages dated 27 July 1861, written by the abused Egyptian Christian, Fāris al-Ḥākīm, to the American missionaries in Cairo and Alexandria, about what happened to him. Originally written in Arabic, here it appears in English translation.
5. A statement of about one-page from the Egyptian *qāḍī* (judge) in the case to the provincial governor, dated 23 July 1861, giving his account of the incident. Originally written in Arabic, here it appears in English translation.
6. The reply of about one page from the governor to the *qāḍī* of Asyut, Sheikh Zeyn ed dem (*sic*), associate *qāḍī* Sheikh Mahomed Kera'a (*sic*), chief secretary of the court of justice, and the *mufti* Sheikh Abdallāh Alī Effendī. Undated and originally written in Arabic, it appears here in English translation.
7. A brief two-paragraph letter from Secretary of State Seward to Consul-General Thayer dated 9 October 1861. Seward acknowledges

receipt of a dispatch from Thayer, dated 26 August, about the incident, and says that Thayer's handling of the case has the full support of the US government. Seward enclosed the communication from President Lincoln to the viceroy of Egypt identified in the next entry.

8. A brief three-paragraph letter from President Lincoln to Muḥammad Saʿīd Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, dated 9 October 1861. Lincoln reports receiving from US Consul-General Thayer 'a full account of the liberal, enlightened, and energetic proceedings' the viceroy has adopted 'in bringing to speedy and condign punishment the parties [...] who were concerned in an act of cruel persecution against Faris, an agent of certain Christian missionaries in Upper Egypt'. He commends the viceroy for his actions.
9. A brief three-paragraph letter from the viceroy of Egypt to President Lincoln dated 21 November 1861, acknowledging receipt of Lincoln's letter of 9 October and thanking him for 'the friendly manner' in which he expressed his sentiments.
10. A brief three-paragraph letter dated 27 September 1861 from Consul-General Thayer to three American missionaries in Egypt – Lansing, Hogg, and Ewing – stating that he is transferring to them the sum of 100,000 piastres, paid by the viceroy of Egypt 'as an indemnity for the maltreatment' of their agent, 'Faris-el-Tabeeb', by the people of Asyut. If Fāris consents, they should 'hold the money in trust', and 'pay him the regular proceeds of its investment in such securities as they may deem most safe and advantageous to him'.
11. A brief four-paragraph letter dated 28 September 1861 from G. Lansing, S.C. Ewing, and John Hogg to Consul-General Thayer, acknowledging receipt of his letter of 27 September and the 100,000 piastres as recompense to Fāris. They express their thanks to Thayer for his 'efficient and wisely-directed efforts in bringing' the case 'to a speedy and successful issue'.
12. An appendix containing three documents.
 - a. An extract from the minutes of the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, dated 12 November 1861. It reports that the Board has heard with 'great pleasure of the prompt, energetic, and successful measures taken by' Thayer in the case; expresses its conviction that the securing of the indemnity for Fāris and the punishment of those who mistreated him 'will not only be of great service to American

citizens in Egypt, but also of especial advantage to the cause of Christianity and freedom'; and expresses thanks to Thayer for procuring for the missionaries and those under their care 'the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty under a Mohammadan government'.

- b. An address to the viceroy of Egypt from British Christians, transmitted on their behalf by Sir Culling E. Eardley, President of the Evangelical Alliance, during the viceroy's visit to London on 18 July 1862. It conveys 'sentiments of high respect and sincere gratitude' to the viceroy for the determination he has shown in acting upon the 'principles of just and benevolent toleration' in Egypt that are found in 'the Hatti Humaïoun of 1856' for protecting 'the subjects of the Turkish empire acting according to their religious convictions'. This is placed in the context of the viceroy's handling of the case of Fāris, the liberty he has given to missionaries to perform their duties, and what is perceived as his 'fixed determination [...] to give effect to the great principles of religious freedom throughout the territories' under his authority. Some 60 persons signed it.
- c. A reply from Muḥammad Sa'īd, the viceroy of Egypt, to the Evangelical Alliance dated 18 July 1862. The viceroy expresses his gratitude for the sentiments in the address from the Alliance on 18 July.

A brief summary of the case that occasioned the writing of these various documents, based on the information in them, runs as follows. Fāris al-Ḥākim was a priest of Syrian origin, turned Protestant, who was employed as a lay evangelist by the American Mission in Asyut. He was drawn into the case of a woman who was originally a Coptic Orthodox Christian. She had converted to Islam and married a Muslim man, but decided after several years to revert to Christianity, an offence punishable under Islamic law. She came to the Coptic bishop of Asyut to declare her intention. The bishop was away at the time, so his assistant brought her to Fāris and informed him of the case. She requested Fāris to serve as her attorney if her husband brought a legal case against her, and he agreed.

Abdūlmecid I (r. 1839-61), the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, of which Egypt was a nominal province, had recently issued a decree (the Hatt-ı Humayūn, or Imperial Reform Edict of 1856), which promised religious freedom to all subjects. Many Muslims in Asyut assumed that when the

sultan died (25 June 1861), his successor, Abdülaziz, would renounce this decree, so they urged the woman's Muslim husband to present his case to the government to complain that his wife was being detained in the bishop's house, and that Fāris had enticed her to revert to Christianity.

The police chief of Asyut summoned Fāris and ordered him to surrender the woman for trial. When Fāris arrived at court on 23 July, there were some 60 men present together with the *qāḍī* and the *muftī*. The court secretary ordered him to sit on the ground. In spite of this insult, he sought to answer questions put to him 'in the most civil and respectful manner'. According to the report, the court officials stirred up the audience to insult him, and when Fāris tried to leave the court he was prevented. He was questioned as to why he had detained the woman, and he explained that he was not her detainer but her attorney. The *qāḍī* responded that the court did not recognise this right, and accused him of being an infidel. The *muftī* accused him of being an infidel and pig and once again stirred up the crowd, now swollen to about 200 people, who called for Fāris to be beaten. The *qāḍī*, too, called for him to be beaten. One individual came forward, struck him with a staff, spat in his face, and kicked him in the stomach. Thereupon, other people from the crowd rushed forward, and began to beat him with staves and shoes, spat on him, and threw dirt on his head. Then the *qāḍī* ordered him to be bastinadoed. For half an hour, as his feet were held in place by a rack, the soles of his feet were beaten by the *qāḍī*, the *muftī*, the *qāḍī*'s secretary, and some '*ulamā*', followed by city residents. Noticing that Fāris was about to faint, one of the prominent men of Asyut kicked him on the head to arouse him, after which the beating continued with the *qāḍī* and a city notable urging the people to kill him saying, 'There will be no blame upon any of you, and if any investigation is made concerning this dog, we will be responsible for the affair.' In addition to the beating on his feet, people also struck him on his head and body with their shoes and boots and kicked him. After a quarter of an hour, he fainted. When he appealed for mercy, he was told to become a Muslim and he would be saved.

Fāris was then dragged to the governor's palace as people continued to beat him, spit and throw dust on him. Not finding the governor at home, the crowd dragged him to the police station. He was urged to become a Muslim so that the mistreatment would stop.

On the *qāḍī*'s orders, the beating by the crowd resumed. Fāris was then put in a prison cell, where he lay bound in chains. The *qāḍī* then

ordered him to be sent home, where he was carried unconscious on a wooden litter. Once there, after he regained consciousness, the authorities demanded bail. When he could not pay it, he was carried back to the prison.

By this time, the governor had heard of the affair. He sent his physician to the prison. Fāris was taken back to his home. When the governor arrived in Asyut later that morning, he summoned the *qādī*, the *mufti*, the *‘ulamā’*, and other city notables. He reprimanded them, and sent a warning to the city’s populace that such outrages would not be tolerated. He threatened that anyone who participated in such incidents would be sent to the galleys.

Word of the affair reached the American missionaries in Cairo, who reported it to the US Consul-General, William Thayer. On 5 August, accompanied by Gulian Lansing, representing the American Mission, Fāris’s employer, Thayer brought the case to Egypt’s minister of foreign affairs. When he sensed a delay in dealing with the case, he obtained an audience with the viceroy himself. This took place on 8 August. Upon further investigation, the viceroy proposed various punishments, but the Consul-General pressed for the main perpetrators to be imprisoned and heavily fined. The viceroy finally settled on the following punishment: the 13 men whose names he had received from Thayer were to be imprisoned for one year and fined 100,000 piastres (\$5,000) each according to the degree of his responsibility. This sum was to be given to Fāris. As for the woman on whose behalf Fāris endured maltreatment, she was permitted to remain a practising Christian, free from harassment, and placed in the charge of the Coptic bishop of Asyut.

About a month later, after the viceroy returned from a trip to Istanbul, he was persuaded, as had been tacitly agreed when the sentence was given, to release the men from prison. After their release, the prisoners hosted a splendid dinner for Fāris al-Ḥākim, at which Gulian Lansing and his family were guests.

SIGNIFICANCE

These documents show that, on a local level, the age-old Muslim legal restrictions against apostasy remained unchanged, and they also hint at some prejudice against an Arab Christian, who the populace could mistreat with impunity. This is not surprising, but what is surprising is that the torture of Fāris al-Ḥākim should have become known at the highest levels of the American government. Despite their preoccupations with

the Civil War, President Lincoln, Secretary of State Seward and also the House of Representatives took special interest in this case. Like other Western nations, the US may well have been concerned to promote religious freedom in other parts of the world, though one senses they were responding to a threat to the Western and Christian ideals they represented in demanding redress for an employee of one of their own missionary agencies.

The documents also suggest a genuine desire on the part of the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt to protect the religious liberty of both Muslim and Christian subjects. Whatever his motives, he did intervene, the offenders were punished, even if they did not have to serve their sentences in full, Fâris was compensated, and various parties at the time saw fit to commend the viceroy for his handling of the case.

PUBLICATIONS

G. Lansing, *Religious toleration in Egypt*, London, 1862; UAR 922.6 (digitised version available through Harvard Library)

STUDIES

Sharkey, *American evangelicals in Egypt*, p. 24

Vander Werff, *Christian mission to Muslims*, pp. 143-4

Elder, *Vindicating a vision*, pp. 31-4

Watson, *In the valley of the Nile*, pp. 139-45

Watson, *American Mission in Egypt*, pp. 127-35

G. Lansing, *Egypt's princes. A narrative of missionary labor in the valley of the Nile*, New York, 1865, pp. 342-5, 357-8

Egypt's princes. A narrative of missionary labor in the valley of the Nile

DATE 1864

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Egypt's princes, a work of 426 pages, takes its title from Psalm 68:31, which Lansing cites from the King James Version, 'Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God'. For Lansing, 'princes' refers to the many in Egypt 'who in noble friendship

and generous hospitality, and earnest adherence to truth, are indeed princes' (1865 edition, p. 9). The book is a published account of a diary he kept during several trips to Upper Egypt and one into the Delta in Lower Egypt early in his missionary career.

The first 341 pages, chs 1-13, report on the first of these trips, November 1860-April 1861. Lansing describes visiting some 70 villages between Cairo and Luxor, distributing Arabic Bibles and Christian tracts, and engaging in conversation primarily with Coptic Orthodox Christians, among them priests and bishops. He even preached in Coptic churches. Although the book offers some observations on the life of Christians under Muslim rule, it does not treat Christian-Muslim relations *per se*. At points, it describes conversations Lansing had with Muslims, revealing an imperfect familiarity with Islam and a condescending attitude towards both Coptic Christians and Muslims. For instance, Lansing refers to the fast-ing month of Ramaḍān as 'a Muslem feast of forty days' duration' (p. 159 footnote) and mentions that the Prophet Muḥammad's tomb is located in Mecca (p. 273), rather than Medina. He says that the 'real controversy' between Christianity and Islam in Egypt is that Muslims are the rulers and Christians the subjects. In the 7th century, the Copts welcomed the Muslims because of the freedom they brought from Byzantine Christian rule, 'and in so doing took to their bosoms a viper which has stung them to this day' (p. 209).

Lansing describes briefly a discussion he had with 'a Muslim preacher' in an unidentified village not far from Luxor regarding the corruption of the Bible, notes how he was able to quote from the Qur'an, and judges that he bested 'the lion in his den' (pp. 257-8). After describing another conversation with a group of Muslims, in which he told them he could accept the first half of the *shahāda* ('There is no deity but God') but needed proof for the second half ('Muḥammad is the messenger of God'), Lansing writes: 'I love controversy with Muslems. There is a certain self-ish gratification or pride in being able with impunity boldly to attack them, while the native Christians around dare not undertake it. It is fun to maul a man with one's naked fists, who has a drawn sword in his hand, which his religion commands him to use, and yet he dare not do it. It seems manlier to fight the poor, weak defenseless Copts, who usually after a few passes cry for quarter' (p. 277). Yet, he also describes the warm hospitality he received from both Copts and Muslims (e.g. pp. 284-5).

In ch. 14 (pp. 342-63), Lansing narrates briefly a second trip to Upper Egypt during October-December 1861 to assist Fāris al-Ḥākīm, the agent

of the American Mission who had faced harsh treatment at the hands of Muslim officials. This case is also described in *Religious toleration in Egypt*. In ch. 15 (pp. 364-75), he narrates the stories of two Coptic monks who came under the influence of Protestant teaching, were excommunicated, and eventually came into the employment of the American Mission. Ch. 16 (pp. 376-408) reports on a visit he made to the Convent of Sitt Damiana in the Delta.

The concluding ch. 17 (pp. 409-26) was not written by Lansing but by the Revd J.B. Dales, the Secretary of the Mission Board in America, who visited Egypt in late 1862 and early 1863. He was 'commissioned by the board to report on what they saw of the work being done by the church's missionaries' (Elder, *Vindicating a vision*, p. 41). In this chapter of Lansing's book, Dales reports Lansing's arrival in Egypt in 1856, his early work in Egypt, and the early work of the American Mission there.

SIGNIFICANCE

This book, though not devoted to introducing Islam or Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt, suggests a superficial familiarity with Islam. At points, Lansing is respectful and appreciative of both Egyptian Christians and Muslims, but in other places he is patronising.

Like other travel accounts from this period, the book is useful for some of its observations about Egyptian society, including some that reflect on Christian-Muslim relations, although it needs to be read critically and not in isolation. For instance, Lansing describes the challenges Coptic Christians faced in securing government permits to construct churches, and expresses his desire that the 'Consuls of the Christian powers' should intervene and insist on the removal of the restrictions (pp. 40-2). He observes and is critical of the conscription of Christian and Muslim peasants for forced labour in digging canals and constructing a dam, railways, factories, bridges, fortifications and palaces, which only benefitted Egypt's ruling class and foreigners (pp. 144-55). He describes the *mawlid* (feast) of Abū l-Ḥajjaj, a noted Muslim saint whose tomb is in Luxor (pp. 266-7, 272-3). He also writes critically of a revival of the slave trade in Egypt to support the cotton industry, which was thriving due to the Civil War in the United States, even though slavery was against the law of the land (pp. 379-84).

PUBLICATIONS

G. Lansing, *Egypt's princes. A narrative of missionary labor in the valley of the Nile*, Philadelphia PA, 1864

G. Lansing, *Egypt's princes. A narrative of missionary labor in the valley of the Nile*, New York, 1865; SASB M2 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

G. Lansing, *Egypt's princes. A narrative of missionary labor in the valley of the Nile*, Charleston SC, repr. 2010, 2012

STUDIES

Sharkey, *American evangelicals in Egypt*, pp. 20-5

Vander Werff, *Christian mission to Muslims*, pp. 146, 151

Elder, *Vindicating a vision*, pp. 34-5

A. Watson, *American mission in Egypt*, pp. 125-35

Michael T. Shelley

John Porter Brown

DATE OF BIRTH 17 August 1814
PLACE OF BIRTH Chillicothe, Ohio
DATE OF DEATH 28 April 1872
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul, Turkey

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1814 into a prominent family in Ohio, in 1832 John Porter Brown accompanied his uncle, David Porter, to Istanbul, where the latter had been appointed first American minister to the Sublime Porte. Brown would spend the majority of his life in Istanbul, where he served as the United States' *chargé d'affaires* nine times and as the dragoman to the country's legation. He studied the Turkish language and culture and, besides his best-known work, *The dervishes; or, Oriental spiritualism*, he also produced translations of several popular Turkish texts.

As was common for politically-connected American expatriates, Brown was also a Freemason, belonging to American, British, French and Ottoman lodges. In 1869, he was made the Grand Master of the District Grand Lodge of Turkey.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

T. Zarccone, *Mystiques, philosophes, et Francs-Maçons en Islam*, Paris, 1993, pp. 222-5, 276-8
H. Howe, *Historical collections of Ohio in two volumes. An encyclopedia of the state*, Cincinnati OH, 1907, vol. 2, p. 518

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The dervishes; or, Oriental spiritualism

DATE 1868

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The dervishes; or, Oriental spiritualism is a 415-page study of Sufism. Although Brown borrows from the work of earlier European Orientalists, a large amount of his text is based on what he learned through his own encounters with various Sufi orders in Turkey. The book is therefore not only the first of its kind written by an American, but is also one of the most in-depth 19th-century studies of contemporary Sufi orders produced by an American Orientalist. It also contains one of the earliest mentions in a Western text of the fact that some contemporary Sufis, particularly the Bektashis, identified as Freemasons.

SIGNIFICANCE

The dervishes is important for being one of the first in-depth studies of modern Sufi orders, thus contributing to the West's growing *general* knowledge and interest in Islamic religious culture. At the same time, particularly because of its discussion of contemporary Sufis who Brown identified as Freemasons, it helped spread the interest in Sufism and Islam that was emerging in America's Spiritualist and esoteric communities.

PUBLICATIONS

John P. Brown, *The dervishes; or, Oriental spiritualism*, London, 1868; Cambridge, 2013; 014771359 (digitised version of the 1868 edition available through the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

John P. Brown, *The darvishes; or, Oriental spiritualism*, ed. H.A. Rose, London, 1968, 2008

Patrick Bowen

Mark Twain

Samuel Langhorne Clemens

DATE OF BIRTH 30 November 1835
PLACE OF BIRTH Florida, Missouri, USA
DATE OF DEATH 21 April 1910
PLACE OF DEATH Redding, Connecticut, USA

BIOGRAPHY

Samuel Clemens was born in Florida, Missouri, on 30 November 1835. When he was 11 years old, his father died and he was apprenticed to a printer in Hannibal, Missouri. For the next 15 years he worked as a printer, reporter and riverboat pilot. After a two-week stint volunteering with a group of Confederate soldiers, Clemens moved to Nevada to try his hand at logging and silver prospecting. He would spend the rest of the war in Nevada and California.

In 1863, just before he left Nevada to become a reporter for the San Francisco *Morning Call*, Clemens began signing his articles with the name 'Mark Twain'. Later that same year, the New York *Saturday Press* published his story 'John Smiley and his jumping frog', which became a national sensation and made Mark Twain famous. Twain negotiated his new literary celebrity into an assignment for the San Francisco *Alta California*, which paid his expenses on a five-month Mediterranean cruise on board the *Quaker City* with a group of devout American pilgrims in exchange for dispatches from the trip. Twain reworked his 58 letters to the *Alta* into his first book, *The innocents abroad* (1869). The travelogue was an instant and enormous best-seller, selling 67,000 copies in its first year in print, and 100,000 copies by the end of its second. *The innocents abroad* remained the best-selling of Twain's books throughout his lifetime and was the best-selling travel book of the era.

In 1870, Twain began work on *The adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (which he would not finish until 1885), and then turned to *Roughing it* (1872), *The gilded age* (with Charles Dudley Warner, 1873), and *The adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876). He returned to Europe in 1878, and dealt with the experience in *A tramp abroad* (1880). *Tom Sawyer abroad* (1894), his late sequel to *Huckleberry Finn*, briefly returns to some of

the North African experiences that Twain describes at length in *The innocents abroad*. The only noteworthy treatment of Islam in the novel comes in the last chapter, when Tom, Huck and Jim encounter Muslims in Cairo. Huck asks what a Muslim is, and Tom responds, 'A person that wasn't a Presbyterian'.

Financial disaster and several personal tragedies caused a dark and bitter turn in Twain's late works. He invested heavily in a failed typesetting machine and went bankrupt in the Panic of 1893. To pay his debts and rebuild his fortune, he undertook an around-the-world lecture tour from 1895 to 1896. Though the tour was a financial success, Twain's daughter Susy died while he was away. In 1904, he wife Olivia died, and then in 1909 his youngest daughter Jean died. Twain began his autobiography between the deaths of his wife and his daughter, but left an unpublished and fragmentary manuscript when he died on 21 April 1910.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The innocents abroad

DATE 1869

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The innocents abroad is a 651-page humorous travelogue that narrates Mark Twain's experiences on an 1867 Mediterranean cruise with a group of devout American Protestant pilgrims. Its full title is *The innocents abroad, or, The new pilgrims' progress: being some account of the Steamship Quaker City's pleasure excursion to Europe and the Holy Land: with descriptions of countries, nations, incidents, and adventures as they appeared to the author*. The first editions were expensive and impressive volumes with gilt edges and 234 illustrations, and the volumes were sold by subscription by travelling agents of the American Publishing Company. The first half of the book focuses primarily on Twain's travels across the Atlantic and his excursions through France, Italy and Greece, though chs 7-9 describe his visit to Tangier. The second half (chs 32-58) narrates Twain's experiences in Ottoman Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt.

Twain's impressions of Muslims in Tangier are generally positive, and his descriptions reveal his excitement at being in so 'thoroughly and uncompromisingly foreign a place' (p. 76; all references are to the 1869 edition). He describes 'swarms of humanity', 'stalwart Bedouins of the desert', and 'stately Moors proud of a history that goes back to the night of time' (p. 77). In contrast to his general enthusiasm for Tangier, Twain chafes at prohibitions against Christians entering Moors' houses: 'within their sacred walls no Christian dog can enter'; and mosques: 'so dire a profanation is it for a Christian dog to set foot upon the sacred threshold of a Moorish mosque that no amount of purification can ever make it fit for the faithful to pray in again', he observes. He also describes what he

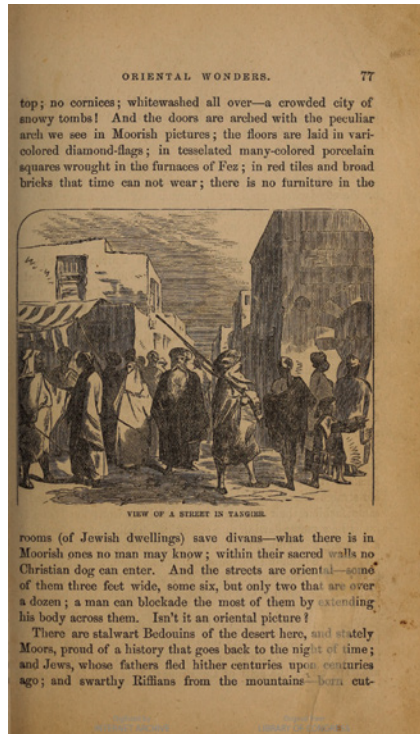


Illustration 5. Mark Twain, *The innocents abroad*, p. 77, 'A view of a street in Tangier'

regards as the 'savagery' of Moorish criminal justice and polygamy, but these frustrations are generally subordinated to enthusiasm for Tangier's accordance with the expectations of the East that Twain had developed from reading *The Arabian nights*, a work that he refers to with some regularity in *The innocents abroad* (pp. 83-6).

Twain's descriptions of Constantinople are far less positive and open-minded. Where Tangier 'swarms with humanity' and is novel and exciting, to Twain Constantinople is crowded, dirty and rank. He does not think much of Hagia Sophia and is disgusted by being forced to walk around the 'gums, slime, and general corruption' of the mosque without his shoes on (p. 362). In addition to his negative view of Constantinople's cultural achievements, Twain does not view Muslims favourably: 'The Koran does not permit Mohammedans to drink. Their natural instincts do not permit them to be moral', he writes. As in his account of Tangier, Twain notes the practices of Turkish polygamy and slavery. He does, however, acknowledge the presence of polygamy in the United States

(among Mormons in Salt Lake), and his treatment of Turkish slave-girl markets is more a critique of hyperbolic American newspaper accounts than of Turkish slavery itself (pp. 368-9).

In Syria, Twain ascribes the abject poverty to the oppressive taxation and 'inhuman tyranny of the Ottoman Empire'. Damascus appears beautiful to him at a distance, but once inside the city he finds its streets crooked, cramped and dirty, and 'swarm[ing] with "uncouth Arabs"' (pp. 455-6, 458). He feels far more hostility from Muslims in Damascus than he has elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. He writes that in Damascus 'they so hate the very sight of a foreign Christian that they want no intercourse whatever with him', and he considers the city to be 'the most fanatical Muhammadan purgatory out of Arabia' (p. 460). Twain describes a memorial to the 5,000 Christians who were massacred in Damascus in 1860 during the Druze-Maronite conflict, and exclaims, 'How they hate Christians in Damascus!' (p. 463).

As in his depiction of Turkish and Syrian Muslims, Twain represents Palestinian Muslims as poor, dirty, ignorant and barbarous. He considers the '[r]ags, wretchedness, poverty and dirt' to be 'signs and symbols that indicate the presence of Moslem rule more surely than the crescent-flag itself' (p. 559). In Egypt, he curses his guide at the pyramids, writing, 'except these Mohammedans repented they would go straight to perdition some day. And they never repent – they never forsake their paganism' (p. 623). The Egypt chapters are far less detailed than those that precede them. By this point, Twain seems to have tired both of the journey and the book.

Throughout *The innocents abroad*, Twain is far more attentive to the characteristics of Moors, Turks, Syrians, Bedouins and Arabs than he is to 'Mohammedans' or 'Moslems'. While he recognises the overlap between Islam and Turkish nationality or Bedouin ethnicity, he does not track similarities between Moors, Turks, Syrians or Bedouins to form broad conclusions about Islam or Muslims generally.

SIGNIFICANCE

The innocents abroad was Twain's first book, and he had become famous as the author of the story 'John Smiley and his jumping frog' (also known as 'The celebrated jumping frog of Calaveras County'), so critics and reviewers received *The innocents abroad* as a humorous travelogue by a rough Western writer, rather than as serious travel literature. Twain's preface encourages such a light reading and declares his basic objectivity and truthfulness, but careful readers of his works take his prefatory

proclamations with a good deal of scepticism. His descriptions and judgments about Muslims must be considered with the book's satirical intent in mind, and in the context of his hyperbolically narrow-minded and ethnocentric descriptions of all Old World cultural achievements (European, Christian and Jewish achievements as well as Ottoman, Syrian, Palestinian and Egyptian Muslim ones).

Three related jokes run through the book and complicate Twain's manifestly xenophobic and bigoted treatment of Turkish and Arab Muslims. He mocks the simplicity of the devout 'pilgrims' he travels with and reveals their hypocrisy. He also makes an extended literary joke by exposing what he sees as the ridiculous romanticism and hyperbole of the vast body of travel literature that precedes *The innocents abroad*. In so doing, he also undercuts Americans' notions of the cultural superiority of the Old World. To advance these running jokes, he moves in and out of satire throughout *The innocents abroad*. This satire often relies on ventriloquising various naïve and ignorant 'innocent' American Christians, such as Twain's fellow pilgrims, or his all-too-easily impressed literary antecedents. This frequent ventriloquising makes attributing and evaluating his obviously racist comments difficult. At times, he is clearly mocking his trigger-happy companions and his blustering literary antecedent William Cowper Prime's eagerness to attack Bedouins, but at other moments, unpleasant descriptions of Muslims seem to grow out of his own discomfort and frustration. Twain simultaneously appeals to his readers' prejudices and mocks them (Melton, *Mark Twain*, pp. 33-55).

Throughout *The innocents abroad*, Twain displays a lack of curiosity about particularities of Islamic belief and practice. Instead of engaging contemporary Palestinian Muslims and their religious practices, he screens out people and mosques to imagine the landscape as it might have appeared in biblical days. Though he is critical of Turkish rule and is generally indifferent to Islamic beliefs and practices, he is also critical of Christian hypocrisy, particularly Christianity's history of crusader violence. He is suspicious of Christian and Muslim superstition and tradition alike.

The lasting significance of *The innocents abroad* is undeniable. While the travelogue has been eclipsed by *Huckleberry Finn* and *The adventures of Tom Sawyer*, it has remained in print since its first publication and has been given new literary life in the discourse of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict where it is enlisted as testimony to the condition of the Holy Land in the 19th century (B. Netanyahu, *A durable peace*, New York, 2000, p. 43, and R. Shehadeh, *Palestinian walks*, New York, pp. xiii, 120).

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Series A.20-24 – 1.21 [A.20], 1.22 [A.21], 1.23 [A.22], 1.24 [A.23], 1.25
[A.24]

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Toronto, 1870, 1880, 1909

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from the New World to the Old*, London, 1870

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Toronto, 1870

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sure*, London, 1871

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Joshua Mabie

Andrew Jackson Davis

DATE OF BIRTH 11 August 1826
PLACE OF BIRTH Blooming Grove, New York
DATE OF DEATH 13 January 1910
PLACE OF DEATH Watertown, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHY

Andrew Jackson Davis, the founder of 'Harmonial philosophy' and one of the primary developers of the metaphysical basis of modern spiritualism, had considerable influence on the ideas that came to constitute modern Theosophy as formulated by H.P. Blavatsky in the late 19th century. Davis was well known as a seer, clairvoyant, lecturer and healer. Most of our knowledge of his life stems from two autobiographies, *The magic staff* (1857) and *Beyond the valley* (1885). However, these uncritical biographies are narratively structured according to what Davis called 'psychological development' and thus leave many ordinary elements of his life untold. Davis grew up in poor circumstances in rural New York State. His father struggled to provide for the family as a 'half-weaver and half-shoemaker' and also suffered from an addiction to alcohol. His mother, who died when he was still a boy, was an introvert with whom Davis nonetheless had a close psychological bond. As a child, Davis did not possess a practical or intellectual disposition, but was rather a sensitive dreamer who, according to his own account, had several paranormal experiences of hearing unaccounted-for music and seeing ghosts. He was neither able to help his father much with work, nor successful at school. He later took up a number of apprenticeships, including that of shoe merchant and manufacturer, but here he also proved disappointing.

The turning point in his life came in 1843, when he met a tailor named William Levingston who asked him to serve as a subject for his experiments in mesmerism. Davis proved to have a natural talent for entering into a trance state, clairvoyance, talking to spirits and diagnosing various forms of physical ailments. In 1844, a major experience occurred when in a vision he talked with two individuals who he identified to be Galen and Emanuel Swedenborg (Davis, *The magic staff*, p. 248). According to Davis, Galen gave him a magic staff, the key to natural order and the true medical system. This staff helped him later in life when he was depressed due

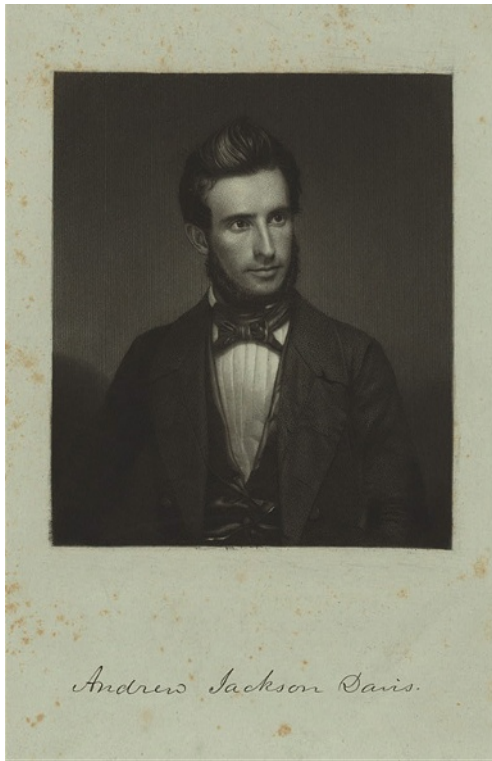


Illustration 6. Andrew Jackson Davis

to financial needs or because of his clairvoyant sensitivity. Swedenborg and Galen also told Davis that he had a special spiritual mission to pave the way for spiritual revelations to come and to work as a clairvoyant healer.

In 1845, he contacted Dr Silis S. Lyon (Davis, *The magic staff*, p. 298) and, through clairvoyant means, he claimed to have found the Universalist minister William Fishbough. The three of them worked as a team. Lyon would mesmerise Davis, and Fishbough would take notes of Davis's trance state. *The principles of nature, her divine relations, and a voice to mankind by and through Andrew Jackson Davis, the Poughkeepsie seer and clairvoyant* of 1847 was the first book published as a result of these states he experienced. Davis maintained that he did not learn from books, even though he often refers to other authors and works.

In June 1848, he married Catherine De Wold, with whom he had been involved in an affair for some time, before her divorce from Joshua Doge.

Sickly and 20 years older than Davis, she died in 1853, and in 1855 he married Mary Fenn Love, a women's rights activist from New York. After 30 years of marriage, however, Davis claimed that they were not 'true affinities' and filed for divorce. In 1885, he finally married Delphine E. Markham, whom he had met while studying at the United States Medical College in New York in the early 1880s. Davis considered it important that spiritual healers should obtain an official medical degree, as he himself had done in 1883, in order to distance themselves from the rumours of fraud associated with the popular spiritualist phenomena. The two moved to Boston where Davis practised medicine for the rest of his life, and also opened a progressive bookstore. Davis continued to publish books, pamphlets and articles in Spiritualist journals such as the *Spirit Messenger*, *Univercoelum* and *Herald of Progress*.

Over the course of his lifetime Davis wrote about 30 books, including two autobiographies and three sources that make reference to Islam, *The principles of nature, her divine relations, and a voice to mankind* (1847), *The great harmonia* (1850-9), and *The fountain, with jets of new meanings* (1870). The remaining works generally deal with spirit communications and spiritual cosmology, and do not touch upon issues associated with Christian-Muslim relations.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The principles of nature, her divine relations, and a voice to mankind

DATE 1847

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The principles of nature was Davis's first book, and was the result of talks given in a trance. It is generally regarded as the first introduction to a modern popular genre consisting of material allegedly received in a trance from spirits or spiritual beings. The book became immensely popular, seeing 34 editions, and offered much of the information that fuelled the spiritualist movement.

The book itself is composed of three main parts spanning 782 pages, in addition to the introduction. The first part, 'The key', deals with society and the causes of evil, the subject of the reality of inner and spiritual worlds and the general principles of the universe. The second part, entitled 'Revelation', deals with Davis's spiritual cosmology, particularly the origin of matter, the universe and the beginning of human history, including the origin of nations, humanity and language. Finally, this section deals with states after death, in which a person continues to evolve in six higher spheres that surround the earth, in accordance with how they have lived their life. The spirits still residing in the sphere closest to earth are more readily able to communicate with clairvoyants, such as Davis himself. The third and final part, entitled 'The application',

discusses society as an organic whole and the causes of disharmony or societal diseases. The remedy is, according to Davis, understanding and applying the universal 'law of affinity', which will cause a social reorganisation and the birth of a new earth and a new heaven. This work in many ways laid the groundwork for Davis's many later books and articles, which would expand on the same and similar themes.

The book does not deal directly with themes relating to Islam, Christianity or Christian-Muslim relations, although it references Islam, Muḥammad and the Qur'an in relation to some of its arguments. In his analysis of why there is evil in the world and why humans fight and create divisions between one another, Davis identifies them as the product of ignorance and disharmony that has to be overcome through right knowledge and progress. He finds that adherents of all the great religions, including the 'Mohammedan', fanatically believe that their own religion is the highest form of knowledge and the purest in terms of true divine origin (pp. 409, 486-7), and that they have disputed and fought each other as a result of this (pp. 12, 708-11, 727). 'Mohammedanism' has thus been tyrannical, having arisen at a time of mental slavery, and must be overcome and superseded by an age of free inquiry and human rights where humankind shows it has learned from past errors (p. 12). Even though Christians may think they have progressed above other religions, they still hold fanatically to the Bible and certain beliefs of a mythological nature (pp. 708-9). Davis argues that most religions are human constructions and do not come from a divine origin (p. 491), and are therefore imperfect and the root of much evil (p. 533). Muḥammad, however, also spoke valuable truths (p. 588) and is considered alongside other religious founders from around the world (p. 779).

SIGNIFICANCE

The book provides an insight into how the first comprehensive work of the emerging spiritualist movement portrayed Islam and its relation to Christianity, especially at a time when knowledge of Islam was still generally sparse in the West. Davis's work, and the spiritualist movement in general, were fairly progressive, believing that religions, including Islam, contain some valuable truths. However, the work also argues that religions, including Islam and Christianity, are basically systems of human construction, and are therefore treated as equally fanatical, imperfect and obstructive to the progression of the world towards greater unity, democracy, spirituality and harmony; religions are considered the major

cause of social disharmony. The new spiritual alternative relies on the individual inner faculty for directly perceiving and experiencing the universe and its mysteries, without reliance on tradition or miracles.

PUBLICATIONS

Andrew Jackson Davis, *The principles of nature, her divine relations, and a voice to mankind*, New York, 1847; BF1291 .D33 1847 Houdini Coll (digitised version available through The Library of Congress, Washington DC)

Andrew Jackson Davis, *The principles of nature, her divine relations, and a voice to mankind*, Boston MA, 1847

There are many later editions.

STUDIES

C. Albanese, *A republic of mind and spirit. A cultural history of American metaphysical religion*, New Haven CT, 2006, pp. 208-12

A. Versluis, *The esoteric origins of the American Renaissance*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 57-9

C. Albanese, 'Dissident history. American religious culture and the emergence of the metaphysical tradition', in W.H. Conser and S.B. Twiss (eds), *Religious diversity and American religious history. Studies in traditions*, Athens GA, 1997, 157-88, pp. 168-70

The great Harmonia

DATE 1850-9

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The great Harmonia, being a philosophical revelation of the natural, spiritual, and celestial universe, published in five volumes between 1850 and 1859, is Davis's most comprehensive spiritualist work. These volumes, like *Principles of nature*, are based on discussions and are therefore not a completely systematic elaboration of Davis's 'Harmonial philosophy'. Of the five volumes, only the third and the fourth touch on Christian-Muslim relations. While vol. 2 deals with previous reformers of religions, it makes no mention of Muḥammad, and neither is he mentioned in vol. 5, where Davis outlines a great variety of religious and philosophical thinkers and reformers, from Aristotle to Zoroaster.

Vol. 3, *The seer* (1852), consists of 401 pages and deals primarily with man's psychological and spiritual nature. This includes passages dealing

with 'Mohammed' and the 'Koran', stating that 'Mohammedans' believe not only that the 'Koran' was revealed to Muḥammad by Gabriel, but also that it is in fact divine, uncreated and pre-existing (p. 203). Vol. 4, *The reformer* (1855), consists of 446 pages, and focuses on social reform, sex, marriage, women's rights, stimulants such as coffee and tobacco, and right living. He finds that the Bible and 'Mohammad's Koran' include numerous examples of 'miraculous inspiration', which attests to the reality of the phenomenon (p. 157).

Davis generally questions the infallibility of Christianity and Islam. The reason why people regard their religion as infallible is primarily, he argues, because they themselves have no real insight or experience of the psychological laws of the universe (p. 183). The great 'religious chieftains', including Muḥammad and Moses, were not infallible, but were all in what Davis terms a 'transition state', midway between 'mental slavery' and 'liberty', meaning, according to Davis, that some of their thoughts and thereby their revelations were formed and conditioned by a specific historical and cultural background, while another part of their mental structure was free and independent (p. 185). This is also the reason for any contradiction between the different religious revelations. This notwithstanding, each religious tradition believes itself to be pure, which is why adherents do not usually accept the religion of another. For example, Christians do not include Muḥammad as a link in the chain of revelations (p. 205). Davis himself, however, believes Muḥammad was honest. He furthermore states that, after close internal examination of the Qur'an, he has found nothing that is inferior to the Bible (p. 204), and points out critically that in fact many parallels exist between the Bible and the Qur'an. He also mentions that Gabriel was a source of inspiration to Daniel (Daniel 9:21-2) and Muḥammad alike (p. 205).

In vol. 4, while discussing love, beauty, sex and marriage, Davis briefly mentions that in Europe a belief has prevailed that the Qur'an teaches that women were created for man's pleasure, that they have no souls and therefore will perish like animals when they die. He believes that this is untrue and, while he thinks Muḥammad has construed women as inferior to men, he does not deny women entrance to paradise. Davis also mentions that Muḥammad affirms the same punishment for wicked women as for wicked men and that, according to the Qur'an, some 'moslems' have claimed that good women will enter a separate part of paradise from men, but Davis argues that, based on the tradition of Muḥammad's sayings and the Qur'an, both men and women enter the same paradise (pp. 211-12).

SIGNIFICANCE

In line with his spiritualism, Davis treats all religions, including Islam and Christianity, equally, and presents his arguments on that basis. He denounces Western Christian prejudice against Islam, but at the same time also denounces and challenges religious authority in general. Davis provocatively states that he finds Muḥammad to be honest and genuine, but he also reinterprets him, along with other religious teachers, in his own scheme of psychological development: Muḥammad was only partly enlightened, having realised certain spiritual realities, but was also conditioned by the times he lived in. This trend of Reinterpretation continues in esoteric traditions, such as the modern Theosophical tradition in which Muḥammad becomes one of the spiritual masters who form a great brotherhood that teaches humanity. Finally, vol. 4 clearly reflects the 19th-century trend in Oriental studies, while the interpretation of 'Muḥammad' and the 'Koran' also reflects the question of authority as understood by a Western spiritualist such as Davis.

PUBLICATIONS

Andrew Jackson Davis, *The great Harmonia, being a philosophical revelation of the natural, spiritual, and celestial universe*, New York, 1850

Andrew Jackson Davis, *The great Harmonia, being a philosophical revelation of the natural, spiritual, and celestial universe*, Boston MA, 1856

There are many later editions.

STUDIES

Ferguson, *Determined spirits*, pp. 31-4

R. Silver, 'The spiritual kingdom in America. The influence of Emanuel Swedenborg on American society and culture: 1815-1860', Stanford CA, 1983 (PhD Diss. Stanford University)

The fountain, with jets of new meanings

DATE 1870

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The fountain, with jets of new meanings, published in 1870 and consisting of 252 pages, was, according to its introduction, motivated by a wish to

inspire men, women and children of all ages to understand the principles of Davis's harmonial philosophy. In many respects it is a rehash of his basic harmonial ideas. Superstition is a major topic of this book.

Only in a few instances are issues touching on Christian-Muslim relations to be found in this book. In one of them, Davis mentions that intellect has been dormant in Christian culture due to a theological dominance, which would soon disappear, but that the revival of pagan literature and the 'Mohammedan schools of science' were the main source of the resurrection of intellect (p. 79). A further instance is in ch. 12, dealing with the origin and influence of prayer, where Davis expresses criticism, arguing that while prayer is no doubt most often sincere, it is of the emotions and not the intellect (p. 182). Believers think that through prayer they can attract the attention of God, and thereby bend the natural laws of the universe to fulfil their wishes. Furthermore, Davis argues, the believer does not realise that across the globe devotees of other religions pray with equal sincerity; for example, in the vast empire of the [Ottoman] sultan, the faithful pray for the destruction of the Christians and for 'Mahomet' and the 'Koran' to be universally accepted (p. 182-3). Thus, argues Davis, believers of different faiths do not seem to realise that in times of war and other forms of antagonism, they all pray to the same essence, be it the Christian God or Allāh.

SIGNIFICANCE

Davis demonstrates knowledge of the cultivation of 'science' in the Muslim world during the Middle Ages and its impact on the West. He here makes use of the French or Latin spelling of Muḥammad, 'Mahomet', perhaps derived from Voltaire's *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète* (1736).

Davis clearly embraced much of the Enlightenment critique of religion in this work, as well as that of post-Enlightenment positivism. He believed that theology and related practices, such as prayers, are irrational and would soon disappear and that the great religions had formed God in their own image. Reliance on these traditions is thus basically childish. Humanity must learn to experience the divine and natural laws for itself, and this constitutes the spirituality of the future. In this respect, Christianity and Islam are treated side by side as equally childish, and remnants from the past that hinder true progress. Thus, Davis is critical of both religions, and as such is instrumental in the step towards modern 'spirituality', with its disbelief in institutionalised religion.

PUBLICATIONS

Andrew Jackson Davis, *The fountain, with jets of new meanings*, New York, 1870, 1911; BF1291 870D (digitised version available through Cushing Medical Library, Yale University)

Andrew Jackson Davis, *The fountain, with jets of new meanings*, Boston MA, 1870, 1871, 1877

STUDIES

B.E. Carroll, *Spiritualism in antebellum America*, Bloomington IN, 1997, p. 179

Tim Rudbøg

Robert Morris

Robert Williams Morris

DATE OF BIRTH 31 August 1818
PLACE OF BIRTH Boston or New York City
DATE OF DEATH 31 July 1888
PLACE OF DEATH Oldham, Kentucky

BIOGRAPHY

Robert Morris was an influential American Freemason in the 19th century. He was known for his many activities in the world of Freemasonry, including one year as the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, as well as his involvement with the Order of the Eastern Star. He was also known as a poet and non-fiction writer, which gained him the rare title of Poet Laureate of Masonry. After being orphaned at around the age of seven, he eventually became a teacher and principal at a Masonic school in Missouri. In 1868, he took a six-month tour of the Near East, where he visited numerous Freemasons' lodges and sought clues for the pre-modern history of Freemasonry. *Freemasonry in the Holy Land* is the product of that expedition.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

T.R. Austin, *A brotherly testimonial to the Masonic career of Robert Morris, LL.D.*, Louisville KY, 1878

R. Morris and R. Morris, *The poetry of Freemasonry*, Chicago IL, 1895, pp. xiii-xxiv

N.S. Theiss, *A place in the lodge. Dr Rob Morris, Freemasonry and the Order of the Eastern Star*, Indianapolis IN, 2015 (contains Morris's letters)

Secondary

Theiss, *A place in the lodge*

J.L. Baderstadt, *The grand luminary. A look at the life of Rob Morris*, Turner MI, 2003

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Freemasonry in the Holy Land

DATE 1872

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Freemasonry in the Holy Land (in full, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land. Or handmarks of Hiram's builders, embracing notes made during a series of masonic researches, in 1868, in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Europe, and the results of much correspondence with Freemasons in those countries*), a 608-page book, is the product of Robert Morris's six-month journey through the Levant in 1868. His goal in making the journey was to find evidence to confirm the narrative of Freemasonry's ancient roots in the Levant. During his travels he met numerous European and Middle Eastern Freemasons and recorded information about their histories. Morris also encountered many Muslims, and gained a deep respect for their religion and for the Qur'an.

Freemasonry in the Holy Land makes connections between important components of Freemasonry and Muslims. Morris was the first to record information about John Porter Brown, the author of *The dervishes; or, Oriental spiritualism* (1868), revealing that Brown had joined a Masonic lodge with Muslims among its members. Another figure noted in the book is Albert Leighton Rawson, who not only provided some of its etchings but also advised Morris on several issues concerning biblical and Middle Eastern history.

SIGNIFICANCE

The book was promoted across the eastern part of the United States between 1869 and 1872, and therefore probably had a significant role in helping to popularise an interest in Islam among American Freemasons that ultimately led to the creation of the Shriners' para-Masonic organisation around 1872 (see Illustration 7 on. 238). The Shriners would soon come to promote and perform some of America's most negative and romantic interpretations of Muslims and Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

Robert Morris, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land. Or, Handmarks of Hiram's builders, embracing notes made during a series of masonic researches, in 1868, in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Europe, and the results*



Illustration 7. Members of the Oriental Temple, Troy NY, in 'Eastern' dress, ready for the New York State Shriners Association parade in Schenectady, 10 September 1949

of much correspondence with Freemasons in those countries, New York, 1872 (13 editions published between 1872 and 1879); 006075345 (digitised version available through Harvard Library); full text available at: http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/freemasonry_in_the_holy_land.htm

Robert Morris, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land*, New York, 1977

Robert Morris, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land*, Kila MT, 1997

Patrick Bowen

Paschal Beverly Randolph

DATE OF BIRTH 8 October 1825
PLACE OF BIRTH New York City
DATE OF DEATH 29 July 1875
PLACE OF DEATH Toledo, Ohio

BIOGRAPHY

Paschal Beverly Randolph was born in 1825, the illegitimate child of an impoverished mixed white and African-American family. After being orphaned at the age of seven, he did odd jobs and travelled on the various ships on which he was employed. By the 1850s, he had established himself as a respected Spiritualist medium and developed connections with the Free Love movement. After renouncing certain aspects of Spiritualism and converting to Christianity in 1858, he worked as a marriage counsellor and writer, producing both novels and books containing his esoteric doctrines. In these writings, he increasingly discussed occult phenomena, sexual magic and his cosmology, which was largely based on the ideas of Andrew Jackson Davis, John Murray Spear and French mesmerists. He also had an interest in Arabs and Muslims, whom he claimed to have met during his various travels, saying they held true occult knowledge.

In the 1860s, Randolph established a few occult lodges that he identified as 'Rosicrucian', though their doctrines contained little of the teachings of the Rosicrucian movement of the 17th century. In the 1870s, he explained that the true occult organisation was the 'Brotherhood of Eulis', and that its teachings were from the East.

After his death, Randolph's writings became popular among Theosophists and occultists, particularly those in the H.B. of L. (Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor) and American Rosicrucian organisations.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Paschal Beverly Randolph, *The wonderful story of Ravalette. Also, Tom Clark and his wife: their double dreams and the curious things that befell them therein; or, The Rosicrucian's story*, New York, 1863

Paschal Beverly Randolph, *P.B. Randolph, the 'learned pundit,' and 'man with two souls'; his curious life, works and career. The great Free Love trial. Randolph's grand defence. His address to the jury, and mankind. The verdict*, Boston MA, 1872

Secondary

J.P. Deveney, *Paschal Beverly Randolph: A nineteenth century Black American Spiritualist*, Albany NY, 1996

R.S. Clymer, *The book of Rosicruciae. A condensed history of the Fraternitas Rosae Crucis or Rosy Cross, the men who made the order possible, and those who maintained the fraternity throughout the centuries, together with the fundamental teachings of these men according to the actual records in the archives of the fraternity*, Quakertown PA, 1947, vol. 2, pp. 174-92

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Asiatic mystery

DATE 1871

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Asiatic mystery. The fire faith! – The religion of flame! – The force of love! – The energos of will! – The magic of polar mentality! First Rosicrucian manifesto to the world outside the Order! is Randolph's second attempt to promote his American Rosicrucian Spiritualist order. It is his explanation that magical powers and celestial influences are obtained in the third degree of his order. Of the known extant editions from before 1950, its length is 15 pages in an 1872 version (included in *Soul! The soul world*) and 17 pages in a 1930s version.

Interestingly, despite the fact that Randolph usually includes Arabs, and by implication Muslims, in his meaning of the word 'Asiatic' (such as in his *Ravalette* of 1863, and *The Ansairctic mystery* of about 1873), particularly when he is discussing the topic of sexual magic, in this booklet he uses a traditional Christian critique of Islam when he says that Islam is the type of religion that 'allows the utmost limit to lust and license to the elect, and roundly berates all others'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Notwithstanding its negative view of Islam as licentious, *The Asiatic mystery* is an important text for the development of Christian-Muslim relations in America because it helped establish the notion that Randolph's

sexual magical teachings had Asian origins, a topic that would be clearly tied to Muslims and Islam in his *The Ansairctic mystery*. This pamphlet would be influential in the development of the modern Western tradition of sexual magic.

PUBLICATIONS

Pascal Beverly Randolph, *The Asiatic mystery. The fire faith! – The religion of flame! – The force of love! – The energos of will! – The magic of polar mentality! First Rosicrucian manifesto to the world outside the Order!*, Boston MA, 1871

Pascal Beverly Randolph, *Soul! The soul world. The homes of the dead*, Boston MA, 1872, Mokelumne Hill CA, 1961, pp. 274-88

Pascal Beverly Randolph, 'The Asiatic mystery', *The Initiates, A magazine issued by authority of the Rosicrucian Fraternity and devoted to mysticism, occultism and the well being of man* 3 (1930 and 1931) 107-23

STUDIES

Deveney, *Paschal Beverly Randolph*, pp. 190-2, 357-8

The Ansairctic mystery

DATE About 1873

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Ansairctic mystery. A new revelation concerning sex! A private letter, printed, but not published; it being sacred and confidential was advertised as a printed letter that was not intended to be published and ostensibly was to remain 'confidential'. The earliest extant copy contains 11 pages, and indicates that the original was printed on one large sheet and written in columns, and that the extant copy was made up of the original columns cut into sections and pasted on blank pages. In the work, which expands on Randolph's similar earlier works, particularly *The Asiatic mystery* (1871), Randolph offers over a dozen basic ideas about his magic, as well as 122 powers that can be attained through it. J.P. Deveney has described the book as 'the fullest expression of the magical powers, many of them trivial, that Randolph believed could be acquired through sexual and mirror magic' (*Paschal Beverly Randolph*, p. 361).

The work contains a few references to Islam and Muslims. At one point, Randolph mentions 'ALLAH – God himself, when discussing the creator of all things, though the clearest reference to Islam is in the title of the book, 'Ansairetic', which Randolph claims refers to the Ansaireh, a Shī'ī group in the Levant that is known as the Alawites. In the 19th century, a few European writers who discussed esoteric topics, such as Geoffrey Higgins, began promoting the idea that the Ansaireh (as well as the Ismā'īlī Assassins, who were often thought to have either influenced or been identical with the Ansaireh) were possessors of key secret sexual magic rites. Although Randolph makes no mention of the Ansaireh in the text itself, he does state a few times that his magic is from 'Oriental' people. However, there is practically no solid evidence that suggests he was genuinely influenced by such a group. More than likely, he came up with his ideas after reading the works of other writers who discussed esoteric topics and Free Love, particularly John Murray Spear.

A version of *The Ansairetic mystery* was taught to members of the first occult groups in the United States.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Ansairetic mystery is the first American work to popularise the idea that the Ansaireh were the possessors of sexual magic. This booklet would go on to be an important text for the H.B. of L. (Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor) and other American groups that taught sexual magic.

PUBLICATIONS

Pascal Beverly Randolph, *The Ansairetic mystery. A new revelation concerning sex! A private letter, printed, but not published; it being sacred and confidential*, Toledo OH, around 1873

Pascal Beverly Randolph, 'The Ansairetic mystery, A new revelation concerning sex!', in Deveney, *Paschal Beverly Randolph*, pp. 311-26 (Appendix A.)

STUDIES

Deveney, *Paschal Beverly Randolph*, pp. 217-44, 488

Patrick Bowen

Rufus Anderson

DATE OF BIRTH 17 August 1796
PLACE OF BIRTH North Yarmouth, Maine
DATE OF DEATH 23 May 1880
PLACE OF DEATH Boston, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1796 the son of a Congregationalist pastor, Anderson enrolled in 1812 at Bowdoin College intending to pursue a missionary vocation. Later, while attending Andover Seminary, he worked in the Boston headquarters of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) as an assistant to its secretary, Jeremiah Evarts. On graduating in 1822, he applied for an appointment to India but was urged to remain in Boston for another year, where his strong organisational talents soon convinced his employers that he was more valuable in administration than as a field missionary. In 1826, he was ordained to serve as assistant secretary of the ABCFM in Boston. Although he considered himself a missionary and drew a field missionary's salary, he remained an ABCFM administrator until his retirement in 1866, first as assistant 'corresponding secretary' and then, from 1832, as the senior 'foreign secretary'. For 35 years, he chaired the Prudential Committee, which appointed missionaries, set mission policy and directed the day-to-day business of the ABCFM.

Anderson famously advocated the creation of self-sustaining, self-propagating and self-governing indigenous churches as the goal of mission. In this, business principles as well as theological conviction motivated him. Native preachers cost less to support than American missionaries and could evangelise their people more efficiently. Convinced that the proclamation of the Gospel in the local tongue was the sole legitimate end of missions, he believed that mission schools should be conducted in vernacular languages rather than English, and should offer a curriculum designed only to equip native preachers of the Gospel. Under his administration, the ABCFM prohibited missionaries from employment on behalf of governments, although his attitude towards government support for missions and native converts evolved from early opposition to grateful enthusiasm by the close of his career.

Anderson knew of Islam almost entirely through reading the standard texts of his day, and through his correspondence with field missionaries in India and the Ottoman Empire. His only first-hand encounters came during an 1830 deputation to Greece and his controversial 1854-5 deputation to India, Constantinople and Syria, when he forcibly demanded a more rapid implementation of native self-sufficiency and leadership. A prodigious author, his writings include many articles in the *Missionary Herald*; several dozen *Missionary tracts of the American Board*; a record of the 1854-5 deputation; *Memorial volume of the first years of the American Board of Commissioners* (1861); *Foreign missions. Their relations and claims* (1869); and four histories of the ABCFM's missions (Hawaiian Islands, India, and two volumes on the Oriental Churches). Anderson mentions Islam only obliquely in the India volume, but discusses missions to Muslims and the relationships between Christianity and the Ottoman government in greater depth in his 1872 history of the ABCFM missions to the Oriental Churches.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Papers and letters of Rufus Anderson are scattered throughout the archives of the ABCFM.

Archives Boston MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library – American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: ABC 30, 76 (Rufus Anderson papers), 77.1 (individual biography)

A.C. Thompson, *Discourse commemorative of Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL. D.: late corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: together with addresses at the funeral*, Boston, 1880

Secondary

P. Harris, 'Denominationalism and democracy. Ecclesiastical issues underlying Rufus Anderson's three self program', in W. Shenk (ed.), *North American foreign missions, 1810-1914*, Grand Rapids MI, 2004, 61-85

P. Harris, *Nothing but Christ. Rufus Anderson and the ideology of Protestant foreign missions*, New York, 1999

R.P. Beaver, 'Rufus Anderson 1796-1880. To evangelize, not civilize', in G. Anderson, et al. (eds), *Mission legacies. Biographical studies of leaders of the modern missionary movement*, Maryknoll NY, 1994, 548-53

W. Hutchison, *Errand to the world. American Protestant thought and foreign missions*, Chicago IL, 1987, 62-90

W.R. Shenk, 'Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn. A special relationship?', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5 (1981) 168-72

R.P. Beaver, 'The legacy of Rufus Anderson', *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (1979) 94-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

History of the missions of the American Board
of Commissioners

DATE 1872

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Anderson wrote *History of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, his 958-page two-volume study, in 1872 as part of a series of histories of the missions of the ABCFM. The work includes an appendix of all missionaries serving in the Ottoman Empire and the publications of the mission presses in Constantinople and Syria. In order to tell his story, which was aimed primarily at the ABCFM's supporting churches and donors, he drew heavily on manuscript missionary letters from ABCFM files, as well as letters published in the *Missionary Herald*. There is nothing original in the history, the material having been previously disseminated in religious journals over the preceding half century. Anderson's approach was strictly organisational, narrating chronologically the development of each of the several missions that the ABCFM supported within the Ottoman Empire: the Palestine Mission, the Syria Mission, the Greek Mission, the Armenian Mission, and the Mission to the Jews. He reserved discussion of the work among the 'Mohammedans' to the final chapter of the second volume, noting that the Board had never launched 'an organized mission to this people' (1872 edition, vol. 2, p. 482).

Although the complex and evolving political and legal relations between Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire is the essential context for Anderson's entire study, he rarely engages in direct analysis of the topic. His approach is to narrate the bare facts about the various missionaries sent out by the Board, the stations they opened and their successes and failures, with only perfunctory elaboration upon the various Christian communities that were the object of ABCFM efforts. His treatment of Islam is even more truncated. He refrains from any discussion of Muslim theology, the Qur'an, or the diversity of the Islamic communities encountered by the missionaries. Throughout his narrative, he references various Ottoman offices and laws, but usually without introduction or explanation, and rarely mentions by name the Ottoman political leaders who aided or hindered the Board's missionaries. For example, his discussion of the important Tanzimat reforms, especially

the 1839 Edict of Gülhane and the 1856 Reform Edict, fails to explain the nationalistic goals of the Turkish government and never identifies Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61) by name. Instead, these political developments are interpreted simply as illustrations of God's providential power over both British consular officials and Ottoman rulers, who become unwitting instruments of the divine plan to spread Protestant Christianity throughout the Empire.

Anderson most directly addresses mission to Muslims in his introduction and final chapter. On his first page, he asserts that Muslims can never be converted to Christianity until the various native Christian churches among them are first purified of their idolatry and reformed by Protestant influence. The Muslim, he avers, believes the Qur'an superior to the Bible because the 'evidence of his own observation' and the weight of 'his own painful experience' confirm his conviction that Christians are morally inferior (vol. 1, p. 1). The policy of the ABCFM in the Ottoman orbit, then, is to concentrate upon the enlightenment of the millions of nominal Christians dispersed throughout the Empire: 'Should the spiritual life be revived among them a flood of light would illuminate' the Turkish people and force Muslims to consider the Gospel in a new light (p. 2).

Much of Anderson's voluminous production focuses upon the efforts of Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Apostolic and Nestorian clerics to suppress Protestant missionary efforts, often by appeals to Ottoman officials, and the gradual progress made by the ABCFM in the face of persecution, especially after the beginning of the Tanzimat reforms in 1839. Although he routinely observes that Turkish officials characteristically dealt with Christians in an arbitrary manner, he nonetheless portrays Muslim clerics and rulers as more virtuous and tolerant than native Christian leaders, and more willing to deal justly with Protestant missionaries. Nonetheless, he presents the efforts of Western consular authorities, and particularly Sir Stratford Canning of Great Britain, as the primary agents responsible for securing the rights of Protestants in the Empire.

Anderson devotes his concluding chapter to a consideration of the direct evangelisation of Muslims. He observes that before the 1850s it was impossible to engage Muslims, but that after toleration of Protestants gradually became known throughout the Empire many ABCFM missionaries reported a strong interest in their work on the part of Turks and Kurds in widely scattered regions. Anderson quotes numerous missionary letters of the 1850s and 1860s to illustrate the brisk sale of Protestant Bibles to curious Muslims, and the growing number of Muslim visitors

to worship services. This interest in Christianity, he believed, reflected in part the Christian ancestry of many Turkish Muslims, who were perhaps only 'nominal in devotion to Islamism' (vol. 2, p. 480). In keeping with his principled commitment to a native ministry and the development of indigenous churches, Anderson concludes by noting that, while some missionaries with facility in Turkish might one day direct their energies to Islam, it will be best if Turkish converts evangelise their own people: 'A Moslem will listen more patiently to a Christian Turk ("renegade" though he be)' (p. 484).

SIGNIFICANCE

Anderson's history of ABCFM missions helped to shape American Protestant perceptions of Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Although his presentation offered nothing original, consisting mostly of anecdotes taken directly from 50 years of missionary correspondence, it provided his readers with a more easily accessible digest of missionary progress than the ephemeral letters. Although Anderson had insisted throughout his career that missionaries should avoid secular work on behalf of governments, his providential theology and overt Anglo-Saxonism ultimately led him to defend and praise the efforts of European and American diplomats to protect the lives and rights of Protestant missionaries and their converts. This meshed well with the dominant imperialist orientation of late Victorian thinking, as did his presentation of Turkish reformers as models of liberal enlightenment who were being transformed, however unwittingly, by contact with the God of the Christian West.

PUBLICATIONS

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- R. Anderson, *History of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 2 vols, Boston MA, 1884 (revised ed.)

STUDIES

- U. Zeuge-Buberl, *Mission of the American Board in Syria*, Stuttgart, 2017
- U. Zeuge-Buberl, *Mission des American Board in Syrien im 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 2016
- J. Hauser, C. Lindner and E. Möller (eds), *Entangled education. Foreign and local schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (19th-20th centuries)*, Beirut, 2016

- U. Zeuge-Buberl, 'Misinterpretation of a missionary policy? The American Syria Mission's conflict with Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Yuḥannā Wurtabāt', *Theological Review* 36 (2015) 23–43
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- C. Yetkiner, 'At the center of the debate. Bebek Seminary and the educational policy of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1840–1860)', in Dogan and Sharkey, *American missionaries and the Middle East*, 63–83
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- H. Murre-van den Berg, 'Why Protestant Churches? The American Board and the Eastern Churches: mission among 'nominal' Christians (1820–70)', in P. Holtrop and H. McLeod (eds), *Mission and missionaries*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000, 98–111
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Nineteenth-century North American Muslim slave narratives

This entry concerns four major 19th-century North American Muslim slave narratives. As these narratives are in fact autobiographical works, full biographical details are given in the description of the works. The authors are:

Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua, born in Djougou (in present day Benin) in the 1820s, died sometime after 1857, place of death unknown.

Omar ibn Said, born c. 1770 in West Africa, died in 1864 in North Carolina.

Nicholas Sa'id, born c. 1831 in Borno, date and place of death unknown, but possibly 1882 or later in Tennessee.

Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu (Mohameed Kaba Saghanugha), born in 1756 in Bouka (in today's Ivory Coast), died 1845 in Jamaica.

DATE Before 1873

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English and other languages

DESCRIPTION

From the late 18th century to the late 19th century the sphere of Muslim influence in sub-Saharan Africa was expanded through many *jihād* wars. As a consequence, Muslim states often entered into conflicts with major non-Muslim states, such as Oyo and Dahomey. These conflicts resulted in the enslavement of many Muslims in Africa, leading to the sale of Muslims to European and American merchants mainly based on the Atlantic coast. Of the approximately twelve million Africans shipped to the New World from the 15th century to the 19th century, approximately one-fifth were Muslims. British North America received between 400,000 and 523,000 Africans, at least 200,000 of whom originated from Islamic areas of Africa.

In the New World many enslaved Muslims stood out because of their commitment to praying in Islamic ways, their insistence on avoiding alcohol and pork, and their ability to read and write. The literature they left behind consists of letters, diary entries, newspaper and journal articles, church and plantation records, papers and occasional books, some written in Arabic and some in English. The writings deal with diverse

topics, such as issues of religion, life and education in Africa, enslavement and the Middle Passage, and experiences in the New World.

The term 'Muslim slave narratives' refers to stories of African and non-African Muslims enslaved in Africa and in other parts of the world, including the New World. North American Muslim stories are the best known manifestation of this literary form. While North American Muslim slave narratives constitute only part of a larger Muslim slave narrative genre, they almost invariably make references to Muslim-Christian relations. Some North American slave narratives were written before the 19th century, but this cluster entry discusses four major examples from the 19th century.

Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua

Muhammad Gardo Baquaqua's autobiography (or biography) is among the earliest of any formerly enslaved African in America. At the time it was written, in 1854, Baquaqua was a free person living in Chatham, Canada. He believed himself to be about 30 at that time.

Baquaqua was born in the city of Djougou, in the north of the present-day Republic of Benin, into a Muslim family. His date of birth remains unknown, but scholars generally agree that he was born either in the 1820s or around 1830. As a child, he showed little interest in education, and eventually trained as a metalsmith. After his enslavement in the region of Daboya, in present day Ghana, he acquired the status of *tkiriku* (palace servant) in the house of the king of Borgu, situated in the north of Benin. Subsequently, he was passed from hand to hand and finally sold to European slave traders in the principal port of Ouidah in the Kingdom of Dahomey. From here, he was loaded for shipment to Brazil. On board the slave ship, he experienced the nightmarish conditions of the Middle Passage.

In Brazil, Baquaqua was initially sold to a Portuguese baker in Pernambuco. The harsh treatment he received drove him to attempt escape and suicide, but he was eventually bought by a ship's captain in Rio de Janeiro. Baquaqua then served as a cabin steward on board the *Lembrança*, making two voyages south along the coast of Brazil, to Rio Grande do Sul and the island of Santa Catarina. In the course of these trips, he was subjected to severe physical abuse. In 1847, the *Lembrança* docked in New York, where he was spotted by local abolitionists who helped him and another slave, Jose da Rocha, escape to Boston.

From Boston, Baquaqua moved to Haiti. On first arriving in Port au Prince, he worked for another African American émigré, but eventually developed a close association with the Reverend William Judd of the Baptist Free Mission. Through Judd, he converted to Christianity and developed a strong interest in education. In 1849, he moved back to the United States and around 1850 he went to McGrawville in New York, where he enrolled in a college established by the American Baptist Free Mission Society, known as New York Central College. After three years there, Baquaqua moved to Chatham in Ontario and it was here that his autobiography was written. In 1854, he moved to Liverpool, where he sought funding for his journey back to Africa from the American Free Baptist Mission Society, but by 1857 he disappears from the historical record. In addition to his memoir, Baquaqua left several letters, though these make few references to Christian-Muslim relations.

Baquaqua's book, *An interesting narrative. Biography of Mahommah G. Baquaqua, a native of Zoogoo, in the interior of Africa (a convert to Christianity) with a description of that part of the world; including the manners and customs of the inhabitants*, is 66 pages in length. Excluding the 'Preface and compiler's notes', it is divided into two parts. The first consists of six short chapters describing Djougou, Baquaqua's birthplace, drawing attention to issues such as local customs, scenery, religious notions, people, administration, architecture, agriculture, livestock rearing, manufacturing, commerce, warfare and slavery. The second consists of a single chapter covering Baquaqua's experiences in West Africa, Brazil, the United States and Haiti. It emphasises such issues as his conversion to Christianity and his intention to return home. In addition, this part includes two poems, one by a Miss Kezia King, the other by the poet James M. Whitfield. The book is the product of a collaboration between Baquaqua and one Samuel Moore, an abolitionist and Irish immigrant. Unsurprisingly, while some scholars suggest that the latter authored or composed the account, others argue that it was Baquaqua who composed it, with Moore simply putting Baquaqua's oral account into writing.

The section of the book in which Baquaqua explains that his Roman Catholic master in Pernambuco often enforced Christian behaviour upon his slaves is of particular interest for the history of Christian-Muslim relations. Of similar interest are the sections in which Baquaqua's conversion from Islam to Christianity is described. Here, baptism is equated with the act of conversion. Baquaqua's conversion from Islam to Christianity, which took place two years after his arrival in Haiti, is described as

voluntary. These sections also explain factors that initially hampered Baquaqua's conversion and those that motivated him to become a Christian. Part of the memoir suggests that Baquaqua did not convert out of genuine religious conviction, but mainly in order to solicit charitable donations to fund his return to his African homeland, and to foster his education. Although he became a Christian, the memoir indicates that he maintained his Muslim name.

Omar ibn Said

Omar ibn Said was born around 1770 in the Futa Toro region, located between the Senegal River and the Gambia River. He was the son of a wealthy Muslim father who practised polygamy and owned slaves. He died when Omar was five years old, compelling him and his family to move to an uncle's household. At an early age, Omar studied Arabic, the Qur'an, and Islamic theology. Following the completion of his education, he worked as a teacher for six years, and then became a merchant dealing with such items as cotton, salt and textiles. In 1807, he was enslaved while on a trading expedition along the West African coast and shipped across the Atlantic to Charleston in the United States.

After serving as a slave in Charleston, he was moved to a rice plantation in South Carolina owned by a Mr Johnson, where he experienced harsh treatment. In 1810, he escaped to Fayetteville in North Carolina, though he was recaptured and jailed. During the period of his imprisonment, Omar wrote petitions for his release, and his literacy attracted the attention of many local people in Fayetteville. However, although he attracted visitors or 'tourists' to the jailhouse, his jailer sold him to a local politician, General James Owens of Bladen County. Owens eventually settled his family and slaves, including Omar, in the Cape Fear River region at a farm known as Owen's Hill, where Omar lived until his death in 1864.

In the course of his enslavement, Omar became a favourite slave. He was given responsibility for the keys to his master's stores, and he received a cottage and a servant for his own use. Omar also learned English. Owen, a pious Christian, instructed Omar in the Gospels, and at Owen's Hill Omar eventually became a member of the local Presbyterian Church and was baptised. However, he soon transferred his membership to another Presbyterian Church at Wilmington, North Carolina. The Presbyterian Church valued Omar's membership, partly because of his

knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew. Before his death in 1864, he received many visitors including politicians, missionaries and ethnologists.

Omar wrote much during his lifetime, including three Lord's Prayers and a commentary on Christian prayer. Of his 14 extant works, it is his autobiography, *The Life of Omar ben saeed, called Morro, a Fullah Slave, in Fayetteville, N.C.*, that is the most revealing on Christian-Muslim relations. He wrote this in Arabic in 1831, at the request of a 'Shiekh Hunter', who was probably a member of the American Colonization Society.

Omar's autobiography is about 25 pages long. It begins with a one-page introduction in English followed by the narrative. In the narrative, Omar features parts of *Sūrat al-mulk* (Q 67), before describing his early life, his enslavement and his experiences as a slave in the United States. In addition, he quotes *Sūrat al-fātiḥa* (Q 1) and cites the Lord's Prayer. He also stresses the kindness of his master and the Owens family, linking them to the practice of Christianity.

Nicholas Sa'id

Nicholas Sa'id (also known as Mohammed Ali ben Sa'id) was born a free man in Kukawa, the capital city of Borno, possibly in 1831 and certainly not later than 1836. His father was a royal slave, named Barka Gana, who held an important political title in Borno during the reign of al-Kanemi. Sa'id spent most of his childhood years in Kukawa with his parents, and received an Islamic education in a leading school there. One day when he and his friends went hunting, Tuareg merchants kidnapped him. Sa'id would never return to his parents or to Borno. The Tuareg merchants moved him and other captives from Borno to Katsina, where he was purchased by a merchant known as Abd-el-Kader. From Katsina, Abd-el-Kader and his followers and slaves, including Sa'id, joined a caravan that was heading towards North Africa, and Sa'id was purchased at Murzuk by Abdy Aga, a Turkish officer in Ibrahim Pasha's army.

Sa'id lived briefly with his new master before he was transferred to Tripoli to serve Hadj Daoud, Abdy Aga's father. Abdy Aga subsequently sold him through an agent to one Fuad Pasha in Smyrna. From there, he moved to his new master's house in Constantinople. After about nine months, Fuad Pasha passed him on to his brother-in-law, Reshid Pasha, who in turn finally passed him on to a Russian prince, Alexander Sergeyevich Menshikov (1787-1869). Menshikov freed Sa'id in St Petersburg in 1859, and shortly afterwards Sa'id obtained the position of valet in the household of Prince Nicholas Vassilievitch Troubetzkoy (1828-1900).

During his enslavement, Sa'id often desired to go home, but although he eventually convinced Troubetzkoy to allow him visit Central Sudan for a year in 1859, his desire to return to his homeland was never realised. Indeed, he was diverted from returning by a minor official in Suriname, Isaac Jacobus Rochussen (1829-1907), and his newly wedded wife, who hired him to accompany them to the British North American Provinces and the United States.

For Sa'id, this visit was not meant to supplant his mission to return to Africa. However, after visiting various parts of the Caribbean and sailing via New York to Canada, he was swindled out of 300 pounds and left almost penniless by his employers. In this condition, he was forced to move to Detroit and relied on the support and advice of one Reverend D.T. Johnston. He became a teacher, and after six months he travelled to other American cities. In 1863, he enlisted in the all black 55th Massachusetts Regiment that fought in the Civil War.

After the Civil War, Sa'id was a school teacher in Charleston for two years before moving to the region of St Stephens in Alabama, where he established his own school for black children. In Alabama, Sa'id also devoted much time to writing essays and his autobiography. In 1882, he was living in Brownsville in Tennessee, and he either died or dropped out of sight in the same year.

Sa'id's autobiography was initially associated with a ten-page article that appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1867. Although Allan Austin and others wrongly assumed that he did not produce a full-length book during his lifetime, it became clear as recently as 2001 that in 1873 he wrote and published *The autobiography of Nicholas Said: A native of Bornou, Eastern Sudan, Central Africa*. This 224-page narrative was written largely to showcase the accomplishment of an African and to inspire other African Americans to strive for 'mental and cultural improvement'. It includes a preface and 13 chapters dealing with various topics. Also included is a supplementary chapter on Bladen Springs, Alabama. In the narrative, Sa'id describes encounters with many Christians, presenting some of them as pious and helpful and others as dubious and duplicitous. He also discusses how he was converted to Christianity, mainly through the use of coercion in Russia, detailing his initial resistance and the privileges he enjoyed after he embraced Christianity.

Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu

Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu (Mohameed Kabā Saghanugha) was the leader of the slaves on the coffee estate of Spice Grove, as well as on two neighbouring estates in the mountains of Manchester parish, west of Mandeville, Jamaica, in the early 19th century. He was enslaved in Spice Grove on his arrival in Jamaica in 1777. In about 1820, he wrote two related Arabic works, recently given the title *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* ('The book on prayer'). At that time, he had been living in Jamaica for about 40 years and was alleged to have converted to Christianity, though he maintained a commitment to Islam.

According to his autobiography, Kabā was born in Bouka, a town in what is now the northern Ivory Coast, in 1756. He belonged to one of the Saghanughu families of the Greater Senegambia region, who were involved in scholarship and commerce. His father, Abu Bakr al Qadiri, is described as a wealthy slave owner who exchanged goods such as cotton and rice produced in his estates for other commodities, including European goods brought from the Atlantic coast. Kabā was educated by his father and uncle. In 1777, he had hopes of studying law in Timbuktu, but he was captured and eventually shipped to Jamaica. From his arrival in Jamaica until his death in 1845, he was enslaved at Spice Grove. There, he passed through the hands of several owners, including Robert Peart, who was the father of his subsequent owners.

In the course of his enslavement, Kabā joined the Moravian Church Mission and was baptised in 1813. He then changed his name and took his first master's name. As a member of the Moravian mission, he ensured that his wife and children were also baptised. He was politically active on the island, helping to reveal the existence of a *wathīqa* (clerical letter) circulated among Muslims in Jamaica prior to 1834, and shaped the reactions of those enslaved in Manchester during the Baptist War of 1831-2. Regardless of these facts, and although he subsequently became an 'elder' and achieved a relatively high status in the Moravian mission hierarchy, Magistrate R.R. Madden, who encountered Kabā when he was one of the oldest Muslims in Jamaica, believed that he was feigning conversion to Christianity. This was in part because Madden noticed a letter allegedly written by Kabā to convert another African Muslim in Jamaica to Christianity, using the Muslim formula of greeting: 'In the name of God, merciful and omnipotent, the blessing of God, the peace of his prophet Mahomet!' In addition to maintaining a commitment to Islam,

Kabā helped draw attention to the existence of a small close-knit community of Muslims in Jamaica until his death in 1845. He made efforts to communicate with other Muslims in this community in order to sustain Islamic scholarship.

The Arabic manuscript *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* is 50 folios in length, and divided into two sections, evidently neither of which was composed directly from portions of the Qur'an. The first section primarily addresses issues relating to the destiny of humankind. Specifically, it calls for submission to Allāh, and focuses on 'the matter of the tomb'. It exhorts readers to pray and set their hearts on entering heaven by following the straight path. The second section deals with three issues: the ritual ablutions performed by Muslims prior to prayer, the space set aside for prayer, and what to say while praying. A marriage contract is inserted between the two sections. The manuscript is difficult to read, partly because Kabā made numerous mistakes in his writing. Nevertheless, it suggests that the author was a West African, specifically of Jakhanke background, who received the type of Qadiriyya education associated with the Saghanu-ghu towns of Futa Jallon and its interior.

SIGNIFICANCE

Many North American Muslim slave narratives written in English are valuable for the information preserved from the memories of African Muslims who converted to Christianity in the New World during the 19th century. Many such narratives also provide information about the attitude of Christian converts to their former religion of Islam, Christian attitudes towards Muslim converts, and the influence of Christianity on ex-Muslim slaves. For instance, Baquaqua's narrative is valuable partly because of the information it provides about the way in which he could have seen Christianity as a means of gaining advantage (specifically to raise money through the church for his planned return to Africa). Nicholas Sa'id's account is valuable for the information it provides about how enslaved Muslims mocked Christians and Christianity, and about the consequences of such mocking attitudes.

The works provide evidence that enslaved Africans maintained Arabic literacy in the New World, particularly in Jamaica and the United States. Furthermore, they reveal the strategies employed by some enslaved African Muslims to maintain their differences or protect their religious practices in the face of powerful pressures to conform to New World society and Christian customs. For instance, Omar's narrative reveals

information about the use of Arabic and the Qur'an in the representation of the Western Christian as an 'other' by enslaved Muslims.

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Mohammed Bashir Salau

Napoleon Bonaparte Wolfe

DATE OF BIRTH 25 December 1823
PLACE OF BIRTH Columbia, Pennsylvania
DATE OF DEATH 17 June 1891
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; buried in Columbia, Pennsylvania

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the early life of Napoleon Wolfe. By the late 1850s he had established himself in Cincinnati, Ohio, as a physician who promoted the medicinal benefits of 'inhalation', the practice of inhaling the vapours of various chemicals. Throughout the next three decades, he published several works on this subject as a way to promote his medical business. These works quickly fell into obscurity. Wolfe's most popular book, however, *Startling facts in modern Spiritualism*, was the product of his studying Spiritualism for 25 years.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Startling facts in modern Spiritualism

DATE 1874
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Startling facts in modern Spiritualism comprises 543 pages, five of which deal with Christian-Muslim relations. Wolfe claims that a medium he observed, Mrs Mary J. Hollis, had a vision of an olive-skinned man wearing 'the costume of a Turk', who proclaimed the eternal nature of 'Allah' and his dedication to 'Allah'. He then removed his clothes and tossed them in a river.

To understand the meaning of this vision, Hollis communicated with spirits, the second of which explained that this man was Muḥammad, and that, because he had realised the 'errors' of Islam and its 'debasing' effects, he was renouncing the religion and joining the cause of Spiritualism. The spirit then advised Hollis that this act should be embraced because Muḥammad has influence over millions of spirits – the implication being that he could direct the spirits to help reveal to humanity

the reality of Spiritualism. This story was not commented upon by later writers.

SIGNIFICANCE

While this story perpetuates popular negative images and ideas of Muslims, Islam and Muḥammad, it is significant because it marks one of the first times that Muḥammad himself is said to communicate with an American Spiritualist medium. It thus reflects the growing sense in the 1870s that American Spiritualism and alternative religions could generally incorporate other religious traditions. Although there are no known references to this specific story in later works, more Muslim spirits began appearing to American mediums, and others interested in alternative religions showed a greater interest in Islam. Thus, it can be assumed that this story did have some influence on American views of Islam.

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002260751 (digitised version available through Harvard Library)
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(revised and enlarged edition)

Patrick Bowen

Herman Melville

Herman Melvill

DATE OF BIRTH 1 August 1819
PLACE OF BIRTH New York
DATE OF DEATH 28 September 1891
PLACE OF DEATH New York

BIOGRAPHY

Herman Melville was born in 1819 to Allan Melvill and Maria Gansevoort Melvill, who changed her name and the names of her children to Melville after Allan died in debt and disgrace in 1832. Though Allan Melvill was a Unitarian, Herman was baptised into his mother's Dutch Reformed Church. In addition to the religious education Melville received at Albany's First Dutch Reformed Church, he was schooled for one year at Albany Academy, before the family's financial hardships forced him to withdraw from school to work variously as a bank clerk, printer and grammar school teacher. At the age of 19, Melville signed with a packet-ship and sailed to Liverpool as a 'boy'. Eighteen months later, he signed with the whale ship *Acushnet* and sailed to the South Pacific. In the Marquesas, he jumped ship, and lived with the supposedly cannibal Typee until he returned to the United States on the USS *United States*. His experiences at sea would lead to several novels, including the semi-autobiographical *Typee* and *Redburn*, as well as *Moby-Dick* and *White Jacket*.

In all, Melville published ten novels, 17 stories, and four volumes of poetry, along with many more uncollected poems and essays. *Clarel* was the last work he published during his lifetime; the novella *Billy Budd* was published posthumously in 1924. Melville's first book, *Typee*, was controversial because of its frank treatment of Polynesian sexual mores, suspicions of its claims to 'unvarnished truth', and its unflattering treatment of Christian missionaries. Undoubtedly, these controversies spurred its commercial success. Critics generally panned his subsequent novels, including *Moby-Dick*, which was rescued from obscurity only in the 1920s, 70 years after its publication and 30 years after Melville's death.

In *Moby-Dick*, Melville engages Islam only briefly and confusedly. The novel begins with the narrator declaring, 'Call me Ishmael'. This Ishmael

later performs a syncretistic religious rite with his friend, the pagan harpooner Queequeg, that includes 'salam[ing]' to an idol. Later in the novel, Ishmael describes Queequeg's fast as a 'Ramadan'.

The material for *Clarel* came from Melville's own 1857 journey to the Holy Land and from the voracious appetite for Holy Land travel narratives that he developed after he returned. Melville wrote the poem over the course of a decade between 1867 and 1876 while he worked as a US Customs inspector at the Port of New York.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Clarel: A poem and pilgrimage in the Holy Land

DATE 1876

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

At 499 pages originally spread over two volumes, *Clarel* is the longest American poem ever published. Its 150 cantos are of varying length, but are divided into four roughly equal parts titled after the poem's four primary settings: Jerusalem, The Wilderness, Mar Saba and Bethlehem. Its 17,000 lines are written in iambic tetrameter, and rhyme is observed idiosyncratically but 'inevitably' where each line eventually pairs with another line somewhere in the poem. See Bezanson, 'Historical and critical note', for an extended description of the poem.

Clarel narrates the pilgrimage of the title character from Jerusalem, through the wilderness of the Dead Sea region, to the ancient monastery of Mar Saba in the Kedron Valley, and then finally to Bethlehem. Running alongside this primary pilgrimage plot is a minor plot that involves Clarel's love for an American Jew named Ruth, who has settled with her family in Palestine. Clarel undertakes the journey from Jerusalem in part to pass the time before he can be reunited with Ruth, but she is murdered by Bedouin raiders while Clarel is away.

The pilgrimage plot exists primarily to provide opportunities for Clarel to engage in philosophical and theological discussions with a variety of pilgrims and religious sceptics. Nehemiah, the first potential guide Clarel encounters, is a Christian missionary who completely disregards the realities of 19th-century Palestine that do not accord with

biblical descriptions of the land. Nehemiah's missionary efforts appear ridiculous. When he offers a tract to a dignified Arab shaykh, the Arab's camel eats the tract and the shaykh simply ignores Nehemiah's 'decrepit hand'. Soon after meeting Nehemiah, Clarel encounters Rolfe, an earnest sceptic, who asks penetrating questions of all the major religious figures in the poem, but fails to find satisfactory answers. Derwent is a Broad Church Anglican minister who frustrates Rolfe and Clarel with his failure to provide satisfactory answers to earnest theological questions. Margoth, a 'Hegelized' Jew, is a convert to science who seeks geological evidence of the fiction of the Bible. Djaela is the noble Druze guide for the pilgrimage through the wilderness, whose religious faith is appealing to Clarel and Rolfe but remains secret and inaccessible. Belex is one of six Bethlehemite guides and guards for the pilgrims. He is a marginally observant Muslim who drinks wine and has doubts about religious faith as a result of his work policing the riotous crowds of Christian pilgrims at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The poem begins with Clarel in a tomb in the midst of a religious crisis. After considering all the religious and philosophical positions represented by the major characters, the poem ends with his despairing and eventually vanishing into the crowded streets of Jerusalem. The poem provides no resolution to Clarel's crisis or wandering, but an epilogue exhorts him to 'keep thy heart [...] / Emerge thou mayst from the last whelming sea / And prove that death but routs life into victory'.

The poem was the product of Melville's tour of the Holy Land in the winter of 1857. Over a period of 19 days, he travelled much the same route that the character Clarel covers in his poem. His journal from the trip recounts his experiences in the Holy Land in remarkable prose – at times approaching the virtuosity and daring of *Moby-Dick* – but Melville set this journal aside for more than a decade. In 1870, he began merging his Holy Land experience with deep reading in Holy Land travel literature into the epic poem that would become *Clarel*. Nathalia Wright ('A source for Melville's *Clarel*') identifies A.P. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* as a significant source for this.

The composition process was long and difficult. Melville's wife called the poem a 'dreadful *incubus* of a *book*' and thought it had affected her husband's mental health. Melville knew that the poem would not succeed; his preface announces his relinquishment of it. The few early reviewers who bothered to read the entire poem were generally confused or offended by it. See, for example, Higgins and Parker, *Herman Melville. The contemporary reviews*, pp. 529-42. The reading public was no more

supportive than the critics. In 1879, Melville signed a letter authorising the poem's publisher, G.P. Putnam, to pulp the 220 remaining sets of the 350 that were originally published.

SIGNIFICANCE

Clarel contains several descriptions of Muslims and Christians in the Holy Land, but the poem is far more concerned with Christian faith and doubt than with the particularities of Islamic belief and practice. Despite his relative lack of interest in Islam, Melville recognises common challenges posed to religious people (Muslims, Christians and Jews alike) by scientific discovery in the 19th century. Though *Clarel* expresses a dim view of the future of religious belief, the poem does acknowledge the dignity, hospitality and tolerance of Muslims in Palestine.

Early in the first part of *Clarel*, Melville's narrator observes a similarity between the train of Christian pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the crowd of Muslim pilgrims departing from the Damascus Gate for Mecca. The sight of these pilgrims in Jerusalem draws the narrator's thoughts further afield and inspires him to imagine the 'human wave' of Hindu pilgrims arriving in India, and Buddhist pilgrims 'Crossing the Himalayan mound'. The narrator's question, 'What profound / Impulsion makes these tribes to range?', suggests an 'intersympathy of creeds' that exists beneath the different beliefs and practices of all four of the world's major religions (1.6.203-4). So significant is this theme that Potter argues that *Clarel* is a 'study in nineteenth-century comparative religion' (*Melville's Clarel*, p. xix). Though Melville imagines Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims alongside Muslim and Christian pilgrims, and though Djaela, the pilgrims' guide, who is Druze, is featured prominently, the poem is most concerned with the relationships between Christians, Muslims and Jews in Palestine.

This first description of Muslim and Christian 'intersympathy' portrays the crowds of Christians and Muslims as devoted and zealous, but Melville quickly shifts to an exploration of the common demise of Christianity and Islam. Clarel sees signs of the decay of Christianity everywhere in Jerusalem. Whatever might have been original to Christianity has been hidden by centuries of accretion and ruin (1.10.1-6, 24-9). The major Christian characters in the poem are naïvely faithful, struggle with doubt, or have abandoned orthodox doctrines. The same is true of the close portraits of Muslims. Though Clarel observes masses and mobs of Muslims praying in unison and filing past shrines, the sole named Muslim character, Belex, a former Turkish cavalry soldier and one of their

guides, disregards the prohibition against drinking alcohol, observes Ramaḍān only loosely, and serves as a disillusioned guard at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Melville is pessimistic about both Christianity and Islam's long-term prospects in the face of 19th-century scientific discovery, but he presents a complex, though mostly favourable picture of Muslims in the Holy Land. He emphasises Muslims' hospitality and tolerance of other faiths both historically and personally. He relates the history of the foundation of the Mosque of the Caliph Omar ('Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) in 637 and the caliph's refusal to pray inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre lest he establish the Christian site as a Muslim shrine. Melville baits his readers into assuming that the minaret of the Mosque of Omar (which closely overshadows the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) is a symbol of Muslim dominance and tyranny over Christianity in the Holy Land, but then relates the history of the foundation of the mosque to show that the mosque and its minaret should instead be regarded as a symbol of Islamic tolerance.

Melville illustrates Muslim hospitality and tolerance personally as well as historically. Most of the Arabs that Clarel encounters in the wilderness are powerful but quiet and dignified figures who contrast with the helpless and foolish Christian pilgrims. For example, Belex and the other Muslim guards 'lift and spread the tent / And care for all' with 'Arab zest'.

In contrast to tolerant, dignified and hospitable individual Muslims such as the Caliph Omar and Belex, Melville describes bands of wild nomadic Arab Bedouins who create fear, chaos and death on the margins of Palestinian society. Arab raiders murder Ruth, Clarel's Jewish love interest and his last hope for regeneration of the desolated Holy Land. Melville also contrasts the history of Omar's tolerance with Hakeem's (the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim ibn 'Amr Allāh) persecution of Christians and destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009. Though Melville engages stereotypes of Islamic violence, intemperance and intolerance, he often marginalises these stereotypes by locating these traits in masses of unnamed Arab raiders and thieves, the figure of Hakeem notwithstanding.

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Joshua Mabie

Edward E. Salisbury

DATE OF BIRTH 6 April 1814
PLACE OF BIRTH Boston, Massachusetts
DATE OF DEATH 5 February 1901
PLACE OF DEATH New Haven, Connecticut

BIOGRAPHY

Edward Elbridge Salisbury, descended from a wealthy and devout Congregationalist New England family, graduated from Yale College in 1832. After completing his studies in theology, he was admitted to the ministry in 1836. He then married, and he and his young wife departed for Europe on an extended honeymoon. During his travels, Salisbury received private lessons in German and French so that he could study Oriental languages and literature with the famed scholars of Europe. In the autumn of 1837, the couple arrived in Paris and Salisbury enrolled at the *École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* (founded in 1795), to study Arabic, Persian and Hindustani with Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) and Garcin de Tassy (1794-1878). While in Paris, he also studied Islam and medieval Islamic history, and then made his way to Berlin in the autumn of 1838 to study with the renowned philologist and Sanskrit scholar Franz Bopp (1791-1867). He returned to New Haven in 1839 with this new knowledge, along with an impressive and unique personal library collected during his travels.

In 1841, Yale College appointed Salisbury professor of 'Arabic and Sanscrit [*sic*] languages and literature' – the first such position in the Americas. However, before taking up the appointment, Salisbury returned to Europe to spend a year perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic at the University of Bonn. There, he continued his formal studies in the medieval history of the Middle East and the antiquities of India, while corresponding with agents in Paris to purchase Arabic and Persian manuscripts at the auction of the massive library of the late Silvestre de Sacy, held in the spring of 1843. While in Europe, Salisbury was elected to the American Oriental Society, founded in Boston in 1842.

In August 1843, Salisbury delivered an inaugural address at Yale College, summarising the state of Western knowledge of Arabic, Islam and the languages and history of ancient India up to that time. In the

autumn, he offered lectures on classical Arabic literature, while also throwing himself into the work of the American Oriental Society as its corresponding secretary. In addition, as editor of its journal, he contributed articles on the Druze, Buddhism and Old Persian studies, among other topics. In 1846-7, Salisbury served on the Yale College committee that established the new Department of Philosophy and the Arts, the first graduate department in the Americas. In 1854, he funded a professorship of Sanskrit at Yale for his brilliant student William Dwight Whitney (1827-94). Initially, Salisbury kept the professorship of Arabic for himself, and then resigned for good in 1856. He continued to serve on various committees at Yale.

Salisbury remained active in the American Oriental Society for the rest of his life, serving twice as its president (1863-6, 1873-80). He was a member of many American and foreign academic societies and received a Doctorate of Law from Yale in 1869, and from Harvard in 1886. In 1870, he donated his entire personal library of Orientalia to the Yale College Library.

While Salisbury is important as one of the earliest American Orientalists to begin reading Islamic texts directly in the original language, his work signifies an important broadening of interest in the study of Islam outside a circle of European-trained specialists or missionaries in Muslim-majority lands by providing access to Islamic primary texts for a wider audience. As more American Christians began reading translated texts that were not expressly provided as part of polemical Christian literature, there was an interest in appreciating Islamic culture and civilisation, and Islam as a religion worth studying.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Contributions from original sources to our knowledge of the science of Muslim tradition

DATE 1862

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This work is an article that was originally presented to the American Oriental Society at its biannual meeting in New York City on 27 October 1859. After acknowledging the contributions to Western knowledge of early Islamic history made by the earlier work of Gustav Weil (*Mohammed der Prophet* and *Geschichte der chalifen*), Aloys Sprenger (*Life of Mohammad*), and William Muir (*Life of Mahomet and history of Islam to the era of the Hegira*), Salisbury lays out the principles of the science of Hadith (categories of the veracity of transmitters, methods of transmission, etc.). He compiled these principles from original sources that he collected for his personal library during his European travels in 1842-3 and 1857. These sources include an 18th-century manuscript of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (originally in the library of Silvestre de Sacy), lithographed editions from Delhi

of Muslim's *Musnad* and al-Jurjānī's *Risāla fī fann uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, and the introduction to an 1852 Delhi edition of al-Tahānawī's *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn* by an author known only as 'Abd al-Ḥaqq. Salisbury characterises this system as 'little dwelt upon', due to a 'praiseworthy earnestness of criticism to avoid being led by it to erroneous conclusions', asserting the Christian scholar's privilege to determine the inherent soundness of Muslim scholars' approach to the study of Hadith literature.

Aside from an introductory paragraph, the article is 82 pages long and is principally descriptive. It consists of extensive quotations from these original Arabic texts alongside Salisbury's own translations, interspersed with short contextualising paragraphs. This approach provided his mid-19th-century reader with an extensive corpus of texts translated by Salisbury from Arabic to English with which to understand the science of tradition among Muslim jurists.

SIGNIFICANCE

Shortly after Salisbury's death, this article was characterised by Edward Hopkins ('Memorial address', p. 11) as one of Salisbury's most scholarly efforts, having been, as Salisbury himself described it, 'gathered from original sources, either only in manuscript or so little accessible as to be nearly equivalent to unpublished authorities' (referring to the Delhi lithographs he used as his sources). It was cited by Ignaz Goldziher as a description of the concept of *isnād* 'from which the reader will gather everything worth noting' (*Muhammedanische studien*, p. 6). Salisbury's article was also described by Daniel Varisco as 'contributing to a better understanding of the Muslim science of tradition without attacking Islam' (*Reading Orientalism*, p. 352), in contrast to the approach of Muir (*Life of Mahomet*), also referenced by Salisbury in this article. Goldziher warns that Salisbury's translations include many errors and itemises a few of them, although he adds that the work is otherwise 'useful and inspiring' (*Zāhiriten*, pp. 21-2).

PUBLICATIONS

Edward E. Salisbury, 'Contributions from original sources to our knowledge of the science of Muslim tradition', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 7 (1862) 60-142; 000598940 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

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Materials for the history of the Muhammadan doctrine of predestination and free will

DATE 1866

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This article by Salisbury was originally presented to the American Oriental Society at its 20 May 1863 meeting. He indicates with some diffidence that this could very well be the first treatment of this subject in Western scholarship, and that his work may, therefore, be considered incomplete and in need of further development. The article is 77 pages in length, nearly half of which are devoted to an extended translation of the 12th-century philosopher al-Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* ('Book of sects and creeds'), to which Salisbury would have had access in the 1842-46 edition published by the London Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts. The rest of the article examines the question of predestination and free will as depicted first in the pre-Islamic texts of the poets of the Jāhiliyya era, and then in the Qur'an and Hadith.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hopkins ('Memorial address', p. 11) characterised this article as having been 'especially agreeable to [Salisbury] to write, essentially historical'. In spite of Salisbury's diffidence, the article has proven quite useful to modern scholarship. It is referenced in Sabine Schmidtke's discussion of late Mu'tazilite philosophy ('Neuere Forschungen', p. 385), and by Suleiman

Mourad (*Early Islam*, p. 330) as a source for the legacy of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. More recently, it has been cited by Stephen Burge (*Angels in Islam*, p. 254) as a source for the association of angels in Islamic texts with their counterparts in the Jewish and Christian traditions.

PUBLICATIONS

E.E. Salisbury, 'Materials for the history of the Muhammadan doctrine of predestination and free will', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 8 (1866) 105-182; 000598940 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

S.R. Burge, *Angels in Islam. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, London, 2012

S.A. Mourad, *Early Islam between myth and history*, Leiden, 2006

S. Schmidtke, 'Neuere forschungen zur Mu'tazila unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der späteren Mu'tazila ab dem 4/10 Jahrhundert', *Arabica* 45 (1998) 379-408

Hopkins, 'Memorial address'

,On some of the relations between Islam and Christianity'

DATE 1876

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This 19-page article appeared in the *New Englander* in 1876. In it, Salisbury notes that new approaches to the study of the text of the Qur'an and the 'mines of Muslim tradition' call for 'studious men' to examine the religion of Islam 'with a simple desire to know the truth'. Islam is not to be compared with Christianity, although Christians should gratefully recognise the contributions of Islam's great medieval philosophers, transmitters of the Greek sciences, and those who were 'rather free-thinkers than Muslims in their religious faith'. He notes Islam's inherently tolerant nature and contrasts it with the seeming increase in extremism that he sees demonstrated in contemporary events in Bulgaria and Turkey.

SIGNIFICANCE

The article is referred to only by Edward Hopkins ('Memorial address', p. 12). While the *New Englander* was one of the leading literary journals in the country (and is still the oldest, having gone through various title changes to become today's *Yale Review*), this Salisbury contribution seems to have been aimed principally at a general, rather than a scholarly, audience.

Salisbury directly addresses the 'prejudices and misconceptions' of Christian apologists (p. 759), to have them look anew at the life of Muḥammad and the Qur'an. In reviewing the arguments of Christian apologists such as Jerome Xavier, Henry Martyn and Karl Pfander, he sets out the more recent responses by the Muslim reformers Syed Ahmed Khan and Ameer Ali. He argues that, when Christians look at the Prophet Muḥammad anew, they might see him for what he was, an important moral and spiritual reformer of his day, and they might realise that the 'primitive principles' of his life are worth appreciating anew (p. 771). Given the fundamentally evangelical nature of the publication, it is not surprising that Salisbury advocates the superiority of Christianity over the teachings of Islam, although his argument for a more measured appreciation of the virtues of the religion is noteworthy for its time.

PUBLICATIONS

E.E. Salisbury, 'On some of the relations between Islam and Christianity', *The New Englander* 35 (1876) 752-71; 000046724 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

Hopkins, 'Memorial address'

Roberta L. Dougherty

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky

DATE OF BIRTH 12 August 1831 (Old Style 31 July 1831)
PLACE OF BIRTH Ekaterinoslav, Russia
DATE OF DEATH 8 May 1891
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's life prior to her move to New York on 7 July 1873 is difficult to reconstruct owing to lack of sufficient source material. Some of the events after 1873 are also at times unclear, as her own statements are our only source.

Blavatsky, whose influence on modern spiritualism has been compared to that of Martin Luther and St Paul on Christianity, was of Russian noble descent, the daughter of Colonel Peter von Hahn (1799-1875) and the famous novelist Helena Andreyevna (1814-42). Since her mother died when she was young and her father was often away on military campaigns, her early life was spent either travelling from place to place with her father or staying with her grandparents for long periods. According to her younger sister, Vera Petrovna de Zhelihovsky (1835-96), Blavatsky was an unusual child, to whom all of nature was permeated with life and spirits (Sinnett, *Incidents*, p. 35; Cranston, *HPB*, p. 29.). Many accounts attest that already as a child she displayed signs of a spiritualist and occult nature (Sinnett, *Incidents*, pp. 20, 32, 42-3, 49-50).

In October 1848, a few months after her marriage to Nikifor V. Blavatsky, she embarked on her first series of extensive travels around the globe, which was quite unusual for a woman at the time. It appears that she may have arrived in Cairo from Constantinople in 1850-1. She and her friend, the American writer and artist Albert Leighton Rawson (1828-1902), met the Coptic occultist Paulos Metamon, with whom Blavatsky wanted to form a society for occult research in Cairo. During the early 1850s, Blavatsky also appears to have been in Western Europe, particularly London and Paris, where she frequented spiritualist and mesmerist circles. After further extensive travels, she finally, and for the second time, arrived in Cairo in late 1871. Either now or earlier, Blavatsky may have met the Persian Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, well known as 'the sage of the East', from whom she learnt about Islam, Islamic philosophy and Sufism. She also mingled with spiritualists on a visit to the pyramids.

In Cairo, Blavatsky formed a society called the ‘Société spirite’ for the investigation of mediums and spiritual phenomena, following Allen Kardec’s theories and philosophy. The society proved a disappointment to Blavatsky, however, and in the spring of 1873 she left Cairo for Paris, where she planned to stay with one of her Von Hahn cousins. Her stay there lasted only two months, as she said she was ordered by her spiritual masters to go to the United States ‘to *prove* the [spiritualistic] phenomena and their reality and – show the fallacy of the Spiritualistic theories of “Spirits”’ (Godwin, *Theosophical enlightenment*, pp. 281-2; Algeo et al., *Letters*, p. 31).

In New York in 1874, Blavatsky encountered Henry Steel Olcott (1832-1907) at a series of séances in the Eddy farmhouse, and became his life-long platonic partner. With a number of other likeminded individuals, their mutual interest sparked the foundation, on 8 September 1875, of the Theosophical Society, for the investigation of the mysteries of the universe and the reality of spiritualist phenomena. Their attention, however, soon turned towards India and its religious traditions; to pursue these interests they left New York on 8 July 1878, just a few months after Blavatsky became an American citizen.

In India, the Theosophical Society expanded with great success. In 1886, Blavatsky left India for good, travelling to Europe to work on *The secret doctrine*. She spent her final years in London, where she established



Illustration 8. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky

the European headquarters of the Theosophical Society and remained with many of her most devoted disciples and colleagues until her death in 1891.

Blavatsky's life as a charismatic woman, travelling the globe in quest of authentic esoteric wisdom, claiming contact with hidden spiritual masters, and promoting displays of occult phenomena, has inspired both great admiration and accusations of fraud. This may be the reason she has been dubbed 'the first to be famous for being famous'. She was the main intellectual-spiritual motor behind the early Theosophical Society and its ideas, as expressed in her many works.

Blavatsky's active writing period spans from late 1874 until her death. She wrote mainly in English, but also in French and Russian. Her writings consist largely of articles published in various newspapers and spiritualist and occult journals on topics related to mesmerism, spiritualism, Western esoteric traditions, ancient religions, Eastern religions, science and Theosophy. She founded two journals, *The Theosophist* (1879) and *Lucifer* (1887), to which she contributed extensively. She also wrote occult and travel-related fiction, such as her *Nightmare tales* and *From the caves and jungles of Hindustan*, published first as instalments in journals and later, posthumously, in book form. Her *Collected writings*, containing her articles and stories, consist of 14 main volumes plus additional volumes.

Her major works include *Isis unveiled* (1877) and *The secret doctrine* (1888), a comprehensive work of over 1,450 pages intended to prove the existence of an ancient universal secret doctrine or wisdom concerning the origin and development of the universe and humanity. In addition to combining a vast number of elements from various traditions and ages, it constitutes the primary exposition of Theosophical doctrines, especially for first generation Theosophists. Blavatsky also wrote a number of other works such as *The key to Theosophy* (1889), which was intended as a popular exposition of the main views of the Theosophists, such as karma, reincarnation, after-death states and the spiritual structure of humanity, presented in a question and answer form. She also published a small volume entitled *The voice of the silence* (1889), which she translated from an esoteric work she claimed was given to disciples in Tibet undergoing spiritual initiation, and included instruction in elements of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism, such as the cultivation of the Bodhisattva ideal of sacrificing the attainment of Nirvana in order to guide others from suffering to enlightenment. None of these works deals directly with Christian-Muslim relations, with only sporadic mention of the Qur'an, Islam

and Muḥammad. The posthumously published *Theosophical glossary* perhaps sums up Blavatsky's representation of the Qur'an and Christian-Muslim relations in its statement, 'The revelation differs, however, from that given by Jehovah to Moses. The Christians abuse the Koran calling it a hallucination, and the work of an Arabian imposter. Whereas, Mohammed preaches in his Scriptures the unity of Deity, and renders honour to the Christian prophet "Issa Ben Yussuf" (Jesus, son of Joseph). The Koran is a grand poem, replete with ethical teachings proclaiming loudly Faith, Hope and Charity' (Blavatsky, *Theosophical glossary*, pp. 179-80). Blavatsky thus suggests that Christians are critical of Islam, but that Muslims on the other hand recognise the Christian prophet. These statements about Christian-Muslim relations should be read in relation to Blavatsky's outspoken criticism of institutional Christianity, especially of the Roman Catholic Church, and in connection with her general preference for universal religious unity.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The primary sources available include what remains of Blavatsky's personal letters, sketchbook, notebook of travel impressions (Archives Chennai, MSS in the archives of Adyar); as well as secondary published reports from people who knew or met Blavatsky, and Blavatsky's own later retrospective narrations of her life.

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Isis unveiled

DATE 1877

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Isis unveiled. A master-key to the mysteries of ancient and modern science and theology, published in 1877, was Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's first book. It consists of over 1,300 pages divided into two volumes, the first subtitled 'Science' and the second 'Theology'. Blavatsky and some of her friends claimed that the work was written with the help of hidden spiritual masters with whom she was in contact. A number of her friends and colleagues substantially helped her, such as H.S. Olcott, W.Q. Judge, and the editor at Bouton, Alexander Wilder. One of the main arguments posed in vol. 1 is that the so-called ancient 'hermetic philosophy', magic and the occult sciences contain a wealth of knowledge, too often disregarded, that in fact prefigure many of the proud discoveries made by modern

scientists. Vol. 1 also launches a critique of the materialism of the modern sciences and the naturalists, such as Tyndall and Huxley, and attempts to show that the spiritual and occult forces discussed by the ancients are real and important dimensions of nature rather than supernatural fantasies. The main argument of vol. 2 is the one-time existence of a universal wisdom-religion, which can be traced back to what Blavatsky calls pre-Vedic Brahmanism, and that all the later religions more or less derive their ideas, symbols and myths from this parent stock (first edition, 1877, vol. 2, p. 639). The book lashes out in particular at the Roman Catholic Church and Christian theology, as Blavatsky considers these to be misinterpretations of the ancient universal wisdom-religion, and she seeks to prove this through a comparative study of mythology. The book touches on many themes and copious material from many different religious, philosophical, esoteric and scientific contexts. Thus, while *Isis unveiled* does not specifically deal with Christian-Muslim relations or Islam, it does sporadically touch upon these topics.

The following words (some with variant spellings) relating to Islam appear throughout the two volumes: Mahomet, Mohammed, Mahometan(s), Moslem(s), Mussulmans, Islam, Islamism, Kaaba, Sufis and Dervishes. Blavatsky's treatment of them can be categorised into three main forms of discourse: polemics against church religions, especially the Roman Catholic Church; Theosophical resurrection of paganism and one universal religion; interest in esotericism and related topics.

Concerning the first, in a polemic against the Roman Catholic Church, Blavatsky argues that there has never been a more bloody religion than Christianity, stating that 'Even the rapid spread of Mahometanism before the conquering sword of the Islam prophet, is a direct consequence of the bloody riots and fights among Christians. It was the intestine war between the Nestorians and the Cyrilians that engendered Islamism' (vol. 2, pp. 53-4). Furthermore, under the provocative page heading 'The Pope fraternizing with Islam', Blavatsky recounts the Eastern crisis of the Balkan wars of 1876 and accuses the pope of siding with the Turks against Russia and the Greek Orthodox Church. 'Better Islam, and the hitherto-hated Crescent over the sepulchre of the Christian god, than the Greek Church established at Constantinople and Jerusalem as the state religion' (vol. 2, p. 81).

In addition, Blavatsky states that 'Mahomet never was, neither is he now, considered a god; yet under the stimulus of his name millions of Moslems have served their God with an ardour that can never

be paralleled by Christian sectarianism. That they have sadly degenerated since the days of their prophet, does not alter the case in hand. [...] Besides, they have never degenerated more from primitive faith than Christians themselves. Why, then, should not Jesus of Nazareth, a thousandfold higher, nobler, and morally grander than Mahomet, be as well revered by Christians and followed in practice instead of being blindly adored in fruitless faith as a god [...] (vol. 2, p. 575).

In relation to the second form of discourse, the resurrection of paganism and the belief in one universal religion, Blavatsky argues that the world does not need any organised churches or separate religious traditions: 'The world needs no sectarian church, whether of Buddha, Jesus, Mahomet, Swedenborg, Calvin, or any other. There being but ONE Truth, man requires but one church or the Temple of God within us, walled in by matter but penetrable by any one who can find the way; *the pure in heart see God*' (vol. 2, p. 635).

Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society, like many spiritualists, worked for the unification of all religions and believed that 'A few centuries more, and there will linger no sectarian beliefs in either of the great religions of humanity. Brahmanism and Buddhism, Christianity and Mahometanism will all disappear before the mighty rush of *facts*' (vol. 1, p. 613). It is not that there will be no religion in the future, but rather there will just be the one universal wisdom-religion, the religion of the ancients (vol. 2, p. 613) or ancient paganism, which she considers the root of Islam. 'What has been contemptuously termed Paganism, was ancient wisdom, [...] and Judaism and its offspring Christianity and Islamism, derived whatever of inspiration they contained from this ethnic parent' (vol. 2, p. 639).

Concerning the third form of discourse, Blavatsky's general interest in esoteric traditions, *Isis unveiled* also contains a number of references to Islam. Blavatsky is aware of the Sufis, whom she mentions in a few instances, referring to their deep knowledge of astrology, medicine and esoteric doctrines, and their notion of a 'universal creed' in quoting C.W. King's *The Gnostics and their remains*. The long introduction to vol. 1, entitled 'Before the veil', includes a glossary in which 'dervishes' are described as 'Mahometan devotees' and 'whirling charmers'. Her main point, however, is to distinguish the dervishes from the Indian faqirs. Other topics include the esoteric relation between Saturn and the 'kaaba' (vol. 1, p. 578), mediums materialising Muḥammad (vol. 1, p. 119), Islam's view of Jesus based on Eliphas Levi (vol. 1, p. 480), and short accounts of the worship and creed of Islam (vol. 2, pp. 315-17, 554).

Finally, with respect to Christian-Muslim relations, Blavatsky refers to a prophecy from Nostradamus that indicates that Islam might fall in its fight with Christianity, 'Let Islam know and fear – The Cross shall stand, the Crescent wane' (vol. 1, p. 260). Blavatsky finds that 'the future will tell whether the Moslem Crescent, which seems, indeed, to be *waning*, will irrevocably "wane, dissolve, and disappear," as the outcome of the present troubles'. The present troubles that she refers to here are the Crimean war and Turkey's near destruction in 1856 (vol. 1, p. 260).

SIGNIFICANCE

Blavatsky's strategic use of Islam and Muḥammad in her critique of Roman Catholicism was presumably a result of the increasing awareness of and knowledge about Islam in the 19th century, and the general dislike of Islam among Christians. In many respects, her work forms part of the 19th-century critique of religion growing among intellectuals in the West; like them, Blavatsky criticises most religious traditions of the organised world, and especially the Roman Catholic Church for being power-driven, misguided, conservative, incorrect, bloodthirsty and sectarian. In contrast to Roman Catholics, Muslims are portrayed as more sincere and devout in their beliefs. However, while Muḥammad is regarded as one of the great religious founders alongside Jesus and others, he is nonetheless portrayed as less noble than Jesus, a view that was a general trend at the time. F. Quinn writes 'He [Muḥammad] was by now a hero, founder of a major world religion that was also a political force to be reckoned with; yet for many Westerners Muhammad remained morally deficient, as did the religion he espoused' (*The sum of all heresies. The image of Islam in Western thought*, Oxford, 2007, p. 91).

According to Blavatsky, 'church' religions, including both Christianity and Islam, will ultimately all disappear in a future that will see the resurrection of the universal paganism of ancient times. Blavatsky also relativises the authority of given religious traditions through extensive comparisons with other religions, as a means of pointing to this common source. Her intention in her critique, however, was not to promote agnosticism and materialism, but rather to introduce what she believed to be the one true universal religion, the wisdom-religion. Like the spiritualists of her day, she wanted to prove the existence of spiritual realities rather than take them on blind faith. In *Isis unveiled*, and sporadically in her later writings, she takes some initial steps towards connecting elements of the Islamic tradition with Western esotericism. Her keen interest in the Sufi tradition sparked a few decades later also begins to emerge

in *Isis unveiled*, as Blavatsky became aware that Sufism, the esoteric tradition of Islam, must contain the same universal elements as those in other religious traditions.

PUBLICATIONS

The work has had numerous editions; a selection of editions together with translations is given here.

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Tim Rudbøg

Charles William Forman

DATE OF BIRTH 3 March 1821
PLACE OF BIRTH Washington, Kentucky
DATE OF DEATH 27 August 1894
PLACE OF DEATH Lahore

BIOGRAPHY

Charles William Forman was a Presbyterian minister and missionary, and the founder of Forman Christian College in Lahore, which grew to become one of the most prominent educational institutions in India.

Forman was the son of hemp farmers who migrated west from New Jersey to Kentucky in order to evade the financial loss caused by the abolition of slavery. He experienced a religious conversion in a revival meeting when he was 20 years old. One consequence of this was his desire to serve the enslaved community through education, which stimulated his pursuit of formal studies, including a degree from Princeton Theological Seminary. Upon graduation, the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board of the United States appointed him as a missionary to India.

Arriving in Calcutta in 1847, Forman first resided with the veteran missionary Alexander Duff. Duff had succeeded in converting a number of high-caste youths through English education, and his approach became a model for Forman, as it did for many others. Forman departed that same year to join John and Elizabeth Newton at the mission station in Ludhiana, which housed the first school and printing press in the Punjab. In 1855, Forman married their daughter Margaret. The couple had seven children. After his wife's death, Charles married Georgina Lockhart, with whom he had three children. Five of his children, Henry, John, Charles, Mary and Emily, became Presbyterian missionaries to India.

In 1849, the British annexed the lands of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and established control of the Punjab. This opened the way for missionaries to begin work in the region. Forman accompanied the Newtons to establish a mission school in Lahore. With financial support from the Governor General and from evangelicals in the British administration, the Presbyterians opened the Rang Mahal School in 1850. It was the first English-language school in the Lahore District. The Newtons left in 1851, but Forman continued the work and managed a network of mission

schools and a college in 1855, which still bears his name. He was very influential in the development of the educational system in the Punjab but was also known for his missionary zeal and emphasis on evangelism. He travelled regularly throughout the villages and maintained a route of preaching points in Lahore, to which he returned each morning and evening.

He died in 1894. A large procession, including many former students who had become prominent citizens, carried his coffin from the railway station through the streets of Lahore for interment at Taxali Gate.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Rutba-i shafāʿat

'Status as heavenly intercessor'

DATE 1862-1877

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Urdu

DESCRIPTION

Rutba-i shafāʿat ('Status as heavenly intercessor'; alternative titles are *Tegh-o sipar-i ʿIsawī*, 'The Christian sword and shield', and *Risāla-i tahrīf*, 'Treatise on corruption') is the first of approximately 40 short religious tracts, ranging from between 8 and 22 pages, that were composed by

Charles Forman between 1862 and 1877. These varied greatly in theme. They were composed primarily to communicate the Christian message to students in mission schools and to strengthen the fledgling Christian congregations in Punjab and northern India. *Rutba* emphasises the unique role of Christ as the only intercessor for humanity. Many of Forman's early tracts contain similar evangelistic appeals, e.g. *Bayān-i fāraqlīt* ('The Paraclete'), *Rahat-i darmandgān* ('Rest for the weary'), *Tuhfat al-nasiyah* ('Gems of counsel'), *Rah-i salāmat* ('Way of peace'), and *Risāla-i qurbānī* ('On sacrifice'), which were all composed in 1863, and later *Najāt al-azimān* ('Salvation of sinners'), published in 1864, and *Ummīd-i jannat* ('Hope of heaven') and *Ṭaṭabīq-i shara-o Injil* ('Agreement of the law and Gospel'), published in 1865.

Rutba-i shafā'at is a short piece that marks the first step in Forman's lengthy career in Urdu Christian writing. The subject matter reflects a seasoned understanding of the spiritual practices current in the region, namely the central importance of the intercessory role of a shaykh or guru. The evangelistic booklet exalts Jesus as the divinely appointed intermediary between humans and God. The text applies Sufi terms and imagery to introduce the person and role of Jesus.

Forman also composed a series of scriptural narratives. These include *Kashif-i jurum-i Adam* ('Unveiling of Adam's guilt') in 1863, *Qisṣah-i tufān* ('The story of the Flood') and *Aḥwāl-i Khalīl-ullāh* ('Account of [Abraham] the Beloved of God') in 1864, *Hayāt-o ṣaud-i Masiḥ* ('Life and resurrection of Christ') and *Zikr-i Istifān* ('On Stephen') in 1865, *Ityās kā qisṣah* ('On Elijah') in 1866, *Tamsīl-i Lazar* ('The parable of Lazarus') and *Wafāt-i Masiḥ* ('The death of Christ') in 1867, *Masiḥ kī paidāish* ('The birth of Christ') and *Qisṣah-i Patras* ('On Peter') in 1869, and finally the longest in this series, *Masiḥ kā aḥwāl* ('Story of the life of Christ') in 1874. He also composed apologetic responses to objections raised against Christian belief, such as *Shūkūk-i kaffārah* ('Objections concerning the Atonement') in 1873, which was a reply to *Abḥās-i zurūrī* by Walī Ullāh Lāhorī (d. 1879), and *Sawāl-o jawāb* ('Question and answer') in 1875. Two of his longest apologetic works are considered below.

Printed by the Ludhiana Mission Press, *Tegh-o sipar-i Isawī* ('The Christian sword and shield') is a 153-page apologetic response to Muslim objections against Christianity. The text is structured in three parts, each with its own preface. Part 1 is titled 'Is the Qur'an the word of God or not?', and is divided into four topics: 'Is the original (*asl*) Qur'an extant or not?', 'On miracles', 'On the fulfilment of prophecies', and 'On moral teaching'.

Part 1 concludes with a summary of Forman's argument against the reliability of the Qur'an. He writes,

After Muhammad, Caliph Abu Bakr commanded that all of the revealed portions be gathered and compiled. Approximately 17 years later, Caliph Usman, because of the many inconsistencies in the text, made a new Qur'an and burned the other volumes. From this it can be known that the Qur'an was compiled from the hands of Abu Bakr and Usman. (p. 3).

It is noteworthy that Forman is careful never to write anything against Muḥammad. The question is not whether the contents are of divine origin, but whether they are reliable in their present form.

Part 2, which is 59 pages long, is a reply to Muslim objections to six aspects of Christian belief. It is in four chapters: 1. 'Objections to the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ', where Forman argues that the Bible supports Trinitarian doctrine on the basis of the plural pronouns in Genesis, the disclosures at Jesus's baptism, and the formula of the Great Commission; 2. 'About the Atonement', where Forman responds to 20 allegations presented by an unnamed opponent, including the claim that Judas should have been rewarded for killing Jesus; he refutes this idea by noting that, even if an action has a positive outcome, God discerns and judges the purpose of the actor; 3. 'Concerning the Lord's Supper (Eucharist)', where he explains that, although a tradition may seem strange – even comical – to an outsider, such as the way a Hindu might describe the sacrifice of an animal by a Muslim, still these rituals have a profound significance to the practitioner; 4. 'Traditions and cultural additions', which begins as a gentle reply to the accusation that Christians do not have a faith to practise (*be-din*), and that there are few observable religious tenets such as circumcision, dietary laws or set times of prayer and fasting, to which he responds by drawing attention to the high standards of Christian morality, which are sustained by an inner motivation. He gives the example of the permissibility of drinking alcohol and that it is not the substance itself but intoxication that is or can be the problem. The problem is not with the forms of religion, but the belief that the forms are sufficient to merit salvation. He concludes Part 2 by addressing other miscellaneous allegations, and finally makes an evangelistic appeal to the reader.

Having addressed shortcomings in Islam and responding to objections, in Part 3, which is 40 pages long, Forman presents seven forms of evidence to support Christianity: 1. Unlike the Qur'an, the Christian *Injil* is the original text. He supports this view with qur'anic references, and

states that the same Bible supported in them is present among Christians today (Q 10:64, 18:27; 6:73). There is no discussion on the canonical history of the Bible, and Forman takes for granted that it is the Word of God. 2. The fact that the *Injil* is the Word of God is evidenced by the quality and profundity of its moral and spiritual teaching. 3. The veracity of the *Injil* is evidenced by its continuity from prophetic predictions and fulfilment of them. 4. The truth of the *Injil* is evidenced by the faithful witness of the disciples. 5. The *Injil* is evidenced by the miracles of Christ and of the disciples in subsequent generations. 6. It is evidenced also by the continuous spreading of the Gospel. 7. Finally, the truth of it is evidenced by the effect of the *Injil* in the lives of believers.

Tegh-o sipar is the longest and most extensive example of Forman's presentation of Christianity to the Muslims of India. The work demonstrates the character of his missionary approach. Unlike other apologists who also address sensitive issues, he manages to avoid bitter offence. He is convinced of the superiority of the Bible over the Qur'an but stops short of making statements concerning the person of Muḥammad or about the nature of the revelation in the Qur'an. On the contrary, Forman frequently cites the Qur'an and Hadith to make his point. His writing also demonstrates familiarity with ongoing debates among Muslim scholars on salient issues. This is indicative of someone who not only is thoroughly fluent in the local language, but also demonstrates a degree of cultural fluency. Forman consistently appeals to the reader to convert, but somehow manages to convey a deep spirituality and sincere concern for the condition and fate of his audience.

The text also provides an important benchmark in the use of Urdu in Christian literature. Throughout, Forman consistently uses Muslim terminology. He renders the name Jesus as 'Īsā, rather than Yesū', and he has no qualms in referring to God as Allah. Throughout the work, the quality and metre of his Urdu is of such a high standard that it is virtually indistinguishable from that of a local Muslim.

The purpose of *Risāla-i taḥrīf* ('Treatise on corruption') is to respond to the Muslim claim that the Christian and Jewish scriptures have been tampered with (*taḥrīf*). Forman refers to the qur'anic phrase *lā mūbaddil li-kalimātihi* ('none can change his [God's] words'; Q 6:115; 18:27) to answer that the Bible is God's 'unchanging word'. The book has two sections. The first contains Forman's responses to seven common Muslim objections to the Bible. If these scriptures have been changed, he argues, then they

need to be rejected; but if not, then they need to be understood and obeyed. The seven objections are as follows: 1. The contents of the Bible are not in agreement with those of the Qur'an; 2. The Qur'an states that the biblical text has been corrupted. He clarifies from his reading of the Qur'an that this is not the case, and he cites verses in support; 3. The doctrines of Christianity such as the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the Atonement, are contrary to simple reason. He argues that difficulty in understanding the Bible, or the mysteries of the universe, or even of the human body, is not sufficient cause for unbelief. For those who accept the unique greatness of God, these doctrines are not beyond belief; 4. The Bible is not reliable because it includes not only God's word but also the writings of various persons such as the disciples. He argues that textual research reveals that God does not keep to only one means of revelation. God spoke to Abraham face to face, to Moses through the tablets of stone, and to the hearts of disciples through the Holy Spirit, and these messages were recorded in their own tongues. In reading the Gospels, he explains, one experiences a spiritual feeling, a touch to the heart and a sense that one is listening directly to the voice of Jesus Christ; 5. Jews and Christians have removed prophecies about Muḥammad. He says this is baseless because Christ himself challenged the Jews to examine their scriptures and he never implied that the books had been changed; 6. The books have been corrupted by scribes and transcriptions. Forman explains that any book contains typographical mistakes, even the Qur'an. He cites a list of 33 examples taken from *Mizan ul haqq* by Karl Pfander; 7. Muslims claim there is a committee that regulates corrections to the Bible and can make changes as desired. Forman seeks to debunk this view by explaining that the purpose of the committee is to address issues of translation and meaning rather than to alter the primary sources.

In the second section, Forman responds to the accusation that Christianity is merely the product of human thinking. He presents a series of itemised responses: 1. The great diversity between manuscripts attests to the historicity of the key doctrines of the faith; 2. Christians were commanded not to add anything to the completed scriptures; 3. Christians suffered and gave their lives for the faith; 4. Anyone who would tamper with their own book is worldly-minded, but the message of the book is one of self-sacrifice and spiritual living, and this demands the character reflected in Jesus; 5. When it is considered that Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs do not alter their books, but rather study their scriptures with great honour and care, it is a terrible slight to claim that Christians would do

any less; 6. The Jews opposed Jesus's teaching and they are not close to Christians, so it is unlikely that they would collude in altering the text; 7. The Bible was not changed after Muḥammad because there are older copies readily available for all to see; 8. If Muslims were to change even one verse on a subject such as *jihād* or marriage, would not all Christians raise a cry about this? Yet there is no accusation from the surrounding religious communities that the book had been changed; 9. There are many sects in Christianity, as in Islam, and these do not accuse the others of changing the Bible; 10. If there had been changes made in a collaboration between Jews and Christians, then there would also be attempts to expand the evidence for the position of one of these against the other; 11. There are very ancient manuscripts, in London and Rome, some written 300 and 400 years after Christ; 12. There were ancient libraries examined by early Church Fathers such as Origen, who presented a list of translations; 13. The research of those opposed to Christianity confirms the continuity and veracity of the text. The work concludes with an invitation to the reader to become a Christian.

Risāla-i taḥrīf addresses the widely held notion that the Bible has been altered and is thus no longer reliable as a religious text. This was a subject of considerable interest in this period, particularly in the decades after the 1854 debates in Agra, where historical-critical writings by Christians were used as evidence against the viability of the text of the Bible. This was a pressing concern and the Conference on Vernacular Literature affirmed the need for a Christian explanation, a challenge that Forman sets out to address here. Thanks to the reference to the writing of Karl Pfander, who was the primary contestant in the debate, it can be seen that Forman was well informed about these developments. However, given that he did not participate in debates or promote this type of engagement, it appears that he favoured a more tempered approach such as that advocated by his neighbour, Bishop Thomas Valpy French, or of Imad ud-Din Lahiz, two others who did participate in the debates and became disillusioned by this approach.

It is noteworthy that Forman makes no mention of Syed Aḥmad Khān and his extensive writings on *taḥrīf* in *Tabyīn al-kalām*, which is a Muslim commentary on the Bible published in about 1862. Khān provides a far more detailed study of the subject, taking into account not only the Bible's complex canonical history but also the positive spiritual effect that a reader can experience, an observation that is almost identically worded in this text. Forman, however, makes no attempt to address

issues of historical criticism or the litany of inconsistencies brought forward in the Agra debates. As a biblicist, he accepts the state of the present text as consistent with divine sovereignty, regardless of how it came to be in this condition. His basic argument is that, whatever problems there may be with the Bible, they are shared by Muslims because the Bible is referred to positively in the Qur'an. For Forman, the message of the Bible provides spiritual guidance and explains the means for eternal salvation. However, he overlooks, or perhaps fails to comprehend, the radically different approaches of Muslims who expect to encounter the direct word of God as experienced in the Qur'an.

SIGNIFICANCE

Forman's apologetic approach does not contribute any ideas that are radically different from those of his contemporaries. Less combative than Karl Pfander, and less polished than Thomas Valpy French, two of many possible examples, Forman distinguished himself by the high volume of his output. He authored more Urdu writings than any other missionary in this formative period of Protestant Christian missions in North India. When this prolific output is added to his standing as an educator, his extended length of service, and the depth of his cultural and linguistic knowledge, it can be argued that he had an important role in the development of Urdu Christian religious meta-language, and that his missiological approach was highly influential in this first generation of Christians in British Punjab.

The string of religious tracts by Charles Forman are some of the earliest Christian Urdu writings to be composed in the northwestern territories under British rule. They were printed on a variety of occasions by the Ludhiana press, and distributed throughout India. The writings demonstrate the growing importance of the printing industry and reflect the growing recognition of Urdu as a regional language, and as the primary language of communication for the Muslim community. The progression of the writings accompanies the development in Forman's religious ministry to the general public, and through the mission schools. Forman was an evangelist and catechist, but he abstained from debates and polemical rhetoric. His writings provide original examples of the theme, language and intellectual approach taken by this first generation of missionaries to the northwest region of India. It is not yet clear to what degree Forman introduced original redemptive analogies, phrasings and key terms, or whether he collected these from indigenous Christians and from interaction with the community at large.

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Charles M. Ramsey

New England Unitarians

This entry concerns five Christian Unitarian authors born or based in New England, USA. They are: William Bentley, born in Boston MA, in 1759, died in Salem MA, in 1819; Hannah Adams, born in Medfield MA, in 1755, died in Brookline MA, in 1831; Lydia Maria Child, born in Medfield MA, in 1802, died in Wayland MA, in 1880; Ralph Waldo Emerson, born in Boston MA, in 1803, died in Concord MA, in 1883; James Freeman Clarke, born in Hanover NH, in 1810, died in Jamaica Plain MA, in 1888.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Departing from its 17th-century Calvinist roots, New England witnessed a radical religious shift over the course of the 18th century, with Unitarianism becoming prevalent by the first decades of the 19th century. Rejecting Trinitarian theology, influential ecclesiastics and intellectuals in hubs such as Boston came to acknowledge the strict unity of God, embracing Christologies either Arian or 'Socinian' in character, revering Jesus as Messiah but considering him neither co-eternal nor consubstantial with the Father. Catalysed by Enlightenment currents crossing the Atlantic – including England's own Unitarianism, as well as German Higher Criticism of the Bible – the 'liberalising' trends in New England Christianity also coincided with an expanding interest in non-Christian religions. Considering their theological convictions, it is perhaps unsurprising that Islam was of special interest to American Unitarians, with US authors discovering in Muslim sources a shared opposition to Trinitarianism, as well as a portrait of Jesus as holy prophet rather than divine incarnation. Reaching from Unitarian foundations and up past Unitarianism's 'classic period' (Robinson, *Unitarians*, p. 39), this entry surveys a century of diverse Islamic engagements by significant Unitarian authors born or based in New England.

William Bentley (1759-1819)

A Salem, Massachusetts, minister, famed linguist, and national diarist, William Bentley marks the original overlap and intersection between Islam and New England Unitarianism.

Born in the middle of the 18th century, Bentley's early education was enveloped by revolutions in American life, both political and intellectual. Entering Harvard in 1773, his work towards a degree was interrupted by his nation's war for independence, and also witnessed calls for American scholarly independence, especially in the study of Oriental languages, as advocated by Stephen Sewall, Harvard's first Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages (Einboden, *Islamic lineage*, pp. 36-41). Mentored by Sewall at Harvard, Bentley not only studied

Semitic languages essential to biblical exegesis – Hebrew and Syriac – but was also introduced to Arabic, a language that continued to interest him after he began his ministry at Salem's East Church in 1783, where he would stay until his death. Authoring copious diaries during these decades, as well as hundreds of sermons that are still extant, Bentley also chronicled his intellectual life in private journals, which regularly feature Arabic inscriptions, including quotations from the Qur'an. He was, moreover, willing to recruit his personal Islamic interests for his public vocation, integrating quotations from Muslim sources into his sermons, such as a Persian excerpt from Sa'dī's *Gulistān* cited at the beginning of an 1812 East Church sermon (Einboden, *Islamic lineage*, pp. 59-60).

Not only was Bentley the premier Orientalist of the early Republic, he was also one of the first, if not *the* first, American to preach Unitarianism from a New England pulpit. Although this precedence is usually ascribed to Bentley's exact contemporary, James Freeman (1759-1835) – who introduced Unitarianism in 1785 to the Episcopalian King's Chapel in Boston – Bentley himself was already preaching non-Trinitarianism at Salem's East Church in 1785 (Ruffin, *Paradise of reason*, p. 95). It was during the very years that Bentley, as a Unitarian pioneer, was defining and refining his American theology that Islamic references also emerge in his personal journals. He collected a library of Muslim manuscripts unique in the US, while also receiving personal correspondence in Arabic from the Islamic world.

Bentley's Islamic interests were facilitated by his residence in Salem, Massachusetts, with the town's regular trade with Arabia and India supporting his quest to acquire books from abroad in both Arabic and Persian. This resulted in him amassing an extensive library of Muslim manuscripts unparalleled in the early Republic. Including selections from the Qur'an in Arabic – among them a copy of the final *juz'* (suras 78-114) – as well as Hadith collections and *tafsīr* texts, Bentley's collection was compiled with help especially from a Yemeni trader and *sayyid*, Aḥmad ibn Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir al-Saqqāf. Dispatching to Salem not only Arabic books but also Arabic letters, al-Saqqāf's first message to Bentley in 1805 opens with quotations from the Qur'an, emphasising love between Christians and Muslims (Q 5:82; Einboden, *Islamic lineage*, pp. 49-50). Marking a rare moment of Christian and Muslim camaraderie and commercial exchange in early America, Bentley's personal engagements with al-Saqqāf and acquisitions from Yemen were well known to his contemporaries. However, although they were mentioned

in obituaries published in local papers after his death, Bentley's Muslim collections and correspondence were gradually forgotten, and were only recently rediscovered at the Peabody Essex Museum (which houses Bentley's manuscript volumes in Arabic and Persian) and the Boston Athenæum (which holds his Arabic letters).

Hannah Adams (1755-1831)

A near contemporary of William Bentley, Hannah Adams enjoyed few of Bentley's privileges, having been born and raised in rural Medfield, Massachusetts, and educated at home rather than at Harvard. And, unlike Bentley, Adams's own Unitarianism was tentative, rather than zealous. In her memoirs, published a year after her death in 1831, she identifies herself with 'that class of Unitarians, who adopt the highest idea of the greatness and dignity of the Son', but adds immediately that 'I never arrived to that degree of decision that some have attained on that subject' (Adams, *Memoir*, 1832 edition, p. 43). But if she was cautious in her own religious creed, the importance of her religious writings is clear. Despite the obstacles she faced, she became a ground-breaking writer, regularly acclaimed as '[m]ost likely America's first woman professional author' (Ward, *War for independence*, p. 170). Indeed, it is Adams's own theological openness that gave rise to her authorial success, dedicating herself to cataloguing world faiths and compiling a dictionary of comparative religion – a dictionary in which Islam plays a significant role.

Adams opened her authorial career in 1784 with the reference work that she subsequently revised throughout her life, and with which she is still most associated. Exhaustively entitled *An alphabetical compendium of the various sects which have appeared from the beginning of the Christian era to the present day*, her dictionary of religions was republished with revisions as *A view of religions* in 1791 and 1801, and would be reworked to appear one final time in 1817 as *A dictionary of all religions and religious denominations, Jewish, heathen, Mahometan, and Christian, ancient and modern*. As implied by this final title, 'Mahometan' topics are treated expressly in Adams's dictionary, beginning with its 1784 publication. In the first three editions, Islam is relegated to the Appendix, grouped alongside 'pagans [...] Jews and Deists'. By the 1817 publication, however, Islam is integrated into the body itself, with her entry on 'Mahometans' printed in proximity to subjects including Magians and Maronites.

From its first iteration as the *Alphabetical compendium*, her dictionary emphasises aspects of Islam that would be of particular interest to fellow Unitarians. For instance, in the 1784 edition Adams notes that '[t]he great doctrine of the *Korân* is the *unity of God*: to restore which point, *Mohammed* pretended was the chief end of his mission', adding also that '[t]he *Korân* asserts *Jesus* to be the true *Messias*, the *word* and *breath of God*' (*Alphabetical compendium*, Appendix, p. v). Such tenets are also accented in subsequent editions but are supplemented with additional details, suggesting her further reading of Orientalists such as George Sale, especially the 'Preliminary discourse' in his *Koran* of 1734.

Beginning in 1791, Adams sought to integrate Arabic terminology, noting for instance that Islamic eschatology foretells the passing over of 'the bridge, called, in Arabic, *Al Sirat*' (Adams, *View of all religions*, p. 322). Intriguingly, in the final 1817 edition (renamed *A dictionary of all religions*), the Unitarian and Islamic creeds are described in similar terms. Adams defines Unitarians as 'all those Christians who believe there is but one God', and transcribes the *shahâda* as 'There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet' (Adams, *Dictionary of all religions*, 1817, pp. 297 and 158).

Beyond her dictionary, Adams's other works occasionally make mention of Muslim parallels or precedents. For instance, in her *Letters on the Gospels* (Cambridge MA, 1824) she contextualises Jesus's injunction in Matthew 10:27 to 'preach' the gospel 'upon the housetops' by adding that '[t]he houses in the East are, in many parts, so constructed, that the inhabitants can walk upon the roofs. [...] In the East, at the present day, proclamation is made from the tops of their mosques or temples, that "God is great and Mahomet is his prophet"' (*Letters on the Gospels*, p. 103). Garnering 'both public acclaim and, eventually, financial success' (Jaudon, *Compiler's art*, p. 28), Adams also gained a wide readership, attracting attention among the Unitarian elite, with William Bentley himself designating her as the 'celebrated' Hannah Adams (Schmidt, *Pasionate usefulness*, p. 113).

Lydia Maria Child (1802-80)

Born in Medford, Massachusetts, Lydia Maria Child recalls as 'a young girl' seeing 'the aged Hannah Adams', who was 'pointed out' to her as a cautionary example, with Child warned not to become a writer like Adams, who had supposedly 'unsexed herself by her learning' (Child,

Reader, p. 403). However, Child not only elected to follow Adams in the authorial path, but surpassed her in productivity and popularity, becoming one of the most successful and celebrated woman writers in 19th-century America. More prolific than Adams, she also led a career that was much more political; rather than the Revolution, she engaged with social issues of the Civil War era, championing abolitionism as well as women's rights. Despite their differences, Child echoed key aspects of Adams's career, sharing not only her religious commitments but also her interest in comparative religion. A Unitarian since her youth, in 1855 Child eventually published a massive survey of world faiths entitled *The progress of religious ideas, through successive ages* – a three-volume work ending in a chapter on 'Mohammedanism' that comprised one of the most extended treatments of Islam published in early America.

Reflecting her political interests, Islam is frequently contextualised by Child in social, rather than merely spiritual terms. Islamic allusions feature in many of the diverse genres in which she wrote, from her landmark novel *Hobomok, a tale of early times* (Boston MA, 1824), to her autobiographical *Letters from New-York* (New York, 1843). However, it is Child's advocacy for race and gender issues during the first half of the 1830s that led to a deeper engagement with Islam, as is evidenced by her 1833 *An appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans*, and her 1835 *The history of the condition of women, in various ages and nations*. In the former, for instance, Child outlines the biography of 'Job Ben Solomon [...] son of the Mohammedan king of Bunda' (Child, *Appeal*, 1833, p. 165), while in the latter she surveys the condition of Arabian, Turkish and Persian women, appealing frequently to 'the Koran', 'Musselman' practices and Arabic terminology (*History*, vol. 1, 1835 edition, especially pp. 36-85).

Two decades later, her synthesis of political and Islamic interests culminated in her treatment of 'Mohammedanism', published in vol. 3 of her 1855 *The progress of religious ideas, through successive ages*. Addressed in the penultimate chapter of the book, Islam forms the capstone to Child's 'successive' study, situated not only after extra-biblical faiths (e.g. faiths original to 'Hindustan', Egypt, and China), but also after Judaism and Christianity. Her most sustained treatment of Islam, her 'Mohammedanism' chapter reflects wide reading in various sources, especially Sale's 1734 *Koran*, from which she amply copied in her private journal, which is still extant at the Boston Public Library. She adapted Sale's translations of the Muslim scripture for integration into her *The progress of religious ideas*, featuring highly-targeted selections from his *Koran*, while she also

edited and added to Sale's wording (Einboden, *Islamic lineage*, pp. 104-13). In addition to offering qur'anic versions infused with her own voice, the portrait of Islam in *The progress of religious ideas* also reflects Child's commitments to Unitarianism and social reform. Indeed, in a paragraph that highlights the rights of women afforded by Islam – including the right 'to inherit' – she begins by asserting simply that '[a]s a reformer, Mohammed was most undoubtedly a benefactor to his country', and goes on to link social progress with *tawhīd*, observing that:

All the changes he introduced were an improvement upon the state of things he found in Arabia. He abolished idolatry, and sacrifices, and firmly established the idea of one God. Daughters were considered a burden to a family and a disgrace if they were not married; therefore, parents often drowned them or buried them alive. But the Koran forbade this as a great sin. (*Progress of religious ideas*, vol. 3, p. 376)

This bond between Islamic monotheism and the 'improvement upon the state of things' is recapitulated near the end of Child's life in her final book, *Aspirations of the world. A chain of opals*, published in 1878, just four years before her death. A compendium of spiritual aphorisms selected from global faiths, this book includes several quotations attributed to 'the Koran' (some authentic, some spurious), as well as verses ascribed to Sufi poets such as Sa'dī and Rūmī. Child ends her *Aspirations*, however, with an overview of the world's 'sacred books', concluding with an account of the 'Mohammedan' scriptures that again subtly links the Prophet's teaching of *tawhīd* with his role as reformer. Asserting that '[i]n former ages, the Arabian Tribes were universally addicted to the worship of images', Child reveals the solution to this 'addiction', noting that '[t]heir countryman Mohammed believed he was divinely commissioned to abolish idolatry, and inculcate the doctrine of One Invisible God' (*Aspirations of the world*, p. 275). This reference to an Islamic inculcation of Unitarianism also anticipates the very last words of Child's *Aspirations*, which advocates a 'cheerful assurance that through devious paths we are all being guided homeward by the UNIVERSAL FATHER' (p. 275; Einboden, *Islamic lineage*, pp. 121-2).

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82)

Son of a liberal Congregationalist minister, Ralph Waldo Emerson received an elite New England education, first at the Boston Latin School, and then at Harvard, where he studied with Edward Everett – Professor

of Greek, future President of Harvard, and the first American to receive a PhD from a German University. Trained by Göttingen Orientalists, Everett was responsible for initially introducing Emerson to 'the mysterious east', leading him, after his Harvard graduation, to read Goethe's 1819 *West-östlicher Divan*, a verse collection synthesising German and Muslim poetics, which would prove an influential precedent for Emerson's later Islamic adaptations.

Although he was to be the founder of New England Transcendentalism, Emerson began his career not only as a Unitarian, but as a Unitarian minister, tutored by the tradition's leading theologian William Ellery Channing, before being ordained and accepting the ministry of Boston's Unitarian Second Church in 1829. Resigning his ministry only three years later, and ultimately criticising Unitarianism as 'corpse-cold' (Einboden, *Islamic lineage*, p. 134), Emerson's relationship with the church of his youth would nevertheless extend throughout his life; he frequently delivered his celebrated lectures at Unitarian churches. Although he was associated with national culture and with American 'self-reliance', Emerson was nevertheless a thoroughly global thinker, eagerly reading and reworking influences from abroad. Among these influences, Islamic prophecy and poetry played a decisive role in his development, with his writings particularly showing the influence of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Ḥāfiz, whose *Dīvān* supplied a primary source for Emerson's translation and composition. Indebted to Sufism more than his Unitarian peers, his Islamic engagements are also more creative than critical: it was not so much that he penned comparative studies of religion, but that he recruited Islamic texts for his own American artistry.

Encountering the Qur'an first during his undergraduate years, Emerson purchased his own copy during an 1833 trip to England after resigning his Unitarian ministry. His interest culminated in his invocations of the Muslim scripture in his celebrated essay collections published in the 1840s. However, even earlier, he had already published an Islamically-informed poem. His 1842 'Saadi' not only bears the name of a Persian poet, but also heralds '[t]he heaven where unveiled Allah pours / The flood of truth' (Emerson, 'Saadi', p. 268).

Four years later he purchased Ḥāfiz's *Dīvān*, as rendered into German by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. He read this throughout the remainder of his life, translating hundreds of Ḥāfiz's lines into English. Featuring versions of Ḥāfiz in his 1847 *Poems* alongside original American pieces clearly indebted to the Persian poet, he appealed to Ḥāfiz's mystical

audacity as a fit expression for his own esotericism. Emerson discovered in Sufism a kindred tradition that obliquely mirrored the Transcendentalism for which he is now known; it was firmly rooted in Unitarian theology, and yet proclaimed prospects for human *theosis*.

While Ḥāfiẓ's poetic thought was infused into Emerson's poetic language from 1847 onwards, the Persian poet would also become the subject of Emerson's prose in his 1858 essay 'Persian poetry'. This essay associates Ḥāfiẓ with 'intellectual emancipation', claiming that '[Ḥāfiẓ] fears nothing, he stops for nothing. Love is a leveller, and Allah becomes a groom, and heaven a closet, in [Ḥāfiẓ's] daring hymns to his mistress or to his cupbearer. This boundless charter is the right of genius' (Emerson, 'Persian poetry', p. 728). This published statement is itself daring, but it derives from a private remark that is even more bold, in which Emerson ascribes to Ḥāfiẓ divine qualities, declaring in a personal journal that 'Nothing stops [Ḥāfiẓ]; he makes the dare-God and dare-devil experiment; he is not to be scared by a name or a religion; he fears nothing, he sees too far, and sees throughout' (Emerson, *Topical notebooks*, vol. 2, p. 119).

Although it is now a largely forgotten facet of his career, 19th-century contemporaries often associated Emerson with Islamic poetry. When Sa'dī's *Gulistān* was first published in America in 1865, for example, it was Emerson who was invited to write the introduction. Reflecting his own Unitarian roots, this preface praises Sa'dī's 'pure theism' and his celebration 'of the omnipotence of a virtuous soul' (Emerson, 'Preface', p. x). In the years leading up to his death, Emerson drafted a list of books intended for the new public library of his adopted hometown, Concord, Massachusetts. The list included a copy of a translation of 'the Koran' (Einboden, 'Early American Qur'an', pp. 14-15).

James Freeman Clarke (1810-88)

Aptly named after his grandfather, the Unitarian pioneer James Freeman (1759-1835), James Freeman Clarke was to play a pivotal role in expanding Unitarianism's reach, promoting it beyond his native New England, occupying pulpits and printing periodicals in the American west and south. Like Emerson before him, Clarke attended not only the Boston Latin School but also Harvard, graduating in 1829 – the same year that Emerson accepted the call to become Unitarian minister to Boston's Second Church. And it would also be at the Second Church that Clarke would

receive his own ordination in 1833. From such standard beginnings in New England, Clarke elected to push westward, proselytising American areas that were largely unfamiliar with Unitarianism. Accepting a pulpit in Louisville, Kentucky, Clarke also co-founded *The Western Messenger*, which became an essential organ of Unitarian evangelisation beyond the East Coast. Eventually returning to Boston in 1841, he contributed to signature reform movements in New England, such as abolitionism. This was in conjunction with fellow Unitarians, including Lydia Maria Child. Soon after the end of the Civil War, Clarke published in November 1869 an *Atlantic Monthly* essay entitled 'Mohammed, and his place in universal history', an essay that would be revised and expanded to appear two years later, when it was republished as ch. 11 of his *Ten great religions*.

While he sought to spread Unitarianism across the US, it was global contexts of his Unitarian creed that occupied Clarke's writings, most notably his *Ten great religions. An essay in comparative theology*, published in 1871. Despite the scholarly disinterest implied by its subtitle, this work reads not as a balanced essay that compares world faiths, but rather as a religious polemic that claims superiority for Christianity as 'a religion of Progress' (*Ten great religions*, p. 507). Intriguingly, however, of the ten religions compared with Christianity, Islam uniquely seems to provoke Clarke's admiration as well as his anxiety. Indeed, his *Ten great religions* parallels Islamic and Unitarian theology, at the same time as mounting a defensive apologetic against Muslim principles and practices.

Although severely critical of Muslim 'social life', and considering 'Mohammedanism' as 'the worst Form of Monotheism' (*Ten great religions*, p. 481), Clarke identifies Islamic theism as a positive reform, privileging *tawhīd* over against the Trinity. At the end of his penultimate paragraph, he censures historical Christianity, asserting that its

doctrine of the Trinity, at least in its Oriental forms, lost the pure personal monotheism of Judaism. No doubt the doctrine of the Trinity embodies a great truth, but it has been carried too far. So Mohammedanism came, as a protest against this tendency to plurality in the godhead, as a demand for a purely personal God. It is the Unitarianism of the East. It was a new assertion of the simple unity of God, against Polytheism and against idolatry. (Clarke, 'Mohammed', p. 629)

Portrayed as a 'new' corrective, 'Mohammedanism' is envisioned not only as answering Christian excesses but as anticipating Clarke's own theology, with Islam defined as 'the Unitarianism of the East'. This

sympathetic paragraph near the end of the essay is, however, atypical in its admiration for Islam and would be tempered in Clarke's 1871 chapter in his *Ten great religions*, which appends critical material consistent with Clarke's Christian apologetics. He first asserts, 'No doubt, Mohammedanism was needed when it came, and has done good service in its time. But its time is almost passed' (*Ten great religions*, p. 484). Following this ambivalent statement, which admits Islam's historical 'necessity' and yet asserts its modern obsolescence, Clarke ends this chapter with disparaging quotations on 'Islamism' that anticipate the next and final chapter, Clarke's polemical conclusion entitled 'The ten religions and Christianity'.

Islam again emerges in Clarke's closing chapter as connected to, yet outstripped by, Christianity. Accorded the status of 'universal', Islam is uniquely paired with Christianity as transcending ethnicity. Noting that 'Christianity and Mohammedanism, therefore, remain the only two really catholic religions', Clarke nevertheless concludes that despite its monotheism and catholicity, Islam 'has failed of entire success'. For Clarke, 'Islam has everywhere made subjects rather than converts', neglecting to attain to the 'Universal unity' which he unsurprisingly identifies with his own Christianity, a Christianity that praises God as 'a providence guiding all human lives' (*Ten great religions*, pp. 503-4).

SIGNIFICANCE

During the century that followed the War of Independence in the United States, Unitarian interest in non-Christian religions deepened, with Islam comprising just one of the many traditions that attracted New England engagement. Unique among global denominations, however, it was Islam that most insistently overlapped with the commitments of early US Unitarianism, sharing not only an Abrahamic monotheism that rejected the Trinity, but also a recognition of Jesus as Messiah. Such parallels between Unitarianism and Islam elicited sympathetic receptions from some New England authors, though for others they instead presented challenges, provoking polemical responses aimed at theological and historical differentiation. Spanning the appreciative and the antagonistic, Unitarian reactions to Islam also crossed genres, prompting not only political tracts but also poetry, inspiring encyclopaedic overviews as well as targeted apologetics.

Despite their diversity, Unitarian engagements with Islam are united in their widespread dissemination across New England during the 19th century, as well as their subsequent neglect afterwards. Interest in Islam informed and energised the era's most prominent Unitarian authors,

helping to sustain precisely the literary achievements that distinguish the early New England tradition. The anti-slavery writings of Lydia Maria Child, which consistently reflect her Islamic concerns, influenced a generation of abolitionists; Emerson's critical theories and creative practices, which developed even as he rendered thousands of Sufi verses, have been credited with launching an authentically American literature, catalysing the careers of canonical figures from Henry David Thoreau to Walt Whitman. Despite their significance, however, Islamic contributions have only rarely been emphasised in portraits of such leading New England Unitarians – a neglect that has helped obscure the decisive role played by Muslim sources in shaping the religious writings that form the very heart of early US authorship.

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Jeffrey Einboden

Thomas Patrick Hughes

DATE OF BIRTH 26 March 1838
PLACE OF BIRTH Henley, Shropshire
DATE OF DEATH 8 August 1911
PLACE OF DEATH King's Park, Long Island, New York

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Patrick Hughes was born in 1838 and brought up in Henley, near Ludlow in the county of Shropshire. While he was working as a sales representative in Manchester, and a teacher in a 'Ragged School', he felt a call to missionary work and submitted an application to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1861. He completed his education at the CMS Training College in Islington in 1864 and was ordained as a deacon in preparation for his departure to India. That year he also married Eliza Lloyd, who accompanied him to India. He was assigned to the CMS mission station in Peshawar on the North-West Frontier, which lived up to its reputation as unhealthy when their two eldest children and three fellow missionaries died within the first three years of their arrival. In 1867, the Bishop of Calcutta ordained Hughes a priest.

Hughes studied the Pashto language and the Afghan culture of the people, becoming proficient enough to compile a book of Pashto prose and poetry, which was subsequently used by the British government to test the language abilities of recruits to the Indian Civil Service. He also studied Urdu, Persian and Arabic, receiving recognition for his scholarship by being made a fellow of the Punjab University at its founding. He translated portions of the Bible and other Christian literature into Pashto. Hughes made the study of Afghan culture a significant part of his work in Peshawar, amassing a considerable collection of Pashto literature that was subsequently donated to the British Library. Many of his writings during his time in India were anthropological in tone, describing and explaining Afghan culture to readers in Britain. In his itinerant ministry in the region around Peshawar, he adopted native dress and culture in order to gain a hearing for his message and to deepen his friendships with local Afghan leaders. Hughes was actively involved in the design and construction of All Saints Memorial Church in Peshawar, adapting

Muslim 'architecture for the purposes of Christian worship' (Hughes, 'Twenty years', p. 1075).

Although focused on learning the Afghan culture, Hughes also began an intensive study of Islam more generally. A key informant was Maulavi Ahmad of Tangi, who assisted him in language learning and translation. During his second decade in India, he published numerous articles related to various aspects of Islam in missionary periodicals in India and Britain. These were collated into his first book, *Notes on Muhammadanism*, published in 1875 and republished in a revised and expanded edition two years later. These *Notes* became the basis for the *Dictionary of Islam*, which he compiled and published in 1885. Hughes also edited the *Indian Christian Intelligencer* for several years and frequently took part in missionary conferences in India. Likewise, during trips to England in 1875 and 1878, he was active in speaking at missionary conferences and other church gatherings, reporting on his work in Peshawar and contributing to popular magazines such as *Sunday at Home*. One significant meeting was a conference on missions to Muslims held at the Church Missionary House in London in 1875, a unique gathering of CMS missionaries from numerous Muslim regions to discuss difficulties in Christian ministry to Muslims and possible solutions. While in England in 1878, he was awarded a Lambeth Bachelor of Divinity degree by the Archbishop of Canterbury for his service to the church and for his scholarship, which was also recognised in the form of a membership of the Royal Asiatic Society.

In 1884, Hughes returned to England and subsequently resigned from the CMS, thereafter emigrating to the United States, where he completed his *Dictionary of Islam* and continued to write and lecture regularly on Islam and other topics. He received a Doctor of Divinity degree in 1886, and then a Doctor of Laws from St John's College in Annapolis in 1897, and participated that same year in meetings of the American Orientalist Society. He wrote prolifically for journals such as the *Andover Review* and served as an associate editor for several newspapers such as *The Churchman*, frequently writing his own contributions. During this time, he served as a priest in the Episcopal Church, first in Lebanon Springs NY, and then at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in New York City from 1889 to 1902.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A dictionary of Islam and other writings on Islam

DATE 1885

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Thomas Patrick Hughes compiled *A dictionary of Islam being a cyclopaedia of the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and customs, together with the technical and theological terms, of the Muhammadan religion* during his 20-year ministry in British India as a missionary with the Church Missionary Society, publishing it in 1885, shortly after resigning from the mission. As early as 1874, he indicated in his correspondence that he had been

studying Islam and preparing a dictionary for some considerable time (Guenther, 'Defining Muslims', p. 12). In preparation, he published two editions of *Notes on Muhammadanism* (1875, 1877), which were addressed specifically to the missionary community. His *Dictionary*, in contrast, was intended for a broader audience including government officials, travelers to Muslim countries, and students of comparative religion, in addition to the missionaries (*Dictionary*, p. vii). The *Dictionary* consists of 750 pages and contains just over 2,000 entries on the religious doctrines and practices of Muslims. Some entries are brief definitions of Arabic terms or biographical accounts of key Muslims throughout history, while other entries such as the one on Muḥammad are much lengthier. Illustrations borrowed from other publications are liberally included. Since many of the entries consisted of Arabic terms or names, the words in Arabic script were included parenthetically.

In compiling the work, Hughes drew on the writings of medieval and contemporary Muslim scholars as well as a wide range of European scholars. Two of the contemporary Muslims whose writings he used were Syed Ahmad Khan and Syed Ameer Ali, who had published books in English on Muḥammad and on the early history of Islam. Hughes also relied heavily on the guidance of Maulavi Ahmad of Tangi, who had assisted him with learning Pashto and Arabic. It was quite probably he who directed Hughes to authoritative medieval sources such as the collection of Hadith by al-Tabrizī, the *Mishkāt al-masābiḥ*, 'Abdul Ḥaqq Dihlvi's commentary on the *Mishkāt*, al-Suyūṭī's commentary on the Qur'an, and works of Muslim jurisprudence such as the *Hedāya*, the *Durr al-mukhtār*, and the *Fatawā yi Alamgīrī*. In the preface to the dictionary, Hughes highlights his reliance on British scholars such as W. Muir and E.W. Lane, but, as he indicates in the list of almost 100 works at the end of the article on 'Muhammadanism', he was deliberately including contributions from as many European scholars as possible (Guenther, 'Defining Muslims', p. 14).

Hughes intended his *Dictionary* to be an explanation of the teachings of Islam and not a controversial attack. In the entry on Muḥammad, for instance, he presents events from the Prophet's life as recounted in traditional Muslim biographies in a neutral tone for the most part. However, he does emphasise Muḥammad's numerous battles and multiple marriages during the latter part of his life, and in the following entry on the character of Muḥammad, he brings together eight highly critical perspectives by European writers, ending with a lengthy selection from his early *Notes on Muhammadanism* in which he rejects Muḥammad's claim that his revelation supersedes that of Jesus Christ.

The entry on Muḥammad also illustrates Hughes's intentional preference for Sunnī accounts over Shī'ī accounts, though he does quote from a Shī'ī work to provide an alternative account of Muḥammad's death. The *Dictionary* reflects other aspects of the diversity in Islam as Hughes understood it, with numerous entries both on Sufism and on the revivalism of the Ahl-i Hadith (Guenther, 'Defining Muslims', pp. 13-17). He saw the Ahl-i Hadith as a reform movement restoring Islam to the purity of its origins, a perspective that is also evident in his other writings.

The purpose of Hughes's earlier works, in contrast, was more to prepare missionaries for religious controversy with Muslims, containing advice on how to address certain topics in discussions with Muslims. His *Notes on Muhammadanism*, first published in 1875, not only defines key theological concepts in Islam but evaluates them through the lens of a commitment to the truth of the Christian religion. The book is just over 200 pages in length, addressing 49 topics followed by a helpful index of technical terminology, while the second edition published two years later has an additional 70 pages and a total of 55 topics. The topics addressed are the various sources of authority in Islam: the seven key theological doctrines, the five essential practices, various Muslim festivals, matters of law, sects within Islam, and key Muslim objections to Christianity. While in the first edition Hughes regularly cited Ahmad Khan and Ameer Ali as authorities, in the second he replaced them with more traditional Muslim scholars, indicating his own growing knowledge of Muslim scholarship.

Other publications from the period prior to the publication of his *Dictionary* include a 21-page introduction to an Urdu translation of the Qur'an published by the Presbyterian Mission in 1876. This is an expansion of his chapter on the Qur'an from the first edition of his *Notes*, which was then reproduced almost word-for-word in the second edition in 1877. Excerpts from his letters and speeches were regularly published in CMS journals, frequently containing descriptions of Islam as it was practised on the North-West Frontier of British India or exhortations to other missionaries on how to evangelise Muslims. One example of the latter is a paper Hughes read at a diocesan synod at Lahore on the attitude missionaries should assume towards Islam. In it he first gives a brief review of Orientalist scholarship on Islam and then counsels missionaries not to attack Muḥammad or the Qur'an in their preaching, suggesting rather that they recognise the numerous similarities between the two religions and use Islam as a schoolmaster to lead Muslims to Jesus (Hughes, 'Gospel and the Korán').

After he had completed the *Dictionary*, Hughes continued writing and publishing in the United States, where he was serving as a priest in the Episcopal Church. He wrote a series of three articles for *The Andover Review* in 1888 on 'Missions to Muslims', 'The Muslim's Bible', and 'The Muslim's faith'. All three can be seen as his attempts to refute negative stereotypes and misconceptions about Muslims by explaining how they practised their religion, comparing them relatively favourably with Christians, though he insisted that he was not writing either a defence of Islam or an apology for it (Hughes, 'The Muslim's faith', p. 24). In the first article, he surveys Muslim populations in various parts of the world and the success – or lack thereof – of Christian missionary work in each of the regions. The key reasons, in his view, for the limited progress of the Christian Church in Muslim lands were the paucity of missionaries commissioned for ministry solely among Muslims, and their ignorance of Islam and Muslim religious culture. With his numerous contributions to missionary publications and popular magazines, Hughes was seeking to dispel that ignorance, continuing the work of his *Dictionary*; indeed, he regularly referenced it in footnotes to these articles.

In the two subsequent articles, he describes the origin and contents of the Qur'an and nine key aspects of Muslim beliefs, expressing them in terms that demonstrate their commonality with Christian beliefs, and arguing that they provide a foundation on which to 'raise a superstructure of a higher faith' (Hughes, 'The Muslim's faith', p. 34). He acknowledges that the lives of Muslims often fail to measure up to the ideals they profess, but he is quick to point out that this has also been true of Christians throughout history. Hughes expresses his confidence in Muḥammad's sincerity, but laments that he was not exposed to true Christianity in his day (Hughes, 'The Muslim's Bible', pp. 468-70, 474).

Hughes's final significant publication on Islam was a 20-page lavishly illustrated article on the centrality of the mosque in the life of Muslims, published in *The Open Court* in 1906, five years before his death. In it he describes not only the architectural features of the mosque but also the performance of prayers and the imparting of education that are connected with the mosque. This essay at the close of his life demonstrates both his own recognition of the importance of Islam as it is lived by Muslims and his conviction that Western Christians need to be informed of such contemporary expressions of Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hughes's *Dictionary* was the first comprehensive dictionary of Islam in the English language. It remained the standard reference work until it was replaced by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the first edition of which was published by E.J. Brill in 1913. Subsequent editions of the *Dictionary* were published in 1896 and 1935, without any revisions. The enduring value of the comprehensive but concise nature of the work is demonstrated by the numerous editions and reprints that have been published in the past 50 years, though some sections, such as the entry on Muḥammad, have been completely revised to remove the critical bias reflected in Hughes's initial work.

In compiling the *Dictionary*, Hughes followed in the tradition of Orientalist scholars of the late 18th and 19th centuries and borrowed heavily from their work. His unique contribution was the comprehensive collation of various aspects of Muslim faith, practice and history. While others focused on the biography of Muḥammad, the Qur'an, Muslim law, or specific periods of Muslim history, Hughes abbreviated their work and compiled it into one text. The central figures, doctrines and ceremonies of Islam, along with other aspects of Muslim culture, were thoroughly explained. Theological concepts with parallels in Christianity and biblical figures found in the Qur'an likewise received detailed treatment. Alongside this, the brief definitions of hundreds of Arabic terms and names provided European and American readers with quick access to terminology with which most of them would have been unfamiliar.

Another unique contribution of this work was Hughes's emphasis on the importance of the Hadith in determining Muslim faith and practice. In his earlier *Notes*, he had argued that, while the Qur'an remained the highest authority in Islam, Muslims revered the Hadith as well as centuries of scholarly commentaries on the Qur'an and Hadith as almost equal in authority. He thus sought to correct the misperception in the West that the Qur'an contained the whole of Islam. This is clearly evident throughout the *Dictionary*, as is shown in Hughes's frequent recourse to standard collections of Hadith in defining Muslim beliefs and practices.

The significance of Hughes's other writings both prior and subsequent to the publication of his *Dictionary* lies in that they tend to reflect a similar purpose, that of informing European and American Christians of Muslim beliefs and practices. Hughes felt that most people were content to adopt negative stereotypes of Muḥammad and Muslims in general. He sought to dispel ignorance and refute misconceptions by sound

scholarship and recourse to traditional Muslim sources, but choosing to publish his work in popular magazines rather than in scholarly journals. A feature of his later writings is a growing emphasis on Islam as contemporary Muslims were practising it, including the mystical expressions of Sufism and reform movements such as the Wahhabis. His later writings also demonstrate a greater willingness to accept Muḥammad as a sincere prophet of God, at least during the time of his ministry in Mecca. Nevertheless, Hughes still rejected any notion of Muḥammad's message abrogating that of Jesus Christ (Guenther, 'Image of the prophet', pp. 49-56).

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STUDIES

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- Guenther, 'Image of the prophet'

Alan M. Guenther

Cyrus Hamlin

DATE OF BIRTH 5 January 1811
PLACE OF BIRTH Waterford ME, USA
DATE OF DEATH 8 August 1900
PLACE OF DEATH Portland ME, USA

BIOGRAPHY

Cyrus Hamlin grew up in a pious Congregational household in Maine, but came under the influence of Transcendentalism through Ralph Waldo Emerson's aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, who used to stay with the Hamlins over the winters as he was growing up. Hamlin was a graduate of Bridgton Academy and Bowdoin College, and in 1834 he became a student assistant to the author and poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. At Bowdoin, Hamlin built the first steam engine in Maine, which is preserved at the Owls Head Transportation Museum in Rockland, Maine.

In preparation for a missionary career, he went to Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine, graduating in 1837. In his final year, Hamlin expressed interest first in Africa and then China as his mission field. The prudential committee of the American Board rejected both requests, and appointed him instead to 'Constantinople and Education'.

Although Hamlin's missionary career extended over two decades, from 1838 to 1860, his real impact, spanning the following three decades, was in education. He became the unacknowledged trailblazer in educational missions, with Robert College, which he founded in Istanbul in 1863, being the first American college abroad. A pioneer and jack-of-all-trades, Hamlin continued to practise his American ingenuity overseas.

Hamlin's *Among the Turks*, originally published in 1877, contains possibly the most thorough missionary account of Islam and late Ottoman law (in chs 21 and 22). Hamlin, who read the entire Qur'an three times, begins ch. 22 by stating that Islam is the least understood of all religions.

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Primary

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Cyrus Hamlin, *My life and times*, New York, 1893

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(Turkish trans. of *My life and times*, 1893)

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Oriental churches and Mohammedans

DATE 1851

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Oriental churches and Mohammedans is a sermon preached by Hamlin before the Armenian Mission, which was made up of members of both the American Board and the Armenian Evangelical congregation. It is a 20-page exposition of Romans 3:1-2, which is on the primacy of the Jews, who have 'the oracles of God', over the Gentiles. Hamlin relocates the moral positions of each to his own context, replacing the Jews with the Ottoman Armenians, who have 'the oracles of God', and the Gentiles with the Ottoman Muslims, who have 'the oracles of Mohammed'. Hamlin charges the Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Islam of his time with consisting primarily of 'external performances'.

'Islamism', he argues, is 'in truth a reformation of the Christianity then [at the time of Muḥammad] existing.' Although he regards 'Islamism as a corrupt form of Christianity', he is also convinced that it helped keep Eastern Orthodox Christianity from spiralling towards polytheism, though, despite this depravity, the Eastern Orthodox still have access to the oracles of God. Islam, however, is deprived of biblical truth, despite the fact that it is in sympathy with evangelical Christianity on certain points, such as the rejection of 'saint and picture-worship'. Ottomans

have shown this sympathy by protecting Protestants in difficult times. Therefore, the missionary duty of presenting the redemptive power of the Bible within the Ottoman religious system is fully justified.

Hamlin preached this sermon at the mid-point of his missionary career as he was preparing for a period in educational missions. He had been a missionary for ten years, and he would go on to serve almost another ten years as a missionary, before severing his ties with the ABCFM in order to establish Robert College in Istanbul in 1863. This sermon is, in a way, his justification for making educational opportunities available primarily to Christians within the Ottoman Empire. By emphasising the power of the press, opportunities for gainful employment of the native youth in commercial enterprises, and the primacy of English in education, he worked counter to the policy of Rufus Anderson, the secretary of the ABCFM, who was vehemently opposed to indigenous education in English. He appears to have taken a huge risk with this heroic departure from the stated method of board missions. It ultimately paid off.

The themes of this sermon are organised by Hamlin in such a way as to compare and contrast the primary target, the Armenian Orthodox Church (and thus by extension, all 'Oriental churches and Mohammedans'), with the Jews, who have 'access' to the oracles of God. The way to reintroduce pure biblical Christianity to the region was first to acknowledge the primacy of those people(s) who had preserved the Bible, however imperfectly. In this way, Hamlin believed that Western Christianity and the whole world were indebted to the Nestorians and Armenians for saving the Bible in various translations. Hamlin cautions his hearers, however, against a denominationalism that may prove ruinous to the spirit of original biblical Christianity that the missionaries worked so hard to reintroduce to the land of its origins.

The language of this sermon is not only reflective of the 19th-century reformist impulse within the larger American social and religious landscape, but also, paradoxically, preparatory for the Pentecostal terminology of grace in various terms such as 'the fields white unto harvest', 'the Spirit is to be poured upon all flesh', 'with a mighty rushing wind' and 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hamlin, who grew up with a sense of heroism as he read in his childhood Plutarch and other classical authors, must have felt that he was destined to achieve great things, however humble his background, through his educational missions. This sermon, and later publications, seem to indicate this.

PUBLICATIONS

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Among the Turks

DATE 1877

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Among the Turks is a 378-page account of the Ottoman Empire, its social, cultural and religious institutions, and the place of evangelical reforms within the empire in a 19th-century context. The first two chapters briefly describe the origins of the 'Turkish Empire'. The remainder of the book, chs 3-20, focus on the 19th century, specifically related to the Eastern Question, the Tanzimat reforms, the dangers of the plague and other health concerns, and a review of the work of American missionaries. Of particular importance for Christian-Muslim relations is ch. 10, in which Hamlin recounts conversion and apostasy (1878 edition, pp. 80-94). Hamlin reviews several cases of the conversion of Muslims. He argues that, while Muslims may oppose conversion as apostasy, Islamic law is not static and the Turkish government could implement a new ruling on this issue, but has refused. He returns to this in ch. 21, when he explores the origins of 'Mohammedan law'. He writes, 'Mohammedan law has grown up by gradual accretions, both losing and gaining, as time and circumstances have demanded' (p. 317). He goes on to describe the 'oral laws' of Muḥammad and the discussions and rulings of many different jurists through subsequent generations until the coming of Süleyman

the Magnificent (r. 1520-66), who codified the collections of their texts (pp. 317-42). Hamlin notes that the accepted rulings deal with belief and religious practice, as well as civil and political codes. However, the new codification's 'entire disappearance, its complete abrogation, would only indirectly affect the authority of the Koran' (p. 342).

Hamlin argues that Islam is misunderstood and that the Ottomans are misrepresented in the western Christian world. There is, he writes 'much that is every way excellent in the Koran, taken plainly from Old Testament sources' (p. 344). Nevertheless, Islam is captured by the characteristics of fatalism, ritualism and sensualism, though this is not the fault of Muḥammad or the Qur'an but is due to 'an emmense mass of error and superstition' developed within the Islamic world over time (p. 355). He proposes the introduction of education as the ultimate tool for securing change and development within Ottoman society. In ch. 23, the last in the book, he presents evidence of religious reform and material progress within the Ottoman Empire.

SIGNIFICANCE

Among the Turks is a unique Western missionary reflection on Islam as distinct from Turkish society and culture. Unlike most other authors of missionary literature, Hamlin lays the blame for Ottoman ills and discrimination against Christians not on Islam but on Turkish culture and the accretions of Islamic history. It is easy to see why Hamlin was often at odds with his missionary colleagues, who were usually less acquainted with the sources of Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

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Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, Istanbul, 2013

My life and times

DATE 1893

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

My life and times, Cyrus Hamlin's autobiography, is a 538-page account of a New England missionary to the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19th century. Beginning with his Huguenot origins in early New England, Hamlin describes his life from childhood and education in Maine through his missionary career and educational pioneering in the Ottoman Empire, and eventual return to New England.

While Hamlin's *Among the Turks* describes his three decades of missionary work and the founding of Robert College, *My life and times* goes on to describe his whole life, including his later career in education at Bangor Theological Seminary and Middlebury College. Both works emphasise the importance of education in missionary work.

Hamlin's references to the Ottomans in this work focus on issues related to the Eastern Question, the Crimean War, Russian-Ottoman relations, and British diplomatic interference in Ottoman policies. For example, Hamlin mentions the British Ambassador, Stratford Canning's opposition to the Islamic apostasy law and his work to abolish its practice under the Tanzimat (pp. 241-3).

SIGNIFICANCE

This memoir does not provide any new information on Christian views of Islam at this time, but it does demonstrate the access that Hamlin and the other foreign Protestant missionaries had to both American and European diplomats and how such international pressure prompted the Ottoman government to allow missionary schools and give protection of the newly formed Armenian Evangelical community.

PUBLICATIONS

Cyrus Hamlin, *My life and times*, Boston MA, 1893

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Cyrus Hamlin, *My life and times*, ed. Murat Gülsoy, Istanbul, 2013

Bilal Ozaslan with David D. Grafton

William Q. Judge

DATE OF BIRTH 13 April 1851
PLACE OF BIRTH Dublin
DATE OF DEATH 21 March 1896
PLACE OF DEATH New York

BIOGRAPHY

William Quan Judge, the son of Frederick H. Judge and Alice Mary Quan, moved from Dublin to Brooklyn, New York, with his family at the age of 13. At the age of seven, he had become severely ill and was mistakenly declared dead by his physician, but to the surprise of his family he recovered from the illness. This experience seemingly changed his character. He became interested in Mesmerism, the Rosicrucians, and other esoteric topics. Following his schooling, he worked as a law clerk. In April 1872, he became a naturalised American citizen and was admitted to the state bar of New York. In 1874, he married Ella M. Smith in Brooklyn, and they lived there until his death in 1896.

Judge's childhood interest in spiritualism, mysticism and esotericism was rekindled in the autumn of 1874 when he was reading the *New York Daily Graphic*. He came across Henry Steel Olcott's articles on spiritualism, which described séances and Helena Blavatsky's occult phenomena. Soon afterwards, he met Blavatsky at her apartment in New York, and became a frequent visitor. In November 1875, he became one of the three primary co-founders of the Theosophical Society, the other two being H.S. Olcott, the president, and Blavatsky.

In February 1884, Judge embarked on a nine-month journey to India, Paris and London, to keep abreast of Theosophical activities and friends. This journey gave him the needed energy to continue his Theosophical work in the US, where he formed the American section of the society in June 1886, becoming its permanent general secretary. In 1888, Judge worked closely with Blavatsky to found the independent Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society, and in 1890 he became vice-president of the Theosophical Society. However, following a period of turmoil and controversy that resulted in a schism, the US section declared complete autonomy and formed an independent body with Judge elected president for life. His last recorded words were 'There must be calmness. Hold fast. Go slow' (*Letters that have helped me*, p. 29).

Judge wrote extensively as a Theosophical thinker in his own right, but perhaps functioned most often as a populariser of the ideas first developed by Blavatsky and others. In April 1886, he founded the Theosophical journal *The Path*, to which he contributed most of his written work in the form of articles under various pseudonyms as well as his real name. In 1890, he published a small volume, *Echoes of the Orient*, which deals with the notion of spiritual masters and the existence of a universal wisdom religion. The following year he published *Letters that have helped me*, consisting of personal correspondence and personal reflections, and in 1893 he published *Ocean of Theosophy*, his best-known work on Theosophical principles. Within his corpus, there is one work that addresses Islam.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Regarding Islamism

DATE July 1893

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This is a very short article of three to four pages written under the pseudonym Hadji Erinn, a name Judge also used in other publications. He did not touch significantly upon the topic of Islam in any of his other works. Nonetheless, the few reflections in this piece are important.

The use of the word 'Islamism' in Judge's article conformed to current usage. Since the first edition of Webster's dictionary, published in 1828, and until around 1908, the term 'Islamism' was a common Western designation for Islam *per se* (D.M. Varisco, 'Inventing Islamism. The violence of rhetoric', in R. Martin and A. Barzegar (eds), *Islamism. Contested perspectives on political Islam*, Stanford CA, 2010, 33-48, pp. 35-6), as opposed to the (then) common reference to 'Mohammedanism' (and other variants of that term), which is also used in Judge's text (Judge, 'Regarding Islamism', p. 113). In short, the title 'Regarding Islamism' equates to 'Regarding Islam'.

Judge explains that his article is a response to a paper on Islam presented in New York by Alexander Russell Webb (1846-1916). Webb was a writer, newspaper editor and publisher, and the United States Consul to the Philippines. He converted to Islam in 1888, and is generally considered to be the earliest prominent Anglo-American Muslim convert (U.F. Abd-Allah, *A Muslim in Victorian America. The life of Alexander Russell Webb*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 60-5; P.D. Bowen, *A history of conversion to Islam in the United States*, vol. 1. *White American Muslims*, Leiden, 2015, pp. 105-14). In 1893, he was the only person representing Islam at the first Parliament for the World's Religions. In 1881, prior to his conversion, he had also become a Theosophist, and he remained equally loyal to the movement for the rest of his life. Coming from a Protestant background, he became interested in studying Buddhism through a Theosophical lens but finally settled on Islam, which he believed had an esoteric aspect that he called 'esoteric Muhammedanism' (Bowen, *History of conversion*,

p. 110). Webb also contributed to Judge's journal, *The Path*, with Sufi poetry and articles on related topics, and he visited several Theosophists during his travels in Muslim countries and in India ('Regarding Islamism', p. 112). Judge was therefore naturally interested in publicising the fact that a well-known member of the Theosophical Society in America had converted to Islam, and asked his readers to consider what this entailed. In addition, given the Theosophical preoccupation with the common esoteric truth in all world religions, as also explicated in the second objective of the Theosophical Society 'to encourage the comparative study of religion, philosophy and science', Judge briefly reflected on the significance of Islam.

Judge admits that little is known about Islam and that many prejudices seem to colour the Western conception of the faith: 'But is it natural that the religion of Mohammed has not received from Western people very great consideration. They judge it in the mass, and not from some of its teaching' ('Regarding Islamism', p. 112). Judge's article addresses several Western prejudices about Islam and deals with them in the following order: polygamy, forced acceptance of doctrines, the doctrine of God, the 'five precepts' and the 'secret doctrine', which is related to his esoteric understanding of religion. Throughout the work, we see that he generally believes Western concepts spring from lack of factual knowledge and that the Christian West is not that different from the image it has created of Islam. Judge thereby shows openness towards understanding Islam and Webb.

First, Judge mentions that a common prejudice in the West against Islam, or Islamism, concerns the notion of polygamy, but he argues that the notion primarily rests on one verse in the Qur'an (4:3), which states that a man may take more than one wife if he will be able to treat all of them exactly the same. Judge then emphasises that the Prophet himself only had one wife and before this lived in celibacy. Judge thus finds the notion and practice of polygamy to be a very liberal human interpretation of one verse but that 'this is human nature, and would probably be the result today in the West if our people placed reliance on the words of a Teacher who had made a similar statement' ('Regarding Islamism', p. 113).

Second, Judge mentions that it is commonly held in the West that the 'Mohammadans' have forced acceptance of their doctrines by literally carrying a sword in one hand and the Qur'an in the other, thereby forcing people to accept its message. Furthermore, he notes it is believed

that Muslims would burn all other books, based on a belief that if it is not in the Qur'an, it is not worth keeping. Judge finds some truth in this prejudice, but also argues that 'the West has been opposed to Islamism without really knowing much about it. [...] Similar charges might be made against Christian peoples, who notoriously both individually and as a nation are in the habit of going directly contrary to the commands of their founder' ('Regarding Islamism', p. 113).

Next, Judge considers what he finds more interesting, namely the question of how the philosophical and religious doctrines of Islam compare with those of other religions.

If it be found that the truths given out by the Prophet [Muḥammad] were known and written down before his time, then why should the Western student turn to the later religion, the product of a more or less undeveloped people, when he may go to the original from which it undoubtedly came? ('Regarding Islamism', pp. 113-14)

In this question Judge reveals two things. First, Theosophists were wisdom primitivists. They believed that the older a religious or philosophical system was, the closer it was to its source or highest truth. Second, he reproduces the popular belief that Muslims or Arabs were and are a less developed people on the scale of cultural evolution.

Judge then discusses the Islamic notion of God, which holds that there is a significant distinction between God and humankind. He states that this fundamental belief does not resonate well with Western Theosophists, to whom the human and the divine are fundamentally inseparable. He goes on to compare the Islamic notion of a God with the teachings of the Rig-Veda of the Brahmans, which generally had high value among Theosophists as the oldest source of wisdom in the world. Judge takes this to be an earlier and more comprehensive view of God than the one presented in the Qur'an, and asks on the basis of age why one should continue with the Islamic notions of God when those found in the Rig-Veda are older ('Regarding Islamism', p. 114).

Judge quotes the *Encyclopædia Britannica*'s article on 'Islam' on the 'five fundamental precepts' of 'Orthodox Mohammedanism', the 'Unity of God', 'prayer', 'alms giving', 'Ramadan' and 'observance of the festival of Mecca'. He then includes a paragraph from Webb to elucidate six 'precepts', the Articles of Belief: 'faith in God', 'faith in Angels', 'belief in the Koran', 'belief in God's prophets' and 'belief in predestination', but offers no further comment on these. It is noteworthy to observe how the

Encyclopædia Britannica was used as a source of information at a time when information on Islam was not readily available.

The final section of Judge's article enters into the notion of a secret doctrine or an esoteric aspect of Islamism. He argues that 'the religion of the Prophet contains, in common with all other religions, a secret doctrine which is the same as that found in those of differently named' ('Regarding Islamism', p. 114). Judge provides a couple of comparative examples with other religions and argues that the esoteric aspect of Islamism, that is Sufism, is no other than or better than the esoteric aspects of other religions. The only difference is that Islamism is the most recent religion, along with perhaps Mormonism. Judge finally remarks that still too little of true Islamism is known and he thus encourages its future study, especially since he holds that the religion of the future will comprise a unity of all religions, and the study of Islamism might encourage this objective ('Regarding Islamism', p. 115).

SIGNIFICANCE

William Judge's short article is relevant to Christian-Muslim relations for three reasons. First, and primarily, it introduces the Theosophical element into the sphere of Christian-Muslim relations. The Theosophical movement was generally more open to engaging with Islam and Muslims than most Western Christian groups at this time because it entertained the belief that all religions are, in their inner core, principally the same, and therefore all contain truths of significant importance for the spiritual development of humanity. One of the strategies of the Theosophical Society was to study religious texts from around the world comparatively in order to discover universal truths. As Judge complains, Islam was still little known; more knowledge is thus encouraged. Furthermore, in 1882 the Theosophical Society was one of the first alternative religious movements to show global awareness by establishing its headquarters in India and by meeting different religions on their own terms. The Theosophists believed that it was possible to be a Muslim and a Theosophist at the same time, as they believed that Theosophy would only facilitate a deeper entry into one's own religion, and vice versa. Alexander Russell Webb is thus not condemned by his Theosophical friend Judge, but receives positive attention and interest as a bridge builder for further understanding of what it means to be a Muslim. It should be recognised, however, that Islam, like other religions, is viewed through the specific lens of universal esoteric principles that downplays mythological elements and local traits in favour of what is construed as common esoteric truths.

Second, it was important to note that Webb, who was a member of the Theosophical Society, became one of the first significant Western converts to Islam while remaining a Theosophist. The Theosophical Society was also later, perhaps for the same reasons, instrumental in cultivating the milieu around the development of Western Sufism (M. Sedgwick, *Western Sufism. From the Abbasids to the New Age*, Oxford, 2016, p. 183) thereby impacting modern changes in Christian-Muslim relations.

Third, this article is significant, on the one hand, for the ways it reproduces more mainstream prejudices and definitions of Islam, and on the other tries to reconcile with them. Judge is aware, for example, of prejudices such as those related to polygamy and religious warmongering, but also finds these to be the result of Western ignorance about Islam. Yet, he still seems to think that Muslims or Arabs to some extent represent a less developed culture.

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STUDIES

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Tim Rudbøg

Alexander Russell Webb

Mohammed Alexander Russell Web

DATE OF BIRTH 9 November 1846
PLACE OF BIRTH Hudson, New York
DATE OF DEATH 1 October 1916
PLACE OF DEATH Rutherford, New Jersey

BIOGRAPHY

Alexander Russell Webb was the most prominent American convert to Islam in the 19th century. Although he was the son of a Presbyterian newspaper editor and publisher, as a teenager and young man he was uninterested in either religion or the newspaper industry. After attending boarding school at Claverack College and Hudson River Institute, he worked as a jeweller until 1873, when he took up an offer to become the editor of a newspaper in Unionville, Missouri. Over the next 14 years, he worked as both an editor and writer for various Missouri newspapers. and, for a brief period, as a drama producer and manager.

In his late thirties, while working as a journalist in St Louis, Missouri, Webb began studying non-Christian religions. Sometime about 1888, while serving as United States Consul to the Philippines in Manila, he converted to Islam. He soon began corresponding about Islamic topics with an Indian Muslim named Budruddin Abdullah Kur, who published several of Webb's letters in a newspaper in Bombay. When a Meccan businessman living in India, Hajee Abdulla Arab, learned about him through his published letters, he contacted Webb to ask him if he was interested in promoting Islam in the United States. Webb said he was, and Arab formed a committee, which included Kur and a Muslim missionary named Moulvi Hasan Ali as members, to support Webb's propaganda efforts. In 1892, Webb resigned from his consular post and went on a three-month tour of India, during which time he lectured in various cities and worked with the committee to raise funds for his future missionary activities.

In early 1893, Webb returned to the United States, where he published a handful of small books, including his *Islam in America*, and a few short-lived Islam-themed newspapers. He established study circles on Islam for

interested parties and gave numerous speeches promoting Islam, including three at the Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago in 1893.

Webb's movement quickly fell apart due to internal dissension and lack of support. He then spent the remainder of his life in relative obscurity, focusing his energies on civic activities, and doing relatively little writing and speaking on Islam.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam in America

DATE 1893

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Islam in America. A brief statement of Mohammedanism and an outline of the American Islamic propaganda, a 70-page work, is a defence of Islam as superior to all other religions, especially Christianity. Webb argues that Islam teaches the same basic religious ideas as Christianity, but it does so without appeal to the untenable 'dogmas' of either the Trinity, the immaculate conception, or vicarious atonement. It is therefore a purely rational religion. Furthermore, he argues, Islam provides not only the answers to the 'mysteries of life and death', but through its moral codes and philosophical teachings is also 'the most perfect system of soul development ever given to man, and the only one applicable to all classes of humanity' (p. 24). Webb also makes the case that information about Islam in the West has been very negatively distorted by Christian bias.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is the first book promoting Islam known to have been written by an American convert to Islam. It sets out Webb's basic apology for the faith, and it should be regarded as containing the main ideas used in Webb's Islamic missionary activities in the 1890s.

PUBLICATIONS

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- M.A.R. Webb, *Islam in America. And other writings*, Chicago, 2006 (repr., also includes Webb's World Parliament of Religion speeches; *A guide to Namaz; The Armenian troubles*)

Henry Preserved Smith

DATE OF BIRTH 23 October 1847
PLACE OF BIRTH Troy, Ohio
DATE OF DEATH 26 February 1927
PLACE OF DEATH Poughkeepsie, New York

BIOGRAPHY

Henry Preserved Smith was born in 1847 into a family that claimed to be descendants from the earliest English pilgrims to North America. In fact, Henry came from a long line of pastors, several of whom had sympathy with dissenting communities such as the Baptists and Unitarians. His parents joined the New School Presbyterians when they moved to Ohio from Connecticut. Henry attended Marietta College and then Amherst College, graduating in 1869. He then studied theology at the Presbyterian Lane Theological Seminary in Ohio, graduating in 1872. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Dayton in 1871, and was ordained as a pastor in 1875.

As was common with many promising American theological students in the 19th century, Smith travelled to Germany to study from 1872 to 1874. In 1874, he returned from Berlin to Lane Theological Seminary to become the professor of Church history and then, after one year, the professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis. As a part of his contract with Lane, he was able to return to Germany and further prepare himself to teach Hebrew by studying with Franz Delitzsch in Leipzig. In addition to learning German and Hebrew, he also learned Syriac and Arabic. During his time in Germany, Smith was influenced by German higher criticism, and as a professor at Lane, he began to teach that scripture was inspired rather than inerrant. Being in sympathy with Charles Briggs, during the latter's biblical inerrancy trial, Smith was also brought up on charges of heresy by the Presbytery of Cincinnati in 1892, and subsequently removed from Presbyterian ministry. It was during this time that he published his ideas of scripture in *Inspiration and inerrancy* in 1893.

Following his heresy trial, Smith left Ohio and moved to Massachusetts where he joined the Congregationalist Church. He taught at Andover Seminary from 1893 to 1897, without a contract. It was at this time

that he was invited to give the Ely Lectures at Union Theological Seminary. His ten lectures were later compiled and published as *The Bible and Islam. The influence of the Old and New Testaments on the religion of Mohammed*. He returned to Amherst College as the professor of biblical literature in 1898 and served there until 1906.

It was at Amherst that he published several works on the Old Testament, including an introduction to the Old Testament and a commentary on the book of Samuel, using the higher critical methods of analysis. In 1907, he moved to Meadville Seminary, a Unitarian college in Pennsylvania, and was 'professor of biblical literature and history of religions school' from 1907 to 1913.

In 1913, Smith was called to Union Seminary to serve as the librarian and the Davenport Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages until his retirement in 1925. While he was at Union, he taught courses on Islam, expounding on his views as expressed in *The Bible and Islam*. After retirement, Smith moved to Poughkeepsie NY, and lived there until his death in 1927. He wrote several works in the last years of his life, notably 'The apologetic interpretation of scripture in Islam and in Christianity', published in *The Journal of Religion* 4 (1924) 361-71, and his autobiography, *The heretic's defense*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Bible and Islam

DATE 1897

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Bible and Islam. The influence of the Old and New Testaments on the religion of Mohammed is a 317-page compilation of ten lectures given by Smith at Union Theological Seminary as part of the endowed Ely Lectureship series. The book is divided into ten chapters, one for each lecture: 1. The Apostle of Allah; 2. The common basis of heathenism; 3. The Koran narratives; 4. The doctrine of God; 5. The divine government; 6. Revelation and prophecy; 7. Sin and salvation; 8. The service of God; 9. The future life; 10. Church and state.

In his first lecture, on the life of the Prophet, Smith provides an overall positive view of Muḥammad as a man who was truly religious and sought the religious reformation of his community, albeit as a flawed man with ambition. He describes Muḥammad as sensitive and caring, and always concerned for justice and mercy. Yet Smith makes a point that Muḥammad was a man of his times and should be judged accordingly. Just as Joshua exterminated the Canaanites and David lusted after women, so Muḥammad was responsible for the murder of Jews and for the poor treatment of women (1897 edition, p. 23). Muḥammad learned of the 'truths of Christianity' through an Ebionite sect in Arabia, and did the best he could with the faith that had been explained to him by Jewish and Christian Arabs. However, he was not able to understand correctly or adopt the important Christian doctrines of the Trinity or the atonement. Thus, Muḥammad developed what Smith calls a 'Judaistic Christianity adapted to Arabic conditions' (p. 317).

Smith rejects the idea that Islam is of the devil and that Muḥammad was the anti-Christ, which was prominent in other Christian literature. In fact, he repudiates Humphrey Prideaux's concept of Muḥammad as an impostor (p. 12). Rather, he portrays Muḥammad as an important

religious leader for the Arabs, who fits the mould of an Old Testament prophet and leader, like Jeremiah and David. 'The wonder is that, unlettered as he was, himself the child of heathenism, and receiving the Biblical conception through so imperfect a medium, he was able to assimilate so much, and to present it so powerfully to his equally rude and untaught countrymen' (p. 131).

In the second lecture, 'The common basis of heathenism', Smith argues that all religions, including Judaism and Christianity, build on earlier religions. Thus, Muḥammad and later Muslims used previous Arab polytheistic traditions and practices (such as the pilgrimage practices centred on the Ka'ba), and adapted them to their own use. In this regard, Islam and Judaism were cut from the same cloth, and arose from a similar Near Eastern cultural and religious milieu.

In the third lecture, on 'the Koran narratives', Smith notes that, because there were no Jewish or Christian scriptures in Arabic, Muḥammad received information orally about these two faiths and then took the material and shaped it into stories that were 'strictly subordinate to his purpose' (p. 61). Thus, the biblical stories 'furnish a framework' for his Arabic-speaking audience (p. 65). Smith reviews the narratives of Noah, Abraham and then John, Jesus and Mary in the Qur'an. He remarks that Muḥammad relied on biblical stories narrated to him orally by Christians and Jews, as well as non-canonical Jewish and Christian sources. He states that, because of this oral narration, Muḥammad himself probably did not know the difference between what was in the Bible and what was from Jewish or Christian tradition. These stories, however, assisted him in developing his 'scheme of history' (p. 72). That is, Smith argues that Muḥammad consciously placed himself in the trajectory of the prophets for his Meccan audience.

In the fourth lecture, Smith focuses on the doctrine of God. He sees many theological parallels between the Qur'an and the Bible, such as God as creator and the One who reveals and wills humans to goodness and salvation: given this, Muḥammad was 'doubtless under scriptural influence' (p. 108). It is regarding the concept of atonement that Christianity and Islam part ways (p. 123). The idea of an intermediary between humankind and God, such as Jesus, was too similar to the Meccan supplication to the gods and goddesses of Arabia, especially Allāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt (p. 125). In the end, Smith argues that, while Muḥammad's vision of God may be too remote for humanity, he nevertheless did a great service to the Arabs by eradicating immoral polytheism and promoting worship of the one God.

In the fifth lecture, Smith addresses the issue of 'divine government' or *qadar*. He argues that fatalism was a prominent concept among the Arabs prior to Muḥammad, and this was later expanded by Muslim theologians into the concept of God's 'divine decree', or predestination (p. 142). Here Smith argues that Muḥammad's view was consistent with the biblical perspective of the tension between the sovereignty of God over all things and the 'synergism' of human beings to participate or to refuse God's will to create a moral world (p. 152).

In the sixth lecture, 'Revelation and prophecy', Smith underlines that Muḥammad, who was illiterate, had not read the Bible; he encountered the concepts of prophecy from the chanting of Christian slaves in Mecca. Smith then explores Muḥammad's experience of receiving revelations. He disagrees with Aloys Sprenger and others who accepted the view that Muḥammad was overcome with epileptic fits, which explained his physical paroxysms. Rather, Smith asks the question 'Why may not God send an Arabian Prophet?' (p. 172). Smith finds Muḥammad's experience during the Meccan period to be much in line with the experience of biblical prophets. This is supported by Muḥammad's acceptance of the earlier books of the Jews and Christians as part of God's revealing activity. To address the apparent contradictions between his and these previous revelations, Muḥammad asserted that God had abrogated previous revelations with the Qur'an (p. 192).

The seventh lecture, 'Sin and salvation', addresses Muḥammad's preaching of the Day of Judgment. Smith remarks that the Qur'an does not provide a threefold view of the human as body, spirit and soul. Thus, Muḥammad required a complete restoration of the body, or the whole human being. Smith notes that the story of Adam and Eve in the Qur'an provides the experience of disobedient individuals as opposed to the theory of a universal condition of sinfulness. Again, he finds Muḥammad's perspective on sin, judgement, revelation and salvation by God to be consistent with the message of the Old Testament prophets; that is God's intention to provide a message of judgement in the face of human disobedience, and guidance out of such a predicament. Smith writes, "The grace of God which bringeth salvation" is a biblical phrase which well sums up the view of Mohammed' (p. 214).

In the eighth lecture, 'The service of God', Smith argues that Islam is similar to Talmudic Judaism, in that ritual and ethics are pursued together as a holistic way of serving the will of God. He upholds the examples of pilgrimage, fasting and ritual prayer as common requirements not only

within Judaism but also within the Christian tradition. He equates the laws in the Qur'an with Jewish laws, as both attempt to create ethical norms. Muḥammad mitigated the institution of slavery and the estate of marriage by following Jewish laws of marriage and divorce (p. 262-3). It was later Islamic society, however, that put further constraints on women's roles and rights.

In the ninth lecture, 'The future life', Smith explores the Qur'an's eschatology, and remarks on the similarity of its teachings about the Day of Judgement to the 'little apocalypses' in the Gospels, which are further elaborated on by later Christian traditions describing heaven and hell in great detail.

In the tenth and final lecture, 'Church and state', Smith equates Islamic rule in Medina with that of David and the united monarchy in the Old Testament. Muḥammad was a 'man of character' who ruled in the same way as the kings and prophets of ancient Israel (p. 296). This concept of 'church and state', or theocracy, runs throughout the Old Testament. Smith argues that it was adopted in Latin Catholic Europe as well as early Puritan North America. However, Europe and America have 'learned' to separate the powers of religion from civic authority (p. 304), while the Qur'an is still 'the civil as well as the religious law of all Moslems' (p. 308).

Throughout *The Bible and Islam* there is an assumption that Muḥammad is the author of the Qur'an and that its lack of organisation and the repetition of stories is the result of his attempt to articulate his 'scheme of history' for his Meccan audience (p. 74). Smith uses al-Bukhārī's Hadith collection and the important *Mishkāt al-masābīḥ* liberally, and he remarks on how similar they are in nature to the Talmud or patristic writings that expound and explain the earliest sources of scripture. Smith acknowledges that these traditions, however, tell us more about the development of early Islam and Muslim thought than about the historical life of Muḥammad (p. 36). Smith never provides specific examples of Muḥammad's access to Jewish or Christian sources, from which he reportedly borrowed in detail. Rather, he makes the general deduction that Muḥammad learned stories and ideas from the Jewish and Christian communities in Arabia and later from converts to Islam.

Smith's quotations from the Qur'an are from Flügel's 1834 Arabic edition. He also makes use of editions of the Hadith collections of al-Bukhārī and *Mishkāt al-masābīḥ*. While he does use some standard English works on Islam, including Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, Edward William Lane's translation of *A thousand and one nights*

and Thomas Patrick Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, most of his resources are Dutch and German Orientalists' works. These include Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy's *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islam*, Christiaan Snouck-Hurgronje's two-volume *Mekka* and Abraham Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* He also uses August Müller's *Der Islam im Morgen-und Abendlande*, Aloys Sprenger's *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, Gustav Weil's translation of Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet, *Das Leben Mohammeds nach Mohammed ibn Ishak und Abd el Malik ibn Hisham*, and Ignaz Goldziher's *Muhammedanische studien*.

Published only one year after Goldziher's *Muhammedanische studien* and before Duncan Black MacDonald began teaching at Hartford Seminary, Smith's *The Bible and Islam* was one of the earliest American studies of the Qur'an using an Arabic edition and the important late 19th-century Orientalist works in German. However, unlike MacDonald, who interacted directly with Muslim sources, Smith shows more reliance on European studies on the Qur'an, Hadith and the *Sīra*.

Smith's study ultimately portrays a decidedly more positive view of Muḥammad than most of the previous English literature on the Prophet, rather than repeating previous Christian polemics of Muḥammad as a trickster or impostor. Smith notes that Muḥammad was not intent on creating a new religion, 'Islam', but saw his work as the continuation of the religion of the God of the Jews and Christians. However, his religion had gone on to become 'the most conservative system the world has ever seen' through its ossification in the Middle Ages (p. 228). Thus, for Smith the Islam practised by the Turks of his day was a far cry from Muḥammad's reformations of the 7th century.

SIGNIFICANCE

Usually unnoticed, *The Bible and Islam* is nevertheless an important American Protestant study of Islam that demonstrates the application of the higher critical method of biblical interpretation to the Qur'an. It stands in contrast to the work of the American evangelical Samuel Zwemer, for instance. In preparing for the Ely Lectures, Smith notes he was able to 'observe the rigid theory of inspiration held by Moslem theologians, and also to estimate the influence which our Bible had in Muḥammad's thought' (*The heretic's defense*, p. 119). Smith's work provides a window on the 19th-century debates among fundamentalist and modernist Protestants about the Bible, and also on the impact of German scholarship on the Qur'an that was making its way across the Atlantic.

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David D. Grafton

James Leander Cathcart

Giacomo Leandro Cathcart

DATE OF BIRTH 1 June 1767
PLACE OF BIRTH Mount Murragh, Westmeath, Ireland
DATE OF DEATH 6 October 1843
PLACE OF DEATH Washington DC

BIOGRAPHY

Born into a Scots family in Ireland, James Leander Cathcart emigrated to colonial Philadelphia under the care of an uncle. When he was 12 years old, Cathcart joined the American revolt against the British as a midshipman aboard the frigate *Confederacy*, which led to his capture by the British and his detention on the prison hulks at New York. Cathcart escaped in 1782 and returned to sea. Three years later, he again found himself in captivity when corsairs sailing out of Algiers seized the schooner *Maria*, on which he had sailed for Cadiz. During the decade that Cathcart spent in Algiers, he occupied nearly every position open to a Christian captive. His first charge was feeding the animals of the palace menagerie, and he became in turn a carpenter's apprentice, a valet, 'coffeegie', tavern keeper, clerk of the marine and then the bagnios, and ultimately the chief Christian clerk to the dey, Hasan Pasha.

Having ingratiated himself with Hasan Pasha, Cathcart informally mediated treaty negotiations between the regency and American diplomats, and he was credited as the translator of the American treaty with Tunis. In 1796, Hasan freed Cathcart and sent him to Philadelphia to hasten the delivery of the naval stores promised by the American treaty. While in the United States, Cathcart talked his way into a consular appointment in Tripoli, where he served from 1799 until he moved to Leghorn, Italy, in May 1801, when the bey, Yusuf Karamanli, declared war over the American refusal to pay increased tribute. While the American navy blockaded Tripoli, Cathcart received the commission as consul in Algiers, the premier diplomatic post in the Maghreb, but Hasan Pasha's successor, Mustafa Pasha, refused to recognise the appointment, saying war and difficulties followed Cathcart wherever he went. When negotiations resumed in Tripoli, the regency refused to recognise Cathcart as

consul. He then received a consular appointment in Tunis, but found himself *persona non grata* there as well.

Blackballed throughout the Ottoman Maghreb, Cathcart returned to the United States, where in 1806 he escorted the Tunisian embassy on its tour of the country, and in 1807 he secured a long-term posting as naval agent in Madeira. Cathcart served out his final years abroad with the consulate in Cadiz, and returned to the United States in 1817. After working briefly for the navy, he settled into a two-decade career at the treasury in Washington. A quarrelsome and alienating civil servant, he believed his contributions to American diplomacy and the redemption of the American captives in Algiers had gone unappreciated due to nepotism and rivalries within the diplomatic corps. He died in Washington in 1843.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The captives. Eleven years a prisoner in Algiers

The diplomatic journal and letter book of James Leander Cathcart, 1788-1796

DATE 1899

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Captives is a diplomatic history, letter book and personal narrative of James Leander Cathcart's decade-long captivity in Algiers. Based on Cathcart's journals and his correspondence with American officials, the work contains brief accounts of his early life and later consular career.

This 312-page book is divided into 23 chapters, the first 19 of which relate the principal events of Cathcart's captivity and his role in the negotiations to redeem the Americans held in Algiers.

Islam is not the primary subject of *Captives*, although Cathcart's social mobility did provide him with ample opportunity 'to study the manners and customs' of a broad cross-section of society. The work deals with Christian-Muslim relations on two levels. First, Cathcart makes pragmatic observations on religious practices that have potential bearing on official business. Among these is his description of the halt in treaty negotiations caused by the Ramaḍān fast. Second, the work relates many interactions between the captives and their putatively Muslim neighbours. In one instance, Cathcart – who had read an English version of the Qur'an and a biography of Muḥammad – purportedly humiliated a 'sheriff' during an impromptu religious debate by describing Muḥammad's life and the expansion of Islam in surprising detail.

Although Cathcart decried Christian converts to Islam as self-interested hypocrites, *Captives* is generally ecumenical in tone. Cathcart believed Muḥammad had 'converted millions of Idolaters and induced them to worship the only true God as I do' (p. 146), and he attempted to distance the United States from what he perceived as the hostility of European Christians towards Islam. During flagging treaty negotiations, he cajoled Hasan Pasha by explaining that the United States had 'no religious test nor enmity' towards Muslims, who were free in the United States to build mosques and practise their faith publicly. He went so far as to claim that Muslims could occupy 'places of honour or trust' in American government or even become president (p. 160).

Cathcart's journals and voluminous correspondence remained unpublished until his daughter, Jane Bancker Newkirk, published *Captives* in 1899. This revision of Cathcart's journals is the most widely circulated and referenced, but in 1955 the American Antiquarian Society published a fragment of Cathcart's journal manuscripts under the title *The diplomatic journal*. This unvarnished account relates some minor events that do not appear in *Captives*, but its principal significance may lie in its revealing how *Captives* was both condensed and altered in order to burish Cathcart's image as a diplomat and patriot. In addition to *The diplomatic journal*, other early manuscripts among Cathcart's papers at the Library of Congress relate minor details and observations that do not appear in *Captives*, but they offer little new insight into Christian-Muslim relations of the time.

SIGNIFICANCE

Captives is an extensive first-hand account of 18th-century Algiers and a detailed guide to the living conditions of American captives there. Cathcart believed his experiences would furnish valuable intelligence for diplomatic missions, and he provided his papers to at least two American diplomats as they prepared for negotiations. *Captives* has been a standard reference for historians of captivity and American diplomacy in North Africa, but there is little evidence the account had any significant impact at the time of its publication, more than a century after Cathcart and his fellow sailors were redeemed. Nonetheless, the text does relate many noteworthy episodes, and its descriptions of the experiences of captives are unique among American accounts.

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Ian Larson

Samuel Henry Kellogg

DATE OF BIRTH 6 September 1839
PLACE OF BIRTH Long Island, New York
DATE OF DEATH 3 May 1899
PLACE OF DEATH Uttarakhand, India

BIOGRAPHY

Samuel Henry Kellogg was the son of Samuel Kellogg, a Presbyterian pastor, and Mary P. Henry of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. He was a sickly child and was schooled at home by his parents, primarily his mother. In 1856, he attended Williams College but had to return home due to illness. After two years, he enrolled in Princeton College, and ultimately graduated in 1861 at the top of his class. He continued at Princeton Seminary, graduating in 1864.

Kellogg was ordained to missionary service in April 1864. He married Antoinette Hartwell, and they left for India with the North India Mission of the Presbyterian Church. Only days out from Boston their ship encountered a storm and the captain was washed overboard. No other sailor possessed the ability to navigate the ship, so, as the only member on board with some skill, Kellogg found himself in charge until it reached its destination 149 days later.

Following his arrival in India, he learned Hindi quickly. He was soon placed in charge of the Farrukhabad Mission, teaching at the mission school at Fatehgarh, preaching, providing instruction to Indian evangelists, and engaging in evangelistic work. In 1870, he began working on a Hindi grammar, which he completed in 1876. The grammar earned him an honour in the International Congress of Orientalists in 1899 from King Oscar II of Sweden. In 1871, he began teaching in the theological college in Allalabad. But overcome with illness once again, he returned to the United States on a furlough for rest, and was away from India for one and a half years.

In 1876 Antoinette died, leaving Samuel with four children. Her death must have been devastating for him, as he then returned to the US. He was soon called as the pastor to Third Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, and as professor of theology at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Alleghany. During this time, he was also actively involved with the shift

in Presbyterian thought from postmillennial to premillennial thinking. However, such views were not accepted at the seminary, thus prompting him to leave.

He married Sarah C. Macrum in 1879, with whom he had five children. In 1886, he resigned to take up a new call at St James' Square Presbyterian Church in Toronto. In 1892, he was called back to India to undertake a revision of the Bible in Hindi, specifically the Old Testament, under the auspices of several mission agencies, including the North India Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. He died suddenly in a bicycle accident in 1899. While out on his daily leisurely ride he hit a rut and was thrown, his temple struck a rock and he was killed instantly. His funeral was held the following day.

In addition to *A handbook of comparative religions* (1899), Kellogg also authored *Genesis and the growth of religion* (1892), his famous *A grammar of the Hindi language* (1876), *The light of Asia and the light of the world. A comparison of the legend, the doctrine, & the ethics of the Buddha with the story, the doctrine, & the ethics of Christ* (1885), *Are pre-millennialists right?* (1885), *The Jews, prediction or fulfilment* (1887), a commentary on Leviticus (1890), *What think ye of Christ: demented or divine, which?* (1895), and the *Leviticus and Numbers* volume of the *Expositor's Bible*, published posthumously (1903).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A handbook of comparative religions

DATE 1899

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

A handbook of comparative religions is a 179-page work (in the 1899 edition) in which Samuel Kellogg sets out to correct 'very radical and serious misconceptions' that any religion other than Christianity is true and revealed (p. vii). He wrote it to address an opinion common in North America at the time, which he describes as 'wholly foreign to biblical teaching' (p. 64). Kellogg introduces the topic of religious systems by categorising them into theistic, pantheistic and animistic. He then provides several chapters focused on religious doctrines: God, sin, salvation and the final judgment. He compares the impact of various religions on morality, before his concluding chapter, in which he compares these religious systems with Christianity.

Kellogg includes Islam (which he terms 'Mohammedanism') as a theistic religion, along with Judaism and Christianity. These religions are different from the pantheistic religions, such as Hinduism, and the atheistic religions of Buddhism, Shintoism and Jainism. He concludes his categorisation with the animistic religions of Africa. Kellogg sets up his comparison of Islam with Christianity by claiming that they hold a variety of doctrines in common. He then begins to criticise Islam by comparing its doctrines with those of Christianity.

In ch. 1, Kellogg states that all religions agree that humanity is inherently religious and has a relationship with some form of supreme power, deity or deities. They also agree that there is 'something wrong' in this relationship, which he calls 'sin'. Finally, the religions hold in common the belief that there is something more than a physical life and some kind of state after death that includes various systems of rewards and punishments. Given that humans throughout the globe share these commonalities, he concludes that it is clear that humans were created as religious beings and that beliefs hold eternal truths. In each of the following chapters, Kellogg addresses the various religious doctrines he claims are held by all religions.

Regarding the doctrine of God, he comments that 'the representation of the character and nature of God' in the Qur'an is completely opposite

(p. 22) to that of Christianity. While the God of the New Testament is one of love, the God of the Qur'an resembles an oriental despot who acts cruelly and capriciously.

Regarding sin, Kellogg proposes that Islam comes closer to Christianity than any other religious system. Yet, while sin in Christianity signifies a state of being, he writes that for Islam sin is merely 'wilful violations of the law of God' (p. 40). These violations do not necessarily lead to a lack of moral will, but are either 'permissible' or 'forbidden' according to God's 'arbitrary will and decree' as revealed in the Qur'an (p. 42). Because Muslims believe in the foreordained knowledge of God, or *taqdīr*, there is no accountability for an individual's sin (p. 44), whereas Christianity recognises God's omniscience, and claims that all his decrees reflect his infinite nature of 'righteousness and love' (p. 44). Kellogg claims that God does not and cannot act contrary to 'the very necessity of His nature, [which is] infinite in righteousness and love' (p. 44). Again, God would not pre-ordain individuals to either paradise or hell, merely according to his will or desire, rather than from 'righteousness, justice, or love' (p. 46).

Regarding the doctrine of salvation, Kellogg claims that humanity by its very nature has exhibited some form of alienation from God, and seeks redress of that condition. Here, he argues that Islam is the most contradictory to Christianity in that the role of any form of salvation is purely a 'deliverance from punishment' rather than any cure or answer to humanity's existential questions or problems (p. 64). Quoting Q 6:164, 'No soul shall acquire any merits or demerits but for itself; and no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another', he argues that the Qur'an denies the atonement of human sin by the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ. Rather, following the path of Islam requires belief in the meritorious nature of good works, including the pillars of worship. Furthermore, in Islam Christians are guilty of *shirk* for claiming Jesus's salvific actions, and so they are bound for hell (p. 67).

Regarding the final judgement, Kellogg writes that the New Testament is clear that those 'penitent and obedient believers' who are without 'spot, or wrinkle' will inherit eternal life (p. 90). This requires clear moral regeneration and 'purity of heart' (p. 93). Drawing from Jewish and Christian scriptures, Kellogg claims that Islam is very similar to Christianity in its beliefs about the final judgement, eternity and the resurrection of the dead, although the Islamic traditions denote a particularly violent Day of Judgement and a particularly painful crossing over through a separation of the soul from the body by the angel of death (p. 96), while believers

will enjoy 'an eternity of sensual desires' (p. 104). Kellogg also notes that the Qur'an declares some of the unbelievers will be raised from the dead as apes and swine (p. 98).

Ch. 7 describes the prescriptive moral regenerative power of Christianity. Kellogg argues that, while in this respect Islam has much in common with Christianity, its moral standards are lower than those outlined in the New Testament, specifically regarding the treatment of 'unbelievers', slavery and polygamy. Kellogg alludes to his belief that the basis of the British Empire's rule over less civilised nations was Christian moral virtue.

Finally, in ch. 8, where he compares Christianity with the other religious systems of the world, Kellogg notes that 'Mohammedanism' is certainly in agreement with Christianity in its condemnation of all forms of idolatry. Yet, because Muslims refuse to accept Jesus Christ as the 'only begotten Son of God' who saves, they also deny the 'Father who sent him' (p. 167).

In explicating his views of 'Mohammedanism', Samuel Kellogg utilises the contemporary works of Syed Ahmed Khan and William Muir, and of his missionary colleagues Elwood Wherry and Henry Jessup. His quotations from the Qur'an come from Sale's English translation.

SIGNIFICANCE

While the late 19th century saw growth in the study of comparative religions, Kellogg undertook the work on this book to counter what he believed was a retreat from exclusivist understandings of Christianity. The fact that *A handbook* was never out of print, was reissued numerous times, and even translated into Mandarin for missionaries working in China, indicates its popularity and wide-ranging impact.

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David D. Grafton

Anson Atterbury

DATE OF BIRTH 18 June 1854
PLACE OF BIRTH New York
DATE OF DEATH 4 January 1931
PLACE OF DEATH New York

BIOGRAPHY

Anson Phelps Atterbury Jr was born into a wealthy Presbyterian family in New York on 18 June 1854. The son of New York merchant Benjamin Bakewell Atterbury and Olivia Egleston Phelps, Anson grew up in affluent Protestant circles that patronised mission and charitable societies. His maternal grandfather bequeathed \$50,000 of his estate to Liberia College, while Atterbury's brother, Boudinot Currie Atterbury, a medical missionary to China, was able to raise sufficient funds among family and friends to build a mission hospital in Beijing. Anson's marriage with Catherina van Rensselaer in 1891 connected him to yet another prominent New York family.

Atterbury studied at Yale College (1871-3 and 1875-6) and Andover Theological Seminary (1876-8) before graduating from Union Theological Seminary in 1879. He was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1880 and served the remainder of his working days as minister of Park Church in New York (1897-1918). In 1893, he obtained his PhD at New York University and at the same time received a Doctor of Divinity degree from Hamilton College.

Atterbury wrote several books, including *Islam in Africa. Its effects – religious, ethical and social – upon the people of the country* (1899), and *A story of life. A record of the beginning and growth of the Park Presbyterian Church of New York City* (1920). Atterbury died in 1931, aged 76. His personal papers are kept at the Union Theological Seminary Archives.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam in Africa. Its effects – religious, ethical and social – upon the people of the country

DATE 1899

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Anson Phelps Atterbury's *Islam in Africa* is a study of the significance of Islam in Africa. Its main purpose is to argue that the effects of Islam on the continent are detrimental and warrant European imperial intervention to supplant Islam with Christianity. The book makes liberal use of a wide range of available materials. Atterbury cites publications on Islam and Africa by authors such as Edward Blyden, Reginald Bosworth Smith, Isaac Taylor, Henry Harris Jessup and Samuel Crowther, together with travelogues by David Livingstone, Henry Morton Stanley, Slatin Pasha, René Caillié and others, as well as miscellaneous missionary sources. He frequently engages with these authors on topics such as the prophethood of Muḥammad, the source of Muḥammad's inspiration, and the nature and impact of Islam in Africa. Significantly, Atterbury's descriptions are mainly based on representations of lived Islam in Africa.

The book was first published in New York in 1899 (with reprints in 1969, 1987 and 2007) and its overall length is xxiv + 208 pages. It opens with a six-page introductory endorsement by Frank F. Ellinwood (1826-1908), corresponding secretary for the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and lecturer in comparative religion at New York University, in which Ellinwood denounces Islam because of its 'fanaticism and bigotry' (p. v) and because slavery 'is part of Islam' (p. viii). The introduction is followed by a preface in which Atterbury projects his lack of personal experience in Africa as a strength:

Limited personal experience would, necessarily, make one's presentation of the subject partial and prejudiced. To take the statements of many men, to weigh testimony and reconcile or reject contradiction, to estimate and

allow for personal prejudice – to view the field as a whole – is work to be done only at a distance, and calmly in one's study. (p. xi)

The first 30 pages of the book offer a general introduction to Islam, detailing in some broad strokes the life of Muḥammad, the Qur'an and Islamic beliefs and practices. While Atterbury seems to endorse the theory that Muḥammad received his revelations during epileptic fits, his appraisal of Muḥammad is surprisingly open-minded:

He was a prophet; but not in that full meaning of the term under which the prophets of the Old Testament cried, 'Thus saith the Lord'. [...] But he grasped the great truth of God as the one eternal ruler of angels and men, and he uttered that truth from God to man. He who in an age and country of idolatry saw God as the One Supreme, and told his fellow men thereof, was truly called of God. (pp. 1-2)

While Atterbury deems some events in Muḥammad's later life reprehensible, this does not alter his overall assessment of Muḥammad's religious sincerity and veracity: 'We must simply accept the oral contradiction: he was good, yet bad; he was sincere, yet sensual' (p. 12).

The main body of the book comprises a discussion of Islam in Africa. Atterbury begins with a portrayal of the African continent (ch. 4) and its 'races' (ch. 5), and then describes the spread of Islam in Africa (ch. 6). Invoking the examples of the Mahdi (Sudan) and Tippu-Tipp, he projects the growth of Islam as the direct consequence of Arab conquest and slaving expeditions (pp. 68, 75), repeatedly citing the adage: 'Believe, pay tribute, or die' (pp. 68, 75). His emphasis on enforced conversion notwithstanding, Atterbury acknowledges that there are certain factors, such as the simplicity of the creed, Muslim indigenous agents, and especially Islam's message of the equality of all believers, that make this religion attractive to Africans: 'Mohammedanism tends to break down tribal and cast distinctions. It imbues the negro believer with a sense of dignity' (p. 78). Atterbury even goes as far as to concede that in its message of equality within the *umma*, Islam outclasses Christianity in Africa: 'Certainly Islam rises far above that narrow prejudice which characterizes too largely the white Christians' (p. 80).

Atterbury then proceeds with a discussion of Islam's missionary character, its political character (ch. 7), and its moral and religious character in Africa (ch. 8). He presents its moral and religious character as antagonistic and polemical. He writes: 'The testimony is well-nigh, or quite unanimous, that the moral character of Mohammedanism throughout the Sudan, as throughout North Africa, perhaps excepting the desert, is

unspeakably bad' (p. 122). While the chapter reiterates some polemical tropes such as sensuality, polygamy and easy divorce in Islam, the core of Atterbury's denunciation centres on Islam's entanglement with slavery, conveniently ignoring Christianity's long complicity in this matter: 'Not only is Mohammedanism the religion of the slave-driver; Mohammedanism sanctions the slave-trade, and is responsible, in the last analysis, for the wide-spread demand that has prolonged the export slave-trade of late' (p. 128), and: 'The moral character of Mohammedanism in Africa, the inevitable result of that religious system which some have attempted to extol, is written in letters of blood and fire in the history of the African slave-trade throughout the last fifty years of this century' (p. 133).

Having assessed Islam's effect on Africa to be overwhelmingly detrimental for Africans, Atterbury then proposes a radical solution: 'The power of the Mohammedan Arab in Central Africa must first and completely be broken. The introduction of foreign influence throughout the Dark Continent will gradually accomplish this' (p. 134).

The three closing chapters serve to bolster and expand this central argument of the book. Maintaining that African Islam is superficial, little more than 'paganism' and party to the slave-trade, Atterbury rejects the idea that Islam has a role in Africa's civilisation and future (chs 9 and 10) and advocates its eradication, if necessary by force (pp. 187-8). Echoing David Livingstone, he deems that Africa's civilisation can only be attained by the twin forces of Christianity and commerce, and that European control of the continent is necessary to create the conditions for Christianity and commerce to flourish (ch. 11): 'The responsibility falls on those who are now engaged in making the map of Africa. European and Western civilization must take this matter in hand; the duty cannot be evaded' (p. 177).

The book engages with the three principal positions in this debate: the view that Islam best-suited African needs and temperament, the standpoint that Islam could serve as the intermediary stage for Africans in their transition from 'paganism' to Christianity, and the position that Islam formed an obstacle to Africa's civilisation and future, and needed to be supplanted by Christianity, if necessary by force.

The first position that Atterbury discusses, and which he mainly associates with Reginald Bosworth Smith, Isaac Taylor and to a lesser extent with Edward Blyden, is the stance that Islam will play a pre-eminent role in the civilisation and future of Africa. Advocates of this position considered Islam more 'suitable' for Africans than Christianity; they used the rapid growth of Islam in some part of Africa as their key argument

to buttress this point. Atterbury dismisses this position rather briskly, writing:

Let us look at some of the solutions suggested for the great problem of African redemption. Some hold up Mohammedanism – as an end in itself, or better, as preparatory to Christianity. The mighty hold which Islam has now upon Africa, the great advance that it has lately made, all projected into the future and imagined enlargement, have seemed to some a clear indication of a providential purpose to establish this religion as supreme in Africa. Theoretically, its acceptance throughout would be a great advance upon paganism; though we have seen that practically it has thus far accomplished but little, and that it simply blocks the way to real advance. (p. 178)

Though admitting that ‘many enlightened Africans’ tend to favour a key role for Islam, Atterbury rejects this position. He argues that while Islam has brought some improvements, Islam in Africa falls short because of its moral deficiencies (p. 122) and its failure to affect profoundly either individuals or society: ‘The African Mohammedan is still a pagan’ (p. 164).

Atterbury engages more elaborately with the second position in the debate, possibly aware of its appeal. Popular in academic, colonial and missionary circles, its adherents saw a role for Islam as an intermediate stage in Africa’s transition from ‘paganism’ to Christianity. They contended that, in Africa, Islam could serve as a moral and theological preparation for Christian mission. Atterbury summarises the position as follows:

A more plausible, if not probable, presentation of Mohammedanism as a factor in the great solution is made by those who assert Islam is simply preparatory to Christianity. [...] But such thinkers claim that Mohammedanism is a real and necessary step toward the ideal. They think that African paganism cannot, or will not, receive Christianity directly. They assert that the dilution of truth and elasticity of religious demand presented in Mohammedanism will serve as a ladder up which the African may climb into the heights of fuller truth and social possibility. (pp. 179–80)

Again, Atterbury is dismissive, partly because he disagrees with the assessment that Islam can offer Africans satisfactory moral guidance, partly because he concurs with Ellinwood’s observation that Africans’ conversion to Islam entails a risk, ‘rendering it thereafter far more difficult to reach them with civilising agencies’ (p. v.). The book proves Atterbury to be a vocal advocate of the third position, which envisages an imperialist intervention in Africa, aimed at a confrontation with Islam.

This intervention is legitimised by the argument that only European control in Africa and the substitution of Islam by Christianity can truly eradicate the slave-trade and Islam's other vices. Atterbury describes this position as a 'responsibility' and a 'duty [that] cannot be evaded' (p. 171). He writes:

But to make possible this great solution, it is absolutely necessary that European influence, or control, should predominate throughout the continent. [...] The Conference held at Brussels, September 12, 1876, is for Africa, what the Hejira is for the Mohammedan, – that point from which all succeeding history must date. (pp. 187-8)

And again,

The great solution can be found in Christianity alone. To accomplish this, Christianity must antagonize, and supplant Mohammedanism in Africa. Conflict, not comity, is what must ensue. Those who claim Mohammedanism as an assistant in the civilization of Africa, and anticipate a harmonious co-operation between Islam and Christianity, are living in a land of dreams. The hardest part of the struggle for the full conquest of the African continent by the powers of life and liberty will be found in this need of overthrowing Mohammedanism. The struggle against paganism is easy in comparison with that against Islam. (p. 193)

Atterbury is rather optimistic about the outcome of this confrontation: 'Islam in Africa will be comparatively easy for Christianity to overcome. Its superficiality, its comparative languor, its emphasis of doctrines held in common by Christian and Mohammedan, render the work of the Christian missionary more easy and hopeful than elsewhere in Mohammedan lands' (p. 194). History has proved him wrong.

SIGNIFICANCE

Written at the peak of European imperialist influence in Africa, Atterbury's book reflects *fin de siècle* debates on the roles envisaged for Islam and Christianity in Africa.

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Martha T. Frederiks

William Ambrose Shedd

DATE OF BIRTH 24 January 1865
PLACE OF BIRTH Urumia, Persia
DATE OF DEATH August 1918
PLACE OF DEATH Persia (specific location unknown)

BIOGRAPHY

William Ambrose Shedd was born in Urumia, Persia, to John Haskell Shedd and Sarah Jane Dawes, who were American Presbyterian missionaries of the Nestorian Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, later taken over by the American Presbyterians. He attended Marietta College, Ohio, though his studies were interrupted when he went back to Persia to assist his parents. He later returned to America and completed his studies in 1887. In 1889, he enrolled in Princeton Seminary. After graduation, he was appointed as a missionary to Persia in 1892.

As part of the Nestorian Mission, Shedd taught in the seminary and assisted with the missionary running of the Syrian Evangelical Church. In 1894, he married Adela L. Myers, but she died only six years later, leaving Shedd with two young daughters. In 1903, he married Louise Wilber, who also worked with the Nestorian Mission, and with whom he had two more daughters.

In 1902, Shedd returned to the US for two years in order to focus on a study of Islam. His interest was dialogue as a method of evangelising among Muslims. He wrote,

It is an advantage, of course, to find common ground, and the more common ground one can honestly discover, the better. [... However,] there is always the opportunity to go on and show how the two faiths differ. I do not believe there is a single doctrine in which the teachings of the two religions are really identical. (*The measure of a man*, p. 111)

The result of this time in the US was the development of six lectures that he gave at several seminaries and which were ultimately published as *Islam and the Oriental Churches*. On his return to Persia in 1904, he assumed leadership of the Nestorian Mission and became well known among local Muslim and Christian leaders, as well as among Kurdish

tribesmen and Russian military officers. Shedd would often spend his days off meeting with mullahs or Sufis to have religious discussions, which he enjoyed.

Throughout World War I, Urumia was at the centre of hostilities between Russia and Turkey. The Mission was under Russian military occupation in 1914, but the Russians evacuated soon after, leaving Urumia and the surrounding area open to Turkish advances. The Mission and the local Armenian and Syrian Christians feared reprisals by the Turks, Kurds and Persians, and Christians flocked to the Mission compound for protection. According to Shedd's biographer, 20 per cent of the indigenous Christians were killed or perished from disease, including Louise Shedd. During the Turkish occupation in 1915, a number of Christian women were kidnapped and forced to convert to Islam (*The measure of a man*, p. 152).

In 1915, Shedd was appointed American vice-consul, which allowed him to fly the American flag over the mission compound for protection. He eventually decided to divorce himself from the mission in order to keep the compound from becoming a political pawn. It is highly likely that his relationships with local Muslim leaders helped to save many local Christians from further reprisals. He wrote in his diary that atrocities were undertaken because of a 'jealous resentment at the prosperity of the Christians [... and that] Islam is responsible for the permanent social conditions and the long history of the past that led up to these massacres' (*The measure of a man*, p. 195).

In the late spring of 1915, the siege ended and Urumia was again under Russian control. Shedd went to America with his daughters, and spent a year travelling and speaking about the situation of the Christians in Persia. (The speeches and written material he prepared during this year about the status of Christians in Persia have not survived.) However, in the autumn of 1916 he decided to return, this time without his children, to take up relief work with the Mission. In the summer of 1917, he married another missionary, Mary Lewis.

In February 1918, the 'Nestorian' Patriarch was assassinated, which resulted in a Christian uprising followed by Kurdish reprisals. By the spring of 1918, Urumia was overrun with Armenian and 'Nestorian' refugees from the Lake Van district, as well as other refugees fleeing the ravages of the war. Russia had withdrawn and Turkish forces began to surround Urumia. Shedd worked with local Christian and Muslim leaders to try to maintain order in the city and care for the sick and injured.

In July 1918, local Christian leaders, Shedd, and the other foreigners, decided that they needed to leave Urumia. Ultimately, 70,000 Christians fled to British-controlled Hamadan. On his journey there, Shedd contracted cholera and died. He was buried along the way to Hamadan.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam and the Oriental Churches

DATE 1904

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Islam and the Oriental Churches, their historical relations is a 251-page work that originated as six lectures given by Shedd at various Protestant seminaries in 1902-3 during a furlough from missionary work in Persia. The lectures were well received and Shedd was encouraged by Princeton Seminary to publish them.

The lectures cover the impact of Islam on the Syriac-speaking churches (e.g. Jacobite and 'Nestorian'), primarily based on Syriac Christian sources, especially Bar Hebraeus's *Syriac chronicle* and Thomas of Marga's *Book of governors*. There are six chapters, corresponding to the six lectures, followed by eight appendices. These appendices include a chronological table of Christian and Hijri dates from the Council of Ephesus in 431 to Tamerlane (d. 1405); a select bibliography; descriptions of the various families of the Oriental Churches; a translation of 'The Constitution of Umar' from Thomas Arnold's *The preaching of Islam* (Westminster, 1896); a short description of the relationship of each Nestorian patriarch with the ruling caliphs; a listing of dates when mobs attacked Christians and bribes paid by 'Nestorian' patriarchs and bishops to Muslim rulers, taken from Bar Hebraeus; finally a list of Christian apostates to Islam throughout the Middle Ages from various sources. There are two maps, one of Central Asia and one of the Middle East.

Shedd begins by describing the 'problem of Islam' for Christianity. He warns his audience that 'the evidence of Christian writers mitigates the severity of our judgment of Muhammadan rulers [... and] the principal Syriac writers show few signs of bitterness toward the Arabs' (1904 edition, p. iv). Thus, the work explores the complicated relationship of Oriental Christians under Islam as part of the indigenous cultural milieu.

Ch. 1 deals with the 'influence of Christianity' on Islam and Muḥammad. Shedd argues that Muḥammad was exposed to both Christian and Jewish influences and that the Qur'an itself discloses a wide variety of stimuli from 'various sources, Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian, heathen' (p. 33). Here he makes specific mention of the Syriac Christian tradition of the 'seven sleepers' (p. 26). But unlike a previous Western

tradition that saw Muḥammad as the great impostor who intentionally misrepresented Christian orthodoxy, Shedd argues that Muḥammad was an Arab preacher who, in the midst of this interreligious Arab context, came to a sincere belief in God 'using the materials he found in the life and thought of his time to feed and clothe the faith, that was itself born of the travail of his own spirit' (p. 39).

Ch. 2 builds upon the relationship between Muḥammad and the larger Christian context to argue that Islam absorbed the theological controversies of the Eastern Churches, primarily in three ways. First, the debates over the nature and will of Christ were in full bloom and articulated by the Eastern and Western Syrian communities over against the Byzantine or Melkite theological tradition. Here, Shedd compares this with the debate over the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'an (p. 64). Second, he notes that the popular piety of many Muslims relating to their local shrines and reliance on traditions of their own holy men had Christian roots (p. 74). Finally, the Arab Muslim philosophical tradition is indebted to Greek thought as translated by Syrian Christians into Arabic (p. 79).

Ch. 3 reviews the historical relationship between Islamic rule and the Christians. Shedd underlines the importance of toleration as the official policy of the Muslim rulers, which rests on the practice or *sunna* of the Prophet himself. Relying on Bar Hebraeus, Shedd notes that Syrian Christians welcomed the Arab Muslims as rulers in place of an oppressive Byzantine Empire. The Umayyads maintained the administrative systems of the Christian communities they conquered or who capitulated, and therefore these communities 'shared in the general fortune of the country, good and bad' with the Muslims (p. 117). What ultimately led to the disasters faced by the Oriental Christian Churches was the rise of the Turks and the Mongols. Shedd writes, 'It is useless to speak of governmental relations in the anarchies of the fourteenth Christian century, which closed in the desolation and ruin wrought by Tamerlane' (p. 128).

The fourth chapter addresses the expansion of Islam, not through forced conversions but through conquest of cities and thus the application of Islamic government. Using medieval Syrian sources, as well as Arnold's *The preaching of Islam*, Shedd notes the small number of Christian conversions to Islam. He attributes this to strong ecclesiastical and monastic leadership. However, in time Syrian Christianity lost its vibrancy. The decline of Christianity was not due primarily to Islam, but to 'the dogmatic character of the Christianity offered, treating the

great themes of theology as closed questions, defined and determined, and not as great truths to feed the intellect as well as to be objects of faith' (p. 167). This leads directly into the fifth chapter, which addresses the 'downfall of Christianity'. While there were many contributing factors, the primary ones were 'anarchy, pestilence, famine and war' (p. 191), rather than Islamic oppression.

Shedd's final lecture and chapter reflects on the history and tradition of the Syrian Churches. In the end, the relationship between Christians and Muslims is one of loyalty to either Muḥammad or Jesus. While Islam has always shown tolerance and religious freedom, the 20th century requires more than this. Both Islam and Syrian Christianity have become ossified remains of their former greatness: the genius of the 'Abbasids has been buried and the evangelistic energy of the Syrian Christians has lessened. Thus, the Protestant mission 'must be to enable them [the Syrian Churches] to accomplish their historic mission, which is distinctly missionary' (p. 215).

SIGNIFICANCE

Islam and the Oriental Churches discloses a relatively positive perspective on Christian-Muslim relations from a Protestant missionary, especially given the particularly difficult circumstances faced by the Syrian Christians on the borders of the Turkish, Persian and Russian Empires of the early 20th century. While Shedd's arguments about the relationships between Muḥammad and Eastern Christians and the development of a borrowed theological discourse was not a new position, his use of Syriac sources as the basis for his view was novel for his American audience. As a missionary among 'Nestorians', Shedd desired to expose Western Christians to a positive side of what had been commonly brushed aside as results of the 'Nestorian heresy', and he was hopeful for an evangelical reformation. He provided an intellectual basis for American Presbyterian support to restore the 'Nestorian' Christians to their former glory.

Shedd's lectures caused great excitement among students and professors in American Presbyterian seminaries, who were feeling the excitement of missions through the establishment and success of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. But while Shedd enjoyed great success in America, his views that positive relations were possible between Muslims and Christians in Persia received a different and sceptical response among Oriental Christians themselves.

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David D. Grafton

Elwood Morris Wherry

DATE OF BIRTH 26 March 1843
PLACE OF BIRTH South Bend, Pennsylvania
DATE OF DEATH 5 October 1927
PLACE OF DEATH Cincinnati, Ohio

BIOGRAPHY

Elwood Morris Wherry was an American Presbyterian missionary who spent almost 40 years in British India during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He was born in South Bend, Pennsylvania, and graduated from Jefferson College in 1862 and from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1867. He was married that same year to Clara Maria Buchanan and soon afterwards was appointed by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church to serve in India. Following a brief period in Rawalpindi, he settled in Ludhiana, where he oversaw the Mission Press and served as the editor of the *Nur-i-Afshan* gazette from 1873 to 1883. In 1883, the family moved to Saharanpur, and Wherry taught biblical studies and Church history at the theological seminary until 1888. His contributions there included translating textbooks into the vernacular and developing indigenous Christian literature. The family returned to Chicago in 1889, and he served as the district secretary of the American Tract Society. In 1898 he returned to India, where he resumed his duties as a teacher, evangelist and publisher, and remained until 1923. He returned to the US and died in Cincinnati in 1927.

Wherry was one of the most active missionaries in the production of literature pertaining to the so-called 'Muslim controversy'. He was a polemicist determined to prove the veracity of Christianity and the error of Islam, as is readily discernible in the titles of the tracts he composed, such as *Islam, or the religion of the Turk* (1886) and *Islam refuted on its own grounds* (1910). He is best remembered as an editor who compiled and indexed resources for the Christian missionary effort. Two of his works that will be considered below in greater detail are *The Muslim controversy: being a review of Christian literature written in the Urdu language for the propagation of the Christian religion and the refutation of Islam* (1905), and *Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East* (1907).

Beyond these, however, he held a crucial role in producing several other important resources. Wherry's linguistic acumen and cultural insight brought him international renown. In 1887, he produced a transliterated version of the Urdu translation of the Qur'an by Abdul Qādir ibn Shāh Walī Ullāh of Delhi. He attached to this a preface and introduction in English by the Rev. T.P. Hughes, and added his own index in Urdu. This edition was prepared as a resource for missionaries working to evangelise Muslims in the region. He took up this same approach in preparing *A comprehensive commentary on the Quran: comprising Sale's translation and preliminary discourse*, in four volumes (1882-6).

This work was regarded as the foremost English Qur'an in this period and was promoted by a leading publisher. It established Wherry as a renowned Orientalist. In the preface, a polemical attempt to undermine the validity of the Qur'an and of Muhammad's prophetic role and character can be clearly seen. Wherry regarded controversy with Muslims as absolutely unavoidable. He was convinced that Islam and Christianity were destined for inevitable conflict and that this should shape the priorities and strategies of mission work. These views can be seen in works such as *The Mohammedan world of to-day*, co-edited with Samuel Zwemer and James Barton, and again in *Islam and missions: being papers read at the Second Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan world at Lucknow* (1911), a volume that he prepared with Samuel Zwemer and C.G. Mylrea.

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Matthew Ebenezer and Charles M. Ramsey

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nur-i-afshan

'Radiant light'

DATE 1873-83

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Urdu

DESCRIPTION

Nur-i-afshan was an Urdu language gazette published semi-continuously from 1873 to 1944 by the Mission Press in Ludhiana. E.M. Wherry was the founding editor and oversaw the publication from 1873 to 1883. The first of its kind, the gazette offers an incomparable record of the first generation of Christians in the Punjab. The weekly instalments included original poetry and letters to the editor, but also opinion articles, news summaries, government postings, commodity prices and community announcements. Though managed by the Presbyterian mission, the publication was a joint effort and it relied upon the support of many churches and Christian societies. The contents offer first-hand accounts of some of the ideas, language and perspectives of Indian Christians, most of whom were first generation converts living in northern India in the last quarter of the 19th century.

The distinguishing feature of *Nur-i-afshan* was that it promoted the writings and perspectives of Urdu-speaking Christians in the vernacular. Although an English translation was produced between 1897 and 1908 under the guidance of M. Wylie, the central purpose was always to provide a platform for the promotion of Christian faith and the strengthening of communal bonds in the indigenous church. While there are significant gaps in the material, approximately 31,400 pages remain extant (and are available online). These pages tell their own story and offer first-hand responses to the writings of leading thinkers such as Syed

Ahmad Khan and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya. There are open letters published at length that evaluate the purpose and importance of books such as Khan's *Tabyīn al-kalām*, his commentary on the Bible, and the claims by Mirza to have fulfilled biblical prophecies concerning the mission of Jesus Christ. The tone of the publication is seldom polemical. Representatives from opposing Christian or Muslim perspectives are given space for an extensive presentation of their views.

The continuity of the gazette allows the reader to observe the solidifying of a Christian-Urdu meta-language. A gradual shift in the pattern of authors indicates that the principal contributors were no longer converts to Christianity from Islam. The Christian community became an amalgamation of persons from multiple faiths, and a new set of religious terms developed with a distinctively Christian theological meaning while echoing the Arabic and Persian learning of the founders of the indigenous church such as Imad ud-Din Lahiz, Safdar Ali, and Abdulla Athim.

SIGNIFICANCE

This was one of the earliest Christian Urdu publications and it documents the evolution of Urdu as a literary language used in prose, news and scholarly writing. The variety of contributors also adds to its archival importance. It was not the domain of only professional journalists and academics, but was also a collection of writings from the broad public that records a distinctive vernacular form of language, and a multitude of voices on an array of social, political and religious topics. Though the publication continued until the middle of the 20th century, the writings from the first 25 years can be seen to be the most significant for the study of Christian-Muslim relations. Readings from these early editions point to a deliberately multi-position publication intent on creating a forum for competing views and voices. One can point to E.M. Wherry, the founding editor, for establishing this ethos. Under his guidance, *Nur-i-afshan* became established as a serious periodical, with a growing readership that crossed religious and social boundaries. His rapport with the early leaders of the Christian church in Punjab, many of whom were converts from Islam, and his support for a style of ministry that embodied a communication approach that was contextualised to Muslim socio-religious sensibilities, was carried forward in the pages of *Nur-i-afshan*, making it one of the most respected and desirable regional publications in Punjab at the end of the 19th century.

PUBLICATIONS

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Charles M. Ramsey

A comprehensive commentary on the Qur'án

DATE 1882-6

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

A comprehenshive commentary on the Qur'án (in full, *A comprehensive commentary on the Qur'án: comprising Sale's translation and preliminary discourse, with additional notes and ammendations together with a complete index to the text, preliminary discourse, and notes*) was published in four volumes over a period of four years (vol. 1, 1882, 391 pages; vol. 2, 1884, 407 pages; vol. 3, 1885, 414 pages; and vol. 4, 1886, 340 pages). In his preface, Wherry clearly states that the primary function of the work is to assist Christian missionaries in their task of preaching the Gospel to Muslims. The commentary includes a unique ready reference feature that facilitates locating any passage in the Qur'an, whether from English to Arabic or vice versa.

Although he originally thought of publishing George Sale's translation of the Qur'an with references to some commentators, Wherry later began including his own notes to these commentaries. He notes, 'My sole purpose is to aid in pulling down the stronghold of Islam', adding that the effects of his work were already evident as 'many brethren have received a new impulse in the work of preaching to Muslims' (Letter written from Ludhiana to David Irving, New York, 6 September 1882, PBFM/Corr /PHS). It is in this sense that Wherry calls his work 'a comprehensive commentary' (vol. 1, p. vi).

Wherry's *Commentary* is impressive for what it includes. In addition to his own original notes, it contains: Sale's translation with original divisions; the numbering of verses according to the Urdu translation by Abdul Qādir; 'notes and comments' of 'the best Muslim commentators'; 'Sale's Preliminary Discourse with additional notes and emendations'; a complete index to the text and commentary (vol. 1, p. vi). Wherry also provides chapter introductions and analysis. He admits to

some repetitions in what he says, though these are occasioned partly by repetitions in the text and 'partly in order to call special attention to certain doctrines of the Qur'an' (vol. 1, p. vii). The work seeks to 'advance the cause of truth, to show just what the Qur'an teaches, and so by stating fairly the issues of the controversy with Islam, to advance the great cause of bringing its votaries to a knowledge of Him to whom all the prophets of God pointed as the Son of God and the Saviour of sinners' (vol. 1, p. viii). From the very outset, the dual purposes of 'stating fairly the issues of the controversy' and seeking to bring Muslims to know Christ were destined to clash.

The *Commentary* was an ambitious venture. From a Christian perspective at least, its importance was noted by reviewers. The first volume received a favourable review (except for some notes on the transliteration of Arabic words) from J.D. Bates in the *Indian Evangelical Review*. Bates commends the work as an improvement on Sale's translation ('Notices', p. 107), and expresses the belief that it 'will last a couple of centuries' (p. 109). But Bates was clearly expressing a prejudiced opinion. Certain passages from the *Commentary* show that Wherry's approach was very subjective and unsympathetic to Muslim feelings, uncharitable comments are found throughout, and it abounds in pejorative comments on both Muḥammad and the Qur'an itself. Wherry's apologetic style, which is generally consistent throughout the *Commentary*, is confrontational and aimed at degrading Muḥammad's character and discounting the value of the Qur'an. Wherry's zeal for Christianity leads him to make serious charges that provided fuel for the Christian-Muslim controversy. It is only towards the end of the commentary that he makes some guarded positive comments.

Occasionally, Wherry ignores the primary connotation of the text and focuses on the secondary issues that to him are pivotal. For instance, where the main intent is Muḥammad's plea for the Qur'an to be believed, Wherry focuses on the passage as confirming Muḥammad's belief in the authenticity of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. Asserting this fact, he concludes, 'If he [Muḥammad] did not [believe in the Jewish and Christian scriptures], then the Qur'an attests, verifies, and confirms a lie!' (comment on Q 2:39-40, vol. 1, pp. 304-5). Wherry suggests that Muḥammad did not intentionally misrepresent or falsify Jewish and Christian scriptures 'both in their doctrinal and historical' statements. The differences are due to 'his ignorance' (comment on Q 2:41, vol. 1, p. 305). Nevertheless, he does accuse Muḥammad of various shortcomings. He first says that Muḥammad was ignorant and thus made mistakes

in understanding the biblical faith. Later in the *Commentary*, however, he changes this view to say that Muḥammad was guilty of deliberate falsification. His words for the founder of Islam are used impudently. In connection with the absence of atoning sacrifice in the Qur'an when describing the religion of the Jews, he writes, 'With facts like this before us, it is very difficult to exonerate the author of the Qur'an from the charge of deliberate forgery and conscious imposture' (comment on Q 2:82, vol. 1, p. 319). Again, he asks, 'Does the Qur'an confirm the doctrine, the history, and the plan of salvation by atonement set forth in the writings of Moses? If not, then the Qur'an is a forgery, and Mohammed an impostor, the Qur'an being witness' (comment on Q 2:90, vol. 1, p. 323). To Wherry, Muḥammad was not a trustworthy, though self-deluded, prophet. That could only be assumed if the 'adoption of Arab and Jewish legend current in his day as true, and promulgation of it as of divine authority' were in question (comment on Q 2:125, vol. 1, p. 335). However, with regard to the Prophet's process of deciding 'between the temples at Makkah and Jerusalem' that ultimately led to 'settling on Makkah, the inconsistency is a little too striking to tally with such a theory' (comment on Q 2:125, vol. 1, p. 335). Similarly, he believed that, in addition to Muḥammad's ignorance and his acceptance of 'misrepresentations' of biblical facts, 'still enough remains to substantiate the charge of imposture, however displeasing this charge may be to his admirers and friends' (comment on Q 3:39, vol. 2, p. 17).

Wherry's primary focus throughout the commentary falls repeatedly on flaws in Muḥammad's character. Commenting on the Prophet's relation to his followers, Wherry writes, 'Nothing could better illustrate the selfishness of Muḥammad than this. The manifest purpose of this revelation was to prevent any of his wives ever marrying again. [...] We should like to see how the apologists would reconcile this [...] with their theory of Mohammed's sincerity and honesty as a prophet' (comment on Q 33:6, vol. 3, pp. 310-11). In connection with a passage that speaks about the biblical patriarchs as Muslim believers who bequeathed Islam to their descendants, he comments, 'Either the religion of Islam was the religion of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or it was not. If it was, let us have the evidence of the former Scriptures, the witness of the former prophets. Failure here must stigmatize the whole system as a forgery' (comment on Q 2:132, vol. 1, p. 337).

Wherry is cautious in making criticisms that may have negative consequences for Christian interlocutors with Islam. Commenting on the tendency of Christian apologists to seize upon the command of Muḥammad

to kill idolaters in order to prove his violent character, Wherry warns, 'Without denying that Mohammed was cruel, we think this mode of assault to be very unsatisfactory to say the least, as it is capable of being turned against the Old Testament' (comment on Q 2:191, vol. 1, p. 358). The intention is to caution other missionaries about the danger of using a slur that would be reciprocated. Nevertheless, Wherry's approach is clearly confrontational. For example, when W. Bosworth Smith, a British schoolmaster and author, defended the character and life of Muḥammad, Wherry accused him of glossing over the Prophet's excesses in war and ignoring his character. To Wherry, Smith's 'plea for Mohammad's sincerity and magnanimity [...] is made to cover a multitude of sins' (comment on Q 9:74, vol. 2, p. 301).

In relation to the qur'anic permission for polygamy, Wherry remarks in a sweeping generalisation: 'No countries under heaven present such a cesspool of seething corruption and sensuality as those ruled over by the Muslims' (comment on Q 4:3, vol. 2, p. 68). Speaking in the same context he writes, 'It is one of the darkest of the many spots which mar the pages of the Qur'an' (vol. 2, p. 69). In the context of fighting for the faith, Wherry declares, 'The Makkan preacher declared that force was not to be used in religion, but the Medina politician promises the highest honours to those who spend life and property in warring for the faith' (comment on Q 4:94, vol. 2, p. 99). The implication is inescapable: Muḥammad changed his views in order to suit his own convenience. In reaction to Smith's positive comment that Muḥammad was guided supernaturally, Wherry alludes to the familiar Old Testament incident during the time of King Ahab, as told in 1 Kings 18, in which the prophets of Baal thought they were speaking with God's authority (comment on Q 4:116, vol. 2, p. 104).

Wherry attacks Islam from every possible angle, with a devastating apologetic bluntness. Referring to a verse that enjoins observation of the Law and Gospel, he comments, 'This verse, by implication, condemns the practices of every Muslim. [...] Can his [Muḥammad's] apologists show us a single passage requiring Arab or Gentile Muslims to believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in addition to the Qur'an as necessary for salvation?' (comment on Q 5:72, vol. 2, p. 143). What Wherry concludes is that this was Muḥammad's attempt to entice 'Jews, Christians, and Sabians' to Islam.

In comparison with his general arguments throughout the commentary, Wherry's comment on the Trinity is weak. Perhaps if his apologetic approach had been less *ad hominem*, he might have had opportunity to develop an important response. He points out that Muḥammad's false

representation of the Trinity as God, Jesus and Mary is proof of the Qur'an being fabricated (comment on Q 4:169-70, vol. 2, p. 116).

Positive observations about Muḥammad are minimal, though Wherry makes certain remarks that constitute a feeble attempt to salvage Muḥammad's character from his negative views. With reference to the care of orphans enjoined by Muḥammad, Wherry's comments almost convey a reluctance to give credit where it is due. While he commends Muḥammad 'for that kindness of feeling which he sometimes exhibited towards the poor and helpless, and which finds expression in the Qur'an', he says, 'we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that he was an utter stranger to that universal charity which is the chief glory of Christianity' (comment on Q 2:220, vol. 1, p. 369). Though he uses the word 'sometimes' with reference to Muḥammad's concern for orphans, a later comment gives the Prophet more credit. He writes, 'Mohammed seems to have shown kindness to the poor and orphans throughout his life. He ever remembered that he had once been in their condition' (comment on Q 93:9-10, vol. 4, p. 254). Wherry has more positive comments about Muḥammad in relation to his provisions for including orphans and women in inheriting their parents' and relatives' wealth. After observing that Muḥammad's concern stemmed from 'his own experience as an orphan', Wherry comments, 'Certainly the anxiety he exhibited to alleviate the sad condition of such [orphans] is most praiseworthy' (comment on Q 4:5-9, vol. 2, pp. 69-71). Writing on the Qur'an's warning against deceitful merchants, Wherry comments, 'This passage, as well as many others in this portion of the Qur'an, illustrates the character of the instruction given by the reformer of Makkah. It has a genuine ring about it. A pure morality is insisted on, and enforced by the doctrine of final judgment' (comment on Q 83:1-6, vol. 4, p. 227). With regard to the freeing of slaves, Wherry's comments are partly positive. He cites Muḥammad's practice of freeing slaves, which, according to the Qur'an, is a sign of a true believer. However, he alludes to the absence of a precept to condemn slaveholding as a sin (comment on Q 90:13, vol. 4, pp. 247-8).

The *Commentary* was intended to be an aid to missionaries. Whether it accomplished Wherry's intentions to undermine Islam is hard to determine. It certainly would have incensed Muslims who read its negative comments. The *Commentary* established Wherry's status as a promising controversialist-scholar in India. Although he tried to be objective in his approach, the general outlook of the commentary is largely biased in favour of Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Wherry's *Commentary* represents a common 19th-century missionary attitude towards Islam. He sees Islam as a threat and Muḥammad as an imposter. On these assumptions, he proceeds to attack the Qur'an which, he feels, is a spurious document. He also makes every effort to tarnish Muḥammad's reputation. After the publication of the *Commentary*, those missionaries whose goal was primarily proselytisation thought of it as a great tool to assist them in their efforts. The *Commentary* has been reprinted several times since its publication, indicating its popularity as a tool in evangelising Muslims.

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Matthew Ebenezer

The Muslim controversy

DATE 1905

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Muslim controversy (in full *The Muslim controversy: being a review of Christian literature written in the Urdu language for the propagation of the Christian religion and the refutation of Islam*) is a 135-page survey of Christian works prepared for a Muslim audience in Urdu, the principal language of education and government in northern India during this period. The collection provides an introduction to the authors and the texts available. The title itself is indicative of the tone and purpose of the writings covered.

The popular practice of *munāẓara*, or public debate, fuelled an interest in the polemical exchanges between Christian and Muslim representatives. The burgeoning print industry provided the means to disseminate these materials inexpensively. Wherry, who managed the Mission Press in Ludhiana, was at the forefront of Christian publishing and so was at the heart of this new industry. He was thus ideally situated to provide access to these writings for an English-reading audience. Just as Muslims were increasingly motivated to study the Bible, so also Christian proselytisers sought resources to explain better the superiority of their religion to Muslims. The increase in proselytisation stimulated a spirited response, and the ensuing writings and descriptions of these zealous engagements became known as the 'Muslim controversy'. The subject is often associated with the works and influence of Orientalists such as William Muir (also Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces), Aloys Sprenger and Karl Pfander. However, in this critical edition and translation, Wherry demonstrates the broader scope and character of the 'controversy' by introducing the indigenous writers, most of whom were converts from Islam.

The summaries of the books serve the double purpose of enabling the average student of Islam to become acquainted with the main ideas presented by those who have written in the vernacular languages of India in general, and Urdu in particular. Not all missionaries developed the language proficiency required to comprehend the vernacular, but they could still become familiar with the themes and principal arguments of the books and tracts. Furthermore, the compilation had a strategic value because it allowed Wherry and the Presbyterian Publishing Committee

to detect gaps in the literature and not waste time recreating what had already been done.

Following a brief introduction to the primary scriptural sources in Islam, the book presents short biographies of the authors and a summary of their writings. They include Karl G. Pfander (14 pages), Imad ud-Din Lahiz (52 pages), Babu Ram Chandra (12 pages), G.L. Thakur Das (16 pages), Maulvie Safdar Ali (3 pages), Charles W. Forman (4 pages), Samuel Knowles (6 pages), Murray Mitchell (2 pages), E.M. Wherry (3 pages), Sayud Abdulla Athim (2 pages), G.H. Rouse (2 pages), Edward Sell (2 pages), William St Clair Tisdall (2 pages); an additional chapter itemises writings that had either been composed in Urdu or translated (9 pages). The book also includes an index of titles and authors that is helpful to the reader.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work provides a candid glance at the state of Christian missionary literature prepared in Urdu for a Muslim audience in India at the beginning of the 20th century. The selected authors include a variety of national and denominational backgrounds, and they represent the most valuable Christian works available at the time. The selection includes not only original works by missionaries and Indian Christians, but also European works translated into Urdu. The selection sheds light upon the subjects considered to be of greatest importance and upon the authors regarded as most insightful. Though Wherry was known primarily for his work in editing and printing the works of others, this book also provides information on Urdu writings that he himself had composed. They include tracts and pamphlets that correspond to the subjects of longer works he composed in English. In this, it demonstrates his versatility as an author, translator and editor. Overall, the text reveals that a significant body of literature had been prepared in Urdu and that a systematic approach was being taken to develop an extensive library of resources for a growing indigenous Christian community that was determined to carry forward the missionary zeal of their predecessors.

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Charles M. Ramsey

Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East

DATE 1907

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

In this work Wherry presents an expanded version of a collection of papers that he prepared for the Students' Lecture Course on Missions at the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1906. The chapters thus derive from a series of academic lectures prepared to instruct seminarians, church leaders and future missionaries about Islam and the current efforts to promulgate Christianity in India and the Far East, including Malaysia and China. In it, Wherry seeks to explain how Islam was propagated in Asia and to understand the reasons for its success. The work also offers considerable reflection upon the state of missionary work among Muslims in India, Indonesia and China. As Wherry explains, the content is essentially a summary of ideas that had been developed over a 30-year period of studying Islam while living in Muslim communities.

Of concern here are the first four of the book's eight chapters. In the first chapter, Wherry introduces the reader to the primary tenets of Islam. This is followed by two chapters titled 'The Muslim conquest of India' and 'Muslim conquest in the Far East'. In the case of India, the author presents the spread of Islam as a product of military invasion and emphasises the political nature of Islam. The invaders, he notes, were accompanied by preachers whose preaching was enforced by 'secular power'. This was not the case in the Far East, however, where Wherry explains that Islam was propagated peaceably, through trade and intermarriage. The fourth chapter, 'Present condition of Muslims in India and the Far East', describes the Muslims as having fallen behind the socio-economic development of other communities. He underscores their 'bigotry and ultra-conservancy' and the low morality among them as the principal causes for their condition in these regions. The remaining chapters concern the present and potential work of Christian missionaries, including

passing evaluations of the reforms in Islam by Syed Ahmad Khan and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work demonstrates how Islam was discussed in an American Christian academic milieu at the end of the long 19th century and so what perceptions, images and understandings of Islam predominated among at least some Christian communities in the West. Islam is presented as a religion that spread not by the strength of its message but rather through force or the persistence of 'merchant missionaries'. The Muslim community is portrayed as lacking in morality and closed to modern progress. In sharp contrast, Christian missionaries model the highest standards of selfless service and provide schools and hospitals for benefit and uplift of the community.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

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Charles M. Ramsey

Henry Jessup

DATE OF BIRTH 19 April 1832
PLACE OF BIRTH Montrose, Pennsylvania
DATE OF DEATH 28 April 1910
PLACE OF DEATH Beirut

BIOGRAPHY

Henry Harris Jessup was the son of William and Amanda Harris Jessup of Montrose, Pennsylvania, and a member of the American Syria Mission for 54 years. He graduated from Yale College in 1851 and Union Theological Seminary in 1855, and received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Princeton University in 1865. Jessup accepted an appointment with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), which had commenced work in Syria in 1823. He was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1855, and sailed later that year for Beirut along with missionary Daniel Bliss (1823-1916), who would become the first president of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC, now the American University of Beirut).

After serving at the Syria Mission's Tripoli station from 1856, Jessup moved to the central station in Beirut in 1860 and worked there for the remainder of his life. He survived the deaths of three wives: Caroline Bush (d. 1860), Harriet Dodge (d. 1882) and Theodosia Davenport Lockwood (d. 1907). Of his eight children, five remained in Syria (associated with either the Syria Mission or SPC) and another became a missionary in Persia. Henry's brother, Samuel (d. 1912), joined him in the mission field in 1862 and spent his life in Syria as well.

After the ABCFM transferred its Syria Mission to the control of the Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) of the Presbyterian Church in the USA in 1870, Henry Jessup became the head of the Beirut station and the mission's stated clerk. Convinced of his divine calling to missionary service, Jessup declined the position of secretary of the Presbyterian BFM in New York in 1870, and a later appointment from President Chester A. Arthur as a United States ambassador in 1883. He served in 1879 as moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, spoke at the World Parliament for Religions in Chicago in 1893, and gave the introductory address at the first conference for missions to Muslims that Samuel Zwemer and

Elwood Wherry organised in Cairo in 1906. Over his long career with the Syria Mission, Jessup taught at the mission's theological seminary and served on the board of managers of the SPC. He was the manager of the American Mission Press from 1870 to 1883, the acting pastor of the Syrian Evangelical Church of Beirut intermittently between 1861 and 1890, the supervising editor of the mission periodical *Al-nashra l-usbū'īyya* ('Weekly bulletin') between 1889 and 1902, and editor of a monthly magazine for Syrian children. As the mission's stated clerk, he maintained official correspondence with American consuls and other Protestant mission societies, and was responsible for submitting annual reports to the BFM. The views Jessup expressed may not always have reflected official mission policy or the opinions of his missionary colleagues but, as head of the Beirut station and a prolific writer of books, articles and speeches, he became a dominant authority on mission history, religion and culture in Syria for many American mission supporters of the period.

Jessup was a vociferous advocate of missionary work in the Islamic world, and he devoted more attention than any other member of the American Syria Mission to informing Protestant readers about Islam and Ottoman Turkish rule. Because of his years in the region and the fluency he acquired in Arabic, Christian leaders recognised him as an expert on these subjects.

When assessing and critiquing the practices of Muslims and Eastern Christians, Jessup's publications reveal his strong evangelical convictions and his belief in the congruity between Protestant Christianity and modern civilisation. He recognised favourable aspects within Islam and made complimentary references to certain Muslim intellectuals, but his publications and private correspondence also include frequent and severe condemnations of Islamic doctrine and of Muslim practices he observed in Syria. Even in his 20th-century writings, Jessup preferred the anachronistic term 'Mohammedan', and repeatedly denounced the 'fanaticism' of the Muslim populace, the 'despotism' of the sultan, and the Ottoman government's rigorous censorship of the American Mission Press. Because of these criticisms and his portrayal of Islam as militaristic and oppressive to women, some scholars have labelled him a 'quintessential Protestant Orientalist' (Khalaf, *Protestant missionaries*, p. 86). While Jessup's work excludes the voices of Syrian Muslims, except for those who converted to Protestantism or praised missionary institutions, he recognises the contributions of Syrian Protestant pastors, preachers, teachers and mission employees. Jessup was also instrumental in promoting the

Syrian pastor Yusif 'Atiya's evangelistic tracts on Islam, *Sweet first-fruits* and *Beacon of truth*, which were published anonymously and gained high acclaim in missionary circles (Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, pp. 567-8, 602).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The women of the Arabs

DATE 1873

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The women of the Arabs. With a chapter for children was Jessup’s first major publication. In this volume, which he dedicates to the Christian women of America, Jessup memorialises the early missionary labours by and for women in Syria (p. vi). Besides documenting the educational work of American, European and Syrian Protestant women from 1820 to 1872, the book devotes considerable attention to the status of women in Syria’s various religious communities. Although the title indicates a general focus on Arabs, few of Jessup’s examples are drawn from the Arab world outside Syria, and a number of the Syrian Protestant women he features are converts from Armenian families. The stories and testimonies of these women prove, in Jessup’s view, that evangelical faith and modern education can transform the lives of women from all Syria’s non-Protestant sects. The book includes 18 chapters, totalling 231 pages, and an appended seven-part ‘chapter’ of 135 pages that aims to introduce American children to Syrian culture.

An initial chapter addresses the 'despised' status of women in pre-Islamic Arabia, and four chapters focus specifically on Islam. In the second chapter, Jessup turns to the contemporary Muslim world and concludes that, although the teachings on women in the Qur'an are an improvement on pre-Islamic times, there is little to commend regarding the treatment of Muslim women in his present Syrian context. In the next two chapters, he compares the conditions of Muslim women with the women of the Druze and Nusayri ('Alawi) communities, both of which he defines as Muslim sects. A later chapter addresses the Bedouin Arab tribes, who are Muslim in name, but who, according to Jessup, disobey 'every precept of the Moslem faith' (p. 180). In Jessup's assessment, Muslims, Druzes, Nusayris, and Bedouin in Syria all hold women in low esteem, prevent girls from becoming educated, and treat them as property. Druze women fare better than the others because polygyny is not permitted. In Jessup's mind, however, the frequency of divorce and remarriage within the Druze community is nearly as deplorable as polygyny. Nusayri women, he says, experience more freedom because they do not practise veiling, yet they are excluded from initiation into religious rites and thus are fully ignorant of their own tradition. He judges the women of the Bedouin to be 'sunken to the lowest depths of physical and moral degradation' (p. 190).

Apart from these chapters, most of the women who appear in the book are missionaries, Syrian Protestants, or members of Syria's Maronite, Melkite or Greek Orthodox communities. Although Jessup insists that there remains a 'striking difference between the lowest nominal Christian community and the highest Mohammedan, in the respect paid to women', he offers an equally scathing assessment of women's conditions among these Syrian Christians (p. 18). In the end, he asserts the hope that, through the light of Christ, all the women of Syria would be freed from 'Nusairy barbarism, Druze hypocrisy, Moslem fanaticism, Jewish bigotry and nominal Christian superstition' (p. 230).

SIGNIFICANCE

This volume reflects the increasing opportunities for American women in missions in the post-Civil War period, as it commends the 'remarkable uprising of Christian women in Christian lands to a new interest in the welfare of woman in heathen and Mohammedan countries' (p. vi). The concept of 'woman's work for woman' appealed to Jessup because it meant that American missionary women might reach Muslim women and girls who would never come into contact with male evangelists

or missionary ministers. At the same time, women missionaries were assigned to a separate gendered sphere of girls' schools and women's gatherings so that their work would not encroach upon the clerical and administrative authority of missionary men.

In the early 1870s, Jessup's publication attracted the attention of the new Presbyterian women's mission boards that had been established to fund such work. By focusing on the plight of Arab women in the Islamic world, his book stresses the urgency for continued missionary efforts among Muslims.

The question of Christian-Muslim relations also comes to the forefront in Jessup's commentary on traditional Christianity in Syria. Despite his harsh critique of Greek Orthodox and Maronite oppression of women, Jessup blames the decline of these Christian communities on the Islamic environment in which they live. He argues, 'The effects of the Mohammedan domination of twelve hundred years have been to degrade and depress all the sects and nationalities who are subject to Islam' (p. 44). Wife-beating and the seclusion of women are practices, Jessup contends, that Arab Christians borrowed from their Muslim rulers. With such assertions, he affirms prevalent Anglo-American Protestant views of Islam and Eastern Christianity, and justifies the Syria Mission's growing focus on women's education.

While the book offers little information on individual Muslim women in the 19th century, it has been used by scholars of women and gender in the Middle East to glean information about women in the Syrian Protestant community such as Rahil 'Ata, wife of the renowned Syrian intellectual Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Lindner, 'Rahil 'Ata al-Bustani', pp. 49-67).

PUBLICATIONS

Henry H. Jessup, *The women of the Arabs. With a chapter for children*, New York, 1873; 001116410 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Henry H. Jessup, *The women of the Arabs. With a chapter for children*, ed. C.S. Robinson and Isaac Riley, London, 1874; 100766432 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Henry H. Jessup, *The children of the East. Being the children's chapter from The women of the Arabs*, Boston MA, 1874 (the concluding chapter for children printed separately)

STUDIES

This book has not been the subject of any extensive study, but it is cited in a number of publications on women in 19th-century Syria, including the following:

- F. Zachs and S. Halevi, *Gendering culture in Greater Syria. Intellectuals and ideology in the late Ottoman period*, London, 2015
- D.F. Womack and C.B. Lindner, "Pick up the pearls of knowledge and adorn ourselves with the jewelry of literature". An analysis of three Arab women writers in *al-Nashra al-usbū'iyya*, *Living Stones Year-book* (2014) 125-57
- C.B. Lindner, 'Rahil 'Ata al-Bustani. Wife and mother of the Nahda', in A. Beshara (ed.), *Butrus al-Bustani. Spirit of the age*, Melbourne, 2014, 49-67
- Lindner, 'Negotiating the field'
- E. Fleischmann, 'The impact of American Protestant missions in Lebanon on the construction of female identity, c. 1860-1950', *ICMR* 13 (2002) 411-26
- M. Booth, "She herself was the ultimate rule". Arabic biographies of missionary teachers and their pupils', *ICMR* 13 (2002) 427-48
- E. Freas, 'Muslim women in the missionary world', *The Muslim World* 88 (April 1998) 141-64

Syrian home-life

DATE 1874

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This 365-page book consists primarily of material that was omitted from Jessup's original manuscript of *The women of the Arabs*. Isaac Riley, a Reformed Church pastor in New York, rearranged this material and compiled it along with letters from other members of the Syria Mission and additional documents from Jessup on the 1860 conflict in Mount Lebanon and Damascus.

Throughout the book, Jessup offers observations of daily life in Syria. Some chapters describe subjects that he defines as part of the feminine domestic sphere: houses, food, clothing, weddings and children. Others focus on the language, customs and school systems in Syria and the

country's geography, history and inhabitants, including animals and pests. Still other chapters address Syrian religious traditions and highlight what the author considers to be immoral behaviours. Jessup gives attention to Christianity in Syria and the character of Catholic and Orthodox priests, and two chapters continue his previous treatment of Druze and Nusayri ('Alawi) practices.

No single chapter concentrates on Islam but, like Jessup's previous volume, this book situates each of its subjects within the Ottoman Muslim context. When discussing Syrian schools, he notes the complete absence of educational opportunities for Muslim girls. His chapter on superstitions discusses wandering Muslim saints and popular Muslim views of the evil eye and conceptions of paradise. A chapter on the sectarian violence in 1860 gives significant attention to Muslim activities during this conflict. While voicing high regard for the Algerian prince 'Abd al-Qādir, who shielded Christians from massacre in Damascus, Jessup ultimately interprets the war as a 'Mohammedan onslaught against Christianity' waged with sympathy from the Ottoman authorities (p. 310). For the suffering Christian population, Jessup declares that the only hope is a gradual 'liberalising and humbling of the Mohammedans through European intercourse, and especially through European power' (p. 352). Throughout the text, he highlights various Syrian converts to Protestantism, including a Nusayri man who came to the evangelical faith after first turning to Islam, Judaism and Greek Orthodoxy. The book concludes with a chapter summarising the history and impact of the Syria Mission and describing the American missionaries as 'true successors of the apostles', who are 'labouring, almost alone for the whole Arab race' (pp. 355, 365).

SIGNIFICANCE

The articulations on Islam in this text are nearly identical to those in Jessup's previous volume, *The women of the Arabs*. This book, however, offers deeper insight into Jessup's conception of the relationship between his 'pure' evangelical Christianity, the 'corrupted' faith of Eastern Christians, and the emergence of Islam. Although Jessup blames the deteriorated state of Syrian Christianity upon centuries of Muslim rule, he also identifies heretical forms of Christianity in the pre-Islamic period as the root cause of Islam. These churches existed 'without piety, and practically without the Bible, since it was in an unknown tongue'. Thus, Jessup claims, Islam 'sprang up from a corrupted Christianity, and is virtually a Christian heresy' (p. 350).

This characterisation of Muslims as followers of a heretical form of Christianity draws upon Christian views of Islam stretching from the earliest times. In the context of the modern missionary movement, Jessup's approach also upholds the American mission's aim to revive the faith of Maronite and Greek Orthodox Christians who were a barrier to the conversion of Muslims because they 'worship pictures and images, and pray to the Virgin Mary and to saints, and the Moslems think all Christians do the same' (p. 177).

PUBLICATIONS

Henry H. Jessup, *Syrian home-life*, compiled by I. Riley, New York, 1874; 008641191 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

Syrian home-life has received less attention in contemporary scholarship than Jessup's other publications.

Rogers Hays, "Their object is to strengthen the Moslem", pp. 74-7 (offers a short assessment of the book's views of Muslims and Syrian Christians)

References to this book appear in the following studies:

M. Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic. 1860-1950*, Chicago, 2014

Makdisi, *Faith misplaced*

Makdisi, *Artillery of heaven*

The Mohammedan missionary problem

DATE 1879

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This book is an expanded version of an address given by Jessup on missions and Islam at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA in 1879. It runs to 138 pages. Presenting himself as a missionary-scholar, Jessup adds this work to the growing number of English language studies on Islam of his time and includes in the preface a list of 20 such publications recommended for additional reading. In this piece, Jessup expresses his missionary conviction that Christ's last command to

preach the gospel to every creature includes the millions of inhabitants of the Muslim world.

The 'problem' the text addresses is how 'the Anglo-Saxon Christian race' is to carry out this missionary task (p. 9). The book's introduction describes Islamic history as the Arabs' violent military expansion northwards from Arabia and into Syria, North Africa and Spain. It pauses to note the golden age of Arabic literature in medieval Baghdad before depicting how Muslim armies 'subdued' Persia and Afghanistan, 'overran' much of India, and 'unfurled the standard of the Prophet' in Constantinople (pp. 18-19).

Jessup's first chapter describes the 'unfavourable' aspects of Islam that make it difficult for Muslims to accept Christianity. Besides the Muslim treatment of women, discussed in his earlier books, and the Qur'an-sword alliance he describes in the introduction, Jessup notes a disjunction between religion and morality in Islam, a Muslim proclivity for lying, and the Qur'an's misinterpretation of the person of Christ. He then claims that Islam has fostered sexual immorality through the 'sin of sodomy' (pp. 47-8). Further, Jessup warns that non-Muslims are forced to choose between conversion, slavery and death, and he voices concern over the aggressive missionising spirit of Islam as practised by some graduates of al-Azhar University in Cairo. In the second chapter, Jessup turns to the 'favourable' features of Islam that may lead Muslims to embrace the gospel truth: Muslims' firm monotheism and hatred of idolatry, their reverence for the Bible and for Jesus as a prophet, and their recognition of Christians and Jews as 'People of the Book'. The chapter also notes hopeful changes in the Islamic world as British colonial influence expanded: Muslims' appreciation for Protestantism and American missionaries, and Islamic law weakening through civilisational advances. Citing a widespread Muslim belief that universal apostasy from Islam will occur at the end of time, Jessup predicts that the superior methods of Christian missionaries will be the cause of this inevitable event. His concluding chapter reflects on the positive consequences of the Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1878. Following the Russian defeat of the Ottomans in the war of 1877-8, Jessup believes that England's new position as 'the protectress of the whole Turkish empire in Asia' will hasten the spread of Christianity in the region (p. 108).

SIGNIFICANCE

Jessup reinforces the belief among many missionaries of the time that Islam was 'a step in advance of all pagan systems' that nevertheless fell

short of the gospel and was 'destitute of any provision for human redemption' (p. 15). Jessup's earlier publications indicate his favourable view of European power and the connection between Christianity and civilisational progress. This text in particular, however, reflects the difference of opinion between Jessup and his predecessors on these subjects. Under the guidance of the ABCFM secretary Rufus Anderson during the first half of the 19th century, members of the American Syria Mission aimed to spread the gospel without the trappings of Western culture and civilisation (Makdisi, *Artillery of heaven*, pp. 190-3). Jessup, however, envisions Protestantism following in the wake of the British colonial advance and Anglo-Saxon civilisation weakening the structures of Islamic society.

PUBLICATIONS

Henry H. Jessup, *The Mohammedan missionary problem*, Philadelphia PA, 1879; 008414807 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

Samuel M. Zwemer cites *The Mohammedan missionary problem* in his own publications on Islam, including:

Islam. A challenge to faith. Studies on the Mohammedan religion and the needs and opportunities of the Mohammedan world from the standpoint of Christian missions, New York, 1907

Arabia. The cradle of Islam, New York, 1900

A number of contemporary scholars have used this book to examine how Jessup understood Islam. It is also cited as a source in studies on American missionary and Western Christian perceptions of Islam. These publications include:

Khalaf, *Protestant missionaries in the Levant*

Makdisi, *Faith misplaced*

Kidd, *American Christians and Islam*, pp. 48-53

Makdisi, *Artillery of heaven*

Rogers Hays, "Their object is to strengthen the Moslem"

A. Majid, *Freedom and orthodoxy. Islam and difference in the post-Andalusian age*, Stanford CA, 2004

J. Smith, 'Christian missionary views of Islam in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', *ICMR* 9 (1998) 357-73

Khalaf, 'Protestant images of Islam'

The setting of the Crescent and the rising of the Cross

DATE 1898

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

In 156 pages, *The setting of the Crescent and the rising of the Cross. Or Kamil Abdul Messiah, A Syrian convert from Islam to Christianity* narrates the story of Kamil 'Aitany's conversion in February 1890, continuing to his death in June 1892 in Basra, where he was working for Samuel Zwemer's Arabian Mission. The text includes an introduction by Presbyterian BFM secretary Frank Ellinwood, and an appendix by Zwemer entitled 'The Arabian Mission'. Jessup revisits his encounters with Kamil to provide a sketch of the young man's life and conversion in Beirut. He then uses the letters and travel journal Kamil sent him from Arabia to piece together Kamil's evangelistic activities before his death.

Kamil, who took on the name 'Abd al-Masīḥ (servant of Christ), was the son of a devout Muslim shaykh in Beirut. He was one of the few Syrian converts from Islam in the late 19th century, and an intelligent, educated young man who studied the Bible diligently and expressed a fervent desire to preach the gospel to others. Elevating Kamil's example, Jessup begins his book with the hope that this Syrian man would prove to be 'the first-fruits of a mighty harvest to be gathered for Christ among the Mohammedans of the Arab race!' (p. 6).

Although it falls under the genre of biography, this book reveals as much about Jessup's views on Muslim conversions as it does about Kamil's life. In the first third of the book, Jessup models the approach he believes missionaries should take towards Muslim inquirers. He recounts his own efforts to bring Kamil to the evangelical faith through guided instruction in Christian doctrine, and to persuade the young man that the Qur'an affirms the truth of the Bible. These conversations with Jessup soon brought Kamil to a profession of faith. It should be noted, however, that it was not Jessup but a Jesuit priest who first introduced Kamil to the New Testament.

After a summer spent preaching among the Bedouin with another Muslim convert, Kamil completes his period of study at the Syria Mission's school in Sūq al-Gharb, and joins Zwemer and James Cantine in Aden in early 1891. In the remainder of the book, the young convert

becomes the model evangelist, as described in Kamil's own writings. Like Jessup, he urges his Muslim listeners to read the Old and New Testaments and argues that the Qur'an is a guide towards the biblical message. Although Kamil indicates in his letters that he took care not to offend his listening audience, he died in suspicious circumstances, and Zwemer suspected he had been poisoned.

In his opening commentary in this book, Jessup recognises that elements of truth 'derived from the Old and New Testaments' run through the Qur'an, but he insists that this good foundation is covered with 'the rubbish of childish fables, traditions, and perversions which overlies the original monotheism of the Old Testament' (p. 5). Such articulations match Jessup's earlier views on Islam, but *The setting of the Crescent and the rising of the Cross* is unlike any of his previous publications in two regards. First, by narrating his interactions with Kamil, Jessup reveals the sympathy with which he approaches Muslim inquirers. Even if the published account contains Jessup's idealised self-image as a missionary, there is a marked contrast between his words to Kamil and the polemical view of Islam in his other writings directed to mission supporters. Second, this book allows Kamil himself to speak, albeit through the filters of missionary translation and editing. The young convert's letters and journal entries reveal his personal struggles and convictions, and express a level of reverence for the truth and authority of the Qur'an and Islamic tradition that was unmatched by even the most sympathetic of his missionary colleagues.

SIGNIFICANCE

As Ellinwood's introductory remarks indicate, this book was intended to prove 'the utter falsity of the oracular assertion [...] that no Moslem is ever converted to the Christian faith' (p. 11). Although there were other Muslims who embraced Protestantism in Syria, this was the first major account of a Muslim conversion from the Syria Mission, and it was widely publicised in Protestant missionary circles. The British scholar and mission supporter William Muir received permission to publish a new edition of the book in the early 20th century, but these plans were cut short by his death (Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, vol. 2, p. 554).

PUBLICATIONS

Henry H. Jessup, *The setting of the Crescent and the rising of the Cross. Or Kamil Abdul Messiah, A Syrian convert from Islam to Christianity*, Philadelphia PA, 1899 (repr. 2008); 006530927 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

STUDIES

References or brief descriptions of this book appear in the following studies:

Womack, *Protestants, gender and the Arab Renaissance in late Ottoman Syria*

P.J. Conradi, *A very English hero. The making of Frank Thompson*, London, 2014

A. Majid, *Islam and America. Building a future without prejudice*, Lanham MD, 2014

Kidd, *American Christians and Islam*

Makdisi, *Artillery of heaven*

H. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt. Missionary encounters in an age of empire*, Princeton NJ, 2008

L.R. Scudder, *The Arabian Mission's story. In search of Abraham's other son*, Grand Rapids MI, 1998

M. Oren, *Power, faith, and fantasy. America in the Middle East. 1776 to the present*, New York, 2007

Tibawi, *American interests in Syria*

Fifty-three years in Syria

DATE 1910

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Completed just prior to Jessup's death, this two-volume, 832-page memoir records the veteran missionary's observations on the work of the American Syria Mission from his arrival in Syria in 1856. Rather than focusing strictly on his own work, Jessup aims to document the Mission's impact upon Ottoman Syrian society through its educational, literary and evangelistic efforts from the 1820s until the early 20th century. With the reports and testimonies of his predecessors, he reconstructs the early history of the Mission and then treats its activities during his own years of service, using letters he wrote and received and the meticulous records he kept in diaries and journals.

The chapters generally proceed in chronological order and address various aspects of Jessup's experience in Syria from the building of mission institutions, the growth of the Syrian Evangelical Church, to encounters with members of Syria's religious sects. Jessup gives particular

attention to missionary pioneers, outstanding leaders in the Syrian Protestant community and notable converts. The first volume covers Jessup's preparation for missionary service and recounts the American Mission's history until 1870. It includes an introduction by a former missionary in Syria, James S. Dennis. The second volume begins in the 1870s and ends in 1909, when Jessup sent the book to press. The appendices in this volume present a timeline of American Syria Mission history and statistics on mission personnel, schools and medical facilities.

Jessup's depiction of Islam in this publication remains much the same as in his previous works. As he reproduced his own letters and journal entries in the memoir, the text reinforces his opinions from decades earlier. For example, he explains that, when American missionaries arrived in Syria, 'Mohammedanism had blighted womanhood, and driven her behind the veil and into the harem' (pp. 27-8). He focuses, as well, on the decline of Middle Eastern Christianity under centuries of Muslim rule, while also noting the traditional practices of Eastern Churches as a significant obstacle in the conversion of Muslims. Jessup nevertheless insists that Muslims did convert to Christianity because of missionary efforts. Besides repeating the story of Kamil Abdul Messiah, he notes dozens of Muslim men who embraced Protestantism, most of whom remain unnamed for their own protection.

Positive references to Islam are not entirely absent from this book. As in his earlier writings, Jessup recognises Muslims' reverence for Jesus Christ, their growing interest in Protestant schools and the presence of 'more enlightened Mohammedans in the East in these days' (p. 203). Nevertheless, he remains firmly convinced of the 'depths of corruption in Islam', in contrast to Christianity as the 'pure and holy religion' (p. 571).

In concluding the second volume, Jessup recognises the changes that had occurred in Syrian society by the early 20th century through the influence of Protestant literature and education, and he foresees a time when the Bible will replace the Qur'an in the Islamic world. Echoing his 1879 book, *The Mohammedan missionary problem*, he conveys hope in the expansion of British imperial power as he notes that two-thirds of the global Muslim population is now under Christian rule. Jessup also applauds the 'fall of the Turkish despotism' that came with the constitutionalist revolution in 1908 (p. 783). He predicts that some will rebel against the new parliamentary system but that eventually the 'evil demon of Moslem fanatical hatred of light and liberty will be cast out' (p. 790). While asserting that Christianity will spread rapidly in Syria once Muslims gain full liberty of conscience, this book demonstrates that

Jessup's discourse on Islam had changed little since his arrival in Syria as a new recruit in the mid-19th century.

SIGNIFICANCE

Fifty-three years in Syria is frequently cited in studies on American missions in the Middle East. Although it is useful as a primary source for information about the American Syria Mission and Syrian Protestantism, Jessup's recollections of historical figures and events are not entirely accurate. Recent scholarship has approached this autobiography as a prototypical example of missionary views of religion and society in the Arab world in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

PUBLICATIONS

- Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, New York, 1910; 001400877 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, Reading, 2002
- Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, New York, 2007
- Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, LaVergne TN, 2010
- Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, Piscataway NJ, 2012

STUDIES

- Khalaf, *Protestant missionaries in the Levant*
- Makdisi, *Faith misplaced*
- Kidd, *American Christians and Islam*
- Makdisi, *Artillery of heaven*
- U. Makdisi, 'The question of American liberalism and the origins of the American Board Mission to the Levant and its historiography', in C. Schumann (ed.), *Liberal thought in the Eastern Mediterranean. Late 19th century until the 1960s*, Leiden, 2008, 13-28
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- J.A. DeNovo, *American interests and policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939*, Minneapolis MN, 1963

Duncan Black Macdonald

DATE OF BIRTH 9 April 1863
PLACE OF BIRTH Glasgow
DATE OF DEATH 6 September 1943
PLACE OF DEATH Glastonbury, Connecticut

BIOGRAPHY

Considered one of the main founders of Arabic Studies in the United States, the Scottish Presbyterian cleric Duncan Black Macdonald taught for 40 years at Hartford Theological Seminary. His multifaceted scholarship opened new avenues in the study of Islam as well as of the Hebrew Bible, and paved the way to new forms of Christian missionary work.

Macdonald was born in Glasgow in 1863, the sixth and last child of Thomas Macdonald (1813-1905) and Margaret Black (1822-91). In November 1880, he entered the University of Glasgow. In addition to his Hebrew classes, he took elementary Arabic and Syriac. He also read a number of Arabic texts, notably while working as a cataloguer in the library of the University's Hunterian Museum, where he became interested in the early Arabic translations of the Bible. He received his Master of Arts degree in 1885 and a Baccalaureate in Theology in 1888. The same year, he received his licence from the Presbytery of Glasgow. In 1890-1, he studied with Edward Sachau, and met with Ignaz Goldziher in Berlin. Besides Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac, he also learned Ethiopic.

In 1892, Macdonald was appointed as instructor in Hebrew at Hartford Theological Seminary. However, he was back in London that same summer to study Egyptology under F.L. Griffith and to read Arabic manuscripts of the Gospels at the British Museum. Egyptology also drew him back to Berlin during the summer of 1893, but his workload at Hartford did not allow him to go further into this discipline. During these early years at the seminary, Macdonald taught not only Hebrew but also Arabic and Islam.

His research was mostly devoted to approaching Islam through original sources in Arabic, be it Sufi mysticism as understood by al-Ghazālī, or the life of ordinary Muslims as illustrated in *The Arabian nights*. The number and quality of his publications confirm his dedication to scholarship during these years. These include the three books analysed below,

several academic articles, multiple entries for various encyclopaedias, and innumerable reviews. He also became a popular lecturer at Hartford as well as in other places. For example, in 1904 he delivered a paper on 'The problems of Muhammadanism' before the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at St Louis, Missouri.

In 1898, Macdonald married Mary Leeds Leffingwell Bartlett of New York, who was some 12 years older than he. That same year, the newly-married couple built a cottage in Pemaquid Point, Maine, where they would spend most of their summers. They were always very close. Mary knew about all her husband's work and 'followed it and understood it' (Macdonald, 'Autobiographical notes', p. 13). She typed and criticised all his writing. She even learned some Arabic and shared his interest in Muslim occultism and in 'esoteric phenomena generally' (Macdonald, 'Autobiographical notes', p. 14). Their marriage, which did not produce any children, lasted happily until Mary's death in 1929.

A particularly important year in Macdonald's career as an Islamicist was 1908. Granted sabbatical leave from the seminary, he and his wife went to the Middle East. They travelled to Algiers and then Cairo in late 1907. After six months in Egypt, followed by short stays in Jerusalem, Damascus, Constantinople and England, they were back in the States at the beginning of November 1908. These were the only months Macdonald ever spent in the Islamic world. In Cairo, he showed almost no interest in ancient Egypt or Pharaonic sites. All his attention was instead given to the Muslim population and the Islamic monuments of Cairo, which he explored during numerous walks. He bought many books and searched for manuscripts of *The Arabian nights*, met with a number of personalities and enjoyed improving his spoken Arabic by talking with ordinary people. He was also able to witness directly the inadequacy of the way some missionaries conceived of their work among Muslims. For the rest of his life, he would remain under the spell of what he had experienced during this sabbatical.

Back in Hartford, Macdonald resumed his teaching duties and research. His workload and fame increased. In 1909, he received a Doctorate of Divinity from Hartford's Trinity College, and in 1920 an honorary doctorate from Glasgow University. In 1912, he became special lecturer at the Cambridge Episcopal Divinity School, the Haskell Lecturer on Arabic Literature and the Literature of the Hebrews at Oberlin College in 1914, and lecturer on the Old Testament at the Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, in 1917-18. His three books on Islam had been generally well received and he maintained frequent epistolary exchanges with several

of the greatest Arabists of the time, mostly notably Goldziher, Nöldeke, Snouck Hurgronje, Asin Palacios and Massignon.

Macdonald also developed an interest in the training of missionaries. As early as 1900-1, he had lectured on missions in Egypt and Arabia, Muslim missionary activity, and the Muslim attitude towards the Christian scriptures, in addition to his normal courses. In 1910, he arranged for the Anglican missionary W.H.T. Gairdner (1873-1928), with whom he had become acquainted in Cairo, to come to Hartford, and Gairdner stayed with him for five months. In his autobiography, he writes that it was at this point that Gairdner 'passed from controversy to persuasion' vis-à-vis Muslims (Macdonald, 'Autobiographical notes', p. 16). In a letter to a student, he is less positive and writes that 'Gairdner failed' (Macdonald Papers, no. 149988). In 1911, when the Kennedy School of Missions was organised at Hartford Seminary, Macdonald became head of its Muhammadan Department and endeavoured to have the ideas with which he had come back from Egypt applied, i.e. 'to understand Islam from the inside, to creep into the Muslim mind and discover how it felt there' (Macdonald Papers, no. 149984). Macdonald kept this position until 1925. As an emeritus professor, he continued to be involved in the Kennedy School. Despite being interested in missionary preparation, Macdonald once confessed that he would himself 'have never made a good missionary' (Macdonald Papers, no. 149988).

During a dinner for his 70th birthday in 1933, a group of Macdonald's students honoured him by offering him a copy of *The Macdonald presentation volume* just published by Princeton University Press. Now retired, he continued publishing important studies about *The Arabian nights*, Islam, Christian missions and other topics. He contributed several Islam-related entries to *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, *The Jewish encyclopedia*, *The encyclopædia Britannica*, and *The encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, and he also reviewed an impressive number of books for journals such as *The Hartford Seminary Record*, *The Moslem World*, *The International Review of Missions*, and *The Nation*. These are listed in 'A bibliography of Professor Macdonald's writings up to his seventieth birthday, April 9, 1933', in *The Macdonald presentation volume*, pp. 471-87.

In the late 1930s, Macdonald's health declined, and in 1941 he was forced to move from his house in Sigourney Street, Hartford, to a convalescent home in South Glastonbury. He passed away there, after a long illness, on 6 September 1943. His ashes are buried next to his wife's grave in Hartford's Old North Cemetery.

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory

DATE 1903

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Macdonald presents this work as 'a kind of forlorn attempt' (p. vii in the original 1903 edition) to answer the lack and need of a textbook on Islamic history, law and theology in his days. He wrote it, he says, for 'the educated man' (p. vii) and the student Islamicist on the basis of verified Arabic sources, and under the influence of several 19th-century Arabists, notably Goldziher, Sachau, Nöldeke, Snouck Hurgronje, von Kremer, Lane *et al.* After the introduction, the book is divided into 11 chapters, forming three parts. Part 1, on the 'state', comprises three chapters; part 2, on 'legal ideas and schools', two chapters; part 3, the longest, on theology, six chapters. Three appendices and an index conclude the book. The term 'development' appearing in the title of each of the three parts, as in the title of the book itself, attests to the author's will to approach his subject as a historian from an essentially chronological angle.

In the introduction, Macdonald justifies the three-part division as 'purely mechanical and for convenience only' (p. 4), as 'in Muslim countries, Church and State are one indissolubly' (p. 4). He also indicates the limits he was forced to set to his research. Important historical periods could not be covered and likewise, in various measures, topics such as Bābism, Shī'ī theology and law, 'Ibādism, Turkish and Persian mysticism, Sufi orders and 'Muslim missionary enterprise' (p. 5) are omitted. Finally, he reminds his readers that 'Islam is a present reality and the Muslim faith a living organism' (p. 6).

Part 1 offers a vivid panorama of the history of the central Islamic dynasties and sects from the death of the Prophet until the 13th-century Mongol invasions. Later political and ideological developments are

touched on only briefly, except when they are still relevant in the 1900s, as is notably the case with Pan-Islamism, Wahhabism and the Sanusi brotherhood of Libya. As for the competing 'constitutional theories' (p. 29) (caliphate, imamate, etc.) worked out by Sunnīs, Shī'īs, Khārijīs and their subgroups, Macdonald expounds them in clear synthesis in connection to their historical contexts. These three chapters read as a saga, both erudite and captivating. They are enlivened by a number of strong, and sometimes racist, statements and phrases, such as: 'As we know the Persian in history, he is a born liar' (p. 39); 'fanatical Muslims' (p. 46); 'A'isha [...] a finished *intrigante*, the evil genius of Islam' (p. 21); 'the madness of Harun ar-Rashid' (p. 50); and 'Shi'ism, in great part, is the revolt of the Aryan against Semitic monotheism' (p. 51).

Part 2 begins with a remark on the two main difficulties of Islamic law, both due to its all-encompassing character: the 'overpowering mass of material' (p. 66) and 'the strangeness of the ideas involved' (p. 66). In connection to dynastic history, a synthetic account of the historical evolution of Islamic law follows, from its origins in Muḥammad's rule of Medina 'as an absolute monarch' (p. 69) until the formation of the schools of jurisprudence. Attached to this account is an explanation of the way the traditions of the Prophet were gathered, authenticated and eventually preserved in the six main Hadith collections. Focusing his attention on the Sunnī schools of law, Macdonald then establishes their principles and traces their histories. Besides the four main schools (of Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik ibn Anas, al-Shāfi'ī and Ibn Ḥanbal), he also mentions those of Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Awza'ī, and Dā'ūd al-Zāhirī. In the last pages of this second part, Macdonald enumerates three principles of Islamic law, in and through which he sees 'our hope and fear for the Muslim peoples': the authoritativeness of the consensus of the community, the 'liberty of diversity' in this 'catholic unity', and the 'blind subjection to the past within that diversity' (p. 113). Moreover, he briefly mentions the secularisation process limiting the prerogatives of the canon lawyers in the modern Muslim world, and says a few words about Shī'ī and 'Ibādī law.

The first of the six chapters of part 3 describes the early developments of Muslim theology from the death of the Prophet until the beginnings of the Mu'tazilite school, mostly in relation to politics, Christian theologues of the time, and the rich, multi-faceted, ideological and cultural contexts under the earliest 'Abbasids. The second chapter starts with the failure of the pro-Mu'tazilite inquisition of al-Ma'mūn (848) and ends with the Sufi al-Ḥallāj (d. 922). Macdonald calls it a time of 'fossilizing

intellectualism' (p. 160) for Islamic theology and, as it was facing several challenges, Macdonald devotes most of this chapter to expounding them: hellenizing philosophy (*falsafa*), Shī'ī sectarian propaganda of various kinds, the 'wooden-minded' (p. 172) literalism of Ibn Karrām and his peers, and ascetic and speculative Sufis, male and female. Al-Ash'arī, 'an original thinker' (p. 192), is at the centre of the third chapter. Macdonald tells the stories of his conversion away from Mu'tazilism and analyses his *via media* theology, the oppositions it triggered, and its final triumph under the Seljuqs. He also explains the atomism, the monism of divine action, and the occasionalism elaborated by al-Bāqillānī and which became characteristic of Ash'arism. Other luminaries of the 10th and 11th centuries attracting Macdonald's attention are al-Bīrūnī, Ibn Sīnā, 'Umar Khayyām, al-Ma'arī and Ibn Ḥazm.

Chapter 4 of part 3 is all about al-Ghazālī, Macdonald's favoured Muslim, thanks to whom mystical unveiling (*kashf*) became 'the basal part in the structure of Muslim theology' (p. 215). To present al-Ghazālī's life and spiritual evolution, he mostly relies on the *Munqidh min al-dalāl*. He then summarises his ideas on the soul, God, science, the three worlds (*mulk, jabarūt, malakūt*), ethics, philosophy and dogmatic theology, and concludes with an evaluation of his influence in Islam and a short survey of later *kalām* theology. Besides the *Munqidh*, the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* is the only Ghazālīan book used by Macdonald in this chapter; the *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn* is not mentioned. Islamic thought in the West (Maghreb and Andalusia) is the subject of the fifth chapter. A short history of Islam in Berber North Africa leads Macdonald to start with the theology of Ibn Tūmart and the Almohad regime. Then comes an examination of the ideas of Ibn Bājja, Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd, mostly concerning the relations between philosophy and religion, within their socio-political context. After them, Macdonald notes, 'the thinkers and writers of Islam become mystics more and more overwhelmingly' (p. 261), and the chapter ends with an exposition of the pantheist theosophies of Ibn 'Arabī and Ibn Sab'īn. In the last chapter, the lack of sources about Islamic theology after the 13th century makes any synthesis impossible and Macdonald is forced to 'pass with little connection from one name to another' (p. 266). These names are Ibn al-Fārīd, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and the other founders of Sufi orders, Ibn Taymiyya, 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, al-Sha'rānī ('one of the last original thinkers in Islam', p. 283), Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. Macdonald tries to summarise the main ideas of each and speaks at some length only about Ibn Taymiyya – 'the anthropomorphist free lance' (p. 271) and 'a popular idol' (p. 275).

– and his influence. To him and to al-Ghazālī he gives the title of *Shaykh al-Islām* (p. 285) and in their doctrines he sees ‘the hopeful signs in modern Islam’ (p. 285). He nevertheless ends this Part 3 with a few recommendations of his own for the future of Muslims.

The book’s three appendices are very important and useful additions. The first offers the translation of seven texts of theological relevance, including three short creeds (al-Ash‘arī, al-Ghazālī, al-Nasafī). The second is a select bibliography. The third is a chronological table of political events and biographies covering the years 632-1858.

SIGNIFICANCE

This book is a purely academic work, without any missionary purpose. It displays an impressive knowledge of Islam and a remarkable ability to compare several historical and ideological aspects of it with Western events and doctrines. One century after its first publication, Islamic studies have of course greatly developed, but Macdonald’s work is in no way obsolete, and not just as an excellent product, and illustration, of early 20th-century American Orientalism. In later writings, Macdonald would repeatedly recommend the training of missionaries sent to Muslim countries to include a serious introduction to Islamic metaphysics and theology. *The development* would have provided a textbook all the more useful to that end because it approaches the formation of Islamic theological doctrines relative to other ideological and spiritual evolutions as well as to political history and law. In his review of Macdonald’s book, I. Goldziher suggests a few interesting corrections but praises the solidity of his information, the qualities of MacDonald’s style making it a ‘truly appealing exposition’ (‘une exposition vraiment attrayante’) and a ‘truly instructive overall view’ (‘une vue d’ensemble vraiment instructive’, [‘Duncan B. Macdonald’, p. 263]) of Islamic history, law and theology.

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The religious attitude and life in Islam

DATE 1909

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The 334-page *The religious attitude and life in Islam* is the edited version of ten lectures delivered at the University of Chicago in 1906, three years before the publication of its first edition. Macdonald introduces it as a complement to his 1903 *Development of Muslim theology*, his purpose now taking him away from Islamic systematic theology into the less known, and more difficult to map universe of what he calls the Muslims' 'religious attitude and life' (1909 edition, p. vii).

The first chapter explores the primacy and essence of the unseen dimension of reality for 'Orientals' (p. xi) as the background of the role and purpose of a prophet, the types of the latter among the Semites, both Hebrews and Arabs (e.g. poetic, soothsaying, etc.), and the nature of Muḥammad's inspiration. In the following two chapters, Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* is Macdonald's main source in analysing the specificities of Muḥammad's prophetic 'intercourse with the Unseen' (p. 70) as distinct from soothsaying, and the access to the supernatural world which true visions open to all during sleep. Al-Ghazālī and a few other Muslim classical authorities now join Ibn Khaldūn to guide Macdonald through the

universe of Islamic oneirism. Beside dreams, several 'Orientals' (p. 84) have other means of breaking the thin veil separating them from the unseen: they are practitioners of all types of cleromancy, wizards, magicians, makers and users of talismans, adepts of the sciences of numbers or letters, Sufi ascetics, and enraptured saintly idiots. Ch. 4 is devoted to them and, once again, it is mostly from Ibn Khaldūn that Macdonald draws his information, sometimes by translating entire pages of the *Muqaddima*. The Muslims' belief in jinns, spirits, demons and ghosts is the object of ch. 5, and Macdonald complements the information offered by Ibn Khaldūn with a selection of other texts, such as tales from the *Arabian nights*, the code of Ottoman law, al-Qazwīnī's *Marvels of the creation*, legends concerning Sufis, and the travelogues of some modern Westerners. These first five chapters set the scene of religious life in Islam.

The last five chapters explore the spiritual journey of Muslims who are deemed particularly representative by Macdonald: saints and Sufis. Chapter 6 starts with a general introduction to Sufism: its history, the Sufi fraternities, the states of the spiritual pathway. Ibn Khaldūn is still Macdonald's main source, but is soon replaced by al-Ghazālī. It is indeed in the latter's autobiography that Macdonald finds a concrete example of Sufi journeying, and he translates it thoroughly.

The spiritual journeys of other Muslims may stir up more controversy than that of al-Ghazālī, but they also deserve to be examined in order for the picture of the inner life in Islam to be complete. They are the 'hypnotic and antinomian saints' (p. xiv) of Moghul India, the wandering ascetics of the *Arabian nights* and the masses who live 'orgasms of ecstatic emotion' (p. 216) not only in front of the Ka'ba in Mecca but also before the shrines of local saints. Macdonald devotes ch. 7 to these spiritual wayfarers and illustrates his point with quotations from modern publications by Alfred von Kremer, Edward W. Lane and Hadji Khan.

Chs 8-10 are the most Ghazālīan of the book. Largely based on the *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and the commentary on it by Sayyid Murtaḍā, they successively describe 'the discipline of the traveler on his way to the Unseen and the nature, working, and use of the heart' (p. 220), the external and inner sources of human knowledge and the mysterious relation between body and mind, the various devilish temptations assailing the heart and how to deal with them.

The religious attitude and life in Islam has no conclusion. However, Macdonald summarises its three main achievements on the last page of ch. 10. He writes that it should now be clear to his readers 'how real to

Muslims is that invisible world' (p. 302); 'in what ways they think of it and turn toward it' (p. 302); and 'how they try to adjust themselves to it and live into it' (p. 302).

SIGNIFICANCE

Endeavouring to explore the religious attitude and life of thriving human communities by exclusively relying on the writings of dead people – most of them long dead – without having spent one single day in these communities, is to the modern scholar quite bizarre. The enterprise becomes even more suspect when the particular dimension of this religious attitude and life selected for such an exploration – in the present case, occultism – is privileged to the point of ignoring all their other facets. This is, however, what Macdonald does in this book. His erudition is undeniably very impressive. He translates many sources, highlights several truths, and the knowledge one acquires from reading his work is enormous.

Whilst it is an important text in the history of Christian engagement with Islam, the fact remains that Macdonald's perspective and methodology for this work is flawed. He might have seen in the exploration of Islamic intercourses with the Unseen the adequate complement demanded by the academic dryness of his study of Islamic history, jurisprudence and theology, as found in his previous book. And his frequent reference in this exploration to parapsychological theories of his day – telepathy, telekinesis, communications by discarnate spirits, hypnotism, automatic speech, etc. – might have appealed to readers of the beginning of the 20th century. But it tells us more about Macdonald's interests and personality than it does about the religious attitude and life of Muslims. As he uses such theories to understand Muḥammad's prophecy, he is able to avoid the gross accusations of imposture that were usual among many of his predecessors and peers. He nevertheless finds the Prophet 'now strangely sympathetic and attractive, now repellently weak' (p. 14), calls the last ten years of his life 'unhappy' (p. 14), and affirms that he was then 'consciously manipulating his revelations to suit his purpose' (p. 45). Muslims cannot be expected to like or endorse such statements.

A century after its first appearance, it is rather difficult to measure how influential *The religious attitude and life in Islam* was when it was first published. Some of its first readers, however, seem to have had reservations. For example, in a passage of an anonymous review published in *The Athenæum* in 1911, the following critical remark seems most pertinent:

The remarkable thing about his book is that he virtually regards the mystical attitude, whether of the true Sufis or the earlier less pronounced mystics, as the only real form of personal religion in Islam. Perhaps we have misunderstood him, but he does not seem to us to recognize the fact that even traditional formal Islam may be, and indeed is, a personal religious attitude, an inner life, to orthodox Muslims. (p. 155)

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Aspects of Islam

DATE 1911

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Like *The religious attitude and life in Islam* of 1909, Macdonald's *Aspects of Islam* contains the edited version of ten lectures. Eight were initially delivered as the 1909 Hartford-Lamson Lectures on 'The religions of the world', and two, lectures 8 and 9, were added in order to offer 'a more complete introduction for the young missionary' (p. vii in the original 1911 edition). Being Macdonald's last book on Islam, it deserves close scrutiny.

The 15-page introduction confirms Macdonald's essential purpose of initiating missionaries to Islam 'as it has always presented itself' (p. 19). Indeed, it details thoroughly what the training of such missionaries must teach them, namely a good knowledge of metaphysics and theology, both Christian and Islamic. To this he adds 'the beginnings at least of a thorough grasp of the classical language' (p. 8) of their field, be it Arabic, Persian, Turkish or other, a familiarity not only with the literature of the Muslim masses but with Muslim life, attitudes and governing ideas, preferably obtained by spending, as a lay person, six months in a Muslim country, and a capacity to educate and mix with the youth. Ch. 1 starts with a harsh criticism of the missionary handbooks available around 1900, and Macdonald's acknowledgement of his preference for understanding Islam with sympathy, and from within, rather than for the purpose of conversion. He gives a few autobiographical notes illustrating how he put this preference into practice during his 1907-8 sabbatical stay in Cairo. Thereafter, by reference to similar personal experiences, Macdonald deconstructs the deep 'conspiracy of misinformation' (pp. 7, 30) to which, according to him, every missionary can fall victim when it comes to Islam. This chapter, on 'The Muslim East', ends with two remarks, one on the Muslim's 'assured feeling of religious superiority' (p. 39), the other on the evanescent nature of things and the exclusive reality of God in Islam.

Devoted to Muḥammad and the Qur'an, chs 2 and 3 proceed from the same agenda: to oppose the understanding modern Islamicists have of the Prophet and the Qur'an to that of traditional Muslims. As an historian, Macdonald does not call the Prophet an impostor but a 'pathological case' (p. 60, 63, 72) and a 'poet manqué' (p. 60), a kind of 'trance-medium'

(p. 74) springing from 'the soil of Semitic prophetism' (p. 67). Influenced by Christian hermits, he was not 'a schemer, a politician' (p. 73) but 'truly a devout soul' (p. 72), a 'mystic' even (p. 76). As for the Qur'an, it is 'simply a collection of fragments gathered up from those trance utterances' (p. 77) of the 'diseased genius' (p. 77) of Muḥammad, and Macdonald speaks briefly of its collection, innumerable commentaries on it and inadequate translations. In the Qur'an, as in the Prophet's life, he distinguishes two periods, and his judgement on the second – the last ten years – is devastating: 'He forged the awful machinery of divine inspiration to serve his own ignoble and selfish purposes' (p. 74). Macdonald then underlines how different the Muslim views on the Prophet and the Qur'an are, as they speak of a Muḥammadan Light and an uncreated Qur'an somehow co-eternal with God, consider the Prophet infallible, and seek to imitate him in everything, including an 'insane jealousy' (p. 104) that had led to the veiling of women. For Macdonald, the development of historical studies should be very detrimental to Islamic doctrines. He nevertheless expects the 'voice of the people' (p. 112; *ijmā'*), 'loyalty to Islām' (p. 113) and mysticism to save Muslims from 'the supposed *cul-de-sac* of the life of Muhammad' (p. 113).

Macdonald starts his ch. 4 by noting how the religious practices of the Muslim masses involve some degree of philosophical theology. He offers a quite technical summary of this theology, mostly in its scholastic Ash'arite form, and sees the original contribution of Muslims to philosophy in the atomisation of matter and time, which they developed in order to celebrate the exclusive reality of the creative will of God. Chs 5 and 6, about Muslim mystical life and the *darwīsh* fraternities, form a unit. More than in tradition and reason, Macdonald sees in the 'Inner Light' (p. 146) the 'dominant element in the basis of the faith' (p. 149) of Muslims. Despite the 'varying degrees of orthodoxy and moral strictness' (p. 153) distinguishing them, the Sufi orders are, for him, more than the mosques the real channels of Islamic mysticism and centres of common religious life. Insisting on the importance of their lay membership, he considers them 'a kind of combination of club-house and church' (p. 168). Macdonald's views were inspired by his 1908 experiences in Egypt (attending *dhikrs*, *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations, the departure ceremony of the *Kiswa* caravan ...), together with various reports, including one by a *darwīsh* convert to Christianity. Some modernist partisans of a 'sane religion' (p. 182), Macdonald remarks, criticise the religious emotionalism of Sufis. He opposes to them the example of al-Ghazālī who 'had part in all the ecstasies and emotional exhibitions of the darwīshes' (p. 184)

and nevertheless became, for him, the greatest Muslim theologian. The last pages of ch. 6 present the qur'anic and Muḥammadan origins of Sufism and its evolution before and after al-Ghazālī, the mysticism of al-Ghazālī and 'the great invisible organization of saints' (p. 204) who, Muslims believe, manage the affairs of the world.

In ch. 7, Macdonald endeavours first to understand what Muḥammad thought of the scriptures of the Jews and Christians. For the Prophet, he explains, these scriptures must necessarily have taught Islam and, as their followers disagreed with this view, there was no need for Muslims to pay them any attention. Later on, rare were the scholars who, like Ibn Ḥazm, actually studied the biblical text itself. Generally, proselytes, story-tellers, theologians (al-Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), renegades (Anselmo de Turmeda and the unknown author of the Gospel of Barnabas), apologists and polemicists, even scientific minds like al-Bīrūnī, contributed about former sacred books many imaginary tales resulting in 'a great, confused jumble of discordant ideas' (p. 223); hence the accusations, still widespread around 1900, that these sacred books were corrupted. A fair summary of Muḥammadan Christology concludes this chapter.

Devoted to the 'missionary ideals, methods and results' (p. 251) of Islam, ch. 8 starts with an analysis of the various responses of Muslims to the challenges of modernity, and then goes back to Muḥammad. In contradistinction to what he wrote in ch. 2, Macdonald now calls him 'a religious politician' (p. 259) 'setting aside his ideals and following his ambitions' (p. 260). The geographical expansion of Islam is to be explained by its 'conquering sword' (p. 262) that aimed to 'subdue the world to the true faith of Allah' (p. 274), and he calls it Muḥammad's 'way of acting as a missionary' (p. 264). As for individual or collective conversions to Islam, they were not due to the efforts of Muslim 'professional missionaries' (p. 270) but most often ensued from economic incentives and from the religious endeavour of lay Muslims of 'all sorts and conditions' (p. 270). Macdonald then finds it necessary to admonish missionaries about such a 'fundamental' (p. 275) of Islam as the prohibition against Muslims taking unbelievers as friends, or the division of the world into two abodes of peace and of war, or Islam's 'necessity to dominate' (p. 284) and its 'inability to distinguish Church and State' (p. 284). The persisting threat of massacres of *dhimmīs* by Muslim mobs in Islamic countries, the persisting hope of Muslim activists operating outside the abode of Islam to grow strong enough to become 'nuclei of further Muslim conquest' (p. 284), the preference of Muslim minorities for forming 'a state within the state' (p. 251, 285) rather than for assimilating

into non-Muslim societies, for example in China, are the last aspects of Islam highlighted by Macdonald in this chapter. They lead him to justify the expulsion of the Moors from Spain as a 'political necessity' (p. 286). As for the successful obliteration of racism among Muslims, he does not praise it without also calling it 'the danger of Islām' (p. 287).

In ch. 9, Macdonald examines 'Muslim ideas on education' (p. 288) from three main angles: memories of his visits to various schools in Egypt, Palestine and Turkey in 1908; his own Orientalist erudition about Islamic matters; and the sections on education in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima*. Perpetuating pre-modern ways, the Muslim educational practices with which he was personally acquainted keep on rejecting 'useless – as it would seem – speculations' (p. 309), 'originality and independence' (p. 311), and instead favour 'unquestioning discipleship' (p. 311), learning by heart, theology and classical Arabic. Out of date and irrelevant, they are at 'the very heart of the Muslim decadence' (p. 313). As for Ibn Khaldūn's ideas on teaching, they were mostly 'full of good sense' (p. 309) but 'had no effect whatever' (p. 309). In the last chapter, Macdonald introduces his missionary reader to several matters that, sometimes because of fear of ridicule, Muslims do not think 'worth noticing or speaking of, certainly not worth studying' (p. 326), despite their 'high human interest and value' (p. 326) and similarity to things going on in other societies and cultures. These matters are: 'the life in general of women and children' (p. 325); 'popular, folk-lore tales' (p. 326); 'perverted saint-worship' (p. 332); *zār*; magic operations; jinn, *efrits* and ghosts; talismans; geomancy; the emotional 'feeling' (p. 344) Muslims get from their various religious practices or have about saints; Muslims' 'sense of historical fact' (p. 349) versus stories; and eroticism. For Macdonald, one must become acquainted with all these subjects in order to know 'the Muslim mind' (pp. 351, 354). He thus invites missionaries to read the great number of books printed in colloquial Arabic for the Muslim masses and to learn from them the beginnings of what he calls 'the inner side of Muslim life' (p. 323). Without 'sympathy, knowledge, intelligence, courtesy' (p. 358), love and patience, 'faith, hope and charity' (p. 360), he concludes, a missionary cannot hope to work into 'the inner recesses' (p. 357) of Muslim minds and to be able 'to change them' (p. 359).

SIGNIFICANCE

The major difference between *Aspects of Islam* and Macdonald's earlier books is not exclusively due to its explicit purpose of training missionaries, which was absent from *The development of Muslim theology*,

jurisprudence and constitutional theory and *The religious attitude and life in Islam*. It has to do, as Macdonald states, with the fact that what he writes 'is not drawn from what I have read' (*Aspects of Islam*, pp. 20-1) – as was the case in the two previous works – but 'is drawn also from what I have seen; from the contacts which I have had with Muslims' (p. 21). He alludes here to his experiences during his 1908 sabbatical stay in Egypt and travels in Palestine, Syria and Turkey. Also on his mind must have been the killing of one of his students by Ottoman Muslims in April 1909. He dedicates the book to the memory of this 'missionary of Christ in Asia Minor' (p. v) and mentions his death at the beginning of ch. 6.

Whereas in his previous work the writings of Ibn Khaldūn and al-Ghazālī were Macdonald's two main gateways into Islam, in *Aspects of Islam* he is his own guide. That is, as a Western Islamicist and Protestant minister arrived for the first time in Egypt in his mid-forties, during innumerable walks all around Cairo, he discovered how Muslims effectively live, interacted with them, sometimes even prayed with them, and was now filling his book with recollections of these intense personal experiences. As missionaries and other readers might find several of such reports too foreign and exotic, Macdonald multiplies the comparisons with aspects of Christianity and Western culture. The autobiographical dimension of the book and this pedagogical attention make it particularly appealing reading, and this constitutes one element of its significance as a text throwing light on Muslim-Christian relations. But it is not without its limitations.

Announcing 'aspects' of Islam in his title protects Macdonald against the accusation of not offering a complete picture of the faith. That said, should not a missionary also hear about alms (*zakāt*), the fast of Ramaḍān and the *hajj*, three of the five Pillars of the religion that are almost totally neglected in this book? However, rather than focussing on what it does not include, the major problem with this third and last of Macdonald's monographs on Islam has to do with its whole overall approach towards Islam and Muslims.

Despite some initially positive statements, Macdonald's final judgement on the two fundamental sources of Islam, the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet, does not essentially differ from that of the Christian Orientalism of old. It is utterly negative, and some of the terms in which it is expressed are deeply insulting to Muslims. As for the respect and sympathy that Macdonald says he has for Muslims and their religion, there is no doubt about his sincerity, though one needs to go beyond

appearances. First, the Muslims who receive Macdonald's main approval in *Aspects of Islam* are in fact people whose faith and practices are somehow far away from the teachings of the Qur'an and Muḥammad: relatively ignorant popular masses and more or less deviant *darwīsh* fraternities. There is therefore no paradox in Macdonald's simultaneous contempt for Muḥammad and his message, and his own declared positive feelings towards Muslims. What he likes in them is their universal, trans-denominational religiousness rather than their qur'anic Muḥammadanism. Second, Macdonald's respect and sympathy for Muslims is essentially mixed with a paternalistic belief in Christian superiority. He makes this explicit at the end of his book: for him, Muslims are children and 'we must give them a chance to show what they can do – that is the last word, must be the last word, of any one who speaks upon Islām and its possibilities' (p. 362).

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Yahya Michot

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign
Missions and the Ottoman Empire.
Correspondence, reports and other papers
1819-1914

DATE 1819-1914

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter ABCFM, the American Board, or the Board) was founded at Bradford, Massachusetts, by the General Association of Massachusetts on 29 June 1810. The charter for its foundation was endorsed by the state of Massachusetts in 1812. In the words of its members, it was founded to create ways and means for the spread of the Gospel in 'heathen' lands, and its main purpose was to proselytise among peoples who were destitute of knowledge of Christianity. The Board was Congregationalist in origin, but accepted missionaries from other denominations.

The most significant figure in paving the way for the ABCFM's overseas missions was Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), a Congregationalist theologian and proponent of revivalist religion. He helped shape the New Divinity movement, which emerged in the second half of the 18th century. His followers disseminated his ideas on revivalist religion, the Kingdom of God and postmillennialism, and became the main contributors to the Second Great Awakening in North America. Postmillennialism gave rise to the belief that the world would be gradually converted and there would be worldly progress to facilitate the coming of the Millennium. That is, the Second Coming of Christ would occur only after the establishment of a prosperous world dominated by Christianity and ruled by the ethics of Christ.

In his *A history of the work of redemption* (1774), a posthumous compilation of sermons he delivered in 1739, Edwards articulated the view that Muḥammad was a false prophet whose fabricated revelations were accepted by ignorant people, and that the first Muslims were actually Christians in spirit. Moreover, he placed Islam against the backdrop of apocalyptic themes. His allusions to the horsemen of Revelation 9 and

the demise of their power was, he believed, a foreshadowing of 19th-century missionary confrontations in the Ottoman Empire. Many of his themes had wide-reaching repercussions within missionary views of Islam, and were reflected in missionaries' writings.

Apart from Edwards and his particular views, many early 19th-century Protestant authors dealt with the subject of Muslims and Islam. Among the works they produced, Alvan Bond's (1793-1882) 'The present state of Mahomedanism' (1816) and Jacob Scales's (1788-1873) 'View of the doctrines of Mahomedanism and their influence on moral character' (1819) were widely available to New England Protestants. Bond and Scales were members of the Society of Inquiry at Andover Theological Seminary, as were Pliny Fisk (1792-1825) and Levi Parsons (1792-1822). The 1819 sermons of Fisk and Parsons, which were delivered before their departure to the East, are testimonies to this Evangelical discourse on Islam. In his sermon, titled *The Holy Land. An interesting field of missionary enterprise*, Fisk called the Prophet Muḥammad an artful imposter and associated Islam with blood and cruelty. Parsons's sermon, *The dereliction and restoration of the Jews*, thematised the destruction of the Ottoman Empire as a prerequisite for the Jews to return to Palestine.

Another influential work directly related to the American Board was *American geography* by Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826), one of the most influential members of the Board in its first decade. He edited the *Panoplist and Missionary Herald*, the main periodical for missionary publications, and changed its title to *The Missionary Herald*. His *American geography* was a generalised and subjective account of the world's countries, peoples and cultures, and included religious beliefs. Although first published at the end of the 18th century (1789), later editions (1812, 1819) included missionary observations that reflected a deeper Evangelical point of view. *The Missionary Herald* is one of the most important sources for American missionary writings. Articles include notes from missionary travels, field observations and discussions of theological and political themes. The magazine also published the opinions of the prudential committee of the Board on various themes and so it reflects the official discourse of the American Board and its missionaries, including their views on Islam and Muslims. Together with *The Missionary Herald*, the ABCFM archives provide the most extensive range of material. The main ABCFM archive is located at Houghton Library, Harvard University, while the Congregational Library & Archives, the Burke Library at Union Theological Seminary, and Columbia University also house relevant

material. The American Board Archives of the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) is also an extensive collection of ABCFM sources, including photographs. The digitised items from this collection can be reached at the SALT Research website, <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/1>. Furthermore, many academic libraries have ABCFM-related archive material. Most of the private correspondences of the missionaries are in family archives.

With six missions started in the first nine years, by 1818 the idea of a mission to Palestine was already ripe among Board members. The Board's primary aim was the conversion of Eastern Christians as well as Jews and Muslims. Preparations started in 1819, and the first missionaries, Fisk and Parsons, landed in Izmir in 1820.

The first encounters with Muslims were hectic, full of unexpected experiences, and they resulted in a high degree of frustration. The missionaries soon recognised that Islamic law entailed capital punishment for apostasy, which closed the door on any active mission targeted at Muslims. Despite the limitations, the missionaries and the Board continued their observations of the Muslim population and wrote extensively in *The Missionary Herald* on Islam and Islamic rule. Missionary accounts in the first decade of mission work abound with references to Islam and observations that included the use of generalisations, stereotypical explanations and prejudiced views that showed their shortcomings and preconceived understandings of Muslim populations of the Empire. These generalisations often culminated in invective and slurs. At a deeper level, the official missionary discourse continually used biblical references to the Kingdom of God and related parables, and was deeply reflective of Edwards's New Divinity ideas, which were used to relate the missionary experiences in the field to eschatological themes that would lead to religious confrontations. As a result, this religious language helped the first missionaries to conceptualise Muslim populations and Islamic rules in the context of a spiritual warfare of light versus darkness, especially during and after the Greek War of Independence (1821-30). The war produced a conceptualisation of the Ottoman state and Islamic rule as an implacable enemy of Christianity. The missionaries' writings also included invaluable information regarding demographics and Muslims' cultural practices. Biblical imagery and tropes remained a core element of official missionary writings published in *The Missionary Herald*.

The first generation of missionaries were prolific writers. In addition to *The Missionary Herald*, their experiences were recorded in numerous

other publications. A few years after Fisk's death in 1825, the *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A.M., late missionary to Palestine* (1828) was edited by Alvan Bond. Similarly, after Parsons's death in 1822, the *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, first missionary to Palestine from the United States* (1830) was published, edited by Daniel O. Morton. Among the works of the first missionaries sent to the Ottoman Empire in the foundational years were Isaac Bird's (1793-1876) *Bible work in Bible lands; or, events in the history of Syria mission* (1872), William Goodell's (1792-1867) *Forty years in the Turkish Empire* (1876), Josiah Brewer's (1796-1872) *A residence at Constantinople, in the year 1827* (1830), and Daniel Temple's (1789-1851) *Life and letters of Rev. Daniel Temple* (1855). Each of these contained personal observations and reflections on the Ottoman Empire, including the state of Islam and Muslims. Other noteworthy accounts are Eli Smith's (1801-57) *Missionary sermons and addresses* (1833), William Goodell's *The old and the new, or, the changes of thirty years in the East* (1853), Joel Hawes's (1789-1867) *The religion of the East: with impressions of foreign travel* (1845), William M. Thomson's (1806-94) *The land and the book; or, biblical illustrations drawn from the manners and customs, the scenes and scenery of the Holy Land* (1858), William Schaufliker's (1798-1883) *Autobiography* (1887), Cyrus Hamlin's (1811-1900) *My life and times* (1893), James Barton's (1855-1936) *Daybreak in Turkey* (Boston MA, 1908), and Henry Harris Jessup's (1832-1910) *Fifty-three years in Syria* (1910).

Reports from the foundational years of the Board reflect a learning process for policy-making with regard to mission attempts and objectives. Eli Smith and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight's (1803-62) two-volume *Missionary researches in Armenia. Including a journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (1834) paved the way for a policy change. Although mainly dealing with the Christian communities, the book, together with prior observations and reports, persuaded the Board of the effectiveness of conducting missionary work aimed mainly towards Eastern Christians, specifically Armenians. This change was, however, unfortunate for James Lyman Merrick (1803-66), the first American Board missionary sent to Iran to proselytise among the Muslims there. The Board ended Merrick's overzealous activities soon after their commencement, and the ensuing conflict between Merrick and the Board shows the latter's resoluteness in its decision to focus its mission activities towards other Christians, not Muslims. After Merrick resisted the Board's orders, he was recalled. In his work, *A friendly tract* (1842), he displays his missionary zeal and evangelistic views, but with an empathetic stance towards

Islam and Muslims. In this regard, his understanding of Shī'a Islam is in stark contrast to the attitudes of his contemporaries. After the demise of the Persian mission, Merrick maintained his view that the Board had betrayed their missions to Muslims and treated him unjustly. In his bitterness, he wrote *An appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (1847).

The eagerness of the Armenian community to receive the missionaries' message was not the sole element that affected the policy change. The threat and danger of state persecution for proselytising Muslims restricted the Board as well. In fact, the missionaries never abandoned the hope of active proselytising, but the new situation redefined the relations of the Board and the missionaries to Islam. Except for a brief period following the Ottoman Hatt-i Humayun (imperial decree) of 1856, the Board limited its interactions with the Muslim population and developed deeper and increasingly confrontational relations with the Ottoman state. Writings from this period reflect missionary expectations of the emergence of a new modern state, which, in their understanding, would allow them to proselytise Muslims. The new mood can be observed in a letter written by Daniel Temple in 1839 (*Life and letters of Rev. Daniel Temple*, 1855) in which he praised the Edict of Gülhane of 1839, which officially initiated the Ottoman Tanzimat reform era. For Temple, the reforms were creating a new reality that would destabilise Islam.

The Board thought that the long-awaited opportunity to start a mission to Muslims finally came in 1856 with the declaration of the Hatt-i Humayun, Article 6 of which guaranteed freedom of belief and religious practice. *The Missionary Herald* celebrated the edict as the Magna Carta of the East, and immediately published an English translation. In the following eight years, the Board pursued an aggressive policy aimed at the conversion of Muslims. Their efforts created tensions among the ruling elite and the Muslim community of Istanbul, and it became apparent that the Board's interpretation of Article 6 was not shared by the Sublime Porte. The Ottoman state insisted that the edict was also intended to protect belief against attacks from third parties, namely the missionaries. Regardless of the tensions, missionary reports expressed optimism about opportunities and openings, but the tone of their writing gradually changed after 1860. Although they were still optimistic, there were constant complaints of persecutions of Christians.

One of the reasons for the complaints was the violent clashes among Muslims and Christians in Mount Lebanon. Following the Hatt-i Humayun, tensions in the region rose and the discontented Muslim community

attacked local Christians. The missionaries assessed the situation as arising mainly from religiously-based tension between Muslims and Christians, rather than as having cultural, political or economic causes. The articles 'Massacres of Christians at Sidon' (*Independent*, 1860), 'The civil war in Syria' (*New York Times*, 1860), 'Letter from Mr. Jessup' (*The Missionary Herald*, 1860), 'The slaughter of Christians' (*Providence Evening Press*, 1860), and 'French occupation of Syria' (*New York Observer*, 1860) present this standpoint.

Another reason for the growing discontent among Muslims in Istanbul was the activities of Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803-65) of the London-based Church Missionary Society (CMS). When he arrived in Istanbul in 1858, he was already well-known for converting Muslims in India and Central Asia. The Muslim world was well aware of his polemical approach and direct confrontation with Muslims and Islam through his works *Mizan ul haqq* (1829) and *Remarks on the nature of Muhammedanism* (1840). Pfander's aggressive proselytisation policy and his public attacks on Islam disturbed the Muslims. During his stay, he was in close contact with the ABCFM missionaries, but they gave him a distant and cold reception. Despite new hopes for a favourable atmosphere, the Board maintained its policy of discreetness. The missionaries were well aware of the effectiveness of state censorship laws and so refused to publish Pfander's book *Miftah-ul-asrar*. Henry Otis Dwight recalled the events in his book *Constantinople and its problems* (1901), and asserted that, along with censorship, the Board's policy of refraining from direct and public confrontations with Islam as an unprofitable missionary method played a role in their decisions. Goodell's *Forty years in the Turkish Empire* notes these events and recalls the Board's protests and warnings to Pfander not to adopt a quarrelsome attitude towards Muslims. Despite the Board's efforts, the Ottoman state took note of Pfander and the CMS's activities. It also noted that the ABCFM had converted a few Muslims, and in 1864 these converts were arrested and the Board's headquarters in Istanbul were raided, effectively ending the emerging ABCFM mission to Muslims.

In this period, missionary reports show that, regardless of their zeal to convert Muslims, the Board had limited knowledge of the Turkish Muslim portion of the population. Reports in *The Missionary Herald* indicate that, having dealt mainly with Armeno-Turkish (Turkish written in Armenian script) material and context, they could not competently address native Turkish speakers. More importantly, the missionaries confessed that they had little access to or understanding of what they called the

Turkish mind, namely the Turkish Muslim way of thinking and cultural values. After the crack-down on missionary activities began, their reports once more made use of aggressive and oppositional language reminiscent of the reports of the foundational years, full of imagery depicting the state and Muslims as agents of darkness and barbarity.

Starting in the 1850s, the ABCFM also developed relations with the Alevis, a local heterodox Muslim community that followed the teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin 'Alī and the Twelve Imams. Missionary reports and writings in *The Missionary Herald* express a high degree of interest and sympathy for the Alevis, and the missionaries pressed for them to be recognised as a separate religious entity within the Empire. However, state-imposed sanctions and the government's official position of discrimination towards the Alevi community blocked communication between missionaries and the Alevis until the beginning of the 20th century.

Having lost the opportunity to work among Muslims, the American missionary involvement evolved in a more politically nuanced way. Together with the rise of the United States as a global power, American missionaries gradually became more involved in the political problems of the Eastern Question, the term used for the ongoing power struggle among European states to benefit from the weakened position of the Ottoman Empire. Henry Harris Jessup (1832-1910), who was the president of the Syrian Protestant College at the time, stressed the importance of Western intervention to solve the question in a speech, 'The Mohammedan missionary problem', in 1878. Delivered in response to the Bulgarian struggle for independence from Ottoman rule, it was published as a book of the same name a year later. From Jessup's perspective, such an intervention could eliminate the obstacles that deterred mission work among Muslims. Notwithstanding the apparent failure to achieve this goal, Jessup published *The setting of the crescent and the rising of the cross; or Kamil Abdul Messiah, a Syrian convert from Islam to Christianity* in 1898. Although Jessup was affiliated to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions at the time, he arrived in the Ottoman Empire in 1855 as an ABCFM missionary and served the Board until 1870, when the Board's Syria Mission was transferred to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the ABCFM's involvement in the Eastern Question was impacted by the rise of the Social Gospel Movement, American nationalism and social Darwinism. The most influential



Illustration 9. Graduates of Anatolia College, Merzifon, Turkey, 1894. Armenian and Greek students stand behind their seated American professors

figure during these developments was the Protestant clergyman Josiah Strong (1847-1916), who had a wide network and was influential in the ABCFM. His work, *Our country. Its possible future and its present crisis* (1885), had a deep impact on American Protestant thought, and his defence of an imperial role for the US affected missionary discourse. In addition, missionary reactions to the Armenian massacres of 1894-6 reflected a more aggressive and nationalist attitude. As the region where the majority of the massacres took place was one of the most important mission fields for the Board, missionary reports in *The Missionary Herald* expressed initial shock and condemnation of Islamic rule and Muslim actions. As in previous confrontations with the state and the larger Muslim community, the missionary discourse resorted to confrontational language reminiscent of the metaphors and invectives of earlier times.

Apart from the officially approved reports in *The Missionary Herald*, the missionaries provided American and English media with their usually anonymous accounts of the events. The massacres, however, triggered the publication of numerous books. Frederick Davis Greene's (1863-1962) *The Armenian crisis in Turkey* (1895) was praised by the ABCFM president, James Barton, and Josiah Strong's introduction increased its

popularity. *Turkey and the Armenian atrocities* (1896), written by Edwin Munsell Bliss (1848-1919), depicted the events as a war between Muslims and Christians. The book portrayed Muslims and the state as inherently violent actors in opposition to the peaceful Christians. The writing of the book was assisted by Cyrus Hamlin, among others, though Hamlin's own memoir, *Among the Turks* (1877), which was written before the massacres, had a milder and a more friendly tone. Hamlin not only enumerated some positive aspects of Islam but also expressed optimistic views, within the confines of his religious and political beliefs, on the Muslims and Turks.

Although the ABCFM's lobbying efforts led by Josiah Strong in Washington could not persuade the government to engage in military actions in Anatolia, the 1900 article 'Our Mohammedan wards' by Henry Otis Dwight (1843-1917), published in the magazine *Forum*, exemplified the impact of American imperialism and interventionism within ABCFM missionary circles. After three decades of missionary work in the Ottoman Empire, Dwight articulated his ideas of Muslims as an unworthy and single-minded people. He wrote this against the backdrop of problems with the Muslim minority in the Philippines before American annexation. His position effectively summarised the missionary stance regarding Muslims and Islam at the turn of the century.

The 20th century saw a denouement of problems with Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire, and the American missionaries found themselves in the midst of rising global tensions. The outbreak of the First World War and the ensuing forced deportation of Armenians by the Ottoman state became the biggest challenge to their mission. Along with the forced deportation of several hundred thousand Armenians from Anatolia and the eastern Ottoman provinces to the mainly desert areas of Syria, the accompanying mass murders, death marches and forced conversions practically extinguished the Armenian presence in Anatolia. This led the missionaries of the ABCFM to play a crucial role in the establishment, by 1915, of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, later called Near East Relief. One of its co-founders was James L. Barton, a former missionary and the head of the Board. Along with help from philanthropists and other dedicated parties, this widespread missionary network later conducted relief work among the Greek, Armenian, Assyrian and other Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire who were displaced during and after the First World War. As the majority of Protestant converts were from the Armenian-speaking

portion of the population, the outcome of the War practically ended American missionary activity in the Ottoman Empire, leaving a small but dedicated portion of the school, print and medical network in Turkey to continue.

SIGNIFICANCE

The history and activities of the ABCFM, together with the writings of its missionaries as outlined above, provide a significant resource for understanding the missionary work of particular American Christians within the later Ottoman Empire, and hence the specific context of Christian-Muslim relations. Further, this resource provides insight into the ebb and flow of attitudes, values and assessments with respect to Islam and Muslims, as held more generally by 19th-century American Protestant Christians. This in turn arguably gives crucial insight into the views and attitudes of a considerable portion of 21st-century Christians, both within America and elsewhere, especially those who are deeply influenced by modern American Evangelical perceptions and values. Thus, with respect to this material, the significance of the 19th century is that it both represents something of an apex of the trajectory of Christian missionary perceptions of Islam and engagement in Christian-Muslim relations, at least on the part of American Protestant Evangelicals, and may be seen as a springboard for what has occurred in the 20th and early 21st centuries.

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Hami İnan Gümüş

Samuel M. Zwemer

DATE OF BIRTH 12 April 1867
PLACE OF BIRTH Vriesland, Michigan
DATE OF DEATH 2 April 1952
PLACE OF DEATH New York City

BIOGRAPHY

Dubbed the 'Apostle to Islam', Samuel Zwemer founded the American Reformed Church's Arabian Mission in the Arabian Peninsula. He was one of the central figures in the organisation of early international ecumenical conferences among Protestant mission agencies to evangelise Muslims around the world. He was also the founder of the journal *The Moslem World* (later renamed *The Muslim World*).

Zwemer was born into a large Huguenot-Dutch immigrant family as one of 15 children and reared in the Dutch Reformed community of western Michigan. He attended Hope College in Holland, Michigan, from 1883 to 1887. In 1887, he enrolled in the Reformed Church's seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey. There he befriended John G. Lansing, professor of Old Testament, who was the son of American Presbyterian missionaries in Syria and Egypt. Lansing encouraged Zwemer and two other classmates, James Cantine and Philip Phelps, to commit themselves to evangelical missions. It was under Lansing's tutelage that the idea of an Arabian mission was born.

After graduating from the seminary in 1890, Zwemer was ordained. He then left directly for Scotland to confer with the foreign missions committee of the Church of Scotland that had been working in Aden. He continued on to Beirut to study Arabic with several tutors, including Cornelius Van Dyck, and then travelled from Beirut to Cairo, Aden and Oman. He spent the next 16 years (1890-1906) as a peripatetic missionary based in Busra, Iraq, and later Bahrain. He met and married his wife, Amy Wilkes, who was a missionary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), in Busra. They had three daughters and a son. Two of the daughters died of dysentery in 1904.

In 1906, Zwemer was invited by several mission societies to organise an ecumenical missionary conference in Cairo. The conference was deemed such a success that Zwemer was elected the chairman of

an ongoing ecumenical committee on missions to Muslims. He was a prominent participant in the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference, and organised the Lucknow Mission Conference in 1911. During this same year, Zwemer founded *The Moslem World* journal, which he would go on to edit for 36 years.

In 1912, Zwemer created a missionary study centre on Islam and Muslim communities in Cairo. He believed that, by studying Islam, an evangelist could understand its weaknesses. Living in Cairo, he became well aware of how missionaries could utilise international colonial structures for their work and ease of travel for the ultimate 'disintegration of Islam', as he called it. However, during World War I it became clear to him that many Muslims living under colonial occupation believed that the war was punishment for a hypocritical Christendom and that such relationships could be a liability.

In 1928, Zwemer moved to the United States to take up a teaching post at Princeton Seminary as professor of the History of Religion and Christian Mission. In 1937, his wife died suddenly. He retired in 1938 and moved to New York City. In 1940, he met and married Margaret Clarke. He remained in New York, writing and speaking until his death in 1952.

It is difficult to overestimate the impact of Samuel Zwemer on Protestant missionary activity among Muslims or on Protestant thought on Islam. His indefatigable personality propelled him around the world, organising and attending evangelical conferences on Islam as well as preaching and speaking to Christian organisations to recruit missionaries and drum up financial support for evangelical missions focussed on the conversion of Muslims. He authored at least 56 books and 24 tracts. Often his speeches and sermons were produced in pamphlet form, for popular consumption in English, Arabic and Dutch, and then later republished. Through *The Moslem World*, Zwemer promoted active research on the anthropological and sociological perspectives of Muslim communities. During his time in Cairo and Princeton, he influenced numerous students who went on to become missionaries. He was dubbed 'a steam engine in breeches' (Wilson, 'Legacy of Samuel M. Zwemer', p. 119) because of his unrelenting energy. He is considered the father of modern evangelical missions to Muslims and has several evangelical missionary schools and centres named after him. His ideas continue to influence Christian evangelical thought on Islam.

This entry focuses on his major writings on Islam from 1900 to 1914, during his time in the Arabian Gulf and then in Egypt.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Arabia. The cradle of Islam

DATE 1900

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Arabia. The cradle of Islam. Studies in the geography, people and politics of the peninsula with an account of Islam and mission-work is a 424-page study of the history, cultural traditions and development of Islam in the Arabian Gulf. Complete with images of 'typical Arabs', illustrations, charts, census figures and maps, it provides one of the most comprehensive studies of Islam in the Middle East during the late 19th century by a Western evangelical missionary. Zwemer attempts to 'trace the spiritual as well as the physical geography of Arabia by showing how Islam grew out of the earlier Judaism, Sabaenism and Christianity' for the purpose of assisting Christian missionaries to understand and then engage in missionary work among Arab Muslims (1900 edition, p. 5). For Zwemer, Arabia is the 'centre of the Moslem world', and thus, in order to conquer Islam, one needs to understand it.

The book is organised into 36 chapters, followed by several appendices on the history and literature of the Arabs. Chs 1-15 describe the geography and history of the various sections of the peninsula: the Hejaz, Yemen, Oman, the 'Pearl Islands of the Gulf', the marshes and mouth of the Euphrates, and then conclude with the central and eastern sections of the peninsula. Chs 16-18 review the history of 'the time of ignorance'

before Muḥammad, the life of the Prophet and the Qur'an, primarily from various Western historical sources. Chs 19-23 review the political context of the various lands; these include Wahhabi rule, independent gulf shaykhs, the Turks and the British. Chs 24-9 highlight Arab culture, its language, traditions and non-Muslim religions, specifically the Sabeans and Arab Christians. The concluding chapters, 30-6, review the history of Western Christian missions to Arabia, including a tribute to Zwemer's own brother Peter, who died in Muscat, Oman, after five years as a missionary. Ch. 36 is an exhortation to Christian readers to promote and engage in evangelical missionary activity to preach to Arab Muslims. The comprehensive bibliography demonstrates a wide-reaching engagement with the most prominent Orientalist studies, as well as Arabic literature. This bibliography was the culmination of ten years' exhaustive study of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. Zwemer's access to even the latest works on Islam by Western scholars is noteworthy. Two Western sources that shaped much of his early thought were S.H. Koelle's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (1889) and W.G. Palgrave's *Travels in Eastern Arabia* (1863).

Zwemer conveys several important perspectives in the area of Christian-Muslim relations. First, counter to a prevailing view that Muḥammad raised the moral and spiritual life of the Arabs, Zwemer argues that this is only half true; the cultural and religious level of the Yemeni Arabs under Jewish and Christian rule reached higher levels of advancement than under Islamic rule. Second, in relation to the status of women, Zwemer goes against a prevailing opinion that Muḥammad advanced the status of women from the 'time of ignorance'. He writes, 'Mohammed improved on the barbaric method and discovered a way by which not some but *all* females could be buried alive without being murdered – namely, the veil' (p. 161). He argues that the status of women declined under Islamic law from the pre-Islamic period. Finally, he remarks that Muḥammad was mostly silent on the positive impact of Jews and Christians among polytheistic Arabs. This is primarily because, for Zwemer, Muḥammad created a new religion 'modified by his own needs and character' out of parts of polytheistic Arab traditions (such as the black stone in the Ka'ba), Judaism (the Old Testament prophets) and heretical forms of Christianity (regarding Mary as a god) (pp. 168, 36, 159 n. 1, 306). It was this combination of Arabian religious perspectives that Muḥammad compiled into 'his Qur'an', in which he portrayed God as 'an Oriental despot' and whose religion is devoid of morality (pp. 175, 190). Zwemer

would continue to focus on his belief in the inability of Islam to respond to the spiritual and moral needs of humanity throughout his whole life. It would be a common theme in writings, speeches and sermons. He maintains that, compared with the life of Jesus and the development of the early Church, 'the Arabian prophet stands self-condemned [...] he broke repeatedly every sacred precept of the Sermon on the Mount' (p. 182, also p. 184). Finally, Zwemer claims that the biography of the historical Muḥammad was expanded upon and fictionalised by later followers so that his life would stand up to that of the Jesus of the Christians. Whereas the Qur'an, which for Zwemer was Muḥammad's book, recognised his humanity and character flaws, the Islamic tradition created a prophet who was 'sinless and almost divine', having performed a variety of miracles (pp. 184-6). One can see, then, how Zwemer would later develop the idea in *The Moslem Christ* (1912) that by going back to Muḥammad's Qur'an, and not to the Islamic tradition, one could yet find the kernel of the Jesus of Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Arabia was Samuel Zwemer's first major publication. It quickly established him as a leading Western evangelical Christian 'scholar/missionary' of Islam. The bibliography in *Arabia* demonstrated that, in the ten years since his arrival in the Arabian Gulf as a peripatetic missionary, Zwemer had learned Arabic well enough to read primary source material. He also devoured most of the secondary literature about Islam written in the West. He had become conversant in the prominent Orientalist literature and perspectives on Islam.

Arabia solidified Zwemer's view of Islam as a monolithic entity, based on a traditionally 'backward' Bedouin society that was out of step not only with the modern world, but also with the religious needs of humanity. In other words, Zwemer's experience of the late 19th-century Arab culture of the Arabian Gulf, especially the Wahhabi perspective, was for him the underlying bedrock of Islam and its religious tenets. This was the 'cradle' from which Muḥammad developed his religious and political views. While Zwemer would eventually go on to broaden his perspectives on Islam, by travelling to India, China and other areas of the world with Muslim communities, and while he would deepen his understanding of the theological or philosophical traditions of Islamic thought through his study of al-Ghazālī, his basic concepts of Islam changed little through the years. Islam was still a 'problem', primarily because it had no concept of sin and it led to immorality. Islam was to be overcome through polite

but direct engagement, preaching where possible, and the distribution of Christian literature. Zwemer's perspective and his writings are still prominent among evangelical Christians in the 21st century.

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Raymund Lull. First missionary to the Moslems

DATE 1902

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Raymund Lull is a short 171-page work. It is the first English language biography of the 14th-century Catalan missionary, known as *doctor illuminatus*. The life of Raymund Lull (1235-1315) can be found in several earlier studies on missions, but this is the first full-length biography in English. Zwemer utilised other important studies, including Adolf Helffrich's *Raymund Lull und die Anfäng d. Catalanischen Literature* (Berlin, 1858) and Adolf Keller's *Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen d. Islam bis zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Leipzig, 1896).

The biography has ten chapters, including an opening chapter on European views of the 'Saracens' during the medieval period, followed by eight chapters that provide an overview of Lull's life. A concluding chapter highlights Lull as a pioneer and the first true missionary to Muslims, who possessed 'a powerful intellect, loving heart, and efficiency in practical things' (p. 147). Zwemer notes that, as a missionary undertaking great risk and danger to cross the Mediterranean and evangelise Muslims in North Africa, Lull had been a more effective missionary than any other Christian before the present time. However, now that Britain and the other Western powers occupied most of the Muslim world, 'The keys to every gateway in the Moslem world are to-day in the political grasp of Christian Powers, with the exception of Mecca and Constantinople' (1902 edition, p. 153).

In addition to the narrative of Lull's life, Zwemer also includes pictures and illustrations of Lull's grave and other monuments in Majorca, as well as pictures of Bugia, Algeria, the reported location of his martyrdom for publicly preaching against Islam. Two final bibliographies list Lull's known writings and other Western works about him. Zwemer describes the comprehensiveness of Lull's studies and claims that he wrote over four thousand works, which are mostly lost to history. He 'was a philosopher, a poet, a novelist, a writer of proverbs, a keen logician, a deep theologian, and a fiery controversialist. There was not a science cultivated in his age to which he did not add' (p. 114). Lull developed a philosophical system of apologetics, and is prominently known for his fictional work *Blanquerna*, which Zwemer describes as a 'predecessor to Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"' (p. 128).

SIGNIFICANCE

Zwemer describes Raymund Lull as an authentic missionary who connected 'the apostles of Northern Europe and the leaders who followed the Reformation' (p. xxi). He describes how Lull laid before several pontiffs ideas to train missionaries for the Muslim world, though these did not gain favour. However, in 1311 the Council of Vienne at last agreed to create professorships of Oriental languages at the major universities of Paris, Salamanca and Oxford. 'He anticipated Loyola, Zinzendorf, and Duff' (p. 79), who focussed on education as a method of evangelism. In this regard, Zwemer sees Lull as 'less Roman and more Catholic', or even a precursor of Protestantism.

The relationship between Christians and Muslims is described by Zwemer as a history of conflict, in which '[t]he Mohammedan world was more of a unit, and from Bagdad to Morocco Moslems felt that the Crusades had been a defeat for Christendom' (p. 48). Thus, Lull was prepared to 'attack with the new weapons of love and learning instead of the Crusaders' weapons of fanaticism and the sword' (p. 49). In the final chapter of the biography, Zwemer briefly describes the ongoing reform in Islam in Egypt, India, Persia and Turkey, which he saw 'preparing the way for the conquest of the cross' (p. 155) if only some would follow in the path of Raymund Lull.

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The Moslem doctrine of God

DATE 1905

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Moslem Doctrine of God (in full, *The Moslem doctrine of God. An essay on the character and attributes of Allah according to the Koran and orthodox tradition*) is a 120-page study published by the American Tract Society in New York. Zwemer's intention here is to critique the concept of God, not of the 'Moslems of Liverpool nor the reformers of Islam in India, but of the vast orthodox majority of the people both the learned and the illiterate' (1905 edition, p. 9). He then focuses on the popular piety of Muslims in the Wahhabi movement in early 20th-century Arabia and several classical Islamic sources, and argues that this movement is the most authentic version of Islam as portrayed in the Qur'an and the Hadith.

Zwemer explores the various Muslim understandings of God's attributes through a direct reading of the Qur'an in Arabic and the Hadith in the *Mishkāṭ al-masābīḥ*, as well as through the Qur'an commentaries of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286) and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), and the understanding of God as presented by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and al-Shahrastānī (d. 1158). In addition to utilising Muslim sources, Zwemer relies heavily on Western Orientalist material, including William Gifford Palgrave's *Narrative of a year's journey through central and eastern Arabia* (1862-3), Thomas P. Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam* (1885), Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (1708), and William St Clair Tisdall's *The religion of the crescent* (1895). He also makes some limited use of Aloys Sprenger's *Das Leben und die Lehre von Mohammad* (1869), Abraham Geiger's English translation of *Judaism and Islam* (1898), and Johannes Hauri's *Der Islam in seinem Einfluss auf das Leben seiner Bekenner* (1882), among others. It was this appeal to a wide variety of Arabic and Western sources that boosted Zwemer's reputation as the most important Christian evangelical scholar of Islam of the early 20th century.

The tract is organised into eight chapters. Ch. 1 explores the *shahāda* and its ethical implications, which Zwemer finds wanting. Chs 2-4 examine the essence and attributes of God through the Ninety-Nine Names of God. Ch. 5 scrutinises what he determines to be the capricious nature of a completely transcendent God who requires obedience. Ch. 6 juxtaposes the orthodox 'Moslem idea of God' with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Ch. 7 compares the Calvinist view of predestination with the Muslim understanding of *qadar*, which he calls 'fatalism'. The final chapter is Zwemer's overall assessment of what he believes is the inadequate view of God held in Wahhabism, which he considers to be Islamic orthodoxy.

For Zwemer, the Muslim view of God is that of a capricious despot, a 'poor' representation of the God of the Old and New Testaments in Christianity. Like other Christian critics before him, he asserts that Muḥammad composed the Qur'an and utilised various Jewish and heterodox Christian ideas, along with various pre-Islamic Arab polytheistic perspectives (p. 19). He sees Islam as formulaic without the concepts of ethics or morality: 'Prayer is reduced to a gymnastic exercise and a mechanical act' (p. 100); 'As regards the oral code Islam is phariseism translated into Arabic' (p. 52). However, unlike some other Western Orientalists who argued that Muḥammad's understanding of Christianity

was skewed as a result of his exposure to heretical or heterodox forms of Christianity in Arabia, Zwemer agrees with Sigismund Koelle, who in *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (1889) argued that Muḥammad was actually exposed to orthodox Christianity and thus made a 'deliberate rejection of the Christian idea of the Godhead' (p. 92).

SIGNIFICANCE

The Moslem doctrine of God was Samuel Zwemer's first published theological tract. In it, he argues for the incongruence between the Islamic and Christian understandings of God. Following on the heels of the inaugural Parliament of World Religions in Chicago in 1893, he resisted any positive view of comparative religion: 'No parliament of religions can reconcile such fundamental deep-rooted differences. [...] Christian monotheism is as superior to Mohammedan monotheism as Christ is superior to Mohammed' (p. 120). For Zwemer, Christian superiority originates in the Christian concept of human sin and the response of God's love. He writes that the 'cross of Christ is the missing link in the Moslem's creed. Without the doctrine of the cross there is no possible unity in the doctrine of the divine attributes; for the mystery of redemption is the key to all other mysteries of theology' (p. 116). According to Zwemer, Muslims live in fear of death and the capricious nature of an arbitrary and despotic God (p. 102).

This tract was shorter and more portable than his earlier *Arabia. The cradle of Islam* (1900). It was quicker to read and more accessible to a wider audience. Zwemer's interaction with the Arabic sources of Muslim popular piety and the use of Western Orientalist sources on Islam confirmed him as the premier polemical 'scholar-missionary' of Islam among Western Christians interested in evangelisation among Muslims.

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Islam. A challenge to faith

DATE 1907

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This 281-page book (its full title is *Islam. A challenge to faith. Studies on the Mohammedan religion and the needs and opportunities of the Mohammedan world from the standpoint of Christian missions*) was intended to be a wide-ranging resource for Christians interested in or working towards the evangelisation of Muslims around the world. It is a collection of materials, papers and information that Zwemer garnered after the 1906 Cairo missionary conference, the purpose of which had been to provide data on the current state of Islam in its various contexts around the world as presented by missionaries and mission societies. Zwemer writes, 'If we are to reach the world with the gospel of Christ we must first know of it and know it' (1907 edition, p. vii). *Islam* represents Zwemer's method of engagement with the Muslim world: to provide

sociological and systematic information so that missionaries would have better knowledge of Islam, in order to combat it. 'To deal effectively with a community professing the religion of the Koran and guided by its highly systematized theology [...] we need a body of men in each mission area possessing a competent knowledge of Arabic and Moslem theology, while the rank and file should have a correct acquaintance with the doctrines, duties, facts and customary terminology of Islam', he writes (p. 253). The book is mostly a compilation of the vast material presented at the conference by missionaries from around the world.

The work is divided into 11 chapters. Chs 1-3 focus on the history of Islam and the life of Muḥammad, while chs 4-6 deal with the beliefs, piety and ethics of Islam. Ch. 7 reviews the various Muslim schools of thought, sects and Sufi orders, and ch. 8 describes the sociological and political state of 'the Moslem world' by providing statistics and maps. Zwemer makes two important points in this chapter. The first is that Islam contributes to the social and moral degradation of Muslims. 'There is no better proof of the inadequacy of the religion of Mohammed than a study of the present intellectual, social and moral condition[s]' (p. 173). The second is that Zwemer recognises the work of several Muslim reformists, specifically Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of India and Muḥammad 'Abduh of Egypt, though he calls these 'new wine of free thought and education into the old wine-skins of Moslem orthodoxy' (p. 179).

Chs 9-11 shift to methods of Christian mission among Muslims. Zwemer includes a brief history of Christian attitudes toward Islam, including those of John of Damascus, Raymond Lull, Henry Martyn and Karl Pfander. The final chapter is a plea for increased evangelical mission to Muslims. Throughout the work this plea is encapsulated in violent imagery as a spiritual crusade to combat the forces of evil in order to occupy Muslim lands for Christ. He writes, 'The time is ripe for a world-wide spiritual crusade for the conquest of Islam' (p. 254). What makes this possible, in his view, is the current role of colonialism. He notes that over half of the Islamic world is under the rule or occupation of Christian nations, which provides for 'a free press, free speech and liberty to confess Christ' (p. 244).

The book concludes with appendices containing writings by several missionaries, a list of mission agencies, and a fairly extensive annotated bibliography of works on Islam written by Western Orientalists and missionaries. Of particular interest is his annotation to T.W. Arnold's *The preaching of Islam* (Westminster, 1896), where he writes that the work

is 'the fullest and best account of the spread of Islam. [...] The author, however, is an apologist for Islam, and tries to show that the sword was not used to any large extent in the propagation of this faith' (p. 272). Arnold's view goes against Zwemer's consistent argument that Islam is a violent religion that keeps its adherents captive to moral and spiritual degradation.

SIGNIFICANCE

Islam. A challenge to faith is the result of Zwemer's interaction with Christian missionaries from around the world who were gathered in Cairo for the 1906 missionary conference. He utilised the work of these missionaries to gather statistics, descriptions and analyses in order to produce data. Thus, the work became an important reference for missionaries, agencies and Christian associations involved with or interested in Christian evangelisation among Muslims at the beginning of the 20th century. Its various editions and translations into German and Dutch demonstrate its popularity. This work propelled Zwemer onto the world stage among Christians engaged in mission among Muslims, and would lead to his participation in the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh.

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Samuel M. Zwemer, *Islam. A challenge to faith*, New York, 1909², 100219335 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

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- G. Eddy, *Pathfinders of the world missionary crusade*, New York, 1945, pp. 240-7
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The Moslem Christ

DATE 1912

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Moslem Christ. An essay on the life, character, and teachings of Jesus Christ according to the Koran and orthodox tradition is a 198-page study

of ʿĪsā. Zwemer writes, 'With regret it must be admitted that there is hardly an important fact of the life, person, and work of our Saviour which is not ignored, perverted, or denied by Islam' (1912 edition, p. 7). Zwemer based his research on the Qur'an and Islamic literature, including the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. While Zwemer does use an Arabic text of the Qur'an, he primarily refers to E.H. Palmer's 1880 English translation for his readers. The majority of the stories of Christ come from al-Thaʿlabī's (d. 1035) *ʿArāʾis al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. However, he also utilises the important qur'anic commentaries by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505). In addition, he consults Cheikho's *Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes* (Beirut, 1910) in interpreting Muḥammad's biography. Zwemer also draws heavily on S.W. Koelle's work *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (1889), and W. St Clair Tisdall's *The original sources of the Quran* (1905). These works, like other, medieval Christian sources before them, assume that Muḥammad created Islam from a mixture of Arabian culture, heretical Christianity and Judaism. Zwemer notes that Muḥammad could have thoroughly acquainted himself with Christianity, given the presence of Christians such as Waraqa ibn Nawfal, his wife Khadija's cousin, his wife who converted to Christianity in Abyssinia, and his other wife Mary, who was a Copt. Like Koelle, Zwemer argues that Muḥammad deliberately distorted Christianity for his own purposes, referring to this as Muḥammad's genius.

The work is organised into eight chapters and a bibliography. Ch. 1 reviews the titles and names given to Christ in the Qur'an and their significance. Ch. 2 reviews the life and ministry of Christ as portrayed in the Qur'an, while chs 3 and 4 refer to other Islamic sources on his 'death, ascension, and return'. Chs 5, 6 and 7 compare Christ's role and purpose in the New Testament with the Islamic portrayal of Christ. Zwemer writes, 'There is no doubt that much of the traditional account of the life of Jesus Christ came from the lips of Mohammed but was not recorded in the Koran' (p. 54). The final chapter is an exhortation to use the Qur'an as a point of contact to introduce Muslims to the Christ of the Bible.

In *The Moslem Christ* Zwemer argues that Muḥammad had no concept of sin and therefore no concept of Christology. For Zwemer, the Islamic sources 'have clearly shown that Christ has a place in Islam as one of the greater Prophets, and that the Koran gives precious glimpses of the Messiah's greatness, but yet falls short of unveiling his glorious perfection and Divine majesty. Mohammed leads his followers to the portal, but he

fails to open the door' (p. 113). This is particularly true, argues Zwemer, in reference to the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Jesus as the 'Son of God'. It is later Muslim tradition and history that create further perversion. He writes, 'The pre-existence of Christ is everywhere denied, while Moslem tradition is full of stories about the Light of Mohammed, created before all things and existing before all worlds. It seems incredible that Islam, while imputing to Mohammed that which he never asserted of in which he objects to the doctrine of Christ's deity, urges that Mohammed is superior to Christ in every respect' (pp. 116-17), and 'Every detail of the life of Jesus Christ has been imitated and parodied by Mohammed's later biographers and admirers' (p. 161). In addition, Zwemer recognises that later Muslim authors argue that it was the disciples of Christ who corrupted the original message of the Prophet ʿĪsā.

Of particular interest to Zwemer are the Islamic traditions of the return of Christ, the empty tomb in Medina where he is to be laid to rest in the Prophet's mosque (p. 109), and the role of Christ in foretelling the coming of Muḥammad in the Bible (p. 131).

SIGNIFICANCE

Zwemer ultimately subjects Muḥammad to a scathing critique by the standards of Christian theology: he lacks understanding of sin, the concept of justification by faith, and the love of God. Zwemer's concluding chapter offers a plea for the Christian evangelist to show Muslims the Christian Jesus who can provide 'spiritual regeneration and moral reformation' (p. 179). For Zwemer, this can be done by removing the layers of Islamic tradition and stories, and focusing on the qur'anic Christ 'to see what Mohammed taught' (p. 187). This would allow the Christian evangelist to redirect a Muslim to the Bible.

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- J. Wilson, *Flaming prophet*, New York, 1970
- J. Wilson, *Apostle to Islam*, Grand Rapids MI, 1953

The Moslem World

DATE 1911-present

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

After the 1906 Cairo missionary conference and the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, Samuel Zwemer desired to create 'an English quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans as they affect the Church of Christ and its missionary programme. If the Churches of Christendom are to reach the Moslem world with the Gospel, they must know of it and know it'. The purpose of the periodical was to provide information and data on Islam, 'in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual, to Christians; to point out and press home the true solution of the Moslem problem, namely, the evangelisation of Moslems [... on] how to win Moslems to Christ' (*The Moslem World* 1 [January 1911] 2-3). Zwemer succeeded in creating an international journal that has been published quarterly to

the present day. This entry reviews the periodical in its early years from 1911 to 1914. (For further information on the journal, see the section on 'studies'.)

The Moslem World was originally published by the Nile Mission Press in Egypt and the Christian Missionary Society for India in England. Zwemer was the sole editor, but was assisted by numerous other missionaries working among Muslim communities. In 1938, the journal was relocated and then published by the Hartford Seminary Foundation (later the Hartford Seminary, Hartford CT), the site of the Kennedy School of Missions. It was at this time that a colleague of Zwemer's, Edwin Calverly, became the co-editor until Zwemer's death in 1952. During his time as editor, Zwemer penned 82 editorials and 91 articles for the journal. He was also responsible for compiling many of the bibliographies and quarterly surveys of published literature on Islam, which reflected his awareness of the contemporary research on Islam and Muslim communities being undertaken by Western scholars.

As editor, Zwemer normally provided a short editorial for each edition, unless his various international travels prohibited him from making the deadline. These editorials were often short homilies or reflections used in public speeches or sermons then re-adapted for the journal based upon a theme in the articles (such as the life of the Prophet in October 1911, or Women in Islam in July 1914), or an important historical moment that impacted the evangelisation of the Muslim world (such as the 1911 Iranian constitutional revolution, or the outbreak of hostilities that began World War I in autumn 1914). The editorial was followed by several articles on Islam or research on Muslim communities around the world, written by a wide array of missionaries, missiologists and Orientalists from Europe who were often regular contributors to the journal (such as Temple Gairdner, William St Clair Tisdall, Elwood Morris Wherry and D.S. Margoliouth).

Zwemer wanted to provide up-to-date information on the study of Islam. Thus, each quarterly edition included a 'Survey of the recent periodical literature on Islam' in English, French and German (at least until the start of World War I), and book reviews on recently published works on Islam. Reflecting the fact that the journal was truly missionary in outlook, each edition also included a 'Missionary news' section on recent activities of missions in various parts of the Muslim World, and 'Notes on current topics'. These 'notes' were short bits of information on what might be considered interesting topics on Islam or evangelisation

among Muslims that were not full length articles or were not academic in nature. In many ways, the periodical reflected what was common in other missionary society periodicals.

In April 1912, Zwemer contributed the article 'A new statistical survey' (*The Moslem World* 2 [April 1912] 145-6), which was a notable census of Muslim populations. He used a variety of sources, including missionary studies and government estimates from around the world. While the accuracy of the numbers themselves is not necessarily significant, the article demonstrates the length to which Zwemer went in collecting and organising data to support evangelisation. One important conclusion he draws in this article is that 83% of the world's Muslims were under British or Western rule, and only 6½% under the rule of the Ottoman Caliphate, with the rest living under independent Muslim rule (p. 147). The implication of this statement was that the vast majority of Muslim communities were within reach of Western missionaries through support by Christian colonial governments. By 1914, however, Zwemer would begin to re-think such assumptions. He recognised that Muslim leaders were beginning to articulate what they saw as the hypocrisy of 'Christian love' as exhibited by 'Christian nations' engaged in the barbarity of war. The colonial system became a liability for missionaries as the 'war to end all wars' negatively impacted the Muslim-majority colonies and even Muslim populations in the US-occupied Philippines.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Moslem World was the brainchild of Samuel Zwemer, and the practical result of the 'political will' of mission agencies after the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, that an international Protestant ecumenical missionary journal in the English language should be established for the purpose of evangelisation of the Muslim world.

In October 1947, the journal changed its name from *The Moslem World* to *The Muslim World*. This was accompanied by a modification in the direction from Zwemer's initial focus on the 'true solution of the Moslem problem, namely the evangelization of Moslems'. The subtitle of the journal would change several times, noting its shift from a missionary periodical to Christian reflection on Islam and then to an academic religious studies journal: from 'A Quarterly Review of History, Culture, Religions and the Christian Mission in Islamdom', to 'A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Study and Christian Interpretation among Muslims', to 'The study of Islam and of Christian-Muslim relationship in past and present'. Ultimately, the journal has become 'dedicated to the promotion and

dissemination of scholarly research on Islam and Muslim societies and on historical and current aspects of Muslim-Christian relations'.

One cannot overestimate the impact of Duncan Black Macdonald at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford on this shift in focus. Macdonald authored numerous articles, and was the teacher and colleague of many of the contributors, including Edwin Calverly, who served as co-editor from 1937. However, the journal changed dramatically with the co-editorship of Calverly and Kenneth Cragg from 1953 until 1960, when it began to emphasise a more dialogical approach to Islam.

It is hoped [...] that studies here presented may be instruments of harmony and peace between peoples. If Christians and Muslims have faced each other on the battlefield in past centuries, hostilities need not necessarily be perpetuated now or in the future. A more accurate reading of Scripture and understanding of what God requires of man may enable him to appraise more adequately his duty to God and his responsibilities toward his fellow-men. (Douglas, 'After fifty years', p. 241)

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W.A. Bijlefeld, 'The Muslim World. Hundred years of continuity and change', *The Muslim World* 100 (2010) 539-44

C. Lamb, 'The editorials of *The Muslim World*, 1911-1968', *The Muslim World* 71 (1981) 3-26

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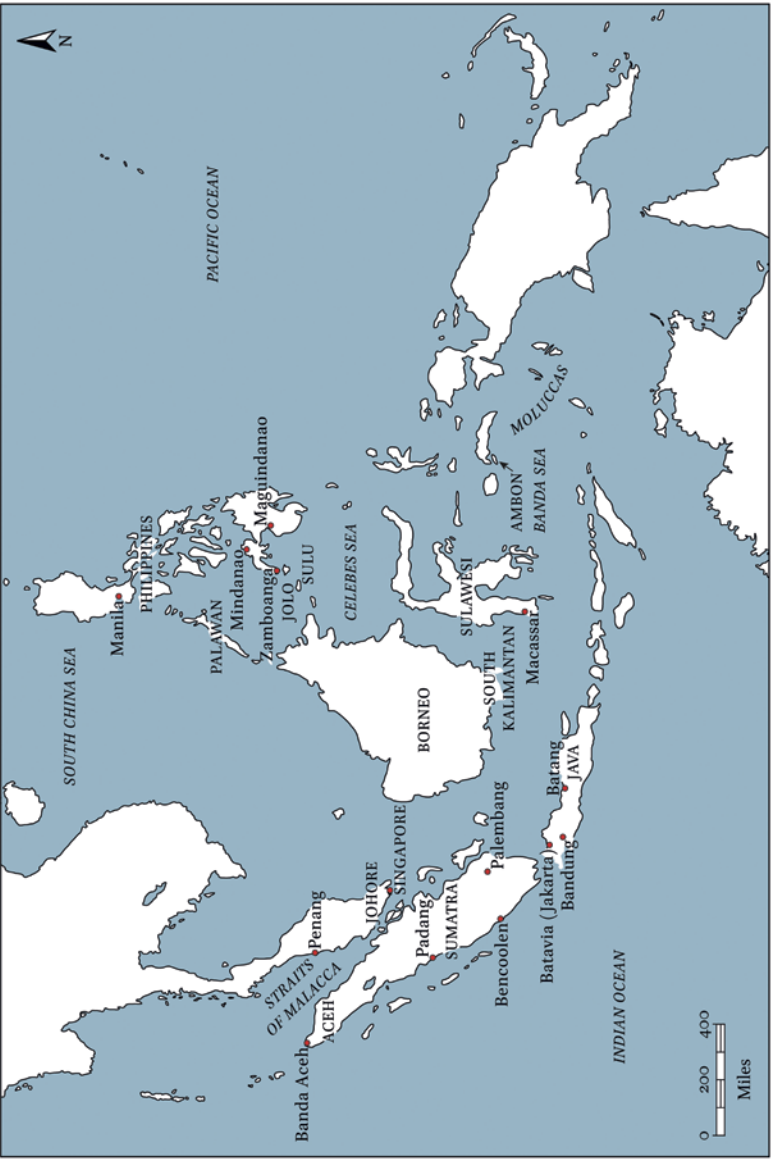
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S.M. Zwemer, 'Looking backward and forward from the bridge', *The Moslem World* 37 (July 1947) 173-6

D.B. Macdonald, 'Vita nuova', *The Moslem World* 28 (1938) 1-3

David D. Grafton

Asia and Australasia



Map 2. South-East Asia



Map 3. China and Japan



Map 4. Australasia and the Western Pacific

Introduction

Peter Riddell and Douglas Pratt

This volume includes South-East and North-East Asia together with Australasia, effectively Australia, New Zealand and the western Pacific. What follows in this introduction is an outline that highlights some key dynamics within these regions, together with features distinctive to them.

South-East Asia

By the beginning of the 19th century, Christians and Muslims had been interacting in South-East Asia for over half a millennium. Meetings had ranged from early trading encounters, in which matters of faith were marginal, to violent clashes in which faith differences were significant causes of conflict. The 19th century continued this pattern of varied interaction.

Traditional oppositions

Traditional expressions of mutual suspicion and opposition were found across the South-East Asian region. Some Christian authors expressed attitudes that were disdainful of Muslims. The American Presbyterian missionary Elwood Morris Wherry (1843-1927),¹ who was based in India, commented on the lack of morality and resistance to progress among Muslims in South-East Asia, in contrast to the selfless service underpinning the education and health facilities provided by Christian missionaries. Vicente Barrantes (1829-98)² also took a hostile line. Secretary to the civil governor of the Philippines for two years in the late 1860s, he justified the Spanish campaigns to seize the Muslim sultanates as a means of eradicating Muslim piracy, attributing to it responsibility for blocking Catholic missionary activities in the southern regions. The Church

¹ See M. Ebenezer and C.M. Ramsey, 'Elwood Morris Wherry', in *CMR* 16, 371-84.

² See I. Donoso, 'Vicente Barrantes', in *CMR* 16, 544-6.

Missionary Society missionary John Muehleisen Arnold (1817-81),³ who had extensive experience of encountering Muslims in the Levant, Ethiopia, India and the Dutch East Indies, held similar negative views. His method of drawing a simple contrast between Christians and Muslims, illustrated in *Kind words and loving counsel to the Malays and other Moslems* (Cape Town, 1879), echoes traditional opposition down the centuries:

Christians became a church, [...] people of peace, people of truth. [...] The Moslems, on the other hand, have conquered many countries, have made themselves kings by violence, they delight in fighting and conquering and bringing people to slavery. (p. 5)

At the same time, Muslims expressed suspicion about Christianity and Christians in South-East Asia, and often looked on them with disdain. The Mecca-based scholar Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Daḥlān (1816-86)⁴ issued a number of dismissive *fatāwā* in response to questions from the region, including, 'A Muslim should avoid wearing any article of dress which is typical of the infidels', and 'The children of an unbeliever should be judged according to the unbelief of their father.'⁵ In addition, references to *jihād* were heard in various contexts during the 19th century, drawing on images from Islamic scripture to portray Christians as 'infidels' and enemies. These references were usually made in response to encroachments on Islamic territory by European colonial powers.

A key event in this regard was the long Aceh War, which lasted from 1873 to 1903.⁶ The Treaty of Sumatra, signed on 2 November 1871 by the British and Dutch, provided clear demarcation of spheres of influence between the two colonial powers, allowing the Dutch a free hand to move into the north Sumatran region of Aceh, the seat of the ancient sultanate. In response, the Acehnese sought support from the French, the Ottoman Turks and the USA, but to no avail. In this 30-year conflict, the motives of the Dutch and the methods they employed were little different from earlier colonial wars, while the religious motives of the Acehnese can be seen in the epic poem *Hikayat prang sabil*, in which Acehnese warriors were promised entry to paradise if they were martyred, to be welcomed by 'heavenly nymphs dressed only in thin veils'.

³ See P.G. Riddell, 'Johan Muehleisen Arnold', forthcoming in *CMR* 17.

⁴ See N. Kaptein, 'Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Daḥlān', in *CMR* 16, 564-6.

⁵ N. Kaptein, *The Muḥimmāt al-naḥā'is. A bilingual Meccan fatwa collection for Indonesian Muslims from the end of the nineteenth century*, Jakarta, 1997.

⁶ See K. Steenbrink, 'Acehnese, Dutch and Malay authors on the Aceh War', in *CMR* 16, 592-601.

Meanwhile, Acehese rulers appealed to the Ottomans in pan-Islamic terms to come to the assistance of their kingdom and fight 'the infidel Dutch, enemies of God and his Prophet'.⁷

Some resemblance to the Acehese context is found in the Malay writings on the Banjar War, a conflict that was triggered by Dutch pursuit of the trade in coal in the Sultanate of Banjar. A revolt in 1859 against the Dutch and their Banjarese allies assumed apocalyptic dimensions, with calls for jihad issued during the peak phase (1859-66).⁸

Perceptions of Muslim backwardness

A number of 19th-century writers focusing on South-East Asian contexts regarded Muslims as backward when compared with Europeans. While such views were expressed by European Christian authors, it is perhaps surprising that some Muslims also held similar opinions. Such a perception was articulated by Elwood Morris Wherry, as is indicated above. Moreover, the English naturalist and missionary G.T. Lay (c. 1805-45) described the sounds made during a Sufi *dhikr* gathering that he witnessed while he was visiting Brunei in 1837 as like 'something between a bark and a grunt, which a herd of swine gives out when unexpectedly aroused from their slumbers [...] the noise is ludicrous in the highest degree'.⁹

The prolific Dutch author Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936),¹⁰ who served as Advisor on Native Affairs to the Netherlands East Indies government, encouraged Acehese Muslims to abandon jihad and pursue more modern interpretations of their faith. He argued in favour of the benefits of the colonial presence to Muslim communities: 'The approximately 230,000,000 Mohammedans that live under non-Muslim rule very often do not have sufficient awareness of history to be able to recognize that the change in governance has meant an improvement for them.'¹¹ Interestingly, similar views were expressed by the Malay Muslim

⁷ See I. Göksoy, 'Nineteenth century correspondence between the Sultanate of Aceh and the Ottomans', in *CMR* 16, 581-91.

⁸ See K. Steenbrink, 'Dutch and Malay accounts of the conflicts known as the Banjar war', in *CMR* 16, 601-12.

⁹ M.F. Laffan, *The makings of Indonesian Islam. Orientalism and the narration of a Sufi past*, New Jersey, 2013, p. 102.

¹⁰ See F. Wijsen, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in *CMR* 17, forthcoming.

¹¹ I. De Vries, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. History of Orientalist manipulation of Islam – Analysis', *New Civilisation*, 14 September 2011; <http://www.newcivilisation.com/home/1605/ideas-philosophy/christiaan-snouck-hurgronje-history-of-orientalist-manipulation-of-islam/>.

Abdullah Abdul Kadir (1796-1854),¹² known as 'Munshi' (teacher) Abdullah, who worked with the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Singapore on various translation projects, including the translation of the Bible into Malay. He was critical of the Malay sultans, seeing them as holding the masses back, and he had a favourable view of British achievements in education and other fields.

Greater openness to the religious other

While negative views of the religious other continued to be heard and expressed in writings by Christians and Muslims in 19th-century South-East Asia, there was also a discernible trend towards greater openness and this is evident in the written records of Christian-Muslim interaction. It was undoubtedly due in significant part to the vastly increased level of contact between Christian and Muslim communities. Negative stereotypes are easier to maintain when human contact is absent, while seeing the human face of the religious other can produce a softening of attitudes. This appears to have been the case in 19th-century South-East Asia.

Some of the writings of the Dutch Missionary Society missionary Carel Poensen (1836-1919)¹³ illustrate this trend. He ministered in the Jombang and Kediri area of east Java between 1863 and 1891. For him, mission success depended on gaining an understanding of the Javanese and their religious traditions, and on seeing Javanese Islam as a valid expression of the faith, a localised form rather than simply a syncretistic and imperfect variation on an Islamic theme. He maintained that 'the people on the outside are very certainly Mohammedan', but 'in the depths of the soul there still works a religious life that expresses itself in all kinds of non-Mohammedan ideas and forms'.¹⁴

In similar vein, the LMS missionary in Singapore, Benjamin Peach Keasberry, shows a subtle softening of his attitude towards Islam. In a record of his communication dating from 1839, he refers obliquely to 'the false religion of the great imposter', signifying Islam and Muḥammad. However, his later correspondence from 1862 lacks the biting edge of his earlier statements.¹⁵

¹² See Khairudin Aljunied, 'Abdullah Abdul Kadir', in *CMR* 16, 530-6.

¹³ See M. Kruithof, 'Carel Poensen', in *CMR* 16, 551-4.

¹⁴ R.E. Elson, 'Islam, Islamism, the nation, and the early Indonesian nationalist movement', *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 1 (2007) 231-66, p. 234.

¹⁵ See Malcolm Thian Hock Tan, 'Benjamin Keasberry', in *CMR* 16, 537-43.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who had extensive and close experience of various Islamic contexts during his lengthy stay in the Dutch East Indies, wrote in positive terms about 'the highly interesting way of life of the local Sunda and West-Java people, especially the religious side of it, but also with the *'ādāt* [traditions] which are so loved and honored here'. He makes clear in his writings that his concern with Islam in Indonesia is related to its political face: 'I never had any objections to the religious elements of this institute [Islam]. Only its political influence is, in my opinion, deplorable.'¹⁶

Snouck Hurgronje's older contemporary and, in some ways, rival in the Netherlands East Indies, L.W.C. van den Berg (1845-1927),¹⁷ specialised in the study of Islamic law, pursuing PhD research in the subject and writing extensively about *sharī'a* in Indonesia. As with Poensen and Hurgronje, van den Berg's writing on Islam distances itself from the more polemical material produced by earlier generations of Dutch Christian authors.

The early decades of the 19th century witnessed the Paderi reform movement in Sumatra. It reflected the influence of Wahhabi thought upon some Indonesian scholars returning from Arabia, and expressed itself in the form of campaigns, sometimes violent, against perceived laxity in Islamic practice. Initially, the Dutch attempted to suppress the movement by force but, when these efforts proved fruitless, they tried more subtle means. H.A. Steijn Parvé (d. 1893), Dutch Resident of Tapanuli, wrote about positive features of the Paderi movement such as its elimination of destructive social practices and the construction of beautiful mosques.¹⁸

In the Philippines, José Montero y Vidal (1851-1936)¹⁹ worked between 1868 and 1891 in multiple roles and at various levels of the Spanish colonial administration. In his prolific writings, he was critical of religious policies pursued by the Spanish and, in a tone similar to Poensen's, he advocated understanding Moro society from within, instead of imposing caricatures based on superficial perceptions.

The 19th century also witnessed a softening of attitudes towards Christians among Muslims. In some cases, the reasons were pragmatic, in order to benefit from better relations with colonial authorities. So,

¹⁶ De Vries, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje'.

¹⁷ See K. Steenbrink, 'L.W.C. van den Berg', in *CMR* 16, 573-80.

¹⁸ See K. Steenbrink, 'Dutch and Malay authors on the Paderi wars in west Sumatra', in *CMR* 16, 567-72.

¹⁹ See I. Donoso, 'José Montero y Vidal', in *CMR* 16, 559-63.

Muḥammad Anwār al-Dīn Iskandar Dhū l-Qarnayn (d. 1830), Sultan of Tamontaca in the Philippines from c. 1805 to c. 1830, reached a peace treaty with the governor of Zamboanga in order to gain the upper hand in a conflict with his Filipino Muslim rivals.

The *fatāwā* issued by the Meccan-based scholar Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Daḥlān (mentioned above) in response to requests from Indonesian Muslims included some irenic content. For example, he advocated that Muslims should obey their colonial masters wherever there was no conflict with Islamic law. In some other documents, this call moved from obedience to cooperation, as in the Javanese poem *Repen Ripangi*, which celebrates the cooperation of local and colonial rulers through promotion of the 'official' version of Islam and the implementation of *sharīʿa*.²⁰ Furthermore, in the above-mentioned Banjar War, Banjarese allies of the Dutch, who were involved in conflict with Banjarese rebels, produced Malay poems that were pro-Dutch.

From open to closed views

While it is relatively straightforward to find evidence of a softening of views towards the other faith, it is more difficult to locate examples of people beginning with relatively open views and moving towards more critical perspectives. One case is presented by Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826),²¹ who served in the British colonial administration in various capacities and in 1819 was key to the foundation of the British settlement in Singapore. Raffles left a series of personal letters that provide a window into his changing perceptions of Islam and Muslims. In one early letter, in 1807, he suggests that both Jesus and Muḥammad deserve veneration, but by 1823 he was referring to Muḥammad as 'the false Prophet of Mecca'.

No doubt there were others, both Christians and Muslims, whose perspectives of the religious other also hardened over time. Such changes would probably be based on negative experiences and interactions with members of the other faith, though experiences of this kind are not frequently recorded in the surviving literature.

²⁰ See K. Steenbrink, 'Repen Ripangi', in *CMR* 16, 555-8.

²¹ See Malcolm Thian Hock Tan, 'Stamford Raffles', in *CMR* 16, 523-9.

Active interest in and admiration for the other

The 19th-century literary corpus also records examples of Christians and Muslims who showed a strong interest in and admiration for the religious other, the direct opposite to inter-religious polemic. Among Dutch writers, such an individual was Karel Frederik Holle (1829-96), who served in the Dutch East Indies colonial administration and became a specialist in the language and culture of the Sundanese people of West Java. His partnership with Raden Haji Moehamad Moesa, head of the great mosque and the *shari'a* court of Garut, West Java, whose daughter Holle married, produced a variety of forms of writing. He was also instrumental in the founding of a teachers' training school in Bandung. Holle and Moehamad Moesa, like Snouck Hurgronje, were strongly critical of what they perceived as Muslim political extremism.

The previously mentioned Munshi Abdullah, in turn, was a great admirer of British culture, and in particular the dedication shown by the Christian missionaries with whom he worked. This did not extend to a desire to convert to Christianity, but it did result in a strong and lasting partnership with the missionaries in producing various literary works in Malay, including a translation of the Bible. Mention should also be made of Sayyid 'Uthmān (1822-1914),²² who worked closely with Snouck Hurgronje, and was appointed 'honorary advisor for Arab affairs' in 1891. In his work *Al-tuffāḥa l-wardiyya* ('The pink apples'), he showed clear pro-Dutch sentiments, speaking strongly against theft from Europeans and arguing that 'as a result of the colonial rule they have established, [Europeans] have brought safety (*amān*) for the Muslim population'.

Surveying the 19th century overall in South-East Asia, it is possible to discern a general trend towards greater openness (with notable exceptions), a trend that was to continue into the 20th century. This no doubt represents the fruit of deepening contact and growth in friendship and cooperation.

North-East Asia and Australasia

In general, Christianity gained recognition and a foothold in North-East Asia by riding on the coat-tails of Western trade and commercial relations. Although Christians had come to these lands many

²² See N. Kaptein, 'Sayyid 'Uthmān', in *CMR* 16, 548-50.

centuries before, the opening of port towns to international trade in the 19th century and the arrival of foreigners, among them missionaries, was a major breakthrough in allowing even the vaguest prospect of interaction between Christians and Muslims, or their simple awareness of each other. For Australasia, Christianity arrived with British colonisation. For both North-East Asia and Australasia, engagement and reciprocal awareness between Muslims and Christians, such as it was, took place at the edges of empires, whether their own far-flung extremities (Australia and New Zealand), or in someone else's empire (China, Japan).

North-East Asia

Both Islam and Christianity arrived in North-East Asia as faiths of minority communities of one sort or another, and they were often subject to varying forms of restriction and proscription. For the most part, Muslims assimilated into Chinese society, forming a distinctive 'Chinese Islam' that posed no significant challenge to the state. Christians fared differently. By the 19th century, an earlier Catholic presence had all but disappeared, though Protestant missionaries gained a significant foothold. However, the avowed evangelical intention to change both the identity and culture of people and communities made for a problematic reception and only a limited advance of the Protestant Christian cause. In Japan, the appeal and incursion of Islam was very limited, while Christian penetration proved problematic.

Both China and Japan had their own empires and religious cultures, in relation to which both Islam and Christianity were foreign interlopers. Neither religion predominated, each was equally 'foreign', they both faced similar problems, and there was little if any contact with the other as each sought to survive. Representatives of the two religions interacted with the host community differently, in accordance with their respective intentions and agendas and the reasons for their presence in these lands. In this setting, relations between Christians and Muslims were largely muted – each had other, more pressing, concerns. Nevertheless, as entries in this volume indicate, a measure of awareness and interest in the other did emerge, at least in some quarters.

China

In China, Muslims became established by way of acculturation, and a distinctive Chinese Islam emerged over time. Stuart Vogel argues that Islam 'became a genuinely "Chinese religion" by adopting many Chinese

features in its building and customs, without sacrificing its core beliefs'.²³ Muslims abandoned any attempt to convert Chinese to Islam, and instead assured the empire, or the emperor, of their loyalty: 'The challenge was how to be genuinely Muslim and genuinely Chinese at the same time.'²⁴

Christians, such as the Jesuits, had tried a similar approach a few centuries before, but had been brought up short by their own ecclesiastical authorities. During the 19th century, Protestant missions presented themselves as distinct from the local Chinese. Thus, whereas 'Islam in China settled into Chinese cultural life and [...] preserved a distinctive Muslim presence while accommodating itself to the Chinese environment', Protestant Christianity 'made no secret' of its intention to make China Christian.²⁵

If the playing field was relatively level, the rules of engagement were not necessarily the same for each faith. Nevertheless, an eventful history of Christian-Muslim engagement plays out within these realms where neither side had dominance. Through reports and comment in 19th-century missionary journals, a picture can be discerned of the nature and extent of relations between Muslims and Christians in China, though, compared with many other situations of encounter between followers of the two faiths, for the most part engagement was more indirect or oblique.

Japan

James Morris covers the 19th-century context of Japan in some detail.²⁶ He argues that 'cooperation and the amicable relations between Christian and Muslim traders' were key factors.²⁷ However, with no guarantee of religious freedom during much of the 19th century, instances of relations between Christians and Muslims in Japan were quite sparse. Although there was a good number of Christian visitors and some converts, 'there were very few native or foreign Muslims present in the country'.²⁸ Morris also notes that, during the 19th century, there are only a 'few references to direct interactions between Christians and Muslims', and those that

²³ S. Vogel, 'The historical background and context to Christian and Muslim relationships in China in the 19th century', in *CMR* 16, 473-84.

²⁴ Vogel, 'Historical background and context', p. 477.

²⁵ Vogel, 'Historical background and context', p. 477.

²⁶ J.H. Morris, 'Christian-Muslim relations in 19th-century Japan', in *CMR* 16, 485-506.

²⁷ Morris, 'Relations in 19th-century Japan', p. 487.

²⁸ Morris, 'Relations in 19th-century Japan', p. 495.

did exist were to be found mostly in Christian sources.²⁹ Further, it was not until late in the long 19th century that 'Japan became a theatre for Christian-Muslim relations beyond the spheres of trade and joint travel'.³⁰

Australasia

This brief introduction deals first with Australia, then New Zealand, and then the Pacific Islands, reflecting in descending order the amount of contact between Christians and Muslims in the long 19th century. Australia and New Zealand in the 19th century were part of the British Empire, indeed its furthest outposts. Although they emerged as secular states during the course of the century, with no state church as such, both exhibited a clearly dominant Christian identity throughout. Importantly, for both countries as colonies of Britain the perception of Islam and Muslims as a religious other was through the lens of their membership of the British Empire. On the one hand, to the extent that Islam was conflated in many minds with Turkey or the Ottoman Empire, awareness of matters pertaining to imperial relations between Britain and Turkey were certainly reflected in comments and perceptions, especially within Australia. On the other, for both countries the fact that Muslims from India were just as much part of the British Empire as they were themselves led to a quite different perception and response, more of a benign curiosity (e.g. towards Afghans in Australia, and Indians in New Zealand), and also of developing paternalistic 'overseas mission' attitudes in which these 'foreign folk' represented people in need of the Gospel. This set the scene for most mainline Christian missionary attitudes in the 20th century.

Australia

Katherine Jennings notes that the Muslim presence in Australia pre-dates the Christian by a considerable period of time.³¹ Muslim Macassans in search of sea cucumbers (trepangs), who 'hunted and traded along the Australian [northern] coastline for nearly three hundred years', first introduced Islam to the continent in their regular landings and interactions with Aborigines.³² Then, in the closing decades of the 19th century,

²⁹ Morris, 'Relations in 19th-century Japan', p. 504.

³⁰ Morris, 'Relations in 19th-century Japan', p. 506.

³¹ K.L. Jennings, 'At port and at sea. Early Muslim presence along the Australian coastline, 1880-1939', *ICMR* 29 (2018) 89-104.

³² Jennings, 'At port and at sea', p. 102.

various Muslim groups arrived to provide a distinct Muslim presence in port cities. Although many were ostracised for their race and/or religion, 'Indian Muslim seamen hired to sail from European to Australian ports aboard British-owned steam-liners were greeted with mixed responses that straddled curiosity and reflexive hostility'.³³ A number did in fact settle, with some of them 'anglicising their names and converting to Christianity'.³⁴ Others, such as the Afghan cameleers in the Western Australian coastal regions, or Indian and Syrian merchants in Sydney, retained their identities and settled: 'They worshipped communally and publicly and were identifiable as Muslims.'³⁵ In short, during the 19th and early 20th centuries, Anglo-Australian Christians had contact with Muslims in several coastal and some inland regions. Each set of exchanges was localised and largely facilitated by commercial opportunity.

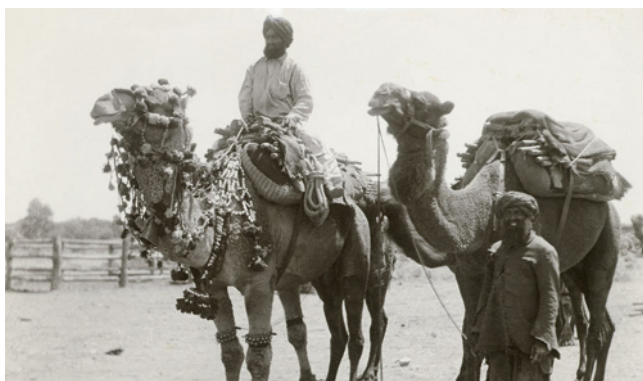


Illustration 10. Two Afghan handlers with their camels, about 1890

Macassans continued to sail from the Indonesian archipelago to hunt and trade sea cucumbers seasonally along the northern coastline. Young men from India, and a small number of Indian women, hawked goods in New South Wales and settled in towns such as Redfern, Sydney – a place often referred to in local papers as the 'darkest colony'. Indian lascars landed at Australian ports with their assigned shipping lines and met local people when they spent days and nights ashore. Afghans arranged

³³ Jennings, 'At port and at sea', p. 90. See also K. Jennings, 'Publications from Australian port towns', in *CMR* 16, 770-5.

³⁴ Jennings, 'At port and at sea', p. 90.

³⁵ Jennings, 'At port and at sea', p. 90.

camel transportation for surveyors, explorers, and miners in central Australia and built 'ghantowns' where they mostly lived separately from settler towns. They were not there to proselytise – though many newspapers referred to them as 'Mahometan missionaries' – and neither did the settlers they met attempt to convert them to Christianity in any significant numbers.

Nonetheless, cultural exchange was inevitable within the commercial sphere, and religious identity played a role in these encounters. Settlers wrote about Macassans, Indian hawkers and lascars, and Afghans in 'othering' terms, aware that they were Muslims (usually called Mohamedans and Moslems or, less often, Mussulmans or Mahometans). In 1901 there were more than 3,000 Muslims living in Australia but many more were transient. Considerable interest was expressed in their rituals, festivals, and dress, often identified as Islamic or prescribed by Islam. In European newspaper and other community publications, the style of rhetoric common during the later 19th century tended to conflate race and religion.

Generally, Australian sources expressed a clear Christian self-identity and cited religion as a source of tension and difference between the settlers and Muslims.

In summary, relations between Christians and Muslims in Australia during the 19th century can best be described as examples of the 'dialogue of life'. There is no known record, formal or otherwise, of anything like present-day planned interreligious dialogue. Rather, Christian attitudes, values, images and impressions of Muslims are to be gleaned from articles in newspapers and similar publications, together with court records, while there is hardly anything of Muslim attitudes and impressions of Christians in 19th-century Australia. Despite this, Jennings argues, 'Ports and port towns are significant sites for interfaith and intercultural exchange: port-based publications are a rich medium.'³⁶

New Zealand

From July 1841, New Zealand was a British colony, and it became a dominion of the British Empire in September 1907. In its formation as a modern nation state it observed the secular divide between religious and political authorities, and while the driving principle was to ameliorate tensions and rivalries between Christian denominations, the aim for a secular tolerance of religious diversity of all kinds was unmistakable:

³⁶ Jennings, 'At port and at sea', p. 102.

'The Episcopalian, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Wesleyan, the Unitarian, and the Mahommedan, were placed on the same footing, and regarded as being equally good.'³⁷

Although the first Muslim to visit New Zealand came as early as December 1769, the 'first identifiable Muslim immigrant family came as a direct component of the Imperial colonisation project from another part of the British Empire'.³⁸ Indeed, the 'majority of early Muslim settlers during the colonial era, from 1840 onwards, were drawn from or through British India'.³⁹ The first Muslim immigrant family to come from India arrived in Canterbury in the middle of the 19th century. On the whole, direct interreligious encounters between Christians and Muslims in New Zealand were infrequent. Individuals and family groups who travelled to New Zealand did not tend to form communities in the same way that the cameleers and hawkers did in Australia. Rather, they sought to 'blend in' as far as possible, not to stand out as so obviously 'different'. Hence, some notable assimilationist tendencies such as anglicising of names. Furthermore, within the wider society of the time some Indians were misidentified as Hindus. Nonetheless, others were known to be devout Muslims, and their presence and some of their faith practices were noted by the local New Zealanders. In summary, during the long 19th century the combined effect of a transition from missionary to settler churches that predominated among the Christian communities, and the comparatively negligible presence of Muslims, meant there was little by way of mutual awareness and engagement. As in Australia, it is in newspapers and the like that insights into attitudes, images and perceptions, especially of Christians towards Muslims and Islam, are to be found.

The Pacific Islands region

Both Australians and New Zealanders took a keen interest in foreign affairs and read reportage about global conflicts between Christianity and Islam, and they perceived themselves as allied to Britain and the Christian West. This collective thinking was more vividly expressed and consequential in Australia, where Anglo-Christians in Western Australia and along the coasts were encountering Muslims fairly regularly. At the

³⁷ 'Legislative Council', *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 27 July 1844, p. 81.

³⁸ A. Drury, 'Mahometans at the edge of colonial empire. Antipodean experiences', *ICMR* 29 (2018) 71-87, p. 75.

³⁹ Drury, 'Mahometans at the edge', p. 71.

turn of the 20th century, both individual Australian states and the federal government crafted policies that had a religious as well as a racial basis.

Encounters between Pacific Islanders and Muslims, fewer and further between, had a different tenor altogether. On the whole, the islands of the Pacific were heavily and intensively subject to Christian missionary activity, and consequently the majority of the populations were deeply Christian in identity and outlook. Any other form of religious identity than their own, which had either been superseded by the new Christian identity or absorbed and transformed within it, was hardly encountered let alone countenanced. Religious diversity, including Islam, in the Pacific region was a late arrival and did not emerge in any significant way until well into the 20th century.

The first Indian Muslims arrived in Fiji in 1876. These were indentured labourers, part of an imperial transfer of labour to facilitate the sugar cane industry at the time. This transfer of labour also included Hindus. The first Muslim imam did not arrive until 1897. Thus, throughout the 19th century there was little recorded contact in Fiji or elsewhere between Christian Pacific Islanders and Muslims. The Fijian Indians who were Muslims certainly continued to practise their faith, and their descendants established the Fiji Muslim League and built mosques. Later, Fiji was further proselytised during the revivalist Ahmadiyya movement. Islam eventually came to other Pacific Islands, such as Western Samoa and Tonga, but later than Fiji. In consequence, there are no known texts of significance during the long 19th century to warrant inclusion in this volume. Such texts did not emerge until well into the 20th century.

Christian missionaries and the Muslim community in China in the 19th century

Stuart Vogel

Introduction

In order to understand the relationship between Christians and Muslims in China in the 19th century, a brief review of their presence in the country through the preceding centuries is needed. This will demonstrate how and why the Muslim communities evolved in China as they did and how the Muslim and Christian communities responded and adapted to the dominant and changing Chinese religious, cultural and political contexts over these centuries. This analysis will then serve as a tool for comparing and contrasting the responses of the two faiths to their Chinese contexts. The hope is that it will in turn provide some insights into the historical forces that moulded the relationships between Christians and Muslims in China over these earlier centuries and how they related to each other in the 19th century.

Muslims in China. A brief history

Tradition holds that Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad reached China around the year 616. Such a date is remarkably early but it is not impossible. Maritime economic activity between Arabia and China was strong during this period and trade also travelled along the overland routes through Central Asia. Over time, the Hui minority peoples in western China became Muslim, as did many ethnic Chinese who lived along the trade routes. The most visible signs of Muslim presence, namely mosques, were established along these routes and in China itself. Two of the earliest and most famous, in Guangdong and Beijing, are described below.

By the mid-19th century, Christian missionaries began to encounter the minority groups, the Hui and Uighur Muslims in Shanxi and Xinjiang.

They also encountered ethnic Chinese Muslims in the provinces where they had settled, such as Guangdong, Yunnan and Henan.¹

Mosques in China. Signs and symbols of the evolving of Islam

In 651, less than 20 years after the death of the Prophet, the Chinese emperor received an envoy from the then caliph, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (r. 644-56). Early relations seemed to have been cordial and the emperor ordered the building of the Memorial Mosque in Guangdong in memory of the Prophet.

The foundations of the Huaisheng Mosque in Guangzhou extend back to the 7th century. It has been destroyed and rebuilt many times and remains a distinctive feature of Guangzhou city. It attracted some interest from Protestant missionaries in the 19th century, which in turn drew their attention to the Muslim minority.

The mosque and its surrounding buildings, like the buildings of the Niujie Mosque in Beijing, display a curious mixture of Arab and Chinese artistic features. Several points especially stand out for the visitor to the mosque. It is not obvious from the street that this is in fact a mosque of any size or importance. However, it was established in 996 and today is the biggest in China. It was destroyed by the armies of Ghenghis Khan in 1215, was rebuilt in 1443, and was significantly expanded in 1696 under the Kangxi Emperor. The visitor is struck by how much Chinese-style architecture and symbolism there is, along with the expected Arabic calligraphy and details. The mosque also contains many important artefacts, such as a decree of the emperor issued in 1694.

The blend of Chinese and Arab motifs to express religious faith is carefully crafted to fit cultural context and religious needs. While there are mythical Chinese dragons on the roofs, there are none inside the worship spaces and no human figures are displayed there or outside, in conformity with standard Islamic practice. Nevertheless, the intricate colours and the styles and themes of the paintings on the outside walls give it a distinctively Chinese look. While the House for Watching the Moon is Chinese, the mosque itself faces Mecca and the main hall is clearly a sacred place set aside for Muslim worship. (The custom of 'watching the moon' occurs during the mid-autumn festival when the moon is at

¹ For an introduction to relations between Muslims and the Chinese state, see R. Israeli, 'Muslims in China. The incompatibility between Islam and the Chinese Order', *T'oung Pao* 63 (1977) 296-323.

its fullest and brightest. This is an ancient tradition that began in the Zhou Dynasty, around 500 BCE. It is both a social event and also serves a religious function, as traditionally people prayed to the moon for a good harvest. To have such a house within the mosque area indicates that the Chinese social custom has been accepted and the religious function has been adapted into an acceptable expression of Muslim faith.) The minaret provides the universally recognised feature of mosques. Outside, the graves of the two shakys lie under cypress trees, while worshippers at the mosque today wear for worship typical Muslim clothes such as Islamic white caps, plain shirts and long trousers.

China has at least three Muslim buildings that visually establish Islam as a Chinese religion: together with the mosques at Guangdong and Guangzhou, the Great Mosque of Xian is a third, originating from 742. Islam arguably became a genuinely 'Chinese religion' by adopting many Chinese features in its buildings and customs, without sacrificing its core beliefs. This historical anchorage and visual accommodation to its Chinese context contrasts markedly with Christian churches in China, which in the 19th century were generally built in Western, non-Chinese styles. While Christianity has now become an established feature of the Chinese religious landscape, the Christian Church, with the exception of the Nestorians as we shall note, might be said to have not 'visually' become a Chinese institution. In contrast, the question of whether Christianity has become a 'Chinese religion' has been often asked. The relationship between the two faiths was therefore complicated by their different approaches to the Chinese contexts. Two monotheistic religions with a long history of interaction, one might think, would develop strong possibilities for engagement, but this did not happen.

Nineteenth-century Christian missionaries encountered Muslims in the course of their travels, and on occasions made mention of mosques and the Muslim communities. The Revd Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, arrived in Macao in 1807. He became aware of Muslims in China and was surprised that they were not only allowed to practise their religion, but even held government positions.² A number of missionaries and travellers throughout the 19th century noted and described mosques. William C. Milne in the 1840s, for example (see below), visited a mosque in Ningbo and wrote about it in some detail.³

² R.J. Townsend, *Robert Morrison, the pioneer of Chinese mission*, London, 1888, p. 199.

³ W.C. Milne, 'Notes on a seven months residence in the city of Ningpo, from December 7th 1742 to July 7th 1743', *The Chinese Repository* 13 (1844) 14-43, pp. 31-3.

In 1851, the editor of *The Chinese Repository* described the Echoing Tomb, which was a mosque and burial ground near Canton,⁴ while the Italian photographer Felice Beato took photographs of the Canton mosque in April 1860.⁵ The editor describes a tablet which details the history of relations between China and Arabia. The writer of the accompanying article is particularly interested in the question how Islam came to China and the history of the mosque. What is striking about this article and later notices about Islam in China is that there is no discussion about how best to convert Muslims to the Christian faith.

The Christian Church in China, 635 to the 19th century

The Protestant missionaries were not the first representatives of the Christian Church in China, of course. Nestorian Christians had arrived there much earlier. In 635, the Chinese emperor issued an edict permitting the propagation of Christianity as part of his strategy to acquire new knowledge, inaugurating a period of activity that stretched from the 7th to the 11th century. The second period of Nestorian presence was during the 13th and 14th centuries, by which time the Islamic community had become well established. In 1623, the famous Nestorian stele was uncovered. Originally erected in 718, this recorded the history of the Christian movement in China, showing how the Nestorians sought to express their faith in Chinese and Syriac forms and styles. It is significant that both the Nestorian and Muslim responses to their Chinese context were similar to the two mosques described above in terms of their adoption of many Chinese customs and art forms.

The next inflow of Christians came with Jesuits and other Catholic orders from the 16th century. The Jesuits in the 16th-18th centuries continued the previous pattern of 'becoming Chinese' by accommodating themselves within the Chinese dynastic system. However, Christianity (like Islam) is ultimately by nature a missionary faith, and both Catholics and, later, Protestants sought to 'change China'. The attempt to accommodate Chinese cultural forms within the Christian faith led to the famous 'Rites Controversy', in which the Vatican rejected the principle

⁴ S. Wells Williams, 'The Hsian Fan (響墳) or Echoing Tomb. A Mohammedan mosque and burial ground near Canton', (Art ii) *The Chinese Repository* 20 (1851) 77-84. See S. Vogel, 'Samuel Wells Williams', in *CMR* 16, 619-21.

⁵ F. Beato, (1825-1903), photograph of Mohammedan Mosque, April 1860: https://www.moma.org/collection/works/58100?artist_id=416&locale=en&page=1&sov_referrer=artist.

of accommodation because the Christian faith ultimately stood over against Chinese religions. This in turn led to the emperor's rejection of Catholicism and later Protestantism.

In 1807, Protestants arrived with the intention of spreading the Gospel in China. The Christian missionaries and the first Islamic scholars were all confronted and challenged by the need to adapt and accept while also transforming China. However, another factor was clearly at work: all were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of Chinese who adhered to traditional Chinese religions.

The responses of each faith were different. Islam in China settled into Chinese cultural life and lost its missionary emphasis or, better perhaps, preserved a distinctive Muslim presence while accommodating itself to the Chinese environment. Unlike Christianity, the attempt actively to convert Chinese to the Muslim faith was abandoned and loyalty to the Chinese Empire was assured. The challenge was how to be genuinely Muslim and genuinely Chinese at the same time. Muslims did not seek to 'change China' in the same way as the Christians.

In stark contrast, the Protestants made no secret of their desire to 'Christianise China'. The balance was different for the Christians; the Christian Church should indeed establish itself as a Chinese body and so legitimise its existence in China by becoming a religion for Chinese people and accepted by them. At the same time, however, it was required by its own nature to reject Chinese religious worldviews. This led to the Chinese argument against Christianity: 'one more Christian, one less Chinese'.

The Christian missionary awareness of Islam in China, an overview

In the early 19th century, the Protestant missionaries knew there were non-Han (or non-Chinese) ethnic minorities in China and that some of these were Muslim, notably the Hui and Uighurs. In addition, Muslims of Arab origin lived in China alongside those who were clearly of Chinese ethnic origin. In later decades, some Christian groups sought to reach them. However, while these attempts were significant in themselves, the mission to such minorities was limited to a few Christian mission agencies. Christian missionaries from the traditional denominational sending agencies, both Catholic and Protestant, were faced with the seemingly impossible task of Christianising the four hundred million Chinese in China. This was supremely daunting for the small missionary force.

The first references to the Muslim communities in China within the 19th-century Protestant missionary community were often brief, academic observations and rather sporadic comments on items of general interest. The first notable comments are in the journal *The Chinese Repository*, which was edited by senior missionary figures and published between 1832 and 1851. In 1841, for example, the editors Elijah Coleman Bridgman and S. Wells Williams⁶ noted the translation of mathematical texts into Chinese by Muslim scholars. Important academic references in *The Chinese Repository* were notes on books and writings about Islam in the 17th century by Catholic and Russian Orthodox writers. The French Jesuits Eusèbe Renaudot and Jean Joseph Marie Amiot were very influential on Protestant research. There were also general observations in *The Chinese Repository* of Muslim daily life and the history and design of certain mosques.

In the 1840s, the Revd William Milne visited the city of Ningbo and the Muslim communities there.⁷ The records of his conversations in the mosque and his impressions there are enlightening and are recorded in his book *Life in China. Many years a missionary among the Chinese*.⁸ In summary, Milne expresses interest in how the Muslim community came to be in China. He is given to understand that the centre of Islam in China is in Hangzhou. He notes that some of the Muslims he has encountered have Arab features, that their reason for being in China is purely commercial and that there has been no effort to proselytise among the Chinese. Apart from their religious practices, Chinese Muslims do not appear to be any different from the surrounding Chinese population in dress, language or customs.

Importantly, Milne indicates that the number of Muslims may be no more than half a million, which is a huge underestimation. He also notes that one of the 'priests' is ethnically Chinese. The picture that Milne creates of the mosque he visited in Ningbo is telling. As he speaks with the senior and junior 'priests', a sense of decadence emerges. The number of adherents is small, the 'priests' admit, and their people do not attend worship if there is pressing economic business. Milne raised a question about a Chinese tablet within the precincts of the mosque that expressed loyalty to the emperor and was told that its presence there was simply

⁶ See Vogel, 'Samuel Wells Williams'.

⁷ See also, W.C. Milne, 'Notices of a seven months residence in the city of Ningpo', *The Chinese Repository* 16 (1847) 57-72, pp. 60-1.

⁸ W.C. Milne, *Life in China. For many years a missionary among the Chinese*, London, 1857.

a matter of expediency, in case they were charged with disloyalty to the Chinese state.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal (1868-1939)⁹ in its first few decades continued with *The Chinese Repository's* sporadic and academic comments on Islam in China. In neither journal does any discussion of strategy to convert the Islamic communities appear. In 1882, however, *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* published a review of four books on Islam, including *Le mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental* by the French diplomat, Fr Dabry de Thiersant.¹⁰ This review led to a number of articles on Islam in China over the next few years by a number of missionaries. De Thiersant surprised readers with his estimate of the number of Muslims in China – no fewer than 20-21 million. It is notable, however, that this discussion never percolated into the wider missionary awareness. While this was a clear minority of the Chinese population, it represented a significant challenge to the still small and overwhelmed missionary community.

What stands out here is that the mission to the Muslim communities in China had no recognised Protestant champion and advocate in the 19th century. The Protestant community was informed about the Muslim community through the publication of the authoritative and acknowledged scholarship of Catholic and Russian Orthodox sources. The Catholics Renaudot and Amiot had provided an early stimulus, and in 1846 *The Chinese Repository* had published a short note about the Muslim presence in the provinces of Hubei, Hunan and Shanxi written by Joseph Rizzolati, Vicar-Apostolic of Hou-kouang (Han-kou).¹¹ In *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* two significant Russian sources appeared. Archbishop Palladius, writing in Beijing, published a note in 1866,¹² followed in 1871 by another by E. Bretschneider, a physician at the Russian Delegation in Beijing. Both focussed on the literature about Islam written in Chinese.¹³ Then, in 1900, *Islam in China* by Vasilij Pavlovich

⁹ See S. Vogel, 'The Chinese Repository', in *CMR* 16, 615-18.

¹⁰ D. de Thiersant, 'Notices of recent publications', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 13 (1882) 471-80, pp. 476-8.

¹¹ Mohammedan presence in Hubei, Hunan, Shanxi and Shenxi, in 'Notices of the Catholic religion in China in a letter from the Rt Rev Joseph Rizzolati, Vicar Apostolic of Hù-Kwáng', *The Chinese Repository* 15 (1846) 39-46, p. 43.

¹² J. Dudgeon, 'Sketch of Russian intercourse with the Greek Church', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 4 (1872) 206-14, p. 208.

¹³ E. Bretschneider, *On the knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian colonies, and other Western countries, mentioned in Chinese books*, London, 1871.

Vasilyev was published in an English translation.¹⁴ Marshall Broomhall, the missionary and writer on religion in China, regarded all these as fundamental sources for knowledge of Islam in China.

De Thiersant's book stimulated subsequent writers such as George W. Clarke, C.F. Hogg,¹⁵ both of the China Inland Mission (CIM), Joseph Edkins of the London Missionary Society and H.V. Noyes (Presbyterian) in the 1880s and 1890s to write articles on the history of Islam in China, its rites, ceremonies and customs, and its doctrines. They also provided translations and summaries of Muslim tracts and texts and an article on the translation of key names and concepts into Chinese, and discussed the origins of *Hui*, the Chinese name for Muslims. However, none focused on Islam as their major area of work (Edkins was particularly interested in Buddhism), and none of this seems to have led to any effective or strategic planning for mission to Muslims.

In these articles, there was a sense of surprise and perhaps even a degree of admiration that Islam had arrived so shortly after the Prophet's death in 632. In the 1840s, Milne had expressed his pleasure at being able to talk to Muslim leaders about one universal God, which made for a firmer base for discussion than the apparently nebulous understanding of God held by Buddhists. Perhaps he entertained a certain hope that Muslims could be more easily converted to the Christian faith, which, like Islam, was a monotheistic religion. However, this sentiment does not appear in the 1880s or later.

The 1890 General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries in China, held in Shanghai, briefly raised the question of mission to Muslim communities, and senior missionaries noted the difficulty in gaining Muslim converts. Very, very few Muslims had become Christians, one reason being the communal pressure not to convert. In 1896, T.W. Arnold published his work *The spread of Islam among the people of China*,¹⁶ which stimulated interest. However, this was a period of great political turmoil, and other concerns became pressing. In 1910, Broomhall reviewed the issue in a book with the significant title *Islam in China, a neglected problem*.¹⁷ Broomhall quoted the works of de Thiersant, and also *L'origine*

¹⁴ V.P. Vasilyev, *Islam in China*, trans. R. Lowenthal, St Petersburg, 1900.

¹⁵ See S. Vogel, 'George William Clarke' in *CMR* 16, 625-7; S. Vogel, 'Charles Frederick Hogg', in *CMR* 16, 632-7.

¹⁶ T.W. Arnold, *The preaching of Islam. A history of the propagation of the Muslim faith*, London, 1913 (revision of 1896 edition).

¹⁷ M. Broomhall, *Islam in China, a neglected problem*, London, 1910; see Wai Yip Ho and J.H. Morris, 'Marshall Broomhall', in *CMR* 16, 694-712.

de l'islamisme en Chine (1895) by the French sinologist Gabriel Devéria (1844-95). Devéria had collected 40 Chinese Muslim works while he was in China.¹⁸

His book is significant in that it encapsulates the history of Christian-Muslim relationships in the period that led up to the famous 1910 World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh. Broomhall wrote his book in the light of this conference. Three points can be mentioned about it. First, although Broomhall was a senior missionary with the CIM, he did not personally encounter Muslims in China until the early 1890s. Second, he repeats the point that Muslim literature, such as it existed, was worthless in terms of defining how Islam came to China. Third, Broomhall affirmed the point that 'while very little is being done to evangelise the Muslims in China, little is being done by themselves to propagate their faith in that land'.¹⁹

The China Inland Mission

Nevertheless, during the 19th century some members of the CIM did come into contact with Chinese Muslims and noted this in the CIM journal *China's Millions*. In 1894, the CIM missionary G.W. Clarke published a book entitled *Kwiechow and Yünnan provinces*,²⁰ in which he mentions the Muslim rebellions, and includes a chapter on 'The biography of the Mohametan Prince Hsien Yang', but still with no indication of a strategy for evangelising Muslims. Clarke's interest in the Muslim community in China may have been aroused by the unexpected proximity of this community rather than by a possible strategy or policy for mission. In 1886, he and his wife moved to a village in Shanxi Province. His wife wrote in *China's Millions*: 'At present we are in the Mohammedan part of the city, and have a good number of these people as visitors and patients. The people are very friendly, and seem glad we have come to settle in their midst.'²¹

Other CIM missionaries also tended to note Muslim neighbours, but not to engage with the Muslim faith as such. For example, in 1891, Edith Lucas of the CIM wrote: 'Our neighbours on the whole are very friendly:

¹⁸ See J.H. Morris, 'Representative Christian works on Islam in China, 1800-1914', in *CMR* 16, 650-93.

¹⁹ Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 282.

²⁰ G.W. Clarke, *Kwiechow and Yün-nan provinces*, Shanghai, 1894.

²¹ Mrs G.W. Clarke, 'Letter from Shan-si province', *China's Millions* (1886) 138.

they are all Mohametans and the hardest people to work amongst. The Lord has been showing us however that there is nothing too hard for Him.' She adds, 'It is almost impossible for them to openly confess Christ without going through great trial. Muslims do not dare eat with Christian missionaries for fear of disapproval from Muslim relatives.' She also notes that Muslims do not drink tea offered by non-Muslims for fear that the cups may have been contaminated by pork or fat. What is striking is that this awareness that they are Muslims does not change her method of evangelism, although she is aware that they will discuss faith matters 'in the style of the Mohametans'.²²

In November 1892, she records a visit to a Mohametan settlement, but makes no mention of any unique issues or different strategies for preaching the Gospel to Muslims.²³ In 1893, a report on Henan and the district of Chau Kia-k'eo, where Miss Lucas was stationed, noted that a Muslim had become a Christian. The point of interest is that he did not do so through 'human agency'. As the Chinese character for umbrella has within it a 'cross-shape' (傘), the new Christian took up the umbrella as a cross as he sought to follow Christ.²⁴ There is little curiosity in the CIM and *China's Millions* about the phenomenon of Islam in China and its rites, doctrines or practices. The emphasis was on general evangelism and it was assumed that the same strategy worked for all.

Muslim minorities

The story of contacts between the non-Chinese Muslim groups in China and Christian missionaries largely belongs in the 20th century, and is beyond the scope of this chapter. Two minorities stand out – the Uighurs and the Hui. The Hui people are a distinct ethnic group, and in the early 21st century they number around 10.5 million people scattered around China. Christian mission work began among the Hui in Ningxia in 1895, while Swedish missionaries began working with the Uighur minority in the 1890s. Eric T. Schluessel writes:

²² 'Extracts from letters and journals', *China's Millions, North American Supplement* (June 1892) 26-31, E.M. Lucas, 'Letter', pp. 26-8.

²³ 'Extracts from letters and journals', *China's Millions, North American Supplement* (November 1892) 50-3, E.M. Lucas, 'Letter', pp. 51-2.

²⁴ J.J. Coulthardt, 'Ho-Nan (report for 1892)', *China's Millions, North American Supplement* (November 1893) 149.

Christianity has not been present in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) for several centuries. Where Nestorians and Manichaeism were known in the pre-Islamic period, the dominant religion was still Buddhism, which became the primary opponent to Muslim advance through the Islamic victory over Turfan in the sixteenth century, when Xinjiang, newly conquered by the Qing (1636/44-1911) became a site of exile. It was then that many Shanxi Catholics were sent into slavery under local rulers – the Turkish Muslim *begs* and Mongol and Kazakh *jasaqs* – and also into exile in the Lli valley, where a small community of Chinese Catholics persisted at least through the twentieth century. The late nineteenth century witnessed the arrival of both Orthodox Russians fleeing persecution and Protestant missionaries from Europe. Shortly thereafter, Catholic missions also reappeared.²⁵

Conclusion

The Christian missionary community in the late 19th century were rather startled to discover how many Muslims there were in China and how long they had been there. However, no champion and no strategy emerged to engage them and nor was it immediately obvious that any was needed. Much the same strategy of evangelism could be used as among the rest of the Chinese population. It was clear that Muslims had developed a *modus vivendi* of living within the Chinese state and its religious and cultural obligations. For some Christians, this meant that Islam was in a condition of decay and syncretism; this was no longer ‘pure’ Islam. Nevertheless, it had survived for a thousand years and was not about to disappear. The Muslim communities had ‘bedded down’ in China in a way that was largely not the case with the Christian communities.

²⁵ A private communication from Professor Schluessel to the author.

Christian-Muslim relations in 19th-century Japan

James Harry Morris

Introduction

In 1614, the Tokugawa Bakufu (the military government) outlawed Christianity and began to develop an intricate campaign that sought to eliminate the faith and its adherents from the shores of Japan.¹ The success of this campaign drove missionaries and their converts to apostasy, martyrdom and hiding, and with the martyrdom of Konishi Mancio (1600-44) in 1644 ultimately brought to an end the mission that had begun with the arrival of Francis Xavier (1506-52) in 1549.² Simultaneously and often in conjunction with anti-Christian policy, the government adopted a strict foreign policy creating a state that has traditionally, although perhaps incorrectly, been described as 'closed'.³ For the next two centuries, the only Christians permitted to set foot in the country alongside Chinese, Korean, Ryukuan and Ainu traders were those associated with the Dutch East India Company.⁴

Although the first recorded visit of a Muslim to Japan occurred in 1275, when a man by the name of Sadorotei⁵ visited the country as part of an ill-fated Yuán embassy,⁶ prior to the late 19th and early 20th century the history of Islam in Japan is obscure, and one that numerous scholars describe as non-existent.⁷ Nevertheless, beyond the aforementioned

¹ On the development of anti-Christian policy, see especially the classic studies by G. Elison, *Deus destroyed. The image of Christianity in early modern Japan*, Cambridge, 1973, pp. 109-254, and C.R. Boxer, *The Christian century in Japan. 1549-1650*, Manchester, 1993, pp. 308-97.

² J.H. Morris, 'Rethinking the history of conversion to Christianity in Japan. 1549-1644', St Andrews, 2018 (PhD Diss. University of St Andrews), pp. 91-178.

³ For details of Japan's foreign policy during the period and its links to anti-Christian persecution, see M.S. Laver, *The Sakoku edicts and the politics of Tokugawa hegemony*, Amherst NY, 2011.

⁴ Laver, *Sakoku edicts*, pp. 187-8.

⁵ This is the Japanese rendering of his name. He is also known as Sādōulūling, Dūlūding, Chèdōulūding and Šadr al-Dīn.

⁶ J.H. Morris, 'Some reflections on the first Muslim visitor to Japan', *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 35 (2019) 116-30.

⁷ Nobuo Misawa, for example, argues that 'we cannot find any traces of foreign Muslims in Japan during this [the Edo] period'; see Nobuo Misawa, 'Shintoism and Islam in

visit of Sadorotei, there is evidence of contact between the Japanese and Muslims prior to the 19th century. Although he may have been misinformed or was writing in order to excite his audience into some sort of action beneficial to the Jesuit cause, Luís Fróis (1532-97) writes of a Muslim mission to Japan in the 1550s facilitated by Portuguese traders.⁸ Other Muslims visited Japan during the 16th and 17th centuries as traders, servants and slaves of European traders and missionaries.⁹ Even after the adoption of strict regulations on foreign trade, interaction between the Japanese and Muslims was facilitated by the Dutch, who, throughout the 17th century occasionally transported not insignificant numbers of Muslim traders to Japan from South-East Asia in their vessels.¹⁰ For much of the 16th and 17th centuries, it was therefore Christian traders and missionaries who facilitated contact between Muslims and the Japanese.

Although Nobuo Misawa argues that knowledge of Islam was very limited during the Edo period (1603-1868) as a result of the government's strict foreign policy,¹¹ there is evidence that the literati had some knowledge of the religion. Like Muslims themselves, knowledge of Islam and the Middle East more generally was imported via Christian contacts. Portuguese traders imported Persian textiles and clothing as well as Arabian and Persian horses, and the Dutch followed suit.¹² Arai Hakuseki's (1657-1725) important geographical works, *Sairan igen* (written 1713, published 1802) and *Seiyō kibun* (written between 1713 and 1725), illustrate that the Japanese acquired knowledge of Islam and its adherents, as well as Christianity, from Jesuit, Dutch and Chinese sources.¹³ A large part of Arai's

interwar Japan. How did the Japanese come to believe in Islam?', *Orient* 46 (2011) 119-39, p. 121. Similarly, Fauziah Fathil and Fathia Fathil argue that 'As for the period before 1868, there are no historical traces of any contact between Islam and Japan'; F. Fathil and F. Fathil, 'Islam in minority Muslim countries. A case study on Japan and Korea', *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization* 1 (2011) 130-41, p. 131.

⁸ L. Fróis, 'Fr. Ludovicus Fróis S.I. Ex Comm. P.B. Dias S.I. Patribus et fratribus S.I. Lusitaniae: Malaca 19 November 1556', in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica III (1553-1557)*, Rome, 1954, 529-39.

⁹ J.H. Morris, 'Christian-Muslim relations in China and Japan in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', *ICMR* 29 (2018) 37-55, pp. 38-43.

¹⁰ Hiromu Nagashima, 'Persian Muslim merchants in Thailand and their activities in the 17th century. Especially on their visits to Japan', *Journal of Liberal Arts and Economics* 30 (1997) 387-99.

¹¹ Nobuo Misawa, 'Shintoism and Islam', p. 121.

¹² Hosaka Shuji, 'Japan and the Gulf. A historical perspective of pre-oil relations', *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies* 4 (March 2011) 4-6.

¹³ F. Rambelli, 'Muhammad learning the Dao and writing Sutras. Early Japanese representations of Muhammad', in C. Gruber and A. Shalem (eds), *The image of the Prophet between ideal and ideology. A scholarly investigation*, Berlin, 2014, 295-310, pp. 301-3; Yazawa Toshihiko, 'Fr. Matteo Ricci's world map and its influence on East Asia', *Tong'a*

work was based on interviews with the incarcerated Jesuit missionary, Giovanni Battista Sidotti (1668-1714),¹⁴ who had covertly entered Japan in 1708.¹⁵ In the aforementioned works, Arai describes Muslim practices and, grounding himself in contemporary Christian thought that viewed Islam as a heretical schism, argues that Roman Catholicism and Islam were separate sects of the same origin and religion.¹⁶ The acquisition of knowledge from Christian sources was not only limited to Arai. During the 18th century, Japanese scholars began to question knowledge acquired from Chinese sources, and increasingly turned to imported Dutch texts and methodologies.¹⁷ Whilst not without controversy, *Rangaku* (Dutch studies) and *Yōgaku* (Western studies) provided an impetus for the study and theorisation of religions. Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841) went so far as to argue that, since Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism and Confucianism originated in Asia, all were 'equally worthy of respect'.¹⁸

Given all this, it cannot be argued that Japan lacked any contact with or knowledge of Christians and Muslims as it entered the 19th century. Following the cessation of missionary activities in the early 17th century, Christians and Muslims continued to visit the country in the capacity of traders. Indeed, it was Christian-Muslim cooperation and the amicable relations between Christian and Muslim traders that continued to foster Muslim visits to the country, and it was the texts and ideas imported from Europe and East Asia by Dutch and Chinese traders that led to the development of knowledge of both Islam and Christianity.

Yon'gu 3 (1983) 185-204, p. 198; Shintaro Ayusawa, 'Geography and Japanese knowledge of world geography', *Monumenta Nipponica* 19 (1964) 275-94, pp. 284-5; J.H. Morris, 'Arai Hakuseki', in *CMR* 12, 658-65.

¹⁴ For biographical details, see R. Tassinari, 'The end of Padre Sidotti. Some new discoveries', *Monumenta Nipponica* 5 (1942) 246-53, p. 246.

¹⁵ Arai records details of his interviews with Sidotti in his *Seiyō kibun*; see Arai Hakuseki, *Seiyō kibun*, trans. Ōka Katsuyoshi and Isagai Hiroshi, Tokyo, 1980, pp. 52-90, 152-210. See also J.Ā. Josephson, *The invention of religion in Japan*, Chicago IL, 2012, pp. 43-70.

¹⁶ Morris, 'Arai Hakuseki', p. 661; Rambelli, 'Muhammad learning the Dao', p. 303; Arai Hakuseki, *Sairan igen*, [s.l.], 1820, page numbers not given.

¹⁷ M.B. Jansen, 'Rangaku and Westernization', *Modern Asian Studies* 18 (1984) 541-53, pp. 543-4.

¹⁸ Jansen, 'Rangaku and Westernization', p. 551.

The changing contexts of 19th-century Japan

The 19th century brought numerous and rapid social, economic and political changes to Japan. In the first half of the century, European and American expansion led to frequent attempts to establish relations with the country.¹⁹ Simultaneously, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries attempted to gain access. The *Société des missions étrangères de Paris* (MEP) sought to convert Japanese traders at their colony in Busan (Korea), before dispatching missionaries to Ryukyu in 1844.²⁰ The British followed suit, dispatching John Bettelheim (1811-70) and his family to Ryukyu in 1846.²¹ It was the climactic events of 1853 and 1854, however, that would lead to the fulfilment of Euro-American economic and religious ambitions in Japan proper. Following the arrival of the fleet of Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858) at Edo Bay in July 1853, and his return the following year, the Tokugawa Bakufu, under the coercion of gunboat diplomacy, signed the Convention of Kanagawa (31 March 1854) with the US at Yokohama, opening the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate.²² This was quickly followed by treaties with the British, Russians and Dutch.²³ Although these treaties did little to change Japanese policy vis-à-vis Christianity,²⁴ the subsequent Ansei Treaties signed with the US, the Netherlands, Russia, Britain and France throughout 1858 guaranteed the opening of further ports, extraterritoriality, low import duties and the permanent residence of foreign diplomats in Edo.²⁵ Importantly,

¹⁹ Francis L. Hawks includes a small table of British, Dutch, Russian and American attempts to open trade with the country; see F.L. Hawks, *Narrative of the expedition of an American squadron to the China Seas and Japan performed in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the command of Commodore M.C. Perry, United States Navy*, Washington DC, 1856, p. 49. Nakamura Akihiko includes a list of ships that visited or attempted to visit Japan between 1808 and 1858; see Nakamura Akihiko, *Aizu bushidō*, Tokyo, 2012, pp. 149-52.

²⁰ O. Cary, *A history of Christianity in Japan. Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Protestant missions*, vol. 1. *Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox missions*, Rutland VT, 1982, 258-73.

²¹ G.H. Kerr, *Ryukyu Kingdom and Province before 1945*, Washington DC, 1953, pp. 137-42.

²² W.G. Beasley, 'The foreign threat and the opening of the ports', in M.B. Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Japan*, vol. 5. *The nineteenth century*, Cambridge, 1989, 259-305, pp. 269-70.

²³ Beasley, 'Foreign threat', pp. 270-1, 275.

²⁴ Yoshiya Abe, 'From prohibition to toleration. Japanese government views regarding Christianity, 1854-73', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 5 (1978) 107-38, pp. 111-13.

²⁵ J.E. Thomas, *Modern Japan. A social history since 1868*, Abingdon, 1996, pp. 20-1; M.R. Auslin, *Negotiating with imperialism. The unequal treaties and the culture of Japanese diplomacy*, Cambridge MA, 2004, pp. 21-2; J.E. Hunter, *The emergence of modern Japan. An introductory history since 1853*, Abingdon, 1999, p. 18.

the Ansei Treaties granted foreigners freedom to practise their own religions and build places of worship for their own use.²⁶ For example, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the US and Japan, signed on 29 July 1858, stated:

Americans in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right to erect suitable places of worship. No injury shall be done to such buildings, nor any insult be offered to the religious worship of the Americans. American citizens shall not injure any Japanese temple or *mia* [shrine], or offer any insult or injury to Japanese religious ceremonies, or to the objects of their worship.

The Americans and Japanese shall not do anything that may be calculated to excite religious animosity. The government of Japan has already abolished the practice of trampling on religious emblems.²⁷



Illustration 11. The ceremony of trampling on the crucifix and other Christian objects

²⁶ H.J. Ballhatchet, 'The modern missionary movement in Japan. Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox', in M.R. Mullins (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, Leiden, 2003, p. 35; Yoshiya Abe, 'From prohibition to toleration', pp. 111-14.

²⁷ D.J. Lu, *Japan. A documentary history*, vol. 2. *The late Tokugawa period to present*, Abingdon, 2015, p. 291.

The Ansei Treaties thus opened the way for would-be Christian missionaries to return to Japan. Protestant and Catholic missionaries began to arrive in 1859, and Russian Orthodox missionaries in 1861,²⁸ though, since conversion to Christianity was still prohibited, few converts were won by these early missionaries. By the beginning of 1872 there were only about 16 Japanese Protestants,²⁹ although many sources suggest that there were as few as ten.³⁰ Catholic missionaries fared better, and by the early 1870s had gained some 15,000-25,000 converts (mostly the descendants of 16th- and 17th-century converts who had come out of hiding and rejoined the Catholic Church).³¹

The rapid social, economic and political changes that followed the opening of relations with foreign powers, as well as pre-existent social, economic and political problems, led to the outbreak of civil war in 1868 and the associated Meiji Restoration, which caused the overthrow of the Tokugawa Bakufu and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy.³² The new government initially intensified anti-Christian policy seeking to express its 'conviction that Christianity was an evil religion which absolutely could not be tolerated, that belief in Christianity constituted a most serious breach of the law, and that Japanese people admitting to this belief should be severely punished'.³³

Between 1867 and 1873, this resulted in some 664 martyrdoms and the internal exile of returnees to the Catholic Church.³⁴ Following diplomatic

²⁸ Ballhatchet, 'Modern missionary movement', pp. 39, 42, 53.

²⁹ H. Ion, *American missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Japan, 1859-73*, Vancouver, 2009, p. 300.

³⁰ O. Cary, *A history of Christianity in Japan. Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Protestant Missions*, vol. 2. *Protestant missions*, Rutland VT, 1982, p. 62; S.H. Moffett, *A history of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2. *1500-1900*, Maryknoll NY, 2005, p. 506; H. Ritter, *A history of Protestant missions in Japan*, trans. G.E. Albrecht, rev. D.C. Greene, ed. M. Christlieb, Tokyo, 1898, p. 155.

³¹ K.M. Doak, 'Introduction. Catholicism, modernity, and Japanese culture', in K.M. Doak (ed.), *Xavier's legacies. Catholicism in modern Japanese culture*, Vancouver, 2011, pp. 11, 27 n. 21; J.P. Lehmann, 'French Catholic missionaries in Japan in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods', in M.R. Mullins (ed.), *Critical readings on Christianity in Japan*, vol. 2, Leiden, 2015, p. 464.

³² M.B. Jansen, 'The Meiji Restoration', in M.B. Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Japan*, vol. 5. *The nineteenth century*, Cambridge, 1989, 308-66.

³³ Yoshiya Abe, 'From prohibition to toleration', p. 122; T. Maxey, 'The crisis of "conversion" and search for national doctrine in early Meiji Japan', in M.R. Mullins (ed.), *Critical readings on Christianity in Japan*, vol. 2, Leiden, 2015, 396-405.

³⁴ Miyzaki Kentarō, *Kakure Kirishitan. Orasho – tamashii no tsūsō teion*, Nagasaki, 2001, p. 33. On the persecutions, see Kataoka Yakichi, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, Tokyo, 1979, pp. 612-47; Kataoka Yakichi, *Urakami yonban kuzure*, Tokyo, 2019; Maxey, 'Crisis of "conversion"', pp. 396-405; Yoshiya Abe, 'From prohibition to toleration', pp. 121-5.

missions to the US and Europe from early 1873, however, the new government, whilst ostensibly continuing to pursue an anti-Christian agenda, removed the boards (*kōsatsu*) detailing the ban on the religion, permitted exiled Christians to return to their homes and, despite placing legal limitations on preaching, gatherings, funerals and the publication of Christian texts, began to permit or overlook belief in Christianity as a matter of personal conviction.³⁵ This led to increases in the number of converts to all denominations. It was not until the Meiji Constitution of 1890, however, that freedom of religion was guaranteed, and only then 'within limits not prejudicial to peace and order and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects'.³⁶ By the end of the century, there were some 54,602 Roman Catholic, 43,273 Protestant and 25,698 Russian Orthodox converts in Japan.³⁷

The coming of Muslims

As they had for the past three centuries, Muslims initially visited Japan aboard European vessels as the staff of Christian masters. The earliest recorded visit of Muslims to Japan in the 19th century appears to have been in 1864, when a P&O vessel carrying Muslim crew docked at Yokohama.³⁸ Whether Muslim members of the crew, who included Arabs or Yemenis and Zanzibaris, disembarked is unclear,³⁹ although it is pertinent that these visitors travelled as a result of their relationships with Christian Europeans. Christian-Muslim cooperation and coexistence remained the *modus operandi*, as it had done for centuries.

The 'opening' of Japan paved the way for the establishment of relations with Islamic countries. In 1880, Japan dispatched its first official delegation to the Middle East (although earlier Europe-bound envoys had visited the region),⁴⁰ which, headed by Yoshida Masaharu (1852-1921),

³⁵ J. Breen, "Earnest desires". The Iwakura embassy and Meiji religious policy', *Japan Forum* 10 (1998) 151-65, pp. 160-2; Yoshiya Abe, 'From prohibition to toleration', pp. 121-5.

³⁶ Yoshiya Abe, 'Religious freedom under the Meiji Constitution (continued)', *Contemporary Religions in Japan* 10 (1969) 57-97, p. 95.

³⁷ J.L. Cowen et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan held in Tokyo, October 24-31, 1900, with extensive supplements*, Tokyo, 1901, pp. 990-1, 1005.

³⁸ Hosaka Shuji, 'Japan and the Gulf', p. 9.

³⁹ H. Schliemann, *La Chine et le Japon au temps present*, Paris, 1867, p. 83; Hosaka Shuji, 'Japan and the Gulf', p. 9.

⁴⁰ S. Esenbel, 'Japanese interest in the Ottoman Empire', in B. Edström (ed.), *The Japanese and Europe. Images and perceptions*, Richmond, Surrey, 2000, 95-124, p. 113.

visited the Persian and Ottoman Empires.⁴¹ Seven years later, in 1887, Prince Komatsu Akihito (1846-1903) visited Sultan Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876-1909) in Istanbul, and an official Ottoman envoy arrived in Japan in 1890.⁴² Although this marked the beginning of sustained Japanese-Turkish relations, the frigate *Ertuğrul*, which carried the Ottoman delegation, sank off the coast of Wakayama on its return journey, killing all but 69 of the 609 on board.⁴³ Japan returned the survivors to Istanbul, along with an unofficial ambassador Yamada Torajirō (1866-1957) and a letter of condolences from the emperor.⁴⁴ During this period, Japan also received a visit from the Maharaja Abu Bakar of Johor, who met with various officials and 'was granted an audience with the Japanese Emperor at an official reception on 26 June 1883'.⁴⁵ Nawab Hamid Ali Khan of Rampur also visited the country during the 1890s.⁴⁶ Such visitors were followed by other Indian and Afghan royals.⁴⁷

Although scholars such as Nile Green have noted that knowledge of Japan amongst Asian nations was highly limited during the Edo period, the Meiji Restoration and Japan's subsequent modernisation were praised and lauded as worthy of emulation by Muslim scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁴⁸ Green argues that, following the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), Muslims began to travel to Japan to observe, investigate and learn from the country's successful balancing of modernity and tradition.⁴⁹ Among these Muslim visitors, Ottoman reformists and Arab intellectuals were numerous,⁵⁰ but Pan-Islamist, anti-British and anti-Russian Indians, Egyptians and Tatars also visited the country

⁴¹ Hosaka Shuji, 'Japan and the Gulf', pp. 9-10; S. Esenbel, 'Japanese interest', p. 97.

⁴² Mhamed Biygautane, 'Immigration and religion. Muslim immigrants in Japan – their history, demographics, and challenges', in S.R. Nagy (ed.), *Japan's demographic revival. Rethinking migration, identity and sociocultural norms*, Singapore, 2016, 113-44, p. 118.

⁴³ Esenbel, 'Japanese interest', p. 117.

⁴⁴ Esenbel, 'Japanese interest', p. 117.

⁴⁵ A. Rahman Tang Abdullah, 'Sultan Abu Bakar's foreign guests and travels abroad, 1860s-1895. Facts and fiction in early Malay historical accounts', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 84 (2011) 1-22, p. 9.

⁴⁶ N. Green, 'Forgotten futures. Indian Muslims in the trans-Islamic turn to Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 72 (2013) 611-31, p. 617.

⁴⁷ Green, 'Forgotten futures', p. 618.

⁴⁸ Green, 'Forgotten futures', pp. 611-12; Aziz Al Arabawi, 'Review of: The revival of Japan in the Meiji period from an Arab-Islamic perspective, Ahmed Al Makkawi, Morocco, 2013', *Al-Muntaqa* 1 (2018) 107-111.

⁴⁹ Green, 'Forgotten futures', pp. 612, 613, 617.

⁵⁰ Green, 'Forgotten futures', p. 617; Mhamed Biygautane, 'Immigration and religion', p. 119.

and began to seek Japanese support for the pan-Islamic movement.⁵¹ Although an Indian Muslim community existed in Yokohama by the late 19th century,⁵² it was not until after the aforementioned Russo-Japanese War that larger scale Muslim immigration began. Mhamed Biygautane notes that Turkish and Egyptian immigrants were numerically the most substantial.⁵³ Amongst Egyptian immigrants were military specialists who relocated to Japan in order to learn from the Imperial Army.⁵⁴ The pan-Islamic movement received support from pan-Asianists in Japan as they sought to create a friendly Islamic front in Asia following her success in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5).⁵⁵ Japan therefore maintained a network of spies in Central Asia, eastern China and the Middle East throughout the early 20th century, becoming active in Xinjiāng, for instance, following the Xīnhài Revolution of 1911.⁵⁶ Japanese support for pan-Islamic policy would later develop as ultra-nationalist groups such as the Black Dragon Society (*Kokuryūkai*) supported pan-Islamist religious leaders and the pan-Islamic cause.⁵⁷ Seeking to spread Islam in Japan and gain support against the oppression of Muslims in Asia, two of these religious leaders, Abdurresid Ibrahim (1857-1944) and Abdul Hafiz Mohammed Barakatullah (1854-1927), assisted in the establishment of the Greater Asia Society (*Ajia Gikai*) in 1909.⁵⁸ The Greater Asia Society, which has been viewed as an offshoot of the East Asia Common Culture Society (*Tōa Dōbunkai*), acted as 'a framework for cooperation and information-gathering about Muslim populations'.⁵⁹ Building on the work of Nobuo Misawa, Ulrich Brandenburg notes that

⁵¹ Nobuo Misawa, 'Shintoism and Islam', p. 122; Green, 'Forgotten futures', p. 617.

⁵² U. Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan. Pan-Asianism's encounter with Muslim mission', *Japan Forum* 30 (2018) online, p. 13.

⁵³ Mhamed Biygautane, 'Immigration and religion', p. 118.

⁵⁴ Mhamed Biygautane, 'Immigration and religion', pp. 118-19.

⁵⁵ Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, *R & A No. 890 Japanese infiltration among the Muslims throughout the world* [Washington DC], 1943, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁶ K.A. Hammond, 'Managing Muslims. Imperial Japan, Islamic policy, and Axis connections during the Second World War', *Journal of Global History* 12 (2017) 251-73, p. 252.

⁵⁷ Office of Strategic Services, *R & A No. 890 Japanese infiltration*, p. 7; S. Esenbel, 'The image of Japan in the world of Islam. Abdurresid Ibrahim and the Japanese of the late Meiji Period', *Kyoto Conference on Japanese Studies* 1994 4 (1996) 169-70.

⁵⁸ Esenbel, 'Image of Japan', p. 169; Mikiya Koyagi, 'The Hajj by Japanese Muslims in the interwar period. Japan's pan-Asianism and economic interests in the Islamic world', *Journal of World History* 24 (2013) 849-76, p. 852; Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', pp. 17-18.

⁵⁹ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 17; Esenbel, 'Image of Japan', p. 169.

these instances of pan-Asianist and pan-Islamic cooperation 'took place for mutual benefit without ultimately leading to a convergence of goals'.⁶⁰

Despite all this, the establishment of official diplomatic relations and the presence of Muslims, including religious leaders and missionaries, in Japanese society did not lead to wide-scale immigration or wide-scale conversions to Islam. Noda Shōtarō (1868-1904) converted in 1891 in Istanbul, but he abandoned the religion on his return to Japan in 1893, and the second and third Japanese to convert, Ōhara Takeyoshi and Yamaoka Kōtarō (1880-1959), did so in 1909 after meeting the aforementioned Ibrahim.⁶¹ Earlier missionaries such as Sarfaraz Husayn failed to gain converts.⁶² Misawa argues that both Ōhara and Yamaoka, and many other early Japanese Muslims were 'bogus Muslims' in the employ of the government and military intelligence service, 'who utilized Muslim power for the Great Asianism movement under the Japanese nationalists'.⁶³ Brandenburg, who describes Yamaoka in Ibrahim's parlance as a 'political Muslim', similarly notes that 'the Muslim cloak enabled the Japanese to increase their knowledge about Muslim regions and populations'.⁶⁴ On the other hand, Mikiya Koyagi notes that Yamaoka was 'forced' to convert to Islam, since his status as a non-Muslim made it difficult to make his planned trip to Mecca.⁶⁵

The earliest Islamic publication was Barakatullah's journal *The Islamic Fraternity*, founded in 1910.⁶⁶ Following its suppression, it was replaced from around 1912 by *El Islam*, edited by a Japanese convert, Hasan Hatano Uho (1882-1936).⁶⁷ Although biographies of Muḥammad had been translated from other languages and also composed by Japanese scholars,⁶⁸ it was not until the 1930s that widespread academic interest in Islam

⁶⁰ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 18.

⁶¹ Misawa Nobuo and Gökür Akçadağ, 'The first Japanese Muslim, Shōtarō Noda (1868-1904)', *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 23 (2007) 85-98; Nobuo Misawa, 'Shintoism and Islam', pp. 122-3.

⁶² Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 13.

⁶³ Nobuo Misawa, 'Shintoism and Islam', p. 123.

⁶⁴ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 18.

⁶⁵ Mikiya Koyagi, 'Hajj by Japanese Muslims', p. 852.

⁶⁶ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 16.

⁶⁷ J.C. Ker, *Political trouble in India. 1907-1917*, Calcutta, 1917, p. 134.

⁶⁸ H.M. Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents. The reception of Islam and translations of the Qur'an in twentieth-century Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 73 (2014) 619-40, pp. 621-2.

emerged.⁶⁹ The first attempt to translate the Qur'an was made in 1920, and the first mosques were not built until the 1930s.⁷⁰

The forms of Christian-Muslim relations in late 19th- and early 20th-century Japan

As should be evident from the above exploration of the historical context, Christian-Muslim relations and interaction in 19th- and early 20th-century Japan were extremely limited. The primary reasons for this appear to be twofold. First, while there were a relatively large number of Christian converts, missionaries and European and American Christian visitors to Japan, very few native or foreign Muslims were present in the country. In addition, the existence of Muslim communities in Japan appears to have been mostly unknown among their Christian counterparts.⁷¹ Second, for much of the 19th century, religious freedom was not guaranteed. This effectively ensured that Christians and Muslims could only visit Japan as traders, for whom proselytisation was not the primary concern. Even after the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution, which granted Christians freedom to practise, Islam appears to have remained prohibited. While some Christian converts such as Mori Arinori argued for the recognition of the equal status of all religions, including Islam,⁷² it appears that it was not until the early 20th century, as Japan fostered closer relations with Middle Eastern countries and pan-Islamists, that Islam began to be tolerated.⁷³ For example, whereas the Department of Religious Affairs refused Mehmed Ali permission to build a mosque and preach in 1902, some seven years later the religious activities of Ibrahim and Barakatullah facilitated by the Greater Asia Society were tolerated, including their lectures on Islam and sponsorship of a failed mosque-building project.⁷⁴

Christian-Muslim interaction appears to have taken three primary forms during the period in question. The first of these was through trade and shipping. As noted, Christians brought Muslims to Japan as their staff and as fellow traders and travellers. This was the direct continuation

⁶⁹ Kojiro Nakamura, 'Islamic studies in Japan', *Religion and Society* 5 (2007) 261-5; Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', pp. 624-5.

⁷⁰ Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', pp. 619, 621-2.

⁷¹ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 13.

⁷² See A. Swale, 'Mori Arinori', in *CMR* 16, 715-18.

⁷³ Office of Strategic Services, *R & A No. 890 Japanese infiltration*, pp. 6-8.

⁷⁴ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', pp. 13, 17.

of the sort of Christian-Muslim interaction that had pervaded the Japanese context for the previous few centuries. As had been the case in the 16th and 17th centuries, Muslims who came to Japan in the service of Christians were bound up in the power relationship of employer-employee.⁷⁵ Following the opening of Japanese relations with Muslim countries, it is also probable that Japanese Christians and non-Japanese Muslims interacted through the medium of trade. Nevertheless, as I have noted in regard to this form of interreligious interaction in previous centuries, 'the low level of importance placed on such interactions meant that they went [mostly] unmentioned in [...] reports and letters'.⁷⁶ Indeed, other than the aforementioned account of a P&O vessel that carried Muslim crew on its journey to Yokohama,⁷⁷ there appear to be few accounts attesting in detail to the shared journeys of Christian and Muslim traders and travellers. Be that as it may, Christian-Muslim interaction through the medium of trade points to the formation of relationships which, although not always equal, were both amicable and grounded in interreligious cooperation, in some cases for mutual economic benefit.

A second form of Christian-Muslim relations that took place in the period concerns books and other media, such as art, and their import into Japan, their status as symbols and sources of knowledge, consumption of them, and composition of them. Despite Japanese trade with Muslim countries and the visits of Muslim traders and religious, most Japanese Christian converts were brought into contact with Islam and Muslims through works imported by missionaries or through their education, whether secular or religious. Geographical and historical works composed by foreign Christians and which described Muslims and their societies were imported and translated into Japanese or received in Chinese translation. Such works were integral to forming common understandings of Islam and its adherents among Japanese Christians. Humphrey Prideaux's (1648-1724) polemical *Life of Mahomet* (1697) was translated into Japanese in 1876, becoming the first biography of Muḥammad available on the Japanese market.⁷⁸ Other works such as *Chikyū setsuryaku*, translations of the geographical work of Richard Quarterman Way (1819-95), translated by Mitsukuri Genpo (1799-1863) in 1860 and Fukuda Keigyō (1818-94) in 1875, became important geographical sources, and were used

⁷⁵ Morris, 'Christian-Muslim relations in China and Japan', p. 39.

⁷⁶ Morris, 'Christian-Muslim relations in China and Japan', p. 40.

⁷⁷ Hosaka Shuji, 'Japan and the Gulf', p. 9; Schliemann, *La Chine et le Japon*, p. 83.

⁷⁸ Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', p. 621.

as textbooks during the period.⁷⁹ *Chikyū setsuryaku* contained anti-Muslim components, including descriptions of Arabs as 'stupid, less intelligent, and illiterate'.⁸⁰ Another example is Segawa Asashi's (1853-1926) *Kyōkai rekishi*, a translation of a Church history by Samuel Merrill Woodbridge (1819-1905), which contained a chapter focusing on the spread of Islam.⁸¹ The book's treatment of Islam used negative terminology, describing its spread as *shōketsu* ('infesting').⁸² Keiko Sakai adequately captures the state of affairs present in the Japanese consumption of texts concerning Islam in the period when she notes that, whilst the importation of Western texts allowed Japan to receive updated and accurate information in comparison to what it had received in the Edo period, it also resulted in the import of the views of Western Orientalists on Islam.⁸³ Imported and translated texts informed the Japanese, whether Christian or non-Christian, of the Muslim other and provided one possible way by which the Japanese could come to know Muslims and Islam. Nevertheless, as extensions of contemporary Western thought and scholarship, such translations reflected more the state of Christian-Muslim relations in European and American thought than they did Christian-Muslim relations in Japan.

In the same way that publications composed by Christians brought information about Muslims and Islam to Japan, it was Christian publications that helped to spread information about Japan to the Muslim world. Brandenburg notes the efforts of Christian missionaries in India to highlight in their publications the role that Christianity played in Japan's successes.⁸⁴ He also points to the extensive pieces on Japan published in the Jesuit journal *Al-Mashriq* (Beirut) and the Church Missionary Society's Arabic and English publication *Orient and Occident* (Egypt).⁸⁵ Other examples might include pieces in the journal *Al-Muqataṭaf* which, although ostensibly aimed at a universal readership, was the product of Syrian Christians,⁸⁶ and, according to Robbert Woltering, included some of the earliest references to Japan in the Arab world during the modern

⁷⁹ Keiko Sakai, 'Islam, Muslims, neighbors in Asia? The transformation of Japan's perceptions as shown in its media', in T.Y. Ismael and A. Rippin (eds), *Islam in the eyes of the West. Images and realities in an age of terror*, Abingdon, 2010, 125-47, p. 127.

⁸⁰ Keiko Sakai, 'Islam, Muslims, neighbors in Asia?', p. 127.

⁸¹ S.M. Woodbridge, *Kyōkai rekishi (jō)*, trans. Segawa Asashi, Tokyo, 1885, pp. 103-8.

⁸² Woodbridge, *Kyōkai rekishi (jō)*, p. 103.

⁸³ Keiko Sakai, 'Islam, Muslims, neighbors in Asia?', p. 127.

⁸⁴ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 8.

⁸⁵ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 8.

⁸⁶ A. Ayalon, *The press in the Arab Middle East. A history*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 52-4.

period.⁸⁷ The themes of these publications, some of which placed focus on the evangelisation of Japan whilst simultaneously linking Japanese successes to the influence of Christianity,⁸⁸ were carried over into non-missionary texts. An example of this is the Indian economist R. Palit's *A guide to Japan*, published in 1910, which frequently cites the contributions of Christianity and Christians to Japan, including, but not limited to, Christian campaigns against prostitution, smoking and alcoholism, Christian influence on morals and politics, and Christian influence on other religions, which had, the book claims, led Buddhists to emulate their counterparts by establishing hospitals and schools.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, missionary focus on Japan outside the country extended beyond publications. Brandenburg notes, for instance, that following the Russo-Japanese War 'the Indian YMCA invited two Japanese Christians [...] to travel through India as representatives of a Christian Japan.'⁹⁰ Christians were, therefore, partially responsible for spreading information about Japan and the Japanese to foreign Muslim and non-Muslim populations through their publications and sponsorship of Japanese Christian travellers.

Discussions about Islam and its adherents in the works of Japanese Christians provide a window through which we can come to understand the way in which Japanese converts formulated their own understandings of Islam and Muslims. One prominent view shared by Takahashi Gorō (1856-1935), Togawa Zanka (1855-1924) and Matsumura Kaiseki (1859-1939) was that Islam is to some extent derived from or highly influenced by Christianity. Whilst all three scholars illustrate detailed knowledge of Islam, exploring its history and practices,⁹¹ each seeks to show through comparison that Islam was deeply influenced by their own religion. Takahashi's 1881 *Shokyō benran* ('Guide to religions') explains Islam by reference to Christianity, noting the similarities and differences between the two⁹² and seeking to show that Muḥammad deliberately drew upon

⁸⁷ R. Woltering, *Occidentalisms in the Arab world. Ideology and images of the West in the Egyptian media*, London, 2011, p. 24.

⁸⁸ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 8.

⁸⁹ R. Palit, *A guide to Japan with an early history of its people, religion and government*, Calcutta, 1910, pp. 95-6, 115, 214-17.

⁹⁰ Brandenburg, 'Imagining an Islamic Japan', p. 8.

⁹¹ Takahashi Gorō, *Shokyō benran*, Tokyo, 1881, pp. 97-108; Togawa Zanka, *Sekai sandai shūkyō*, Tokyo, 1985, pp. 253-75; Matsumura Kaiseki, *Bankoku kōbōshi*, Tokyo, 1902, pp. 114-22, 229-33, 245-64, 277-301, 375-81, 475-85; Matsumura Kaiseki, *Tenchijin*, Tokyo, 1912, pp. 214-16.

⁹² Takahashi Gorō, *Shokyō benran*, pp. 99, 104-5.

both Christianity and Persian religions in order to make his new religion appeal to their adherents.⁹³ In this volume, Hans Martin Krämer argues that Takahashi was probably influenced by John Medows Rodwell's (1808-1900) translation of the Qur'an.⁹⁴ Indeed, the concept of Christian influence on the development of Islam expressed by Takahashi is present throughout the preface to Rodwell's translation.⁹⁵ Togawa's *Sekai sandai shūkyō* ('The three great religions of the world'), published in 1895, contains a comparatively lengthy treatment of Islam that notes the influence of Judaism and Christianity on the faith, and the similarities between all three religions.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, Togawa asserts that unlike other religions, Islam has primarily been spread through violence.⁹⁷ Although there are questions concerning the direct influences upon him, his text seems to have been composed within the same intellectual context as Takahashi's and he was also probably influenced by the theology of the missionaries. Matsumura's *Bankoku kōbōshi* (1902; 'The history of the rise and fall of nations') follows and intensifies the trends outlined in the work of Takahashi and Togawa. In the opening line of his exploration of Islam, Matsumura declares that Muḥammad was influenced by Christianity.⁹⁸ Following this, he proceeds to argue that Christianity had a strong influence on the religion, lending both its monotheism and prophetic figures.⁹⁹ Matsumura founded the Christian new religious movement, *Dōkai*, in 1907.¹⁰⁰ He subsequently published *Tenchijin* ('Heaven, earth and man'), which contained a short exploration of Islam, in 1912. In this, he notes that Islam can be described as a sect of Christianity, but that it is distinct in so far as it denies the divinity of Christ.¹⁰¹ Reflecting his theological movement away from Christianity and his conviction that each religion 'is founded on belief in the same ultimate reality',¹⁰² Matsumura proceeds to argue that the path of all religions is the same,

⁹³ Takahashi Gorō, *Shōkyō benran*, pp. 102-3.

⁹⁴ See H.M. Krämer, 'Takahashi Gorō', in *CMR* 16, 719-23.

⁹⁵ J.M. Rodwell, *El-Kor'ân; or, The Korân. Translated from the Arabic, the suras arranged in chronological order; with notes and index*, London, 1876, pp. xiii, xvi-xx, xxii-xxv.

⁹⁶ Togawa Zanka, *Sekai sandai shūkyō*, pp. 266-7, 272.

⁹⁷ Togawa Zanka, *Sekai sandai shūkyō*, p. 273.

⁹⁸ Matsumura Kaisei, *Bankoku kōbōshi*, p. 114.

⁹⁹ Matsumura Kaisei, *Bankoku kōbōshi*, pp. 117-18.

¹⁰⁰ M. Mullins, *Christianity made in Japan. A study of indigenous movements*, Honolulu HI, 1998, pp. 38, 42.

¹⁰¹ Matsumura Kaisei, *Tenchijin*, pp. 214-15.

¹⁰² Mullins, *Christianity made in Japan*, p. 76.

but their way of seeing the world is different.¹⁰³ Influenced by pan-Asianist ideas, members of *Dōkai* such as Ōkawa Shūmei (1886-1957)¹⁰⁴ would subsequently endeavour to study, explain, praise and defend Islam in *Dōkai*'s journal *Michi* throughout the 1910s.¹⁰⁵ The work of Takahashi, Togawa and Matsumura illustrates that some Japanese Christians, most probably influenced by missionaries and contemporary European and American ideas, understood Islam to have grown out of Christianity in some form or another. Although Matsumura eventually came to a position akin to religious pluralism, Takahashi and Togawa (and Matsumura initially) appear to have viewed Islam as a sort of corruption of their explicitly superior religion, Christianity. In addition, Togawa and Matsumura's focus on Islam's spread through violence illustrates the prevalence of a generally stigmatic and negative view of the religion.

The theorised influence of Christianity on Islam was not the only imported idea to take hold among Japanese Christians. The work of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) was highly popular, and his 1841 *Hero worship* was translated several times during the late 19th century.¹⁰⁶ Influenced by Carlylean thought, several Japanese Christians described Muḥammad with reference to his status as a hero and a great man of history. For example, Immanuel Shinsaku Kōdera (1855-1929) noted in his paper on Shintoism, read to the Cambridge University Church Missionary Union on 11 February 1884, that both Buddhism and Islam were religions that had been 'invented by a man gifted with a commanding intellect, and then propagated and spread among others voluntarily or by compulsion'.¹⁰⁷

Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), whose work was highly influenced by Carlyle¹⁰⁸ and other Western scholars such as Julius Hawley Seelye (1824-95) and Anson D. Morse (1846-1916),¹⁰⁹ also treats Muḥammad in

¹⁰³ Matsumura Kaiseki, *Tenchijin*, pp. 215-16.

¹⁰⁴ Like Matsumura, Ōkawa had also initially been influenced by Western thought. His 1910 essay 'Mystical Mohammedanism' has been described as an uncredited and abridged translation of Friedrich Max Müller's lecture on Sufism. See Usuki Akira, 'A Japanese Asianist's view of Islam. A case study of Ōkawa Shūmei', *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 28 (2012) 59-84, pp. 66-7.

¹⁰⁵ Usuki Akira, 'Japanese Asianist's view', pp. 67-70.

¹⁰⁶ Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', p. 622.

¹⁰⁷ Immanuel Shinsaku Kōdera, *A personal narrative of his conversion to the faith of Christ, with some account by the same of the religions of Japan*, Cambridge, 1884, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Hiroko Willcock, 'Advent of a Meiji prophet and Carlylean man of letters. Uchimura Kanzo, 1885-1896', *Asian Cultural Studies* 29 (2003) 27-39; Nanyan Guo, *Refining nature in modern Japanese literature. The life and art of Shiga Naoya*, Lanham MD, 2014, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Ohyama Tsunao, 'Uchimura Kanzō and American Christian values', in Shibuya Hiroshi and Chiba Shin (eds), *Living for Jesus and Japan. The social and theological*

Carlylean fashion, identifying him on several occasions as one of history's great men.¹¹⁰ Parts of Uchimura's work also bear a possibly accidental or incidental resemblance to that of the Dutch Reformed Church missionary to Japan, Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck (1830-98). In 1896, Verbeck had argued in a speech that Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism and Islam were all 'Oriental' religions.¹¹¹ In his 1913 *Hinpu no sabetsu, hoka* ('Disparity of wealth, etc.'), Uchimura took a similar stance, arguing that the world religions are, in fact, Asian religions.¹¹² He also noted that Christ, Muḥammad and Buddha took the form of Asian persons for their missions to Asian peoples.¹¹³ To summarise, Japanese Christian ideas regarding Islam and Muslims were partially influenced by contemporary Western scholarship imported and created by missionaries. In addition to the concept that Islam derived from Christianity, Carlylean treatments of the figure of Muḥammad and the conception of Islam and Christianity as Asian religions appear to have been popular.

Despite the influence of Western ideas, Uchimura and other Japanese Christians also developed their own positions vis-à-vis Muslims and Islam. In his *Bankoku kōbōshi* the aforementioned Matsumura sought to affirm the humanity of Muslims by providing a theological defence of their right to life. He argues that, through the Crusades, which he sees as a just response to the Muslim oppression of Christians, Europeans learned

thought of Uchimura Kanzō, Grand Rapids MI, 2013, 39-48; Yagyu Kunichika, 'Prophetic nationalism. Uchimura between God and Japan', in Shibuya Hiroshi and Chiba Shin (eds), *Living for Jesus and Japan. The social and theological thought of Uchimura Kanzō*, Grand Rapids MI, 2013, 69-92, pp. 75-6. Uchimura's notes from Morse's lectures can be found in Uchimura Kanzō, 'Lectures on history, by Prof. Morse', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 40. *Hensan, nenpu, daimeī sakuin*, Tokyo, 2001, 97-181.

¹¹⁰ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Risōteki dendōshi', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 1. 1877-1892, Tokyo, 2001, 260-74, p. 260; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Japan and the Japanese', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 3. 1894-1896, Tokyo, 2001, 169-297, p. 292; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Benmei', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 7. 1899, Tokyo, 2001, 96-7, p. 97; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Setsuri no koto', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 8. 1900, Tokyo, 2001, 213-26, pp. 219-20; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Kirisutokyō mondō. Kirisuto no shinsei', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 11. 1903, Tokyo, 2001, 308-37, p. 329; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Iesu no mujun', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 14. 1906-1907, Tokyo, 2001, 220-6, p. 224; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Rokugatsu nijūichi nijūyokka Nijima Jō ate (fūtōkake)', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 36. *Shokan ichi*, Tokyo, 2001, 173-8, p. 178.

¹¹¹ J.M. Hommes, 'Verbeck of Japan. Guido F. Verbeck as pioneer missionary, Oyatoi Gaikokujin, and "foreign hero"', Pittsburgh PA, 2014 (PhD Diss. University of Pittsburgh) p. 359.

¹¹² Uchimura Kanzō, 'Hinpu no sabetsu, hoka', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 20. 1913-1914, Tokyo, 2001, 22-9, p. 25.

¹¹³ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Hinpu no sabetsu, hoka', p. 25.

that the killing of Muslims was discordant with Christian teaching.¹¹⁴ Like Mori Arinori, who, as noted, campaigned for religious equality, Matsumura therefore provides a defence of Muslim rights. The extensive corpus of Uchimura Kanzō illustrates that some Japanese Christians took wide-ranging and varied approaches to Islam and Muslims. Uchimura makes fleeting references to Islam and Muslims throughout his work, taking positive, negative and neutral stances on the religion and its followers. Many of Uchimura's pieces featuring Islam are political, historical and geographical descriptions of Arabia, the Byzantine Empire, Iberia, Israel, Persia and the contemporary Middle East.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, his work also extends beyond these genres to include, for instance, biblical scholarship and theology. For Uchimura, Islam is an erroneous religion that lacks evangelical zeal and therefore historically came to rely upon military conquest and violence in order to expand.¹¹⁶ Uchimura believed that Islam and its institutions hamper social development,¹¹⁷ but he simultaneously sought to illustrate that the religion had been at the pinnacle of global progress and the advancement of ideas. For example, he praises the abolition of slavery by Hamoud bin Mohammed of Zanzibar (r. 1896-1902)¹¹⁸ and the introduction of the peoples of the Middle East to monotheism by Muḥammad.¹¹⁹ In addition, he argues that Islam's doctrine of equality between Muslims led to the creation of numerous stable

¹¹⁴ Matsumura Kaiseiki, *Bankoku kōbōshi*, pp. 229-33, 245-65, 277-95, 301.

¹¹⁵ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Koromubusu no kōseki', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 1, 312-22, p. 320; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Chirigaku kō', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 2, 1893, Tokyo, 2001, 352-479, pp. 362, 371, 421; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Jisei no kansatsu', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 3, 1894-1896, Tokyo, 2001, 226-59, p. 257; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Kōkoku shidan', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 7, 1899, Tokyo, 2001, 266-408, pp. 299, 375; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Kuni wa Kirisutokyō nakushite tatsu o eru ka', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 15, 1907-1908, Tokyo, 2001, 423-37, p. 425.

¹¹⁶ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Dendō no seishin', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 2, 1893, Tokyo, 2001, 307-50, pp. 313, 336; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Kōkoku shidan', p. 312; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Eikoku ni tai suru Nipponjin no Dōjō (hoka)', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 8, 1900, Tokyo, 2001, 96-101, p. 100; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Mui no goshūkan', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 14, 1906-1907, Tokyo, 2001, 50-6, p. 52; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Ichiban erai hito. Nazare no Iesu', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 15, 1907-1908, Tokyo, 2001, 159-62, p. 160.

¹¹⁷ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Hungary and Turkey. Marquis Ito on education, etc.', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 5, 1897-1898, Tokyo, 2001, 287-9, p. 289.

¹¹⁸ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Notes', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō Zenshū*, vol. 4, 1897, Tokyo, 2001, 237-9, p. 237.

¹¹⁹ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Mōse no jikkai to sono chūkai', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 7, 1899, Tokyo, 2001, 409-13, pp. 411-12.

and healthy nation states.¹²⁰ Unlike his contemporaries, who, as noted, often viewed Islam as subsidiary and inferior to Christianity, Uchimura noted that Muslims and the members of other religions could be exemplars of their faith, and even superior to many Christians in terms of their zeal and religiously motivated action.¹²¹ Uchimura's numerous and complex references to Islam and Muslims, which are explored at greater length elsewhere in this volume,¹²² and the development of thought by other Japanese Christians such as Matsumura, illustrate that some 19th- and early 20th-century Japanese Christians took much more nuanced and indeed multiple approaches to Islam than the positions encapsulated in the work of such authors as Takahashi and Togawa.

The only Japanese Muslim text from the period that deals with Christianity is Yamaoka Mitsutarō's (1880-1959) 1912 *Sekai no shinpikyō. Arabiya jūdanki* ('A mirror of the world's mysteries. A record of crossing Arabia'), which argues that Muslims' relations with the adherents of other religions are governed according to well-defined, practice-based distinctions.¹²³ For example, Yamaoka notes that Muslims are unable to reside with the followers of other religions because of differences in manners and customs.¹²⁴ This potentially reflects Yamaoka's own experience with Muslims, including his aforementioned conversion, which was necessary for him to take part in the *hajj*.¹²⁵ Yamaoka's work also contains anti-Christian elements, and he notes, for instance, the dislike and criticism of Christianity among Muslims.¹²⁶ Furthermore, he states that Christians who enter Islamic holy places in Arabia should be put to death.¹²⁷ This approach to Christianity probably reflects the thought of the pan-Islamist and pan-Asianist thinkers present in Japan at the time with whom he interacted, and his own anti-White sentiments.¹²⁸

There is little record of the contents of other Muslim texts from the period, such as the aforementioned and exceedingly rare journal

¹²⁰ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Note and comment', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 5. 1897-1898, Tokyo, 2001, 82-3, p. 83.

¹²¹ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Editorial comment', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 5. 1897-1898, Tokyo, 2001, 139-40, p. 140; Uchimura Kanzō, 'Atarashiki imashi', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 14. 1906-1907, Tokyo, 2001, 346-55, p. 353.

¹²² See J.H. Morris, 'Kanzō Uchimura', in *CMR* 16, 738-59.

¹²³ Yamaoka Mitsutarō, *Sekai no shinpikyō. Arabiya jūdanki*, Tokyo, 1912, p. 43.

¹²⁴ Yamaoka Mitsutarō, *Sekai no shinpikyō*, p. 43.

¹²⁵ Mikiya Koyagi, 'Hajj by Japanese Muslims', p. 852.

¹²⁶ Yamaoka Mitsutarō, *Sekai no shinpikyō*, p. 43.

¹²⁷ Yamaoka Mitsutarō, *Sekai no shinpikyō*, pp. 53-4.

¹²⁸ Mikiya Koyagi, 'Hajj by Japanese Muslims', pp. 851-5.

The Islamic Fraternity. James Campbell Ker notes the pan-Islamist and anti-British content of the publication, but does not record whether it spoke to Christian-Muslim relations.¹²⁹ Ker also records that the publication became increasingly militant.¹³⁰ The first volume of the journal, published on 15 September 1910, refers to Christians and Christianity on several occasions. The first page notes that an unnamed Christian missionary, identifiable as Samuel Marinus Zwemer (1867-1952), had become a subscriber to the journal, and records some details of Zwemer's criticisms of Islam.¹³¹ Later, the text explores and critically engages with some passages on Islam from Timothy Richard's (1845-1919) *Conversion by the million in China* (1907).¹³² From these references in the first volume of the journal, it is possible to infer that *The Islamic Fraternity* included information pertinent to Christian-Muslim relations, with content that engaged critically with contemporary Western (missionary) scholarship on Islam in East Asia and elsewhere. Nevertheless, if Ker's description is accurate, it probably developed into an increasingly militant publication and it may be possible to conjecture that it included anti-Christian material. Muslim texts from Japan encapsulate, therefore, the pan-Islamic sentiment of Muslims who were present in the contemporary Japanese context. Like Christian texts, Muslim publications appear to have contained multiple treatments of the religious other, including scholarly engagements with Christian texts, criticism of Christianity and its followers and, on occasion, anti-Christian polemics.

There are few references to direct interactions between Christians and Muslims during the period, and it appears that most of those that exist are found in Christian sources. Nevertheless, this may be said to constitute the final form of Christian-Muslim relations and interaction that took place in the Japanese context during the period. Niijima Jō (1843-90) provides accounts of his interaction with Muslims during the outward leg of his journey to America in 1884. During a brief stop in Sri Lanka, Niijima and a Japanese friend were able to visit and interview Aḥmad 'Urābī (1814-1911) at his home. Niijima's account records that they discussed the Japanese education system and military, as well as Egypt.¹³³ He also records discussions of a religious nature, noting that he had

¹²⁹ Ker, *Political trouble*, pp. 132-5.

¹³⁰ Ker, *Political trouble*, p. 133.

¹³¹ *The Islamic Fraternity*, Tokyo, 15 September 1910, p. 1.

¹³² *The Islamic Fraternity*, Tokyo, 15 September 1910, p. 3.

¹³³ A.S. Hardy (ed.), *Life and letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, Boston MA, 1891, pp. 252-3.

questioned 'Urābī about Islam and had learnt that it was spreading rapidly in India and China and that 'Urābī had commended Nijima on his possession of a copy of the Qur'an.¹³⁴

Whereas Nijima's interactions with 'Urābī and other Muslims took place outside Japan, Matsumura and Uchimura refer to interactions within the Japanese context. Matsumura refers to his meeting with a Turkish military officer by the name of Fadorē at a Christian church in Japan.¹³⁵ The two men discussed Muslim ritual and dietary purity, which Matsumura uses as an illustration of his pluralist 'one path many viewpoints' position.¹³⁶ Uchimura records an interaction in 1908 with an Egyptian military officer by the name of A. Fuwadori,¹³⁷ who sought to persuade Uchimura to abandon Christianity and convert to Islam.¹³⁸ In response to this meeting, Uchimura penned a letter that was printed in *The Japan Chronicle*, decrying proselytisation and extending a hand of friendship to the Muslim and the members of other religions.¹³⁹ Matsumura and Uchimura's accounts illustrate that dialogue on religious matters involving Christians and Muslims was taking place within early 20th-century Japan.

Muslim travelogues such as Yamaoka's aforementioned *Sekai no shinpikyō. Arabiya jūdanki* also refer to direct contact with the religious other. Yamaoka's book contains numerous accounts of his interactions with and observation of foreigners, some of whom it can be assumed were Christian. Nevertheless, Yamaoka chooses to identify these foreigners by nationality rather than religion. As noted by Koyagi, these accounts focus on the injustices that Yamaoka observed and take an anti-British and anti-White, rather than overtly anti-Christian, position.¹⁴⁰ Given the presence and prominence of Christians in Japan at the time, it is probable that some other Muslim travelogues by Middle Eastern travellers also contained references to Christians and Christianity within Japan or en route. Accounts referring to direct interactions between Christians and Muslims seem to suggest that adherents of the two religions were in dialogue and were primarily discussing religious issues. Simultaneously,

¹³⁴ Hardy, *Life and letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, p. 253.

¹³⁵ Matsumura Kaiseki, *Tenchijin*, p. 215.

¹³⁶ Matsumura Kaiseki, *Tenchijin*, pp. 215-16.

¹³⁷ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Fuifuikyō shinja ni okuru bun', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 16. 1908-1909, Tokyo, 2001, 33-5, p. 33.

¹³⁸ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Propagandistic nuisance', in Shinichi Ōtsuka (ed.), *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 16. 1908-1909, Tokyo, 2001, 3-5, p. 3.

¹³⁹ Uchimura Kanzō, 'Propagandistic nuisance', pp. 4-5.

¹⁴⁰ Mikiya Koyagi, 'Haji by Japanese Muslims', p. 853.

Christians and Muslims such as Nijima and Yamada were seeking to learn about the religious other and the state of affairs in other countries through dialogue with and observation of their counterparts.

Conclusion

The second half of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century marked the earliest period in which Japan became a theatre for Christian-Muslim relations beyond the spheres of trade and joint travel. As they had done in the preceding centuries, Muslims and Christians continued to visit the country as passengers and crew aboard the same ships, as traders and as travellers. However, they also established communities and gained converts within Japan. Christian and Muslim missionaries, residents and converts interacted with each other directly, and wrote about their counterparts and the religions they held. The texts they composed are evidence of complex relations and interactions in both religious and secular contexts. Christian writers were influenced by Western ideas, but also reflected and theologised from within the Japanese context. On the other hand, contemporary Muslim writers were influenced by pan-Islamist and pan-Asianist sentiments present in both Japan (and the Muslim communities there) and abroad, but also sought to challenge Western scholarship on Islam in East Asia. Christian missionaries in particular were instrumental in spreading information about Islam to Japan and information about Japan to the Muslim world. Unlike other parts of Asia, Japan did not become a stage for widespread Christian-Muslim dialogue and interaction, since both Christians and Muslims remained minorities, and religious freedom was limited for much of the period in question. Nevertheless, the interactions that did take place point to a complicated but often-forgotten history of interreligious dialogue and interaction between the adherents of two imported religions.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1800-1914

South-East Asia

Muḥammad Anwār al-Dīn

Muhamad Aunanodin; Kawasa Anwar al-Din; Datto Escandar Serri
Chucarnain; Iskandar Julkarnain

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH c. 1830
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Muḥammad Anwār al-Dīn became the Sultan of Maguindanao around 1805 and adopted the official name of Iskandar Dhū l-Qarnayn. This is a significant name in Islamic South-East Asia and it legitimised the sultan's genealogy back to the qur'anic prophet Dhū l-Qarnayn (who is often identified as Alexander the Great). Muḥammad Anwār al-Dīn was the first Philippine sultan to adopt this name, possibly following the earlier example of sultans in Malacca and Aceh.

The grandson of Maguindanao Sultan Amiril Mamini Camsa (c. 1734-c. 1755), Muḥammad Anwār al-Dīn Iskandar Dhū l-Qarnayn was Prince of Sibuguey and Sultan of Tamontaca (c. 1805-c. 1830). During a solemn ceremony on 4 November 1805, he agreed a seven-point peace treaty with the Governor of Zamboanga, Francisco Bayot. This agreement led to a period of stability in the region that lasted for several decades. He died around 1830 and was succeeded by Iskandar Qudrat Allāh (c. 1830-c. 1854).

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- Archives Manila, Philippine National Archives – Mindanao y Sulú, SDS 9276 [1836–1898], S. 8-8b, S. 9-9b, 'Letter from Muhammad Makakwa [c. 1854-c. 1884], Sultan of Maguindanao, about the situation of the sultanate and

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Társila zamboangueña

'Zamboangan genealogy'

DATE 1725

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

The *Társila zamboangueña* (*Copia de un códice referente a los primeros mahometanos que arribaron a Mindanao, relaciones que tuvieron con los conquistadores españoles, genealogía de la nobleza mora, exenciones y privilegios, honras y mercedes, correspondencia y otros particulares curiosos*, 'Copy of a code concerning the first Muslims who arrived in Mindanao, relations with the Spaniards, genealogy of the Muslim aristocracy, exceptions and privileges, honours and distinctions, correspondence and other curiosities') records the genealogy of the rulers of Zamboanga from pre-Islamic times to the 19th century, including the interaction of Muslim sultans with Christian Spain. The original *Társila* was in the Maguindanao language, as Zamboanga was part of the Sultanate of Maguindanao. The extant version of the *Társila* states that it is a translation of a previous Maguindanao version dated 1725 that was held in safe keeping by the sultans of Maguindanao.

The document describes the arrival of Salip Saliganya Bunsú in Zamboanga, where he negotiated with the ruler Timuhay Saragán and married Saragán's daughter Nayac. A 1719 treaty involved the donation of the lands of Zamboanga, Siocon, Sibuco and Coroan to the king of Spain. The *Társila* includes a long explanation concerning the political and religious alliance with the king of Spain, and explains the Trinitarian notion of God being three in one. A process of Hispanisation followed as a result of intermarriage between local rulers and the Spanish.

The *Társila* contains a genealogy starting from Pedro Estrada Bad-de, whose Christian wife, Felipa Estrada de Montal, received a Muslim title of nobility, according to a decree issued on 6 July 1725, which is mentioned in the *Társila*.

The historical context behind this document should be noted. During the Maguindanao Civil War (c. 1699-1748), which was triggered by the death of Sultan Barahaman (c. 1675-99), the Tamontaca branch was weak. The war had divided the Sultanate of Maguindanao between Sibuguey (Sultan Bayan al-Anwār) and Tamontaca (Sultan Jā'far Šādiq Manamir). Tamontaca requested help from Spain several times, including in a letter from Amiril Mamini Camsa dated 30 March 1733 (before his official accession), offering a permanent alliance and allowing missionaries. Eventually King Philip V (r. 1700-24, 1724-46) sent a letter dated 12 July 1744 to Amiril Mamini Camsa and other sultans marking a new era in political relations in which Jesuit missionaries were henceforth accepted by both Sulu and Mindanao. The Spanish intervention consolidated the Tamontaca branch, and the conflict ended in 1748.

Amiril Mamini Camsa (r. 1734-55), also known as Pakir Maulana Kamsa, was proclaimed sultan in 1734, and soon became the most powerful ruler in the region. His strategy was to incorporate Zamboanga, then ruled by the Montal family, into his domain, by marrying his niece, Dominga Estrada de Montal, daughter of Felipa Estrada de Montal. However, the *Társila* records that she married the Spanish navy captain Inocencio Atilano instead.

Amiril Mamini Camsa subsequently requested support from the Ottomans in 1746. The story seems to end with Sultan Amiril Mamini Kamsa accepting the separation of Zamboanga, Sibuguey and Tamontaca.

On 4 November 1805, there was a celebration to mark the 1719 donation of the lands to Spain. The *Társila* was translated into the Spanish dialect of Zamboanga by José Araneta and Plácido Alberto de Saavedra in the early 19th century, and it is probable that the origin of the extant Spanish translation was a version issued that day.

The *Társila* is followed by several epistolary documents, dating from 1733 to 1774, about the intention of Sultan Muḥammad Khayr al-Dīn (Amiril Mamini Camsa/ Pakir Maulana Kamsa) to marry his niece Dominga Estrada de Montal.

Iskandar Dhū l-Qarnayn was the keeper and preserver of the *Társila* and was regarded as the only one with authority to safeguard and narrate it.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Társila* relates the story of the first sultans of Mindanao and Sulu, both descendants of Salip Magalip Armil of Borneo. However, instead of being a document simply sanctioning Islamic legitimacy over the region, the *Társila* asserts the legal rule of the Christian king of Spain over Zamboanga, as a result of the intermarriage of a branch of the sultan's family with the Spaniards. The document reflects two indirect dimensions of Christian-Muslim relations, politics and governance.

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Isaac Donoso

Thomas Forrest

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1729
PLACE OF BIRTH	England
DATE OF DEATH	About 1802
PLACE OF DEATH	Not known; most likely India

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Forrest was a navigator who served for some time in the Royal Navy. He arrived in India in 1751 and within two years was in the employment of the British East India Company, captaining ships on voyages to the Far East and surviving shipwrecks on a number of occasions. His record of his voyage to New Guinea via various points in Indonesia and the Philippine islands, at the helm of the *Tartar Galley* in 1774-6, made his reputation. He also wrote on monsoons (1782) and on a voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui archipelago (1792). Forrest appears to have had some linguistic ability; he was able to converse in Malay, and also had some facility with the Maguindanao language as well as an understanding of some New Guinea words. He could play the flute and violin and was able to record local folk songs and tunes in musical notation. He appears to have died in India around 1802.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A voyage to New Guinea

DATE 1779

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The 1779 Dublin edition of *A voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas from Balambangan including an account of Magindano, Sooloo, and other islands* consists of 21 pages of introductory material, two 'books' of 12 and 18 chapters respectively, amounting to 413 pages, with a map as well as some copper plate illustrations, and a further 30 pages of vocabulary of primarily Maguindanao words, followed by a shorter list of some New Guinea words. References to Islam are scattered throughout the book and are generally descriptive and incidental to the main purpose of the work. They often refer to those populations that had adopted Islam and, through description of customs and practices, reveal the extent to which Islam was practised.

Forrest's encounters with Muslims resulted in personal reactions, both positive and negative. He obviously felt alienated when treated (as a Christian) differently from others around him. Yet, he also clearly valued his experience of the cultural differences, including being personally involved in some of the customs. His work also reflects on his personal interactions and conversation with many Muslims from different backgrounds and social standings. His references to the spread of Islam occur in his writing almost incidentally.

As his travels take him eastwards among the islands towards New Guinea, his references to Islam become fewer and more isolated. Where he encounters Muslim populations, however, the references are more frequent. For example, regarding the 'very populous' island of Tidore, he notes that 'it has no fewer than twenty-five mosques. The capital mosque is at the Sultan's, and is served by one Caliph, and four Imums [*sic*] and many other inferior clergy' (p. 40). He also notes that the island of Goram has 13 mosques (p. 42) and that the mosque at Watou was remarkable not only because it was built of stone but also because of its location (p. 289).

These observations suggest that Forrest was already aware of several of the characteristics of Islam. He notes these and endeavours to

act sensitively. He appears aware of possible problems in interactions between Christians and Muslims. So, in regard to choosing his crew, he writes:

Fearing, that, if I carried many Europeans with me, quarrels might arise between them and the Malays, who cannot (unless properly trained) be supposed subject to discipline, according to our ideas of it; I therefore engaged only two white men to go with me, who were plain good seamen, David Baxter, mate, and Laurence Lound, gunner. They knew not a word of the Malay tongue, at least for many months after they embarked; consequently, could not well quarrel with their Mahometan shipmates. (p. 8)

He also comments that his pilot Ishmael Tuan Hadjee had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and that another crew member, Tuan Imum (*sic*), was a kind of Musselman priest (p. 16) who apparently 'seldom minded any orders' (p. 226). Forrest also notes that the Calipha, a High Priest as he calls him, at Sooloo in 1773 was a Turk (p. 352). Elsewhere, he suggests that:

From the respect shewn to Tuan Hadjee, whose ancestors were of the Serifs that came from Mecca, and gave kings to those parts, I could not help remarking the advantage Mussulmen priests have over others, as descendants from their great prophet (Nabbi) Mahomet. There is something striking, especially to the vulgar, in the certainty of a very noble extraction, and so far east Hadjees were seldom seen. (p. 47)

His comments also reflect his understanding of Muslim eating habits: 'To ensure sobriety, I carried with me very little wine, or strong liquor: my Malay crew never required any' (pp. 8-9), and later he adds that they had 'no idea of spirituous liquors' (p. 28). In some areas (Tomoguy), the Muslims ate lots of fish and sago (p. 79) while in another area Forrest's Muslim crew did not eat the meat of turtles but would eat their eggs (p. 91). While Forrest himself ate wild hog on the land, he 'avoided carrying [any] on board [...] unwilling to give offence to the crew' (p. 103). In speaking of the Haraforas, one of the peoples of the region, he comments, 'The Spaniards have had great success, in converting to Christianity those Haraforas. Their agreeing in one essential point, the eating of hog's flesh, may in a great measure, have paved the way' (p. 288).

In several areas, Forrest notes that Islam has had an impact on the way people dress. For example, when Papuans adopt Islam, they 'cut off their bushy locks, or at least comb them down as straight as they can' (p. 73). The Haraforas' 'traditional weapons' are bows and arrows; and,

as often as they can afford attempt to resemble the Mahometans, sword, lance, and target' (p. 298).

In several places, Forrest notes that Muslims live separately from other groups (p. 192). He also refers to a number of local customs, some of which have been influenced by Islam, showing the degree to which Islam has been varyingly adopted, although he does not attempt to establish definitively what might have been pre-Islamic customs. His description of several weddings illustrates this point. He writes of one such ceremony:

The priest whom they called Serif took him by the thumb of the right hand, and said to him certain words; which being explained to me, were to this purpose. The priest asked the bridegroom if he consented to take such a person as his wife, and to live with her according to the law of Mahomet. [...] The lady did not appear, and so had no questions to answer. (p. 302)



Illustration 12. Thomas Forrest, *A voyage to New Guinea*, 'A Magindano marriage', facing p. 304

Forrest notes that the custom in the Moluccas is different:

The woman attended by some of her own sex, comes into the mosque, and sits down; then the Imum [*sic*], or, if the parties are persons of rank, the Calipha, holding the man's right thumb, asks him if he will marry that woman, and live with her according to Mahomet's law. To this he answers, 'I will'. Then the priest asks the woman still sitting beside, the like respective question, if she will obey. Three times must she answer, 'I will'. [...] Before she goes out of the mosque, the priest gives the husband the following admonition. 'You must not touch your wife with lance or knife; but, if she do not obey you, take her into a chamber, and chastise her gently with a handkerchief.' [Forrest adds] This I have from Tuan Hadjee. (p. 304)

Another such custom was 'divining' the most appropriate day for beginning an activity such as building a house (p. 110). Forrest also comments briefly on a number of tombs and ceremonies at tombs. At the village of Ef-be, he visited a Muslim tomb 'built of stone and mortar, and white-washed' (p. 141). When in Maguindanao at Coto Intang, he met a group of people who 'were going to burn each man a bit of wax candle on a heap of coral rockstones, rudely piled under some spreading trees close by the river. This they declared the tomb of their great ancestor the Serif, who came first from Mecca' (p. 233). On another occasion, before sailing off in a new boat, those in the boat visited the Serif's burial place where each man 'stepped out holding a bit of wax candle, which he lighted, fixed on one of the stones, and left burning, after saying some prayers and a selam. This performed in about twenty minutes, all came again on board' (p. 332). At the Islamic New Year, 'Tuan Hadjess and all the Mahometans had prayers ashore. In compliment to them, I fired twelve guns' (p. 114). Interestingly, he notes, the 'cabin' area of the ship was called 'Koran'. 'The reason why the Malays, who are Mohametans, call it the Koran, is, that they seldom travel by sea without the Alcoran; which they always deposit in the best and safest place, from that custom terming the cabin, Koran' (p. 11).

Forrest comments a number of times on the spread of Islam through conquest. He also notes that there was a significant degree of inter-island rivalry, which usually resulted in bloodshed and the enslaving of captives. This highlighted the fact that interfamily relationships with sultanates often followed family lines. In relation to this, he mentions the oppression of various population groups by their Muslim overlords, noting that a type of feudal system was in operation. Though Forrest does not use

the word, on occasions his description seems to suggest that these people were subject to *dhimmī* status. In such cases, their opportunities for trading were limited. However, a similar system may have actually operated before Islam arrived. 'For the Haraforas [...] are much imposed on, and kept under their Mahometan lords; and are all tributary to the Sultan, or some Rajah Rajah (nobleman) under him. Their system proves thus the feudal' (pp. 282-3). Not surprisingly, he also frequently mentions the relationships that exist between the Mahometans and other island groups. 'These Oran Tedong, are not Mahometans: this circumstance, and their country being under the dominion of Sooloo, may be the reason why the Sooloos will not permit them to come into any of their ports on that island, as they discountenance their piracies' (p. 17). 'Cagayan [...] is said to produce gold; and the Bifayans on the coast, who are Christians, live on friendly footing with the Mahometan mountaineers, as well as with the Haraforas' (p. 212). Forrest also notes that although the Illanos and Maguindanaos have both converted to Islam, the boundaries between them are still disputed (p. 287).

Many of Forrest's comments regarding Islam are found in his section on Maguindanao. As he understood it, there was no recorded history of the area until the 'Moors, or rather the Arabs came to it, about three hundred years ago' (p. 214). He records the history as related to him in Malay. According to this history, it was Serif Ali, a Muslim prince who came from Mecca, who brought Islam to the area. Forrest also states that the king of Spain had requested permission to preach Christianity from the then ruler who, although titled sultan, was not referred to as such by the Spanish (p. 217).

In relation to the laws of Maguindanao, Forrest notes:

For theft, the offender loses his right hand, or pays threefold, just as amongst the Mahometans of Atcheen. For maiming, death: adultery, death to both parties: fornication, a fine. Inheritance goes in equal shares to sons, and half to daughters; the same to grandchildren [...] if a man put away his wife, she gets one third of the furniture; also money in proportion to his circumstances. A child's name is not given by priests, as in the Moluccas islands, and in other Mahometan countries. The father assembles his friends, feasts them; shaves off a little lock of hair from the infant head, puts it into a bason [*sic*], then curries it, or commits it to water. (p. 293)

Forrest comments several times on the discrimination he suffered as a Christian.

The salver was loaded with saucers, presenting sweet cakes of different kinds, round a large china cup of chocolate. My chocolate and the Spanish envoy's appeared in glass tumblers; and our water pots were red. The same distinction was observed at Rajah Moodo's, to us Christians. (p. 249)

In another telling paragraph, he comments about Fakymolano that he

would often ask me the abuses of the Romish religion, and why we departed from them. I touched on this string very gently; and when I considered the Spaniard and myself, with some few people belonging to us, as the only persons at court, who being reckoned unclean, we doomed to drink our chocolate out of glass tumblers, while every one else drank out of fine china; I confess, it greatly abated that gall, which has for ages dignified many personages, both in church and state, on the other side of the globe. A little ridicule concerning indulgences, celibacy of priests, and the like, would now and then escape me; but I qualified my freedom, by affirming him that the world possessed no persons of greater honour than some Spaniards. (p. 310)

On a number of occasions when speaking about the Spanish and those who had converted through them to Christianity, he indicates that the Dutch 'discourage Mahometanism and by missionaries make many converts to Christianity. The ministers preach in the Malay tongue to those who understand it, and have subordinate black preachers, who speak the language of the country. I have some Malay sermons printed in the Roman character [...]' (p. 319). Forrest also notes that in the Celebes area, where Islam was not practised, 'the Dutch keep here [...] also a schoolmaster, for teaching the children the principles of Christianity' (p. 338).

SIGNIFICANCE

Forrest's work demonstrates the extent to which Islam had spread among those islands of the East Indies that he visited, and the degree to which Islam had been adopted. He also records the varying attitudes to Muslims of the different population groups in the area, and describes the various types of interaction with Muslims that occurred, in many of which they appeared servile. His work is of value since it describes the geographical context of customs and practices current at the time. Some of these he describes, remarking that, while they no doubt reflect earlier practices, they also indicate Islamic influences.

His work is also important because it shows his awareness of the discrimination he faced as a result of his faith, and it provides interesting commentary on the spread of Christianity, and how it was being

accomplished. Finally, Forrest provides his personal reflection on Islam as an employee of the British East India Company. His approach appears to be one of empathetic interest, with a desire to understand the people and cultural customs he encountered.

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STUDIES

Bassett, 'Thomas Forrest, an eighteenth century mariner'

Ruth J. Nicholls

Stamford Raffles

Thomas Bingley Stamford Raffles

DATE OF BIRTH	6 July 1781
PLACE OF BIRTH	On board ship off the coast of Jamaica
DATE OF DEATH	5 July 1826
PLACE OF DEATH	London

BIOGRAPHY

In 1793, when he was 12, Stamford Raffles attended a boarding school in Hammersmith, leaving two years later as a result of family financial difficulties and joining the East India Company (EIC) as a probationary clerk. He worked in East India House, the EIC headquarters, in London. Before long, his salary having risen to £70 per annum, he was supporting his family. He continued working for the EIC for the next ten years at the same rate of pay. His lack of formal education, as well as various hardships that he faced, fuelled his determination to read, learn and succeed.

In 1805, at only 23 years of age, he was appointed assistant to the chief secretary of Penang on the Malay peninsula, earning a salary of £1,500 per annum. Penang (or Prince of Wales Island) was elevated to Presidency status, requiring its administrative upgrading. In March 1805, before leaving England, Raffles married the widow of J.C. Fancourt, who was ten years his elder. They left for Penang the following month.

During the five-month sea voyage, Raffles used his time to study Malay. He distinguished himself in Penang, building the fortifications, harbour and government buildings. His command of Malay meant that he did not need an interpreter, even in written communication with locals. By the age of 26, he was promoted to the position of chief secretary to the governor, earning £2,000 per annum.

Raffles's local knowledge came to the attention of Lord Minto, governor-general of India. Malacca had been recently occupied by Britain as a consequence of the Napoleonic wars. Raffles persuaded Lord Minto to preserve the city of Malacca, even though it would be returned to the Dutch after the war. Raffles spent two months with Minto in Calcutta, conferring on the proposed annexation of Dutch Java. Lord Minto appointed him as agent to the governor-general over the Malay states

for that purpose. Returning to Malacca, Raffles prepared for the successful British military campaign against the Franco-Dutch forces in Java in August-September 1811. Lord Minto then appointed him lieutenant-general of Java, a post he held until March 1816.

After the Napoleonic wars, Java was returned to the Netherlands. Raffles was recalled to England, returning alone as his wife had died. He remained in England from July 1816 until October 1817, during which time he wrote his famous history of Java, became a fellow of the Royal Society, and was knighted by the Prince Regent. He married his second wife, Sophia, in February 1817. In October that year, he was appointed governor-general of Bencoolen, remaining in this appointment until the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 ceded Bencoolen to the Dutch.

Raffles saw the need for a strategic British port south of the Malacca straits. After conferring with Lord Hastings, the new governor-general, Raffles and William Farquhar landed on the island of Singapore in



Illustration 13. Thomas Stamford Raffles

January 1819, and an agreement was struck with local rulers for a trading settlement. Raffles and Farquhar wanted to break the Dutch trading monopoly in the Malay world. Raffles appointed Farquhar as Resident, and Singapore quickly grew as a free port and prospered.

During Raffles's last years in Bencoolen, three of his four children died and his own health deteriorated. He returned to Singapore in October 1822, and reorganised its administration and architectural layout. He also set up the Singapore Institution as a centre of learning. He sailed back to England in December 1823, but the ship caught fire and his collection of Malay manuscripts and personal possessions were destroyed. On arrival in England in August 1824, his expertise in Malay studies was widely acclaimed. However, he had serious health difficulties, and in addition the EIC entered into an acrimonious financial dispute with him. Raffles died of a brain tumour in July 1826, just days before his 45th birthday.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Digitised versions of most of the following documents are available through the National Library Board of Singapore.

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Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The memorial of the Hon. Thomas Stamford Raffles to the Hon. the Court of Directors of the East-India Company*, London, 1816

Thomas Stamford Raffles, *Substance of a memoir on the administration of the Eastern Islands*, London, 1819

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Secondary

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 J. Bastin, *Raffles and Hastings*, Singapore, 2014
 J. Bastin, *Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, with an account of the Raffles-Minto manuscript collection presented to the India Office Library on 17 July 1969 by the Malaysia-Singapore Commercial Association*, Liverpool, 1969

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letters

DATE 1807-23

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

A letter to his uncle, William Raffles, from Penang dated 15 January, 1807, probably contains Stamford Raffles's earliest reference to Islam and Muslims. A copy can be found in J. Bastin, *Letters and books of Sir Stamford Raffles and Lady Raffles*, pp. 190-1, and also in C. Boulger's *The life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, 1897 edition, pp. 56-7, the latter version being more complete. Raffles informs his uncle that he spent much time learning from the Muslims there. He draws a number of conclusions and observations, remarking that individual Muslims generally seem to behave better than many Christians, and that Muslims appear to be more committed to their faith than Christians he knew, including the Methodists. He surmises that Islam is the most extensive religion in the world, remarking that it was spread both by the sword and by peaceful means. He reports that the central doctrine of the Qur'an is the unity of God, and Muḥammad's mission was to restore this teaching.

In Raffles's view, Muḥammad has 'done a great deal of good' in the world. Referring to Muslims as 'Mahometans', he notes that they believe in Jesus Christ as a prophet, and respect him as such. Raffles concludes: 'Mohamed's mission does not invalidate our Saviour's. One has secured happiness to the Eastern and one to the Western world, and both deserve our veneration' (Boulger, *Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 57).

Raffles's next written comments appear in his letter from Malacca to Lord Minto, governor-general of India, on 10 June 1811. These would be repeated in detail in his encyclopaedic two-volume *History of Java* (see 1830 edition, vol. 1, pp. 259-62, 267-9). Raffles identifies piracy and slavery as problematic practices of the Malay-speaking peoples, and he sees Islam as a major contributor to such practices. He also thinks that the

pre-Islamic days of the Malay-speaking peoples were a time of 'progress in civilisation'.

Raffles sees conflict between the customs of the Malays and the directives of Islamic law as resulting in a conflict between *'ādāt* (customs) and *undang* (law). He states that Islam has not prevented the rulers from being tyrannical, nor has it ended harmful tribal practices, such as the maltreatment of those who have been shipwrecked, or the excessive monopolistic trading practices of the Malay rulers, which harm the free flow of commerce. He thinks it good that the Dayaks of Borneo have not yet been converted to Islam.

Other important references appear in Raffles's correspondence with his cousin Thomas, for 50 years a popular evangelical Congregational preacher at Great George Street Chapel in London (available in Bastin, *Letters and books*). His letters to Thomas provide a chronological view of his developing thinking on religion between 1808 and 1826. There are 45 letters, with references to Islam being found in four of them, namely from Malacca, 15 September 1805 (Letter 1, p. 82), from Buitenzorg, Java, 10 February 1815 (Letter 2, p. 84), from Cheltenham, 11 September 1816 (Letter 6, p. 95) and from Bencoolen, Sumatra, 15 November 1823 (Letter 30, pp. 154-5).

In Letter 1, Raffles mentions that every religious community in Malacca has a place of worship, including the 'Mahometans'. However, for the Protestant Christians, 'We have a clergyman but no church.' In Letter 2, Raffles makes some comments that reveal his views at the time. He states that the Javanese are mostly Muslims, although they have only been converted 'recently' and still retain Hindu practices and institutions, albeit slowly giving way to Muslim (qur'anic) ones. He notes that almost every Javanese village is Muslim, with a religious teacher to ensure compliance with Islamic expectations, amounting to maybe as many as 3,000 Qur'an teachers throughout the island of Java. The people in general appear happy and live orderly lives. Raffles did not favour Christian evangelisation among the Javanese Muslims, which he felt would not succeed anyway. Nevertheless, he states his personal view of Islam starkly in this letter when he comments: 'I abhor and abominate the tenets of Mohametanism.' He also gives his assessment that Islam will probably enslave the minds of its followers and that Malay Muslims look up to the Arabs as their spiritual teachers.

Raffles mentions that the natives of the other outer islands in the archipelago are not yet converted to Islam, although they show openness

to instruction and receive teaching gladly from Arab Muslim religious teachers. He also observes that many of the tribes captured and enslaved easily follow the Islamic religion of their Muslim masters. This is not so with European Christian masters, whose slaves and servants usually hate them. Raffles then suggests that Christian evangelisation could be undertaken in the outer islands of the Malay Archipelago, as the inhabitants there have not yet been converted to Islam.

In Letter 6, Raffles mentions that both India and Java have a grand pre-Islamic history. In Letter 30, he makes reference to the ongoing Padri revolt in Sumatra. The Padris dress in white and have tried through violence to impose their strict version of Islam on the rest of the Muslims in Sumatra. The capital of the Minangkabau people has already been pilaged and burnt by them. The Padris are against popular practices such as cockfighting and opium consumption. The coastal Malays of Sumatra do not favour the teaching of the Padris.

Raffles notes that the initial policy of the British in Bencoolén, Sumatra, was to see the Padri problem as an internal ethnic matter. However, the violent spread of the Padris has resulted in their capturing much of the interior of Sumatra. This has resulted in a large EIC military force being dispatched from Bengal, India, to deal swiftly with the Padris 'should negotiations fail'. He also expresses the fear that the nearby Bataks could soon be converted by them. Also in this letter, Raffles refers to Muḥammad as 'the false Prophet of Mecca', again revealing his personal disdain.

SIGNIFICANCE

Given his position and role, Raffles's comments about Islam in his correspondence can be taken to reflect at least some dimensions of 19th-century Christian colonial attitudes within the Malay context. They help set the scene for a deeper understanding of the context of Christian-Muslim interaction. It is very obvious that Raffles's view of Islam, especially in the Malay world, shifted from great appreciation in 1807 to great distaste by 1823. An important area of study would be to trace in detail this deterioration in his opinion and to try to identify the various factors responsible for it. Even by 1811, Raffles had already started moving in this negative direction.

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- Bastin, *Letters and books*
- Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The history of Java*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 2010

STUDIES

There are many studies on Stamford Raffles, although few focus on Raffles and religion, and fewer still on Raffles and Islam. The following works written by Singapore academics express a strongly nationalistic though revisionist point of view about Raffles and Islam in the Malay world.

- Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, *Rethinking Raffles. A study of Stamford Raffles' discourse on religions amongst Malays*, Singapore, 2005
- Syed Hussein Alatas, *Thomas Stamford Raffles. Schemer or reformer?*, Sydney, 1971

Malcolm Thian Hock Tan

Abdullah Abdul Kadir

Abdullah Munshi

DATE OF BIRTH 1796
PLACE OF BIRTH Malacca
DATE OF DEATH October 1854
PLACE OF DEATH Jedda

BIOGRAPHY

Much information about Abdullah Munshi's life can be gleaned from the *Hikayat Abdullah*, which is now seen as his defining achievement and as one of the earliest autobiographies in the Malay world. Completed in 1843 and published originally by a Christian printing press to be used as a textbook in their schools, it narrates that he was born at Kampung Pali, Malacca, to migrant parents, purported to be of Yemeni and Tamil ancestry. Abdullah proved to be gifted in languages and in writing. Having memorised a major portion of the Qur'an and mastered Arabic at an early age, Abdullah became proficient in Tamil, Hindi, Malay, English and one of the Chinese dialects.

When he was barely into his 20th year, Abdullah found work copying documents for the British, beginning with the London Missionary Society as early as 1815. He was soon appointed tutor, secretary and interpreter to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who was then laying the foundations for a British port in Singapore. Abdullah also taught Malay to Indian soldiers and to American and British missionaries, earning himself the title 'Munshi' (teacher or educator) in the process.

An accomplished author in his own right, Abdullah wrote travelogues and commentaries on classical Malay and Indian texts. His accounts of voyages to Kelantan and Jedda are among the earliest examples of Malay travel writing. In these texts, Abdullah highlights the problems faced by Malay societies. He is especially critical of the Malay royal family which he saw as riven by power struggles and decadent behaviour. The backwardness of the elites mirrored the state of the common people, who had internalised many customs and traditions that impeded social progress. Abdullah felt that the British could serve as a civilising influence for the Malays, as was clearly seen in the British management of

their colonies that had brought peace and prosperity on the island, in contrast to the Malay States.

In addition to being a writer, Abdullah was also a translator and a prominent poet. Among the Malay and Sanskrit classics he translated were the *Sejarah Melayu* ('Malay annals', 1835), *Hikayat panca Tanderan* ('The story of five tales', 1835), and *Kitab adat segala raja-raja Melayu dalam segala negeri* ('The book of customs of Malay kings from all lands', 1837). He also co-published a *Vocabulary of the English and Malay languages* (1820) with the Christian missionary Claudius Henry Thomsen, and assisted the Protestant missionary Benjamin Keasberry in writing the first world geography book in Malay, entitled *Hikayat dunia* ('The story of the world', 1848). Among the poems Abdullah wrote that gained him fame was *Syair Singapura terbakar* ('Poem on a fire in Singapore', 1830), which uncovers the deplorable living conditions in early Singapore and the circumstances that led to a major fire. Another short motivational tract that was popular among Muslims was entitled *Dawā'u l-kulūb* ('A balm for the heart', 1838). It consists of stories of parents who had lost their children and the ways in which they coped with such traumas.



English	Malay (transliterated)	Jawi (Arabic script)
Day,	Hari,	هاري
Holy day,	Hari raya,	هاري راي
Sunday,	Hari abad, hari domingo,	هاري اباد هاري دومينغو
Festival,	Hari besar,	هاري بيسر
Monday,	Isenin,	ايسين
Tuesday,	salasa,	الس
Wednesday,	Robu, arbaa,	روبو اربع
Thursday,	Ghamis,	غاميس
Friday,	Jumaat,	جمعة
Saturday,	Saptu,	سبت
Day break,	Dari hari,	داري هاري
Day light,	Siang,	سيانغ
Noon,	Tengah hari,	تنه هاري
Morning,	Pagi hari,	پاغي هاري
Day-time,	Siang hari,	سيانغ هاري
Evening,	Petang hari,	پتانه هاري
Night,	Malam,	مالم
Midnight,	Tengah malam,	تنه مالم
To-night,	Malam ini,	مالم اين
To-day,	Hari ini,	هاري اين
The last day,	Hari kiamat,	هاري كيامات
Other day,	Lain hari,	لاين هاري
Yesterday,	Kei'marin,	كيدارين

Illustration 14. The vocabulary list, p. 47, with English and Jawi Malay in Arabic script and transliterated

Historians have been sharply divided over Abdullah's religious affiliation. One school of thought has it that he died a Christian, but most historians are of the opinion that he remained committed to Islam despite his close engagement with Christian texts and individuals. Other interpretations of Abdullah's piety stress that his translation of the Gospels was only a covert attempt to correct 'deviations' inherent in Christianity. Whichever interpretation is correct, the *Hikayat Abdullah* clearly indicates that he remained a Muslim.

It seems clear that Abdullah stood midway between the missionaries and the Malay masses. He held that there was much the Malays could gain from the missionaries, especially in the realm of education. For this reason, Abdullah did not have any qualms about being on the missionaries' payroll and / or engaging in translating the Bible. Abdullah's accounts reveal his solitary quest to inform Christians about the realities of Malay Islam, urging them to be more context sensitive and to realise that efforts to convert Malays would be in vain. From his cosmopolitan vantage point, he saw that a Muslim would remain a Muslim if he or she was confident about the tenets of Islam. Such a person would be confident and open in working with people of other faiths, without being anxious about losing his or her own. Abdullah was atypical; he was a pioneering Malay-Muslim observer of Christian-Muslim relations in the 19th-century Malay world.

Abdullah died in Jedda, *en route* to Mecca, in 1854. He was survived by two sons, Muhammad Ibrahim and Che Khalid. His wife had died much earlier, in 1840, while giving birth to a child who died in infancy. His wife's death was soon followed by that of his much-loved eight-year-old daughter, Siti Lela.

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- H.F.O'B Traill, 'An Indian protagonist of the Malay language. Abdullah "Munshi", his race and his mother-tongue', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 53 (1979) 67-83

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Hikayat Abdullah

'The autobiography of Abdullah'

DATE 1849

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Malay

DESCRIPTION

There are a number of published editions of the *Hikayat Abdullah*. Abdullah's opinions about Christians, their activities and aspects of their faith are fairly consistent in all editions, apart from some minor editorial points. The most commonly cited translation is by A.H. Hill, which was first published in 1955. References here will be to the revised edition of Hill's translation published in 1985.

In ch. 9 of the book, Abdullah provides insights into the workings of the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca, which he found to be very well

organised and closely managed by a clergyman, William Milne (1785-1822), and his London Missionary Society colleagues, Robert Morrison (1782-1834) and Claudius Henry Thomsen (1782-?). Abdullah found Milne 'to be of fine character. He said anything he had to say in a gentle voice with a kind look on his face' (p. 109). The missionaries at the Anglo-Chinese College and also the printing press, according to Abdullah, were very devoted in learning the Malay and Chinese languages. He observed that the College provided formal education for Muslims and non-Muslims, though Malays were reluctant to enrol for fear of conversion from Islam to Christianity. The missionaries also used the printing press to print textbooks and to disseminate Christian materials translated into Malay and other vernacular languages.

As an employee of the College, Abdullah helped Thomsen to prepare a Malay translation of the Bible, much to the trepidation of the local Malays. He wrote about why he was in constant argument with Thomsen on the finer points regarding the use of Malay words. Abdullah concluded that the translation of the Bible he worked on was full of errors in a hundred places because of 'Mr Thomsen's clumsy renderings in the Malay language' (p. 132). In reality, the disagreements between the two stemmed from Abdullah's insistence on translating words in the Bible in accordance with his preconceived ideas about Christianity. He maintained that the Bible should be translated through the lens of Malay Islam in a manner that squared with Malay Islamic notions of Jesus as a prophet who never married (p. 135), and not as Son of God or God himself.

Abdullah describes the state of 'The English chapel in Malacca' in ch. 23. Here, he is explicit about the fact that the chapel was a place of worship dominated largely by 'white men' (p. 230), implying that Christianity in Malacca State was largely a European affair. The missionaries met with little success in a Malay state where Islam already had a strong hold in the minds and hearts of the local people. Abdullah's observations corroborate the accounts of Christian missionaries themselves, who found winning of the hearts and minds of the Malays an uphill battle.

Abdullah stresses the futility of Christian missionary efforts in ch. 25, where he describes the state of 'The English church in Singapore'. He gives readers graphic information about the coming of American missionaries to the British colony, comparing them with the British in appearance, mannerisms and clothing (p. 287). Two missionaries who left a deep impression on him were Benjamin Peach Keasberry (1811-75) and Alfred North (1807-69). They employed Abdullah to teach them Malay, to translate English books into Malay, and also to revise some of

the errors found in Thomsen's translation of the Qur'an. They were wary of Abdullah's attempts to change 'a number of expressions which are not normally used by the Malays. Examples are: *kerajaan shoorga* [heavenly kingdom], *mulut Allah* [mouth of God], *anak Allah* [Son of God], *Bapa-mu yang ada di-shoorga* [your Father in heaven], *kehidupan yang kekal* [eternal life], and so on' (p. 294).

Overall, it is clear that Abdullah greatly admired the dedication of the Christian missionaries. However, he is intellectually guarded, if not critical, towards Christianity in general. In his estimation, it is a religion that is to be objectively understood and respected, without condoning evangelism.

SIGNIFICANCE

Abdullah's descriptions and opinions about Christians and Christianity provide insight into assumptions held by the Malay community at the time, and his personal views regarding such attitudes. Malays clearly viewed negatively all efforts – whether humanitarian, educational or religious – that were steered by the missionaries. Steeped in their traditions, cultures and assumptions about Christianity as the religion of the European colonisers, Malays were unwilling to participate in any opportunities or institutions made available to them by the Christians, even if such initiatives did not involve evangelism. Abdullah indicates that, in the eyes of most Malays, the missionaries came to Malaya with the sole purpose of transforming the established Malay ways of life, including superstitions and age-old beliefs. This led to strong resistance in the form of lack of interest and non-participation in mission schools and other establishments, rather than criticisms of anyone associated with the missionaries. Malay Islam became more defensive due to the missionary presence.

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Benjamin Keasberry

Benjamin Peach Keasberry

DATE OF BIRTH 1811
PLACE OF BIRTH Hyderabad, India
DATE OF DEATH 6 September 1875
PLACE OF DEATH Singapore

BIOGRAPHY

Benjamin Peach Keasberry was born in 1811 in Hyderabad, India, the son of a British Indian Army officer, who was later appointed British resident in Java under Stamford Raffles during the British conquest and occupation there at the time of the Napoleonic Wars. After his early life in Java and education in Hyderabad, Keasberry came to Singapore in the late 1820s as a young man, trying his hand at business. He failed and proceeded to Batavia to work as a clerk. There, he came under the influence of the London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary Walter Medhurst, who brought him to Evangelical Christianity and taught him the printing trade. Keasberry also followed Medhurst in missionary preaching in Java.

Coming into an inheritance, Keasberry proceeded to the Dutch Reformed seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey, for theological training. He married and was ordained a minister in the Reformed tradition. He then returned to Singapore and embraced his 'calling' to be a missionary to the Malays there. Being an artist, he gave lessons in drawing in order to support himself and his family.

Keasberry hoped to serve as a missionary under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), because of his American connections. However, it was the LMS that employed him in missionary work in 1839-40. He re-established Malay worship services in the old LMS chapel at Church Street (today Bras Basah Road) with help from William Youngblood, an ABCFM missionary fluent in Malay. Many Malays, including Muslims, came to the chapel regularly to hear Keasberry and Youngblood preach the Gospel in Malay. The gatherings increased and they soon needed bigger premises. In 1843, Keasberry found land in Kampong Bencoolen and built a new Malay Mission chapel with public subscriptions. The chapel was nicknamed *gereja Keasberry* (Keasberry's

church). He also opened a school for Malay boys at Rochor, where he taught school lessons and printing as a trade, with help from Munshi Abdullah (1796-1854).

In 1846-7, LMS and ABCFM stations were closed down in the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Malacca and Penang). Their personnel were redeployed to China, though Keasberry refused to go to China and resigned from the LMS in 1847, continuing to serve in Singapore until his death in 1875. Using his own inherited funds, he bought a hill in the River Valley area and named it Mount Zion (Bukit Zion). The jungle was cleared and a boarding school was erected there. Student enrolment grew to 60 at times, and rich and poor studied together. Some of the more illustrious students at Bukit Zion included the two sons of Temenggong Ibrahim of Johore, and the sons of the Sultan of Muar and the Rajah of Kedah. The mission press located on Bukit Zion carried out commercial printing, thereby supporting the boarding school, missionary activities and Keasberry's family, who lived on campus at Bukit Zion.

In 1870, the governor of Singapore, Sir Harry Ord, inspected the school and approved an annual grant, and in 1872 A.M. Skinner, Inspector of Schools, suggested that the school should become the Malay Teachers' Training College. Soon after, in September 1875, Keasberry died of a heart attack while preaching at the Malay Mission Chapel (Prinsep Street Presbyterian Church today) at Princep Street, Kampong Bencoolen. His last remembered words were: 'The time is coming when the Mohammedans will acknowledge and worship the Saviour.'

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Archives London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) – Council of World Mission archives, Ultra Ganges Mission of the LMS (microfiche records), containing missionary letters from 1817 to 1884. Note: Keasberry was a Christian worker from 1839 to 1875.

Taman Pungatauan Bagie Kanak Kanak, Singapore, 1848-51

Pungutib Segala Remah Pungatauan, Singapore, March, 1852

Cermin Mata bagi segala orang yang menuntut pengetahuan (Cermin Mata), Singapore, 1858-9

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Benjamin Peach Keasberry's writings

DATE 1839-75

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Benjamin Keasberry served between 1839 and 1875 as a missionary to Malay Muslims in Singapore, and left a considerable legacy in his writings. He produced many tracts in Jawi Malay, among them translations of the New Testament and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* in romanised Malay, and also a translation of the New Testament into Jawi. His missionary reports and correspondence were in English.

Keasberry's focus was to preach the Gospel. He does not mention Islam directly in his printed works, although there are a few instances in his letters of report where he deviates from this practice.

In a letter of 15 September 1839, which was later published in the November 1840 edition of the *Evangelical Magazine* under the title 'Mohammedan converts at Singapore', Keasberry tells of the conversion from Islam to Christianity of Encik Ali, a native of Malacca who had initially worked as his language teacher. Ali, he says, 'had renounced the Mohammedan faith and had embraced the religion of Jesus, as the only true way to everlasting life'. He was baptised by the Revd William Youngblood of the ABCFM on 21 July 1839 in the old LMS Malay Chapel on Church Street (Bras Basah Road).

In giving this account, Keasberry reports the following from Ali: 'He has often wondered at himself, that he should have been so long deluded by the false religion of the great imposter, and repeatedly expressed a desire to make known the Gospel to his countrymen.'

In the following year (1840) Keasberry wrote letters to the LMS office reporting on the work he was doing. Four of these contain references to Islam ([H-2126]. Zug, 1978. Box no. 2, 1840/41, no. 234. SOAS/Council for World Mission Archives. Ultra Ganges. Incoming letters, (See Inv. V.17): Singapore 1817-84):

Letter dated 10 September 1840:

'Previous to connecting herself with her present husband, she lived, and she candidly acknowledged, as all Mohammedans do, in open sin.'

Here Keasberry speaks of a Malay Muslim convert to Christianity who had previously lived a morally degenerate life. He generalised from this to make it true of other Malay Muslims he knew of.

'He is a child of the woods; his mother, a widow with three other children, resides in the country about two or three miles from this and belongs to a race of Malays who are looked upon with disdain by those who consider themselves as more enlightened Mohammedans.'

In this second reference in his letter, about a young Malay boy who came to church, Keasberry implies a social division between those Malay Muslims who still lived in the far rural areas, almost in 'the woods', and those who were educated and lived in centres of population.

Letter dated 19 October 1840:

[A Malay Muslim:] 'When our Hajee reads to us the Koran we cannot understand him as he does not explain it to us. He tells us also that out of 200 souls perhaps only one is worthy to enter heaven, because so few indeed can understand the Koran [...].'

[Keasberry]: 'If the religion of Mohammed were from God, surely the Malays could not remain so long in ignorance and darkness as to the way

to heaven. It is because its origin is not from the Holy Spirit that we do not see that change among the people which may be seen among those who truly follow the religion of Jesus.'

This report refers to a conversation with a Malay enquirer about Christianity. The enquirer claims that his religious teacher has informed him that only a handful of Muslims were likely to go to heaven because of their difficulty in understanding the Qur'an. Keasberry responds that Islam cannot impart salvation because it is not of divine origin.

Letter of 25 October 1840, a Sunday:

Keasberry reports that 14 or 15 Malay adults attended the Malay Mission Chapel that day, 'which are half more than the usual number that attend. This would be considered a small number but it is otherwise here, where the bigotry of Mohammedanism scoffs at the man that puts his foot on the threshold of a Christian church and calls him an infidel or an apostate from his faith.'

Keasberry tells of general opposition towards Muslim enquirers about Christianity, labelling this social and religious opposition as 'the bigotry of Mohammedanism'. This explains the usually poor attendance in the Malay Mission Chapel.

Letter of 13 November 1840:

'The Mohammedan fast has just commenced and it is with some difficulty I could persuade some of the natives of respectability to listen to my conversation or to receive tracts, owing to some religious scruples which they entertain on this occasion which is with them, a season of devotion.'

Keasberry refers here to the reluctance among Muslims to have conversations with him about Christianity during Ramaḍān.

After 1840, the number of references to Islam in Keasberry's reports appear to be significantly reduced. There are only five references between 1841 and 1862.

Letter of 2 April 1843:

'I have also been impressed with the importance of visiting the natives inhabiting numerous islands in the vicinity of Singapore who are very degraded and destitute of instruction, but are however far less under the influence of the Mohammedan bigotry than the Malays in Singapore itself.'

Keasberry reports that the Malays living in the outer islands of Singapore were more willing to hear about Christianity, unlike the Malays of Singapore itself. ([H-2126]. Zug, 1978. Box no. 2, 1842/43 no. 237. SOAS/

Council for World Mission Archives. Ultra Ganges. Incoming letters, (See Inv. V.17): Singapore 1817-84)

Letter of 4 July 1844:

'It is very difficult to persuade the Mohammedans to come and listen to the preached Gospel especially when it is delivered in a chapel, as they consider it a breach of their faith to step into a Christian place of worship.' ([H-2126]. Zug, 1978. Box no. 2, 1843/44 no. 238; and (H-2126). Zug, 1978. Box no. 2, 1844/45 no. 239. SOAS/Council for World Mission Archives. Ultra Ganges. Incoming letters, (See Inv. V.17): Singapore 1817-84)

Letter written in May 1857:

'I cannot tell how my heart is cheered and comforted in having such a convert to back me in my work among the bigoted Mohammedans.'

Keasberry finds encouragement in getting help from a recent young Malay convert who was initially helping him in his missionary work. ([H-2126]. Zug, 1978. Box no. 2, 1855/59 no. 243. SOAS/Council for World Mission Archives. Ultra Ganges. Incoming letters, (See Inv. V.17): Singapore 1817-84)

SIGNIFICANCE

Keasberry's references here to Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad were typical of the views of most 19th-century Christian missionaries. What is noteworthy, however, is that only in these instances, as far as we know, did he make such statements in writing. It should also be noted that they occurred at a very early stage of his ministry in Singapore, mostly in 1839 and 1840, with such references becoming fewer over the years that followed.

Keasberry later wrote a letter to a fellow missionary (Bukit Zion, Singapore, 19 August 1862) complaining about Malay Muslim resistance to the Gospel, where the relatively harsh language used in the 1839 and 1840 accounts is repeated. It should be noted, however, that such comments were becoming rare for Keasberry by this time.

With reference to the Malays I can say [...] their hearts or minds seem as impregnable and immoveable as their own native rocks and jungles. Discouraging as this may seem, yet we must not despair, as instances of conversion, though few, have taken place among them in this and other places where especially the baneful influence of Mohammedanism has had little hold on their minds. ([H-2126] Zug, 1978. Box 2, 1860/64, no. 244 [SOAS/Council for World Mission Archives. Ultra Ganges. Singapore. 1817-1884 (Box no.1-2)])

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Archives London, SOAS – Council for World Mission Archives, ultra Ganges, incoming letters, Singapore 1817-84 and odds, Zug, 1978, box no. 2, 1860/64, no. 244

STUDIES

M. Tan, 'Christian mission'

Malcolm Thian Hock Tan

Vicente Barrantes

Vicente Barrantes Moreno

DATE OF BIRTH 24 March 1829
PLACE OF BIRTH Badajoz, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 17 October 1889
PLACE OF DEATH Pozuelo de Alarcón, Spain

BIOGRAPHY

Vicente Barrantes Moreno was born in the city of Badajoz, Spain, in 1829. He started training for the priesthood in the seminary of San Antón of Badajoz, but after his father's death in 1841 he left the seminary and travelled to Madrid. He was still only 12 years old. He eventually found employment in the military administration, and became active as a writer.

In 1858, his right leg was severely injured in an accident with a carriage in Despeñaperros, and it had to be amputated. Nevertheless, on 12 March 1866 he embarked in Marseilles for the Philippines, where he served as secretary to the civil governor, but political differences emerged and he returned to Spain in 1868. He participated in the committee for the political reform of the colonies, supporting the role of the religious communities and Catholic education.

He became a member of both the Real Academia de la Historia (1872) and the Real Academia Española (1876). He was elected a congressional representative and senator, and he gained recognition as a distinguished poet and novelist in the Spanish region of Extremadura. He died in 1889.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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A. Cortijo Valdés, *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Vicente Barrantes. Académico de la historia y cronista de Extremadura*, Madrid, 1873

Vicente Barrantes Moreno, *El teatro tagalo*, Madrid, 1889

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos

'Pirate wars in the Philippines against the Mindanao and Sulu communities'

DATE 1878

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

In the introduction to this work, Barrantes states that in 1868 he gained access to the anonymous manuscript *Demostración histórica de cuantas depredaciones llevan cometidas los moros* ('Historical demonstration of depredations committed by the Moros'; MS Chicago IL, Newberry Library, Special Collection – Vault Ayer 1332 [mid-19th century]). He made use of it to produce one of the most quoted compilation works on the Spanish Philippines, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos*, which appeared in Madrid in 1878. It comprises 34 chapters in 448 pages, plus six appendices and a list of biographies.

Barrantes published the volume in the context of debate between reformists and conservatives regarding colonial policies. In support of the conservative side, Barrantes's work is a general history of the process of colonisation and Christianisation of the Philippine Islamic sultanates

up to the beginning of the 19th century. He relates that the 'Moros', the Muslim inhabitants of the Sulu and Maguindanao sultanates, had habitually plundered Philippine coastal communities through piracy, which had blocked Catholic missionary activities. These ongoing *guerras piráticas* ('pirate wars') had impeded the colonial process, creating a problem that at the turn of the 19th century had to be resolved. In order to support Spanish colonial policies in the southern Philippines, Barrantes compiled this volume to highlight the historical role of missionaries in the region and the challenges of controlling the Muslim sultanates, taking into account alliances of the sultans with other European powers.

The appendices provide accounts about Father Mastrilli, Hurtado de Concuera's military campaigns in 1635-7, and other Jesuit letters about missionary activities among Filipino Muslims.

Despite being a compilation of assorted materials, the volume is bound together by a common theme: Christian missionary activities undertaken throughout the history of the Spanish presence in the Philippines, and the subsequent religious conflict with the Islamised population. Barrantes identifies 'piracy' as the most evident *casus belli* that would prompt the Spanish colonialists to intervene and seize the sultanates, proven by a long list of depredations perpetrated across two centuries. He highlights the conversion of Sultan Alimudín (r. 1735-48) to Christianity and the frequent goodwill of the sultans towards the Spanish and their policy. He notes acts of piracy also conducted beyond the control of the sultans, and the historical intervention by the English in the southern Philippines. The historical part of the book ends with the destruction of Balambangan and the massacre of dozens of British men.

SIGNIFICANCE

Placing the focus on Christian missionary activities and Muslim pirate depredations, Barrantes describes a situation of unceasing attack and defence. This narrative of *guerras piráticas* was enacted more than a century later in the famous six-stage Moro Wars, described by César Adib Majul in his landmark *Muslims in the Philippines* (1973). Although Majul tried to recover and use Islamic sources to build a new narrative of Philippine Islamic history, the colonial viewpoint of permanent war and military struggle has dominated any reconstruction of Islam in the Philippine archipelago. Barrantes's ultra-conservative footprint is consequently still present in the perception of a Muslim population that is little understood and apparently remains engaged in a permanent struggle.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

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Isaac Donoso

Sayyid ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Aqīl ibn Yaḥyā l-‘Alawī

Sayyid ‘Uthmān

DATE OF BIRTH 1 December 1822
PLACE OF BIRTH Batavia, the Netherlands East Indies
DATE OF DEATH 18 January 1914
PLACE OF DEATH Batavia

BIOGRAPHY

Sayyid ‘Uthmān was born in Batavia. He studied in the Arabian Peninsula from 1841 to 1862 under various scholars, including the Meccan scholar Aḥmad Daḥlān. After his return to the Netherlands East Indies in 1862, his prolific preaching and writing brought him to prominence as a scholar of Islam. He printed his works on his own lithographic press from 1869 onwards. His reputation grew with his involvement in the colonial administration from 1889, especially when he was officially appointed honorary advisor for Arab affairs in 1891. He personally regarded this position as similar to that of mufti of the Netherlands Indies, although he owed the advisorship to the famous Dutch scholar and government advisor Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), who worked in the Netherlands East Indies from 1889 to 1906. Sayyid ‘Uthmān and Snouck Hurgronje cooperated closely in monitoring Islam and giving shape to Islamic policies in the Netherlands East Indies.

Sayyid ‘Uthmān wrote more than 150 works, ranging from short brochures to full-length books. They deal with all branches of Islamic scholarship, including dogmatics, Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), mysticism, Hadith, Qur’an recitation, ethics, Islamic brotherhoods, heresies, inheritance law, religious administration, Arabic grammar, lexicology and astronomy. His writings were often conventional Muslim works that did not break new ground, but are still interesting because they reflect the level of Muslim scholarship and aspects of Muslim life at the time. Several of his works are polemical, such as those directed against the ideas propagated by the Egyptian reformist journal *Al-Manār*. As a traditionalist Muslim scholar, Sayyid ‘Uthmān strongly rejected the call for *ijtihād*, as promoted by Egyptian reformists, and preferred to remain within the Shāfi‘ī *madhhab* and to follow the principle of *taqlīd*. A final category of

his works consists of brochures and pamphlets in which he exposes matters that went against his understanding of Islam.

He did not devote any particular writing to Christianity, but he does mention the concept of *‘ahd* (covenant) from time to time, which is relevant to Muslim-Christian relations.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Uthmān, *Suluh zaman ada menceritakan hal keadaan almarhum Sayyid ‘Uthman dari masa diberanakkan hingga pulang ke rahmat Allah*, Batavia: ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Uthman, [n.d.] (biography in prose)
- Shaykh ibn ‘Alwi, *Qamar al-zaman menyatakan keadaannya almarhum al-Habib ‘Uthman dan ta’rikhnya*, Weltevreden: ‘Alwī ibn ‘Uthmān, 1343 [1924] (biography in verse)

Secondary

- N.J.G. Kaptein, *Islam, colonialism and the modern age in the Netherlands East Indies. A biography of Sayyid ‘Uthman (1822-1914)*, Leiden, 2014
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-tuffāḥa l-wardiyya min riyāḍ al-sharī‘a
l-muḥammadiyya

‘The pink apples from the gardens of the
Muḥammadan *sharī‘a*’

DATE December 1880

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Al-tuffāḥa l-wardiyya* was printed by Sayyid ‘Uthmān himself on his own lithographic press. It comprises 56 pages. It is of particular interest because it was written *before* he entered the service of the colonial administration in 1889, and therefore demonstrates that his motivation in writing favourably of the Dutch was not just in appeasement to his European superiors.

Al-tuffāḥa l-wardiyya is an edifying work that, in line with the well-known Islamic phrase, aims to 'order the good and forbid the wrong' (*al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'an al-munkar*). Ch. 11 (pp. 26-7), which bears the title: 'The prohibition against taking the property of Europeans (*al-Ifranj*), Chinese and others by theft or deceit by declaring them bankrupt or forging copies of documents and other forms of deceit', is concerned with relations between Muslims and others. The reason for this prohibition was that the European colonialists had established protection (*amān*) for the Muslim population, and were therefore seen as deserving similar treatment from Muslims. Sayyid 'Uthmān supports this opinion with quotations from prestigious '*ulamā*', such as Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 1567). By extension, it is this principle of Muslim commercial law that 'Uthmān considered to be the premise for a respectful Muslim attitude towards non-Muslims. Moreover, as a result of the safety the Europeans brought, Muslims should accept their rule.

In later publications, such as his Malay manual for proper behaviour, *Adab al-insān* (1885), Sayyid 'Uthmān expanded on this attitude, exhorting believers to respect and be grateful for the government, because it allowed Muslims to practise their religion freely. He repeated these views on other occasions, such as in his notorious prayer for Queen Wilhelmina (r. 1890-1948) on the occasion of her acceptance of the throne and, shortly before his death, in his writings on Sarekat Islam in 1913.

SIGNIFICANCE

In personally propagating a loyal attitude towards Dutch rule in this work, Sayyid 'Uthmān influenced harmony between the Muslim majority population and the non-Muslim government. He not only accomplished this through this Arabic work, which was written for religious specialists, but also conveyed it in Malay, the language of the common people.

The work is significant because it shows that traditional *fiqh* might provide arguments in favour of harmonious Christian-Muslim relations.

PUBLICATIONS

Sayyid 'Uthmān, *Al-tuffāḥa l-wardiyya min riḡāḍ al-sharī'a l-muḥammadīyya*, Batavia, 1880

STUDIES

Kaptein, *Islam, colonialism and the modern age*, pp. 92-4, 97-9, 144-8, 237-49

Carel Poensen

DATE OF BIRTH 9 May 1836
PLACE OF BIRTH Amsterdam
DATE OF DEATH 6 February 1919
PLACE OF DEATH The Hague

BIOGRAPHY

After briefly training to become a decorator, Carel Poensen entered the seminary of the Dutch Missionary Society (*Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*, NZG) in Rotterdam in 1855, and he left the Netherlands five years later to work as a missionary in the Dutch Indies. He was assigned to the district of Kediri, a small town in south-east Java, where he arrived in 1863 and remained until 1891. After retiring from missionary service, he became professor of Javanese at the Academy for Colonial Officials in Delft, where he remained until 1900. He died in the Hague in 1919.

According to Poensen, the life of a missionary was full of disappointment and setbacks. He was happiest behind his desk, because writing brought him most satisfaction; he felt that here, unlike in his missionary efforts, he could produce a lasting result. He was convinced that the key to success for the mission was to understand the Javanese and their (religious) traditions thoroughly. To this end, he wrote numerous articles and books during his lengthy career. His long-term knowledge of the field, and his linguistic and cultural competence, as well as his vast array of contacts within the local population, helped him in writing detailed articles about Javanese society. Most of his work was published in the *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* (MNZG), a monthly journal produced by the Dutch Missionary Society.

In his articles, Poensen dealt with Islam as it was practised in East Java. Until then, not much was known in Europe about Islam as it was lived. He showed that Islam was not a static set of beliefs and practices, but was fluid and adaptable. His most systematic work on this subject is his *Brieven over den Islam uit de binnenlanden van Java* ('Letters on Islam from the interior of Java').

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Brieven over den Islam uit de binnenlanden van Java

'Letters on Islam from the interior of Java'

DATE 1886 (1883)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

Brieven over den Islam is a collection of 17 letters originally published anonymously in the Javanese Dutch-language newspaper *Soerabajasche Handelsblad* in 1883 under the title *Brieven van een desaman* (Letters from a villager). They were published together in 1886, in an edition

consisting of 174 pages plus a 12-page preface by Pieter J. Veth, professor of the ethnology of the Dutch Indies at Leiden University.

In these letters, Carel Poensen writes about Islam on the basis of his experience as a missionary who had lived among Javanese Muslims for many years. His letters are not intended for a scholarly audience, but for the Dutch community living in Java who wished to learn more about Islam and especially about the way it was practised in Java. The letters are written from a highly subjective and Christian point of view, and thus provide insight into Christian-Muslim relations in Java at that time. Poensen addresses a different topic in each letter, such as the *ḥajj*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, marriage, pan-Islam. He starts each letter with an explanation of the significance of certain Islamic festivals, laws and customs, and then describes how these are observed in Javanese society.

Poensen shows that the Javanese were not 'superficially' Muslim, as was often suggested at the time, but that rather they were devout Muslims who had localised Islam. As they followed their faith, it was not static or monolithic, but fluid and adaptable. In addition, his work is one of the most important sources on the process of differentiation within 19th-century Javanese Islam. As a missionary who lived in the interior of Java, he was in the position of being the first to observe the emergence of two differing branches, the more 'orthodox' *Putihan* (*Santri*) and the more 'traditional' *Abangan*.

Poensen wrote similar articles about Javanese Islam and Christian-Muslim relations in Java for the *MNZG*, the journal of the Dutch Missionary Society, throughout his entire career. Although he wrote significantly more than his colleagues, they too produced articles about these themes in missionary journals. The missionary books and articles were not intended for critical outsiders, but they have proved to be useful sources for scholars in the Western world. Missionaries often stayed for prolonged periods in the field and learned the local languages sufficiently to be considered by the local population more as 'insiders' than other Europeans. This enabled them to gain a profound, yet often biased, understanding of the local culture, religion and society, which was unique in this age of 'armchair anthropologists'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The book received quite significant attention from scholars of the Dutch Indies and Islam, but not all the reviews were positive. Pieter J. Veth and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje were of the opinion that Poensen did not possess adequate knowledge to write about Islam in general. They

believed he should concentrate solely on describing his personal experiences of Islam as he witnessed it around Kediri, because they considered only these passages valuable for the ethnology of Java.

Nevertheless, these detailed descriptions of local beliefs and practices are still highly valued today. Although the letters are subjective and written from a strongly Eurocentric point of view, they offer a unique insight into the lives of ordinary Javanese Muslims. Moreover, they show how separate the life of the European community was from the Javanese, and how little the Dutch actually understood of Islam.

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Maryse Kruithof

Repen Ripangi

‘The Ripangi poem’

DATE: 1886 or before

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE: Javanese

DESCRIPTION

Repen Ripangi is a poem written in the style of traditional Javanese literature, following strict rules in which the length of each line and the rhyme are fixed, and suited for sung performance. It is divided into seven cantos, and occupies 60 pages in the printed edition.

The first three cantos describe the religious teacher Ripangi, the familiar name for Aḥmad Rifa’i, who successfully establishes a *pesantren* or boarding school in the village of Kalisalak in central Java. He claims that he is the *khalīfa* of the Prophet Muḥammad in Java and the only Muslim who lives according to the *sharī’a*. Consequently, he claims that other religious officials are not qualified to lead the Friday prayers, and that marriages they conduct are not valid ‘because they do not ask for my permission’, meaning that all marriage ceremonies will have to be conducted afresh by him.

Cantos 4-6 describe a two-day public debate in Batang in which Ripangi is required to explain his singular position. The head of the Batang mosque asks why Ripangi claims that the pattern of the mosque’s Friday prayers is invalid. Ripangi refers to ‘Arabic books’, but he is unable to specify which these are, even though he claims he has translated a whole series. He points out that 40 adult men must be present and receive instruction for a Friday prayer to be valid, in response to which the mosque leader argues that 15 men are sufficient and that instruction is not a legal requirement. On the second day, Ripangi also fails to justify his claims about the marriage ceremony. The outcome is that he realises he is mistaken and asks to be forgiven, and he promises to attend the next Friday prayer in the central mosque of Pekalongan. He is given detailed instruction from the leaders of the Batang mosque, and again apologises for the trouble he has caused. It is suggested that he may repeat his mistakes if he remains in his remote village, so he is transferred to the largest town of the region.

Canto 7 focuses on the Dutch *resident* and *controleur*. The *controleur* was present at the debate in Batang and reports to the *resident* the interpretations of Islam he had heard from Ripangi. The *resident* informs the native ruler, the *bupati* of Batang, that the Dutch government wishes to promote true Islam and the implementation of *shari'a*, and also seeks to eradicate unorthodox additions to the faith, in particular the use of amulets and magic formulas. In what maybe seems a surprising gesture of cooperation with the local Islamic authorities, he adds that Ripangi must return under police guard to his village, and remain there under surveillance.

SIGNIFICANCE

The case of the historical Ripangi is widely cited in Dutch sources. According to the colonial archives, a number of requests to have him exiled were made to the Dutch authorities by Muslim officials, but these were rejected on the grounds that no proper investigation into the nature of his teachings had been carried out. In April 1859, proper investigations were made and it was discovered that Ripangi (now 73 years old) had been imprisoned in Semarang in the 1820s for spreading false doctrines. In the 1830s, he had gone to study in Mecca, where he stayed for eight years, then from the 1840s he had become known as a teacher who only recognised the educated and upright (*'ālim* and *'ādil*) as true Muslims.

These findings about Ripangi's past finally resulted in the Dutch authorities sending him into detention on the island of Ambon, but his followers continued to be active. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (*Ambtelijke Adviezen*, vol 1, p. 718, vol. 3, pp. 1930-43) saw them as no more than harmless reformers, though local administrators continued to ban them. They operated in secret until they were able to act more openly in the 1980s through connections with the Golkar Party of President Suharto.

Given this train of historical events, it is curious that the poem depicts the case as ending with Ripangi acknowledging his doctrinal errors. The main significance of the poem is that it celebrates cooperation between local Muslim leaders and colonial Christian rulers to halt the spread of what were thought to be heterodox Muslim teachings and to uphold orthodoxy. It can be seen as a recognition that compromise over matters of religion as a pragmatic response to political realities was possible and did occur.



Illustration 15. A Javanese court official in formal dress, wearing a Western-style jacket

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Karel Steenbrink

José Montero y Vidal

José Antonio Julián Montero y Vidal

DATE OF BIRTH 28 January 1851
PLACE OF BIRTH Gérgal, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 27 February 1936
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

José Antonio Julián Montero y Vidal was born in the small mountain town of Gérgal, in the province of Almería, Spain. After studying law in Madrid, he worked on practically all the levels of the Spanish administration in the Philippines between 1868 and 1891, including as mayor, civil governor, judge, tobacco collector and local government officer. He married Carolina Marín-Baldo Burgueros (1864-1916), with whom he had four children. After Carolina's death, he married Carolina Mary Catherine Blanche Margaret Nettement in 1917. They lived in Paris and had one child.

Montero y Vidal was one of the most prolific Spanish writers on the Philippines, authoring significant works that are still useful for modern studies: *El archipiélago filipino y las Islas Marianas, Carolinas y Palaos* (1886), and *Historia general de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta nuestros días* in three volumes (1887-95). Both of these received the Gold Medal in the 1887 Philippine General Exposition celebrated in Madrid. In consequence, he was appointed a member of the Spanish Royal Academy of History.

He first became known for his popular *Cuentos filipinos* (1876), a modern collection of Philippine short stories intended to promote reading in the archipelago in a period when general public education was being implemented. Better known was *Historia de la piratería malayo-mohometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo* (Madrid, 1888), a general history of Philippine Muslims in two volumes, written from the perspective of the historical conflict with the sultanates of Sulu and Maguindanao. This work stimulated his interest in developing a deeper knowledge of Islam as a religion. In order to understand the long attachment of the Moros to their faith, Montero y Vidal studied Islam in the last part of his life

and wrote a monumental yet neglected biography of Muḥammad in two volumes: *Mahoma, su vida, el Corán* (1926).

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Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo

'History of Malay-Mahometan piracy in Mindanao, Jolo and Borneo'

DATE 1888

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo. Comprende desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta junio de 1888 ('History of Malay-Mahometan piracy in Mindanao, Jolo and Borneo, from the discovery of these islands to June 1888') is a key reference for Spanish historiography on Philippine Islam and its relations with the Spanish administration in the archipelago. Its two volumes (751 pages plus 131 pages of appendices) still provide invaluable data and first-hand sources.

The first volume describes the physical and human geography of Mindanao, Sulu, Palawan and Borneo. The second volume, which is far longer, comprising 48 chapters, is a general history of the Moros from the arrival of the Spanish to Montero y Vidal's time in the region in the late 19th century. Each chapter is introduced by a short table of contents and topics. Together they represent the most detailed and complete historiographical survey carried out until that time. Montero y Vidal's long experience in practically all the branches of the Philippine administration allowed him to access numerous primary sources and include an exhaustive amount of data.

The work is a 19th-century general history from the perspective of the political administration, in a context where foreign powers threatened the borders of the southern Philippines, including North Borneo. In this region, slave raiding was more or less an integral part of the economy, though among the Spanish administrators it was understood as piracy – hence the title of the work. Its purpose is to highlight the political incompetence that followed the Spanish renunciation of its North Borneo claims and to survey the long history of relations between Spain and the Moro sultanates, and their present state of political incorporation within the Philippine administration. Accordingly, a long list of primary sources, including Spanish translations of Moro documents, is edited in the third section, which takes the form of an appendix. This provides an excellent resource for research into Christian-Muslim relations in this region on many topics, among them: the origins of Islam in the archipelago, pilgrimage to Mecca, appeals for help to the Ottoman sultan, proclamations of caliphates in the Philippines, Jesuit missionary activities among the Moros, the testimonies of Islamic books seized by the Spaniards, the evangelisation of Zamboanga and other parts of the southern Philippines.

SIGNIFICANCE

Montero y Vidal's work remains a major source of reference for the study of Islam, Islamisation and Islamic societies in the Philippines, and it provides fundamental data for the reconstruction of the history of a number of Islamised tribes such as the Tausug, Maguindanao, Maranao, Sama and Yakan. While his major goal was to set out Spanish political claims over Mindanao, Sulu and Borneo, the large number of documents he employed make the two volumes an important repository of data. Significantly, he consolidates the concept of *malayo-mahometano* in place of *moro* to refer to Muslims in the Philippines, aiming to develop a more systematic terminology for the study of Philippine Islam. At the same

time, he laments the misunderstandings produced by religious policies that led to great damage to the natural environment of the Moros in Mindanao and Sulu.

As an author interested in a more systematic approach at the end of the 19th century, Montero y Vidal was one of the first scholars to find and reproduce a local *silsila*, a genealogical account of the sultans. At the same time, he described other indigenous sources and reproduces Spanish translations of original Jawi documents. Used with care, the information he preserves is a more than adequate substitute for lost traditions about local history.

The significance of the work is such that the general narrative employed by César Majul in his landmark *Muslims in the Philippines* of 1979, that of 'Moro wars', was most probably conceptualised on the basis of it. In fact, the emphasis on the military approach is still a general narrative that endures, with the lack of a more cultural, and even Islamic, viewpoint on the Moros who represented the easternmost edge of classical Islamisation. In this sense, Montero y Vidal goes beyond the simplistic understanding of crusade or holy war as the basis of the historical conflict (as Majul also does) by placing the focus on the Moro economy. Thus, he shows how the feudal system of the sultanates and their dependency on slaves made piracy and raiding the basic activity that ensured economic sustainability. In order to understand Moro society from within its structures, Montero y Vidal places the focus on 'piracy' as an economic activity, leading to consequent conflict with the regulated economy of a European power that, in addition, prioritised religious proselytising.

The book is also important for the history of North Borneo, since it provides the most relevant documents and statements about the historical dominion of the region in connection with Brunei and Sulu.

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Isaac Donoso

Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Daḥlān

DATE OF BIRTH 1816
PLACE OF BIRTH Mecca
DATE OF DEATH 1886
PLACE OF DEATH Medina

BIOGRAPHY

Aḥmad Daḥlān was born into a family of *sayyids* (descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad) in Mecca and started teaching there in 1848. The Ottoman authorities in the Hejaz appointed him to the rank of Mufti of the Shāfiʿī school of law in 1865. In addition, he held the position of chief scholar (*shaykh al-ʿulamāʾ*) in the Holy City, and in this capacity he was one of the most prestigious scholars in the Muslim world of his day.

He was very active as a writer and published on traditional topics, such as Arabic grammar, the biography of the Prophet, theology, mysticism and history. His history of the city of Mecca covers events from ancient times up to his own era, and deals, amongst other things, with the rise of the Wahhābīs and rebellion of the Sudanese Mahdī. Although Daḥlān never left his homeland, he received pilgrims from all over the globe and was held in high esteem in many parts of the world. He was particularly popular with the people of the Netherlands East Indies, who often requested fatwas from him.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Muhimmāt al-nafā'is fī bayān as'ilat al-ḥādīth

'The precious gems dealing with the explanation of current topics'

DATE 1892

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

A number of fatwas issued by Aḥmad Daḥlān and other scholars dealing with the colonial presence of the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies are brought together in this bilingual compilation (the Arabic original and its Malay rendering) made by an unknown compiler. The individual fatwas are not dated, but those by Daḥlān necessarily date from before 1886, the year of his death.

A key text is a brief fatwa in which Daḥlān is asked about the nature of the relationship between the unbelievers 'who had established their rule and against whom we are not able to wage war', and the Muslim population. In his answer, Daḥlān states that the Muslims should obey the infidel ruler in everything, as long as his commands do not contradict Islamic law (Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-nafā'is*, pp. 21, 193). He also expresses the opinion that this relationship between the infidel coloniser and the colonised is subject to a covenant (*ṣulḥ*), and this grants the unbelievers certain rights (*Muhimmāt al-nafā'is*, pp. 87, 196). In Muslim regions under colonial rule, the issue of the appointment of Muslim functionaries, such as judges (*qāḍīs*) also arose. According to Daḥlān, the colonial ruler could make valid appointments, even though he was an unbeliever (*Muhimmāt al-nafā'is*, pp. 52-4, 198).

Another example of a fatwa is Daḥlān's opinion on the colonial presence of the British in India, where he states that, in spite of having an infidel ruler, 'Hindustan' could still be regarded as the 'territory of Islam' (*dār al-islām*), as long as certain Islamic observances were maintained. Similar fatwas were issued by the Ḥanafī and Mālīkī muftis of Mecca

(Hunter, *Indian Musalmans*, pp. 163-4). This judgement is important because, in stating this, Daḥlān implicitly gave the message that Muslims did not have to engage in armed action to overthrow the infidel British ruler. Had he stated that Hindustan was not *dār al-islām* but 'territory of war' (*dār al-ḥarb*), revolutionary action may have taken place instead.

SIGNIFICANCE

These fatwas on colonial rule show that Aḥmad Daḥlān, who was one of the most prestigious scholars in the Muslim world in the second half of the 19th century, implicitly accepted the fact of colonial rule and thought that it was possible for a Muslim to live under non-Muslim rule, provided that the colonial authorities did not force the Muslim population to act against its own religion.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

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N.J.G. Kaptein, 'Meccan fatwas from the end of the nineteenth century on Indonesian affairs', *Studia Islamika. Indonesian Journal of Islamic Studies* 2-4 (1995) 141-60

W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, Lahore, 1964 (first published London, 1871)

Nico J.G. Kaptein

Dutch and Malay authors on the Paderi Wars in west Sumatra

DATE First half of the 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

During the 17th century, the west Sumatran coastal town of Ulakan was a significant catalyst in the spread of Islam in the region through its famous mystical teacher Syaikh Burhanuddin (1646-1704). In the later 18th century, students from Ulakan promoted religious study in the mountainous central regions of west Sumatra, targeting perceived deviations from the pure practice of Islam. These included the four major vices of drinking alcohol, use of opium, chewing betel nut and gambling on cock fighting, as well as the use of tobacco and the continuation of matriarchal customary law especially for the matrilineal inheritance of land and houses. In the first decades of the 19th century, these reform movements, known as Paderi (also Padri or Padari), adopted violent methods, with villages unwilling to obey being set on fire. In 1815, most members of the royal family of Pagarruyung were murdered, and it seemed as though the Paderi were about to claim full victory.

After the British administration surrendered authority over the coastal regions of west Sumatra to the Dutch in early 1819, the anti-Paderi leaders turned to the Dutch for support. The first Dutch attack on the Paderi was between 1821 and 1823, and showed a mixture of success and failure. After a Dutch defeat in mid-April 1823, Lt Colonel A.T. Raaff adopted a policy of allowing the Paderi to manage their own affairs, only claiming authority along a narrow coastal region in the west.

Thomas Stamford Raffles

The earliest information about the Paderi movement is provided by Thomas Stamford Raffles (born Port Morant, Jamaica, 1781, died London, 1826), governor of Bencoolen on the south-west coast of Sumatra from 1817 to 1823. He visited the mountain region of west Sumatra in mid-1818 at the request of traditionalist villagers. They asked for help against

the intransigent reformers, whom Raffles never met directly but towards whom he was not strongly opposed. He commented: 'The Padris seem to resemble the Wahabees of the desert. They have proved themselves most unrelenting and tyrannical; but their rule seems calculated to reform and improve, inasmuch as it introduces something like authority, so much wanted all over Sumatra' (*Memoir*, vol. 2, p. 84).

Hubert de Stuers

Hubert Joseph Jean Lambert Ridder de Stuers (born Roermond 1788, died Maastricht 1861) joined the Dutch army and was sent to the East Indies, where he had important responsibilities. He was appointed military and civil governor of west Sumatra in 1824, and chief of staff in Batavia in 1829. He remained in that position until he finally returned to the Netherlands in 1835, where he wrote a two volume account of his time in the Indies. In this he praised the cleanliness and discipline of the Paderi, but remarked that he found it difficult to come to terms with them because of their lack of central leadership, though he had proved in November 1825 that it was possible to negotiate and agree a treaty with them (*De vestiging*, vol. 1, pp. 104-6).

Egbert Kielstra

Egbert Broer Kielstra, (born 6 March 1844 in Leeuwarden, died in The Hague on 4 June 1920) covered the history of the whole of the Paderi Wars in his writings. He entered the colonial army, probably in the late 1860s, and was active in the war in Aceh from 1872 until the early 1880s. After returning to the Netherlands, he received an honorary doctorate in history for his archival work and for his many publications on colonial wars. In the articles that make up *Sumatra's Westkust van 1819-1849*, he closely follows his archival sources, incorporating lengthy quotations as well as lively summaries. He shows much interest in both military actions and peace negotiations, dividing the parties between those who sought peace and those who did not trust the enemy, the 'warrior's faction'.

In the last period of the Paderi Wars (1830-7), he records the instructions from Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch to the new Resident Lieutenant-Colonel C.P.J. Elout as follows: 'There are reports about the arrival of new priests from Mecca who have created an internal conflict

among the Paderi. We must seek the cooperation of some prominent leaders, eventually through money which they love very much' ('Sumatra's Westkust', 1888, p. 289). Elout answered that the people of west Sumatra were indeed heavily divided between local spiritual leaders, and that negotiations alone were not sufficient. In 1832, he undertook a massive military campaign and, after a victory in the Agam district, he sought the sympathy of the population by an unusual public proclamation:

The Resident to all the people of Agam, who these days were put under the authority of the government. Salam! You, people of Agam, will now enjoy peace and prosperity. None of you should assume that the government will interfere in matters of religion. [...] Muslims and Christians only recognise one God. There is not one God for Mohammedans and another God for Christians. This Almighty Lord, the Perfect, the Merciful, and Compassionate, rouses the conscience of his servants at a moment and in the way which is determined by him. (*Sumatra's Westkust*, 1888, pp. 340-1)

Herman Adriaan Steijn Parvé

Herman Adriaan Steijn Parvé (born 17 January 1824 in Maastricht, died 18 October 1893 in Lochem) came from a family of government officials, both in the Netherlands and in its Indonesian colony. In 1862-3, he was Dutch Resident of south Batakland or Tapanuli. As a young colonial official in 1855, nearly two decades after the last great Paderi warrior was defeated, he published an article about the origins and early years of the radical puritan movement under the motto, *C'est l'aveugle enfant du prophète*, which is probably explained by his observation that most sects in the great religions come and go, but that this one lasted longer than most. It even promised to develop into some kind of 'higher blossoming and could have brought riper fruits, if it had only been given time enough to cut off its wildest and its barren branches. [...] An overseas enemy, equipped with the tools of the developed world and the strategy of war, appeared in the mountainous region as soon as it could see its glorifying banners' (*De secte*, p. 249). For Parvé, the positive side of the Paderi was their fight against drugs, gambling and laziness, and the creation of an industrious dynamic society. They built beautiful mosques; there was no longer naked bathing in public places; they rightly considered that chewing betel nut was unhealthy. At the time he was writing, the charismatic reformer Tuanku nan Tua had already died and people made pilgrimages to his grave, 'but not in the excessive way as is usual among Javanese

Muslims' (*De secte*, p. 263). Steijn Parvé added to his account some lively and very positive pictures of people he had met personally.

Imam Bondjol

The major Paderi leader in the 1830s was Tuanku Imam Bondjol (also written as Bonjol; 1772-1864). He was called Peto Syarif in his youth and was the son of a *pandito*, or religious leader. Imam Bondjol experienced a mixture of attacks and defeats in his struggle against the Dutch, and entered into various negotiations with them in which he sometimes appeared prepared to compromise. As a result, he eventually lost the support of his compatriots and was forced to flee. After a time of hiding in the forest, he surrendered. He was taken prisoner by the Dutch on 28 October 1837, and was first brought to Padang, then to Cianjur in west Java. In 1839, he was removed to Ambon, where the Muslim community was less numerous, and in 1841 to Minahasa, a village close to Manado, where even fewer Muslims lived.

In Ambon, he wrote an account of his personal struggle to spread his ideas of an Islamic society and his fight against the Dutch. This was published in a Dutch translation in 1850 by Ridder de Stuers (*De vestiging*, vol. 2, pp. 221-40). The original Malay text was copied and expanded by his son Sulthan Caniago and kept in his family. This version was published in 2004 by Sjafnir Aboe Nain under the title *Naskah Tuanku Imam Bondjol*.

He mentions insults such as Javanese soldiers taking dogs into his mosque, and an occasion when African and Buginese soldiers entered the sleeping quarters of his women (Dobbin, *Memorandum*, p. 32; Sulthan Caniago reports this incident as involving Minangkabau and Buginese soldiers, in Sjafnir Aboe Nain, *Naskah Tuanku Imam Bonjol*, p. 78).

SIGNIFICANCE

The Padri Wars are seen as among the more serious revolts or armed undertakings against the Dutch during the long period of their rule in Indonesia. The original inspiration for them was religious, but in the later phase (the struggle of Imam Bondjol) political feelings of regional identity and fear of Dutch influence became more important. British and Dutch observers of the period paid most attention to their religious aspect.

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Karel Steenbrink

L.W.C. van den Berg

DATE OF BIRTH 10 October 1845
PLACE OF BIRTH Haarlem
DATE OF DEATH 3 March 1927
PLACE OF DEATH Delft

BIOGRAPHY

Lodewijk Willem Christiaan van den Berg was born into a family of artists; his father was a painter and his mother worked as a musician. As a child, he lost the sight in one eye, hit by an arrow while playing. This may have contributed to his calm and very serious character, contrasting with the somewhat Bohemian lifestyle of his parents. He was a brilliant student in languages and law, and in 1868 gained his doctorate with a dissertation on Islamic Law (*De contractu, do ut des' jure Mohammedano*). In 1869, he left the Netherlands for the Dutch East Indies, where he stayed in various capacities until 1887. He served for two years from 1871 as a lecturer in Islamic Law at the school for indigenous colonial officials. In 1874, he published his teaching notes as a full handbook on Islamic law. He contributed substantially to the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences' catalogues of Arab (1873) and Malay manuscripts (1877). His main work during his first seven years in Batavia was for the central colonial administration. In 1878, he was appointed to the newly created position of Advisor for Eastern languages and Islamic law, which in his case was restricted to Arabic. This gave him the opportunity to visit places and people in Java and also in the outer islands.

In 1880, he joined the senior official T. der Kinderen on a trip to Aceh. To support the work of the *sharī'a* courts in the Dutch colony, he translated a major Shāfi'ī handbook into French and published the Arabic text *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* (1882-4) by Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Nawawī. It is not clear how far he was involved in the formulation of the rulings of 1882 for the *sharī'a* courts within the Dutch colony. In 1884, he married a Dutch-born woman, and the couple had three children by the time they returned to Europe in 1887. The years 1884-6 were partly used to gather material for his book on Hadramaut and the Arabs of Indonesia, who mostly originated from that region of the Arabian Peninsula. For this purpose, he travelled to many outposts in the vast archipelago with

his main informant, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Babahīr, head of the Arab community of Batavia.

Van den Berg's return to Holland in 1887 was intended as a European holiday, but became permanent when he was appointed professor of religious law and indigenous institutions and customs at the academic institute for the training of colonial officials, *Indische Instelling*, in Delft. This institution was closed in 1900, whereupon he became an official at the Department of Colonial Affairs in The Hague. From 1910, he was a full-time politician: mayor of Delft (until 1920) and simultaneously (1911-23) a member of the senate of the national parliament on behalf of the conservative Protestants.

Van den Berg's reputation among specialists in Islamic law in Indonesia has endured, together with his status as a champion of true Islam and Islamic law, in contrast to that of Snouck Hurgronje, who was seen as a defender of local customary or 'ādāt law. In relation to the codification of the administration of Islamic Law in Indonesia in 1989, Supreme Court judge Abdul Manan stated: 'The Islamic community (*umat Islam*) had to reclaim its jurisdiction that was brought to the fore by Van den Berg and his allies in the *receptio in complexu* theory: the laws that apply to the Muslims are their religious, specifically Islamic law, in the field of marriage, inheritance, *waqaf*, and *sedeqah*' (here quoted after Van Huis, *Islamic courts*, p. 58). A similarly positive view to that of Van den Berg is held by Ibnu Qoyim Isma'il, who stated in 1997 that Snouck Hurgronje wanted to weaken the position of Islam and Islamic law in Indonesia by giving a prominent position to 'ādāt against Van den Berg, who supported the full implementation of Islamic law (Ibnu Qoyim Isma'il, *Kiai penghulu Jawa*, p. 106). However, quite the opposite is found in the writings of a prominent member of the Nahdlatul Ulama, Ahmad Baso, who was actively resisting the growing influence of Salafi Islam in Indonesia and therefore promoted the idea that Islam in Indonesia is quite different from that of the Arab traditions. He joined Snouck Hurgronje in his rejection of the translation of *sharī'a* as 'Islamic law'. Hurgronje used instead the word *plichtenleer* or 'collection of cultural precepts'. In contrast, Van den Berg, in his theory of *receptio in complexu*, made *sharī'a* the equivalent of a juridical legal system (Baso, *Islam pasca-kolonial*, p. 295). These examples show not only how the academic 'advisors' for native and Islamic affairs, beginning with Lodewijk van den Berg, shaped the practice of *sharī'a* courts in Indonesia, but also that their concepts can still be seen in contemporary Indonesian Muslim debates about the style of Islam in their country even today. The various alliances between

Orientalist colonial officials and trends in the Muslim world are here shown in their bewildering diversity.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Writings of L.W.C. van den Berg

DATE 1873-95

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various languages

DESCRIPTION

De beginselen van het Mohammedaansche recht, volgens de imāms Aboe Hanīfat en asj-Sjāfē'ī

'Handbook of Muslim law according to the Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī schools'

Published in 1874, this book was written in 1871-2 when the author was teaching Islamic law at the Gymnasium Willem III in Batavia (xv + 269 pages long). The only comparable work in European languages at the time was N. von Tornauw's *Das moslemische Recht* (Leipzig, 1855), though his book concentrates on Shī'a law. Van den Berg's book presents classical doctrine only, with nothing on institutional or regional legal developments in Indonesia. It follows the format of *fiqh* works, with sections on: *'ibādāt*: ablutions, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, fasting and pilgrimage; *mu'āmalāt*: financial contracts, property, *waqf*, inheritance; marriage, slavery, and family law; justice or *qiṣāṣ*. The fifth part discusses public law, the organisation of an ideal state, the *imām*, the *qāḍī*, and war, including war against infidels.

The book underlines the differences between Muslim and Western concepts. The state is not made for the well-being of its citizens (*bonum commune*) but for the implementation of the command and will of the Supreme Being: it is a theocracy (p. 1). The introduction further presents concepts such as Hadith, *ṣaḥāba*, the personalities of Abū Ḥanīfa (who was popular in the Ottoman Empire) and al-Shāfiʿī (followed in Egypt and also in the Dutch East Indies). Van den Berg's basic source here is Qāḍī Abū Shujāʿs *Mukhtaṣar* because it was a very popular work in the archipelago. Van den Berg also uses the *Muḥarrar* by al-Rāfiʿī in the version known as *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* by al-Nawawī, besides a Dutch 'translation' by Salomo Keijzer of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Shirāzī's *Tanbīh*.

Minhāj al-ṭālibīn
'Guide for inquirers'

This popular handbook on Islamic Law, comprising an Arabic edition and French translation, was published in 1882-4. Van den Berg used several of the manuscripts held by the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences. M.J. de Goeje later checked it against a manuscript of the *Minhāj* he had acquired in Syria, and the translation was polished by A.N. Clavier, teacher of French at the Gymnasium Willem III. Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Babahīr gave additional information, especially in the chapters on *ṣalāt* and the annual pilgrimage, which he had performed himself. The book was published in 3 volumes, splendidly bound, because they were meant to be used in native courts where issues related to Islamic Law were handled, as well as in *sharīʿa* courts, whose verdicts had to be validated by native courts under European judges.

The edition was intended to serve as a sole reference in law courts, though this idea was not suited to the reality of what went on in *sharīʿa* courts in Indonesia, where a much greater variety of sources was commonly used. It was insufficient to facilitate debate between the members of the court and definitely not to be understood and used as a Western-style codification of Muslim law.

In some sections, specific issues about Muslim-Christian relations are discussed, as in vol. 3, pp. 201-5, where it is stated that it is not permitted for a government to confront rebels by using troops who are unbelievers. This is followed by a section on apostasy. In summary, the text, translations and commentary are a hybrid of Orientalist and Muslim scholarship, not suitable for academic use but rather for the

implementation of *sharī'a* law in a Muslim society that is ruled by a non-Muslim government.

Over de devotie der Naqshibendijah in den Indischen Archipel
'On the Naqshbandiyya order in the Indian Archipelago'

This article in Dutch was published in 1883. In 1881, van den Berg attended a session of the Naqshbandi brotherhood held in the compound of a Dutch *controleur*, or local colonial administrator, in central Aceh. The service started at 7.00 pm and lasted for more than four hours. There was intensive chanting and physical movement. The *controleur* gave lemonade to the performers. Some of the group were handsome dancing boys, who, it was suggested, also provided sexual services to members of the audience. Van den Berg stresses that truly knowledgeable Muslim leaders and scholars were very negative about such popular practices.

While it comprises the results of personal observation in Aceh, the work also contains some quite disparaging information recorded from the island of Java. In Serpong, south-west of Jakarta, the lights are doused during the devotional session, allowing participants to touch their neighbours' sexual organs. This is interpreted by van den Berg as a remnant of Polynesian phallus worship that had not yet been eradicated by true Islam. Van den Berg's article was apparently part of a debate about the brotherhood in which he, Sayyid 'Uthmān, Karel Frederik Holle and other government officials were involved, with supporters for and against the devotional practices in the Muslim, as well as in the European, communities.

Le Hadramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel indien
'The Hadramaut and the Arabs of Indonesia'

Published in 1886, the first 103 pages (of a total 292 pages) of this French-language work give a picture of the homeland of most of the Arabs living in the Indonesian archipelago. This, as well as the rest of the book, has two major sources: the head of the Arabs in Batavia, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Babahīr, and the scholar and publisher Sayyid 'Uthmān ibn 'Aqīl ibn Yaḥyā l-'Alawī. Babahīr joined van den Berg on his trip to the larger towns of Java and some places in the outer islands. This was because Arabs were only allowed to settle within the major towns and needed special permits for visits outside them. The first part gives a picture of the geography, the main roads, the government and social classes and aspects of public and private life in Hadramaut in southern Arabia. Only

slightly more than three pages are devoted to religion, even though it is stated that it is a major concern for most citizens. The second part (pp. 104-290) is devoted to the Arabs in Indonesia. Some 60 pages here give an image of the spoken and written Arabic of Hadramaut people, with 30 pages of examples of letters written by them. There were no Hadramaut women, with the exception of a few who were brought as slaves, thus compelling the Arabs in Indonesia to marry local women, not from the local aristocracy, but rather from the middle classes.

In various places, van den Berg counters the European idea that the Arabs have a reputation for being strongly religious and for influencing the Indonesians towards Islam. In fact, the opposite is true: many of the native people do not like the Arabs, and the few Arabs who exert some influence do so through their personal qualities. It is therefore unnecessary to consider all Arabs as fanatical and a threat to Dutch colonial rule (pp. 192-212).

Afwijkingen van het Mohammedaansche familierecht
'Deviations from Islamic family law'

Van den Berg wrote a whole series of articles on 'exceptions to standard Islamic Law' (B.J. Boland and I. Farjon, *Islam in Indonesia. A bibliographical survey*, Dordrecht, 1983, pp. 70-1). In this 1892 article (republished in 1895) on marriage law, many minor local practices are described as 'deviations' from standard Islamic law. It begins with the administration of marriage: is a 'priest' necessary for a legally valid Muslim marriage? According to strict *sharī'a* law, No, but common practice does not accept a marriage without a *penghulu* ('imam') or some religious dignitary. From the debate about the application of the Justinian legal code in Europe, van den Berg introduces the Latin phrase *receptio in complexu* (1895 reprint, pp. 310-12). By the simple acceptance of the Muslim faith, the new believer also accepts the full and complete system of Islamic law. Van den Berg remains uncertain, however, about the value of the 'local deviations' from the ideal *sharī'a* rulings, and he suggests as a practical solution that common deviations that are supported by local religious authorities should also be accepted by the colonial administration. This was because, as successor to the former Muslim rulers, it had taken responsibility for the practice and implementation of *sharī'a* law.

SIGNIFICANCE

These works reflect developments and controversies regarding relations between Dutch Christians and Indonesian Muslims, especially with respect to the understanding and administration of *sharī'a* within the colonial Dutch East Indies. For Van den Berg, this culminated in his rivalry with Snouck Hurgronje, who had criticised him in *De Atjehers* in 1883-4, published 'by order of the Dutch Government' in 1893. Van den Berg considered bringing a court case against Snouck Hurgronje, but this proved to be impossible as it would have conflicted with guidelines published by the government. As a compromise, at the beginning of the second volume (1895) of *De Atjehers*, a note was included: 'Although this work is a government publication, this does not warrant that [the government] agrees with all statements of the author'.

In all his later publications, Snouck Hurgronje resisted making vitriolic attacks on his older colleague, and Van den Berg thereafter remained in the shadow of his much more illustrious successor. Nevertheless, some of his writings sold very well and were translated into various languages. The dispute between the two was mostly about details of the basic ideas of Islamic law, such as *ijmā'*, and the meaning and definition of the Prophetic tradition, Hadith and *Sunna*. Snouck Hurgronje also introduced the idea that the Muslims of Indonesia had a preference for local customs, *ādāt*, against full *sharī'a* law as defended by Van den Berg. But, in many details, both wanted to apply some kind of compromise in the restricted, yet still quite important areas, of daily practice, where the Dutch colonial administration should support the proper application of Islamic rules.

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Karel Steenbrink

Nineteenth-century correspondence between the Sultanate of Aceh and the Ottoman Empire

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various languages

DESCRIPTION

From the second half of the 18th century, the Dutch colonial government based in Java began to expand into the island of Sumatra. This advance concerned the Sultanate of Aceh, which governed the northern parts of Sumatra. By the middle of the 19th century, most of the island of Sumatra (including the Minangkabau region) had fallen under Dutch colonial rule. Consequently, Aceh sought to establish good relations with other foreign powers in order to maintain her independent status.

The Acehnese leaders saw Turkey as a powerful ally from which external help could be obtained. They regarded the Ottoman Empire as the pre-eminent Muslim state and its caliph as the leader of all Muslims across the world. They believed that, if the help and protection of the Ottoman sultan was secured, they would be saved from falling under Dutch colonial administration. Aceh's long-standing friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire, established in the 16th century, greatly assisted the new appeals for support in the 19th century.

These appeals began when the Acehnese Sultan Ibrahim Mansur Shah (r. 1838-71) sent a series of letters and gifts to the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-61) through French and American agencies in 1838, 1841, 1845, 1849 and 1850. In 1850, he also sent a delegation to Turkey under the leadership of Muhammad Ghauth, carrying an official application for the renewal of relations, involving Acehnese protection with Turkey as the vassal sultanate.

The 1849 letter from Sultan Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülmecid

The 1849 letter from the Acehnese Sultan Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülmecid was written in Malay Jawi script, and is dated 15 Rabi al-Awwal 1265 H (8 February 1849). It deals mainly with political, diplomatic and military matters, and requests military help from the Ottoman sultan against the Dutch, who are described as an 'infidel' people, and their

colonial rule as a Christian administration. The letter states that 'in the past, all the Muslim people in Jawi lands' (Southeast Asia), whether 'poor people and mendicants and others', were 'able to lead comfortable lives', fulfilling their religious obligations and upholding the religion of Islam faithfully. 'But now, the country is in ruins due to the coming of the infidel Dutch.' In the letter, the sultan states that Aceh was 'on the brink of war with the Dutch' but 'the Dutch have warships while Aceh have none'. He also states that he is 'currently in very sorrowful and difficult circumstances' because 'the Dutch are about to attack the land of Aceh; they are ready to strike, but we are also in all ways ready to fight them'. Since Aceh was 'considered to be under the rule of the Sultan of Rum [the Ottoman sultan]', the Acehnese sultan placed before him the news that 'all the Muslims in the region are greatly distressed, and the religion of Islam has been greatly suppressed, because of the cruelty of those Dutch infidels'.

Having emphasised Aceh's status as a vassal sultanate of the Ottoman Empire by referring to the 16th-century relationship, the Acehnese sultan asked for the provision of 12 manned warships, the full costs of which would be met by him. They could then defend the Acehnese lands in the case of any imminent Dutch attack, and to that end were 'willing to die a martyr's death' (BOA, I.HR. 66/3208 (6)).

The 1850 letter from Sultan Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülmecid

The second letter from Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülmecid, written in Arabic, is dated 3 Jumada al-Awwal 1266 (17 March 1850). This letter begins by formally addressing Sultan Abdülmecid, describing him as the one 'who is heir of the caliphate', establishing the pillars of religion (of Islam) and 'suppressing the wiles of the infidel unbelievers' all over the earth. As the leader of Arabs, Persians and Turks, he is the one who 'raises the banner of the faith, suppresses opponents of the nation of Muḥammad, and the one who works for the victory of Islam and its belief'.

The letter accuses the Dutch of crimes against Islam. It refers to the killing of religious leaders (*ulama*), especially in the Minangkabau region; restrictions placed on the Meccan pilgrimage by the colonial government; the contemptuous treatment of the local population; and the subjugation of local people to hard labour. The sultan writes, 'They killed the *ulama* and prevented scholars from occupying themselves with

learning. They took [important] people's sons and ordered them to learn their [the Dutch] books and gave them a desire for monthly allowances.'

Also mentioned is the lack of response to the previous letters sent on French and American ships to explain 'what has been done to Muslims by Dutch Christians' in the region. These letters sought a 'sultanic commission' to approve of and to start 'jihad in God's path, and to expel the Christian infidels' from the region. 'For if we do not expel them from the Muslim lands, we fear all the people of the island will apostasise and leave Islam once and for all; we take refuge in God that this does not happen.'

The letter also explains that Mansur Syah has not yet taken action against the Dutch, as he is waiting for instructions from Sultan Abdül-mecid to authorise his planned jihad. The Acehnese sultan therefore requests permission and assistance from the Ottoman State because the Acehnese consider themselves to be Ottoman subjects (BOA, İ.HR. 73/3511).

Muhammad Ghauth's letter of March-April 1850

The Acehnese envoy Muhammad Ghauth also wrote a letter to Hasib Pasha, the Ottoman Governor of Hijaz, in which he explained more clearly the purpose of his mission to Ottoman lands. It seems that this letter, dated Jumada al-Awwal 1266 (March-April 1850), was delivered to the office of the Ottoman Hijaz Governorship either in Jedda or in Mecca during the pilgrimage season. It gives similar information with regard to the Dutch. It explains that the entire island of Sumatra has been subject to the jurisdiction of the Sublime Ottoman State (*Devlet-i Âliyye-i Osmaniye*) for generations and the Muslim people in the region have lived comfortably until the coming of the 'infidel' Dutch. The letter reads:

[Our ...] affairs went very well until the accursed Christian infidels called the Hollanda or Flemenk came. They entered Padang and Palembang and other ports of the island of Sumatra, and demanded of the sultan of each region permission to have sole authority in the ports in order to buy and sell, and they set up their flags [there]. They remained there a while in this manner until the opportunity presented itself. When they gained power, they betrayed the sultans of the people of Minangkabau and Palembang and exiled them to a distant land, and established themselves as rulers over all the people [imposing] every spiritual and material hardship. They subjugated them, both men and women, to hard labour, and prevented religious scholars from learning, both in terms of teaching and studying.

The [Dutch] say that if they study, when they have acquired knowledge they will derive from it strength and *jihād* in the path of God as an obligation on them. So they prevented the people from coming to the two Holy Shrines because they feared [a threat] to themselves from the pilgrims. Everyone who wants to go on the holy pilgrimage must now hand over fifty Marie Theresa dollars. Anyone who goes secretly on the pilgrimage and returns to his family afterwards is pursued for fifty dollars. They claim that they have not taken anything from Muslim countries except by the exalted order of the Sublime Ottoman State.

They have desired time after time to take the territory of Aceh, but in anticipation that they attack Aceh, my lord wishes to make preparations against those Christians. He has sufficient money, men and equipment, but lacks only warships.

The letter goes on to request Sultan Abdülmecid to issue an imperial, sultanic order and an effective imperial decree to the Dutch consul in Istanbul that they should all leave the island of Sumatra and leave all the towns and the harbours to their [Acehnese] people obediently and without fighting. [This should be done in cases where] they have established themselves over a Muslim people subject to the jurisdiction of the Sublime Ottoman State.

The letter concludes with a request to Sultan Abdülmecid that, if the Dutch do not comply, he should issue 'instructions to my lord and everyone in Sumatra to fight in God's path a true jihad with their lives and possessions to exalt God's sublime word'. Muhammad Ghauth remained 'in God's holy shrine in Mecca' awaiting the answer from the Ottoman sultan (BOA, İ.HR. 66/3208 (4)).

The 1869 letter from Sultan Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülaziz I

The will of Acehnese leaders to bring their state under the protection of the Ottoman Empire was repeatedly expressed in later letters. In the letter of 1869 to the Ottoman sultan, the Acehnese sultanate was said not to have any problem with the British and French states, only the continual manipulation by the Dutch, who tried to take Acehnese lands by force or trickery. The letter says that

it is mentioned in the records that this region [Aceh] was attached to the lands of the Exalted [Ottoman] State. The English and French states looked on us in all ways with respect because of our subject status to your state, but not so the Dutch. The latter attacked us and seized the right and

northern portions of our land. We now [hold only] the middle part. We have no strength to resist them or to fight them. (BOA, I.MMS.37/1524 (11))

A report dated 1869

In a report dated the same year as the letter sent to the Ottoman government, Dutch encroachment in the dependencies of Aceh was described. A man of Hadhramaut origin, ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar al-Junayd Ba-‘Alawī, provided information that the Dutch (Ulanda) state was gradually gaining control over most of the Acehnese territory ‘by tricks and fighting’. With the weaknesses of the Acehnese ruling house and its ill-judged policies, the Dutch gained control over some parts by attracting its local chiefs, who rebelled against their state and surrendered the country to the Dutch. At first, the Dutch helped them with what they desired; but later, they exiled them as well (BOA, I.MMS.37/1524 (12)).

Letters of 1868 and 1869 from Sultan Mansur Syah to the Ottoman Governorship of Ḥijāz

Two more letters from the Acehnese sultan, dated to 1285 H/1868-9, were delivered to the Ottoman Governorship of Hijaz, requesting Ottoman protection over Aceh through Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ba-Junayd. In both letters, the Dutch people were generally portrayed as a potential enemy that had previously and forcibly occupied some parts of Sumatra, partly by war and partly by means of buying or offering bribes to the local leaders. The Dutch were now aiming to attack the Aceh lands too, and ‘my subjects are in fear of them’ as well (BOA, I.MMS.37/1524 (13); BOA, I.MMS.37/1524 (14); BOA, I.MMS 37/1524 (4)).

1872 petition from Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Syah to the Ottoman Governorship of Ḥijāz

Similarly, in another petition sent in 1872 to the Ottoman Governor of Ḥijāz to be presented to the Office of the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, in which the request for Ottoman suzerainty over Aceh is repeated, the Dutch are seen as a foreign power which has ‘ambitions against us just as they did against our Muslim neighbours’. They ‘sow enmity and hatred among us and announce what they desire of us. In response to these

threats, we ask your generous Excellency, who has more than enough power, to carry out what is requested by our side [as is shown by] previous commands' (BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 457/55 (13)).

**Visit to Istanbul of Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir Ba-'Alawī Efendi
1872-3**

Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir Ba-'Alawī Efendi, the special representative and advisor to the Sultan of Aceh, travelled to Mecca in December 1872 and then to Istanbul in March 1873. He presented a short note to the Grand Vizier on 29 June 1873 concerning the situation in Aceh. It states that,

the Dutch have besieged the island of Sumatra and especially the town of Aceh from the sea, but the people of Sumatra did not falter in their endeavours and determination. It is certain that the strength of heart and religious courage of millions of Muslim people located there will be reinforced if the Ottoman government mediates for peace by renewing our ancient connection and suzerainty. (BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 457/55 (30))

Ottoman-Dutch correspondence

After careful deliberations on the issue of Aceh among the Ottoman cabinet ministers, Turkey finally offered mediation to the Netherlands regarding the Acehnese problem:

We would be very glad [to help to re-establish harmony between the Dutch state and the Acehnese government], for anything that makes us think that our mediation will produce positive results in the direction of peace and concord and effectuating reconciliation at a time when there is a demand for peace and security while war preparations are being made as well. (BOA, İ.HR.260/15586 (1))

On 26 September 1873, the Dutch responded by firmly refusing the offer of mediation. The response noted that, although the Ottoman government's arguments demonstrated

proof of its friendly sentiments with this communication [...] we would like to ascertain in an adequately polite manner that it is not possible for us to accept mediation on the conflict in question. We appreciate [your] cautious language regarding the precautions that we have to take to maintain the dignity and reputation of the Dutch state and the honour of its military.

The Dutch saw the Acehne leaders as the party that broke the deal. In their view, the war in Aceh was not a religious one, because freedom of religion in Indonesia was always respected.

Although the previous initiatives to solve the conflict with Aceh in a peaceful manner have not produced the desired fruits, we have never intended to refrain from considering sincere proposals that would be made to us by the ruler of Aceh. The way that should be gone about to fulfil his desires is detailed in the treaty which the Dutch state and the Acehne government agreed upon in 1857. As this door has always been kept open to the Acehne government, [the Dutch state] has never been void of confidence that the initiatives which the ruler of Aceh might take [to avoid the sorrowful consequences of taking up arms] with the Dutch Indies administration will be received wholeheartedly. In any case, the Dutch state will not tolerate any mistakes while taking the generous and moderate reflections advised by the Ottoman government as a precedent for action, while carefully protecting and maintaining its rights and duties in its dealings with the governments of the Indian island, and especially with Aceh. The Dutch state hopes and believes that the Ottoman Government will consider the sincere explanations laid down above as a new testimony of the sincere wish to reiterate and strengthen the friendly relations and harmony that have obtained between the two countries since ancient times. (BOA, A.DVNS.NMH.13; For the Dutch response, see also Woltring 1962, II:1, no. 448, pp. 623-5 and no. 449, pp. 627-9)

The 1885 petition

On 5 November 1885, a petition in Arabic was delivered in Mecca by the people of Aceh to the Hījāz Governorship, to be presented to the Ottoman caliph in Istanbul. It outlined that the struggle of the Acehne people against the Dutch was seen as an Islamic *jihād*. The letter stated that the Acehne did not retreat from *jihād* and *ghazāh*; for 14 years they had continuously resisted the Dutch invasion of Aceh. It also said,

During this period, we have been sacrificing our belongings and lives against our enemies who, through God's help, have not been able to attain victory, even though they have been struggling to exterminate and occupy our country. [...] We request the removal of this enemy by presenting our situation to our lord, the Sultan of Islam, to whom we are attached by religion. (BOA, HR.TO. 390/87)

Letters from the last sultan of Aceh

Letters from the last Acehnese ruler, Alauddin Muhammad Daud Syah (r. 1875-1903), were sent with Acehnese envoys to the Ottoman Consulate in Batavia from government headquarters located in the interior region of Aceh, namely from Keumala in Pidie. One was dated 15 Jumada al-Awwal 1311 (23 November 1893), and was presented to the Ottoman Consul-General in Batavia, to be sent to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Istanbul. It describes the desperate state of the Acehnese people under Dutch military attack, stating that Aceh had been occupied by

the infidel Dutch, enemies of God and his Prophet, who have besieged us for twenty-five years. How many Muslims have they destroyed [...]? They let no one enter or leave, and they cling on [like] a whale in the sea! And they take prisoners to Batavia.

The letter stresses that the Acehnese people ‘fought against the accursed Dutch [...] today, they have increased their siege of us and besiege us by sea *wa-sakkaka* ‘*alayna al-kawalat* [and they are shooting bullets at us]’ (BOA, HR.SYS 551/5).

In another letter from Sultan Daud Syah, written at Keumala in Aceh and submitted to the Ottoman Consul-General in Batavia, the sultan states,

We kindly request you to present and explain the cruelties and oppressions inflicted on the Muslims by the Dutch, who are the enemy of God and his glorious Messenger, to the illustrious threshold of his exalted Majesty. For twenty-eight years, the Dutch government has inflicted the most extreme torments and cruelties, and caused pain to the Muslims under its dictation, and has shed the blood of many Muslims. The Muslims are even prohibited to come together on streets, and Muslim fishermen are taken captive and brought to Batavia under the label of prisoners of war. [...] We are requesting that our situation be presented and explained to our lord, the glorious caliph, the exalted Sultan Ghazi Abdülhamid Khan.

The Ottoman consulate sent this letter to the Foreign Ministry in Istanbul on 4 April 1894 (18).

The final letter from the Acehnese ruler was submitted secretly to the Ottoman consulate in Batavia in 1898 through an Indonesian of Arab origin who travelled in disguise on an extended journey – first to Madura, and afterwards to Maluku and Borneo, bearing Daud Syah’s petition. The bearer of the letter called at the consulate by night, seeking assurances that the Turkish consul-general was Muslim. The letter was originally in

Jawi Malay, but was translated into Arabic in the consulate office. It was sent to Istanbul on 7 January 1898 (13 Shaban 1315) together with a consulate report and summary of the petition (BOA, Y.PRK.EŞA 28/66 (1)). It reads:

Your servant wishes the acceptance of our letter, which describes the desperate situation of this country. As this is one of the Muslim countries in this region, those living here bear witness that 'There is no god but Allāh, and Muḥammad is His Messenger'. Your servant has become very weak, so too have all my viziers become weak. All my people who are living as Muslims in Aceh have been exposed to violence. The Dutch, who are the enemy of God and cursed unbelievers, do all types of tricks and obstruction; they are at war with us and are cruelly killing our people who are innocent and sinless.

They are seizing our lands and destroying all our assets, dispossessing us of our mosques and residences. They are ravaging the tombs of the pious and the righteous believers, and are destroying by fire the tombs of our sultan fathers and our ancestors. This situation is a great humiliation in the sight of Islamic faith. Twenty-five years have passed since the start of the war, without any respite. On the contrary, this year it even intensified. God has kept back all the rain clouds as witness to this. Previously, our situation was better; therefore, your servant cries out. [...] My fate has turned out to be besieged by the enemy, and to be ensnared by infidel Dutch tricks. But, I request help from the great sultan of the Ottoman Empire, our Lord, and from all other Muslim states. [...] This is a cruel business, a tyranny of degrading and humiliating treatment that has been imposed upon a Muslim country whose people bear witness that 'There is no god but Allāh, and Muḥammad is His Messenger'. (BOA, Y.PRK.EŞA 28/66 (1); also Göksoy, 'Acehnese appeals', 2015, pp. 189-91)

In the following year, the Ottoman consul in Batavia reported to the Turkish Foreign Ministry that the Acehnese ruler was 'sending continual requests' to the consulate demanding the end of the Dutch aggressions in Aceh (BOA, Y.A.HUS. 385/2 (3)). However, the situation did not change. In 1903, Daud Syah was captured by the Dutch and was exiled to Ambon island. In the following years, the Acehnese struggle gradually came to an end.

SIGNIFICANCE

The diplomatic letters between the Ottoman Empire and the Acehnese Sultanate began towards the middle of the 19th century and continued until the end of the century. They deal mainly with political and military matters, rather than religious ones, and concentrate on the appeals of

Acehnese sultans to renew former relations with the Ottoman Empire and to obtain diplomatic and military support against the Dutch. However, the Dutch actions during their invasion of Acehnese territory also shape the contents of the letters and reflect underlying attitudes and perceptions that impacted Christian-Muslim relations within this colonial context. The Dutch (as a Christian colonial power) were described in hostile terms, being the main enemy of the Acehnese. While the British and French states were generally seen as harmless, the Dutch as a colonial state in the region were considered as the most threatening political power. Therefore, the Dutch as a Christian people were described in religious terms. In the letters, they were usually depicted as 'infidels', 'cursed unbelievers', 'the enemy of God', 'the enemy of Muslims and Islamic faith', and 'doers of all types of tricks and evils' to gain their political goals.

The Dutch colonial administration was seen as a foreign ruler that damaged the interests of the Muslim people as well as the religious practices and the activities of Muslim *ulama*. In the letters, the struggle of the Acehnese against the Dutch was always defined as a holy jihad that was prescribed for the Muslims by the Islamic faith as their country was under attack by the enemy. Apart from describing the Dutch in hostile religious terms, the letters do not mention anything about their religious beliefs and practices as such. In the letters, negative statements about Christianity as a religion rarely appear.

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Ismail Hakkı Göksoy

Acehnese, Dutch and Malay authors on the Aceh War (1873-1903)

DATE 1873-1903

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch, Malay and Acehnese

DESCRIPTION

According to the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London of 1824, the Sultanate of Aceh, in the north-western region of the island of Sumatra, lay outside the colonial sphere. However, in 1871 a new treaty between the two colonial powers gave the British the African Gold Coast, while the Dutch received a free hand to move into Aceh. By 1858, the Dutch had established control westward as far as Siak and signed a treaty that gave them full power in this region, with an unclear boundary with Aceh. They then prepared to conquer the last remaining region of Sumatra. Sultan Ali Alauddin Mansur Syah (r. 1838-70), conscious of the Dutch threat, made overtures to the French in 1852 and intensified diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. In early 1873 his successor sent an Acehnese emissary to Singapore to approach the American Consul about a possible Acehnese-American treaty.

A first attack on the capital of Aceh, Kutaraja, in March-April 1873, was a disaster for the Dutch army. They returned in November 1873 and destroyed the empty mosque and palace. Sultan Mahmud Syah (r. 1870-4) left the town for the hinterland along with most of the population. He died from cholera, as did a quarter of the colonial army.

The ensuing war lasted for the next 30 years. Until the late 1890s the Dutch did not have a clear strategy on how to fight the many semi-independent feudal regional leaders or *uleëbalang*, who waged guerrilla warfare. Military actions were combined with, and sometimes undermined by, negotiations with the *uleëbalang*. Between 1896 and 1903, a major military action brought most regions under Dutch control, with Dutch interest stimulated by the discovery of significant deposits of oil. In 1903, Sultan Daud Syah (r. 1874-1903), and the most important *uleëbalang*, Panglima Polim, surrendered, bringing the war to an end.

Muslim sentiments and discourse played a role in the long conflict. In 1874, the Dutch rebuilt the great traditional mosque of Kutaraja in

a grandiose Indo-Saracenic style in an attempt to win favour with the Acehnese, but without success. The Sultanate of Aceh had no efficient centralised authority. Many of the more than 100 *uleëbalang* became guerrilla leaders in their region, using the local religious leaders with their educational compounds (*meunasah*) to fuel the resistance through the promotion of the ideals of martyrdom and hatred towards the infidels.

The role of religion in this colonial conflict has been long debated. The socio-cultural role of the religious leaders (*teungku, ulama*) has been contrasted with the more economic role of the *uleëbalang* or *teuku*. One of the most prominent Orientalist scholars of the time, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, carried out fieldwork in Aceh in the early 1890s and also took part in the military operation between 1896 and 1903.

Two authors who were closely involved in the Aceh War and interacted with the Dutch in different ways were Habib Abd ar-Rahman az-Zahir (1833-96), born in Terim in Yemen, and Habib bin Achmad bin Moehammad Sagaf, born in South-Central Java, in Banyumas, probably in the 1830s. While their perspectives on the war are of vital importance, their surviving literary testimony is short on detailed commentary of attitudes towards Christians and Christianity.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje

Mention should be made here of the last paragraph of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's (1856-1936) two-volume study of the Acehnese (*De Atjehers*, 1893-5). This short section of text opens a window onto the author's perspectives by providing advice to the Muslims of Aceh to seek new creativity and a modern interpretation of Islam: 'They should frankly abandon the tenets of *jihād* and abide by the practically harmless doctrine respecting the last days when a Messiah or a Mahdi will come to reform the world. [...] But before that day arrives the last political stronghold of Islam will probably have been brought under European influence and all less civilised Mohammedan people will have been compelled to submit to the control of a strong European government' (*De Atjehers*, vol. 2, section 3, p. 51).

This stronghold undoubtedly refers to Mecca and probably also to the plan of Afonso de Albuquerque to conquer it in 1513 (see Steenbrink, 'Dutch versus Portuguese', p. 35).

Hikayat prang sabi and related texts

A *Hikayat* is an Acehnese and Malay literary work in prose about historical events. *Hikayat prang sabi* ('The story of the war of [God's] way') is a poem in the form of quatrains following the *a.b.a.b.* rhyme scheme. According to oral tradition, the author was Teungku Pante Kulu, the religious leader of the village of Pante Kulu. Born in 1836, he spent a long period in Mecca and returned in 1881 through Penang to Aceh. On his return, he composed this poem, destined to be recited or sung as preparation and motivation for the fighting against the Dutch colonial army.

There are a number of recensions of the poem. The first published version (by Damsté, 1928) has 712 double lines of text, while a version in 1,600 double lines was published by Anzib in 1980 and in 1992 by Ibrahim Alfian (after more popular publications by Meuraxa [1958] and Zainuddin [1960]). During and after the Aceh War of 1873-1903, it was forbidden to own copies of the text. Most of the 46 manuscripts mentioned by Iskandar ('The *Hikayat perang Geudong*', pp. 94-8) are in the Leiden University Library. However, there are also several manuscripts in Aceh. Ali Hasjmy used two manuscripts for his analysis of the longer version (Hasjmy, *Hikayat prang sabi*, 1971).

The shorter version is effectively in two sections. The first 262 double lines are a timeless admonition to respect and follow the obligation to wage war 'in God's way'. The word *sabi* refers to the Arabic *sabīl Allāh*, or 'way of God'. The first and most often repeated verse is Q 9:111: 'God has bought the persons and possessions of the believers in return for the Garden – they fight in God's way: they kill and are killed.'

This is repeated several times in the opening verses of the poem, with the admonition that the faithful should not postpone this obligation. It warns that the faithful are trading too easily with the unbelievers. They should fight them. Even the pilgrimage of the *hajj* should be postponed because the war of *sabīl* is more important and it also generates greater rewards from God. It is even *ḥarām*, or forbidden, to go on the *hajj* in such conditions. Several other verses of Q 9 are quoted (9:39, 24), and other references also occur, such as Q 2:216 and Q 61:10-12. Sayings of the Prophet are also quoted, such as 'Paradise is found in the shadow of the sword'. In line 170, the 70 heavenly nymphs are mentioned, who are named as *budiadari* (*bidadari* in modern standard Malay) waiting to give the slain warriors their reward. Dying in the war of *sabīl* feels like

mere tickling. These images are intended to motivate resistance to the temptation to postpone the fight against the enemy.

In line 263, the concrete enemy of *sabīl* is identified by name: *Blanda* ('Dutch', from 'Holland'). They are conquering Muslim lands, imposing taxes, abusing the wives of Muslims, asking for travel permits and imposing taxes. Towns in Sumatra such as Padang and Palembang have already surrendered like all of Java, but the Acehnese must follow the divine command to fight these enemies of the Muslims and their accomplices.

The longer version as published by Anzib (1980) and Alfian (1992) elaborates four narrative themes from the Qur'an and early Islam to strengthen this religious motivation. The first refers to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. A rich and handsome young Muslim wants to join in the war against the infidels of Byzantium, and rides off to fight. Close to the battlefield he falls asleep and has a dream of paradise in which he sees God's glory in heaven and has sexual union with an attractive, sensuous woman. Then he wakes, sees the reality of war and cries for his nymph. His teacher, 'Abd al-Wāḥid, arrives and the young man tells him about his dream. His teacher promises him that he will meet his nymph again as his bride after fighting and being slain. This is followed by a lengthy description of rivers with many jewels and the fine flavours of the food in paradise. The second story is about the period before the rise of Islam, when the Meccans were in trouble from Abyssinian attacks on the Ka'ba, as referred to in Q 105. The Meccans were rescued by a miracle, when heavenly birds dropped stones on the enemy. This shows that God will assist all believers in their fight. The third story is about an ugly Abyssinian, Sa'id Salmi, who has problems finding a bride. With the Prophet's help, a pretty girl is promised to him and he is very happy. Then he hears the call to war against the infidels, joins the battle and is now full of ideas about a heavenly nymph. The money that was given to him for the marriage is now spent on preparations for war and he achieves this high ideal and is praised by the Prophet. The fourth story is about a man who entered war against infidels while his wife was pregnant. He begs God to protect his new-born child and, coming home, he finds his house empty. He visits the grave of his wife and sees a baby sitting there: he had forgotten to ask God to protect his wife.

In some copies of this long version, only one story is elaborated (as in Iskandar, 'Hikayat prang Geudōng'). The long version has relatively fewer references to Dutch measures against the people of Aceh. The short version sometimes also has one of the stories included in the longer one.

Damsté's version (1928) has only the second narrative about the birds in Q 105. (The disastrous tsunami of 2004 destroyed several of Aceh's most valuable libraries and manuscript collections, and it is now more difficult to carry out a comprehensive comparison of the various versions of this once extremely popular text.)

The *Hikayat prang sabi* also warns popular religious leaders who 'seek their comfortable sojourn in the calm places in the hillside, instead of going downstream' to fight the infidels (so Iskandar, 'Hikayat prang Geudōng', p. 94). This was not just an incidental rebuke. The Mufti of Johore, Sālim al-ʿAttās, issued a fatwa in July 1894 calling on the Acehnese to stop warfare against the Dutch because the latter permitted and even favoured the building and use of mosques and promotion of religious education (references and text in van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje*, pp. 202, 267).

The *Hikayat prang sabi* was sung for audiences and could be memorised easily. A more theoretical series of admonitions for holy war is *Tazkiratur-rākidīn* ('Warning for defectors') by Teungku Chik Kutakarang (c. 1830-95). It was never published, and the only known manuscripts were taken to the Netherlands by Snouck Hurgronje (listed in Publications below as LOr, Leiden Oriental manuscripts).

A special position in the Acehnese texts about the war with the Dutch must be given to an illiterate performer of poetry, Abdul Karīm or Dokarim. His work is called *Hikayat prang Gōmpeuni*, known through its description by Snouck Hurgronje (*De Atjehers*, vol. 2, pp. 100-3). It concentrates on the bravery of the Acehnese against the Dutch, but also mentions the need to become a fighter in 'God's way' and the glorious reward in paradise. The long 'opening sermon' is more or less a summary of the writings by Teungku Chik Kutakarang, who is mentioned here as the greatest Muslim scholar of Aceh (see the text in Wieringa, 'Dream of the king', pp. 301-7).

Jan Prosper Schoemaker

Jan Prosper Schoemaker was born in Ambarawa, south of Semarang, Fort Willem I, on 12 July 1852, apparently into a family of the KNIL, the Royal Dutch Indies Army. He died in The Hague on 23 February 1918. He was active in the KNIL in the 1870s and 1880s in Aceh, and afterwards became a writer on popular colonial history.

His first work was a volume of 15 stories, 144 pages long, on the Acehne war of 1873-82. In 1890, a second volume of 246 pages followed. These both include short stories about heroic acts by members of the Royal Dutch Indies Army, with many names, decorations, tragic deaths and negative references to the 'treacherous, fanatical enemies, keen on mutilating bodies, giving many promises without keeping their word'.

He gives much space to the numbers of wounded and deceased soldiers on both sides. In the case of Aceh, however, there is also special attention to aspects of Islam. At the beginning of the second attack on the capital Kutaraja, in December 1873, there was a debate about who could be sent with the letter concerning the conditions for peace. An interpreter was selected, the 70 year-old Javanese Muslim Mas Soemo Widikdjo, 'whose Muslim faith and brown skin should arouse less bitter feelings with the Acehne' (Schoemaker, *Schetsen uit den Atjeh-oorlog*, vol. 1, p. 4). He was sent together with one Malay and three more Javanese. But the ploy failed, because they were first taken prisoner by the Acehne and then executed, apart from two who managed to escape.

One short story concerns the nightly sighting of a ghost in a graveyard, which turns out to be a 'Muslim priest' in a white robe who arouses the fighting spirit in a village, but also brings weapons to a hidden place in the graveyard (vol. 1, pp. 37-48). The attitude of calm submission shown by some who were taken prisoner is explained as 'the acceptance of his fate, which was believed as a fixed decision of Allah' (vol. 1, p. 78).

In these stories, the Acehne refer to the Dutch as 'dogs' and *kafirs*, who desecrate the sacred ground of Aceh. Religious leaders ('priests') and holy graves are also often mentioned, as is the belief in virgins of paradise promised to them.

In vol. 2, pp. 166-78 there is a discussion of a 'fight for freedom or fanaticism', with 'fanaticism' used as the standard word for religious fervour. The Acehne are mentioned as ungrateful, because the Dutch government built a splendid mosque for them in Indo-Saracenic style in Kutaraja and gave privileges to villages after their surrender. The Acehne can still not be trusted, however, because after some time they may start the war again. In several places, the courage and tenacity of women is mentioned, especially after their husbands were killed. Religion plays a rather dominant role in the stereotypes of the Acehne in descriptions of the protracted colonial war, written mostly for a European readership,

but also for the citizens of the colony. Schoemaker did not address the ideological motivation on the Dutch side.

Henri Carel Zentgraaff

Henri Carel Zentgraaff (1874-1940) was born in Hontenisse, the Netherlands. Between 1894 and 1907, he was active in the KNIL, composing war propaganda. After his military career ended, he worked as a full-time journalist, defending the political *status quo* and criticising supporters of Indonesian nationalism among the European community. Although not published until 1938, *Atjeh*, his book on Aceh and the war at the turn of the century, gives a prominent role to native Acehnese heroes.

The book begins with three quite long portraits of 40-60 pages each. The first is of the religious teacher Teungku Cik di Tiro, the Shaykh of Tiro. He is praised because, amid the continuing rivalries between the *uleëbalang*, he manages to turn the fight against the Dutch into a *prang sabil*, a holy war (*Atjeh*, p. 8). His moving call to the Dutch to convert to Islam as the true religion, 'and the Lord of the Universe will save your life, your blood, your possessions, and your honour', is appraised by Zentgraaff as a sincere proposal. Zentgraaff also quotes the answer by the Minister of Colonies, Keuchenius: 'This request that we should convert to the Muhammedan faith has no grounds, because Teungku di Tiro should read verse 256 [Q 2:256] from the Qur'an: Let there be no compulsion in religion' (*Atjeh*, p. 8).

The second chapter is about the role of women who fought side by side with their men. Many women also became leaders of a Muslim militia after their husbands had been killed. The third lengthy chapter concerns one of these women, Cut Mutia (also written as Tjoet), who continued the fight against the Dutch after her husband was taken prisoner and executed by the Dutch in 1900.

The last section of the book provides eight portraits of Dutch and Acehnese heroes in the war. Cik di Tiro is here again called a 'wise and pious teacher' (*Atjeh*, p. 224). It also includes two chapters on the ideal of becoming a martyr, usually labelled here as *sjahid*.

The book was printed in folio with numerous photographs, costly reproductions of Acehnese handwriting in Arabic script, letters, and amulets. It achieved a relatively wide distribution of more than ten thousand copies in the colony, though reactions were mixed: some were highly critical of its positive references to the Acehnese, even though it

presented the war as a heroic pro-Dutch event. In 1983, an Indonesian translation was published.

SIGNIFICANCE

Many of the colonial wars of the 19th century involved religious elements and themes. The Aceh War was another colonial war for the Dutch in the quest to fulfil their territorial plans and to control piracy, as well as to gain income from export taxes and the exploration for oil. In the Aceh War, the Dutch motives and methods were little different from its other colonial wars.

By contrast, the religious motivation of the Acehnese was clear. Much more of the Acehnese public discourse concerned *jihād* (termed as *sabīl Allah*) than in other regions of Indonesia. This did not necessarily distinguish between the aspirations of the more avowedly religious participants and secular political leaders; many Acehnese *uleëbalang* joined in warfare against the Dutch, with religious teachers who were leading guerrilla militias handing over newly conquered territories to the civil administration of *uleëbalang*. The influence of the style of *Hikayat prang sabi* was probably an important factor, right up until the last sultan formally surrendered to the Dutch in 1903 and was sent into exile in 1907.

As to the Dutch motivation for this colonial war, ideological factors were seldom articulated by the colonisers. In 1948, the novelist Madelon Székely-Lulofs (1899-1958) published a book about the female fighter Tjoet Nja Din, widow of an *uleëbalang*. She refers to the Acehnese poet Dokarim, who composed an epic poem about the heroes on the Acehnese side, admitting her own feelings:

I felt ashamed. Where was our chronicle, where was the Dutch epic story about the war in Aceh? If we had accepted the role of bringers of civilization and had accepted the responsibility to spread Christian values among the Acehnese with all means of violence and military tactics, why did we never create an epic literary monument about this war? (Székely-Lulofs, *Tjoet Nja Din*, pp. 6-7)

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Dutch and Malay accounts of the conflicts known as the Banjar War, 1859-1905

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

In order to situate works on Christian-Muslim relations related to the Banjar War, it is necessary briefly to outline the historical context in which they were written.

Almost at the same time as the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago (Malakka 1511, Ternate 1522), the princedom of Banjar accepted Islam as its official religion. In 1526, a complicated transfer of rulers took place. During a war of succession, one of the contenders for the throne, Raden Samudra, requested help from the Muslim sultanate of Demak on the northern coast of Java. With this support, he was able to ascend the throne in 1526 as the first Muslim sultan of Banjar, named Sultan Suryansyah.

In the 17th century, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) arrived in the area and opened a small trading post with a *resident* as caretaker, but he was not able to impose a monopoly on the trade in spices. Most of the pepper trade was carried out by Chinese traders until the early 19th century.

In the 1750s, the VOC used the occasion of another conflict concerning the succession to the throne to install their weak candidate, Prince Nata Alam, also known as Sultan Tamjidullah I, in place of Prince Amir, who had sought support from his Buginese family. In 1787, this Prince Amir was arrested and sent into exile in Sri Lanka.

This interference in Banjarese affairs gave the Dutch more power. Their influence was used in 1841 when the first coal was found, and the Dutch established the mining industry to provide the necessary fuel for their growing fleet of steamers. European presence also became more visible with the arrival of German missionaries from the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft to the inland regions along the Kapuas and Barito rivers, from 1836 onwards. They had a peculiar missionary method of buying slaves of Ngaju Dayak origin on the local market. Between 1836

and 1859, they bought some 1,100 slaves. These slaves were not directly or strongly compelled to accept Christianity, and in 1859 the number of baptised converts was only 26.

On 1 November 1857, the aged Sultan Adam died and the favourite choice of the Dutch, Prince Tamjidullah II, was installed as the new sultan on 3 November 1857. He had already signed letters of consent to an increase in Dutch influence, in particular opening up new areas for the coal mines. Tamjidullah, however, was not popular among the population. His mother was of mixed Dayak-Chinese ethnicity and was not from the Banjarese nobility. Two of his sisters lived in unmarried concubinage with Dutch officials, and the prince was known for his love of cognac and other alcoholic drinks.

On the outbreak of a revolt in April 1859, for fear of being killed Tamjidullah left the royal town of Martapura and moved to the much more European town of Banjarmasin. Common people in this region preferred Prince Hidayatullah, a pious Muslim living in the countryside who was a direct descendant of the Prince Amir who had lost the throne in the succession turmoil of 1757. Hidayatullah was not willing to interact with the Dutch of the towns, although he was offered the secondary position of *mangkubumi*, similar to the role of prime minister.

The political process took a sudden turn with the rise of a new political-spiritual centre outside the central region in early 1859. A simple farmer named Aling claimed that he had received a divine mission after a 40-day period of spiritual retreat in his village of Muning, which was later renamed Tambay Mekkah or Portal of Mecca. From the time of this call, he claimed the power to resurrect the dead. He then called for protests against Tamjidullah and the Dutch influence in his region, and nominated one of his children as a new sultan, named Sultan Kuning (or Yellow Sultan). His daughter was renamed 'foam of the sea' (*puteri junjung buih*) after the first human being in a Banjarese creation myth, and her spouse was given the title *Khalifa Rasul* or 'Representative of the Messenger'. The spirituality of the movement was a mixture of local tradition and elements of Islam.

Hundreds, perhaps even thousands of people from quite distant places came to this remote village to prepare for a holy war against the Dutch. Among them was another descendant of the dynastic line of 1757, Prince Antasari, who, together with the mixed-race Dayak-Banjarese Prince Surapati, would become the vanguard of one party in a civil war that

pitted a stronge Islam-motivated anti-Dutch party against an alliance of the Dutch and some Banjarese.

Soon after the revolt against the Dutch started in March 1859, Sultan Tamjidullah was dismissed and sent into exile in Java on 25 June 1859. The position of Prince Hidayatullah was unclear for some time. He and many others hoped that he would become the next sultan. Others hoped that he would lead the resistance, which he did initially but in early 1862 he surrendered and was also sent into exile in Java. The Dutch then took over full authority in the region of Banjar.

The opposition party, which was initially concentrated in the village of Muning (Tambay Mekkah), acquired another partner in the form of a mystical movement called Ratip Beamal ('Chanting formulas and acting'), whose adherents believed they would become invulnerable through chanting religious formulas such as *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, and entered the battle field in a trance.

The first attacks on the Dutch coal mines were carried out from the village of Muning on 28 April 1859. In May, the mission posts at Pulau Petak were attacked and six of the seven German missionaries and most of their families were killed. The Dutch sent a steamer with troops to the Barito River on 26 December 1859, hoping that this would provide a place to meet with Prince Surapati. However, instead of a negotiation, there was an attack on the steamer and 50 colonial soldiers and 43 other persons were killed.

This was the beginning of a war that lasted for more than 60 years, although it became less intense after 1866. In the sparsely populated region of south Kalimantan, it proved to be very difficult to fight the rebels, who were divided into many small groups. Prince Antasari died from smallpox in October 1862 and Surapati in 1875, but their children and family continued the struggle. The son of Antasari, Sultan Muhammad Seman, died in 1905, and a year later his son, Gusti Berakit, surrendered to the Dutch.

In the historiography of the opposition to Dutch colonialism, the modern Banjarese claim that their struggle lasted longer than anywhere else in Indonesia, even longer than the wars in Jambi (1858-1904) or Aceh (1873-1912). Antasari is seen in south Kalimantan as a Muslim warrior against colonialism and Christianity. The Islamic State University of Banjarmasin is named after him, *Universitas Islam Negeri Pangeran Antasari*.

Jan Baptist van Doren (1791-1871), in *Bij wien ligt de schuld* (1861), argues that the Banjarese War was caused by the Christian Dutch underestimating the power of the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. A liberal colonial governor-general had made this voyage cheaper and easier in 1853, and so thousands of 'newly ordained' pilgrims had returned to Indonesia in the late 1850s, a high number to the region of Banjarmasin. According to van Doren, they were the dominant element in the insurgency against Christian mission and Dutch colonialism.

A very different approach is found in *De Bandjarmasinsche Krijg van 1859-1863* by Willem Adriaan van Rees (1820-98), who served as an army officer in the Dutch Indies between 1840 and 1860. This retired officer gained prominence as a writer of short stories about the Dutch colony, published after he ended his military career. The first of four volumes appeared in 1862. Van Rees mostly wrote short sketches of colonial life from his own observations and viewpoint as a conservative military man who loved discipline and respect for white people, and for the military above all. A well-known standard history of Dutch colonial literature calls him 'a superb example of the prejudices of race and social superiority, dominant in colonial society' (Nieuwenhuys, *Oost-Indische Spiegel*, Amsterdam, 1972, p. 194). One example of the way his style of writing relates to Islam under Dutch colonialism is his description of the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet at the court of the sultan of Yogyakarta. This celebration included a long procession of great plates of food brought from the palace to the mosque, which were then divided among the common people, who valued this food for its magic power. The plates were accompanied by soldiers of the sultan who wore a mixture of Javanese and European dress, while music was provided by European trumpets together with wooden and bronze xylophones from a Javanese *gamelan* orchestra. After the food had arrived at the mosque, 'the sultan would take a glass of wine and invite his guest to drink in honour of the Prophet Muḥammad. These words, together with the *gamelan* music hated by the Prophet, would cause Muḥammad to roll over in his grave' W.A. van Rees, *Herinneringen uit de loopbaan van een Indisch Officier*, The Hague, 1865, vol. 2, p. 33). Like van Doren, van Rees was aware of the religious sensibilities of Muslims and proposed a policy of distance and outward respect.

In 1865, van Rees published a detailed description of the initial phase of the Banjarese War, from 1859 to 1863. He used documents of the colonial administration, and added some of his own dramatic descriptions

in order to provide an entertaining account. First, he described what he viewed as the initial outbreak of violent actions against Christian mission and colonial expansion, beginning with the mixed spiritualist-Muslim ideas and practices in the village of Muning (Tambay Mekkah). After the old sultan died and the pro-Dutch and not so pious Muslim Tamjidullah was installed as his successor, there were only minor problems for nearly two years. In van Rees's view, the rise of a mixed native-Muslim movement was the beginning of much trouble, leading to a bloody revolt. This started with a revelation that had been received by an old farmer. When the farmer's followers attacked the coal mines, killed its personnel and destroyed the premises, and also attacked mission posts, the Dutch administration had to react and did so in a decisive manner. But the poor infrastructure of south Kalimantan, with an inadequate road system as well as rivers that were inaccessible to larger steamers, made an effective Dutch response very difficult.

Van Rees goes on to recount how in mid-1859 the situation worsened when hundreds of fighters armed with no more than daggers attacked well-armed soldiers while chanting the formulas of the *ratip beamal*. They were immediately killed. Moreover, in that region another strange preacher had risen who denied the prophethood of Muḥammad, derided the Qur'an and threw a copy of it into the river. He wanted to introduce a new religion, which included the expulsion of all white people. Notwithstanding the fanaticism of these new movements, the majority of the population was prepared to listen and follow their official religious leaders (van Rees, *Bandjermasinsche Krijg*, vol. 2, p. 185).

Van Rees's is the most detailed and best source for the south Kalimantan revolt in which these three religious movements of more or less Muslim origin (but one in opposition to all traditional doctrines), triggered revolts against missionary activities and the Dutch colonial administration. Van Rees mentions at least six local incidents involving massive but ineffective attacks by the mystics of *ratip beamal*, but does not give much information about the leading networks, ideals and dynamics of this movement.

In 1866, J.A. Meijer, a former member of the colonial navy, published *De onpartijdigheid van den schrijver van 'De Bandjermasinsche Krijg'*. He considered that van Rees's *De Bandjermasinsche Krijg* was error-prone and one-sided, and he made two basic criticisms, first that van Rees was neglecting the dominant role of the navy in a region that lacked proper roads and where big rivers were used for communication and transport,

and second that van Rees also neglected the role of Islam in the uprising. In 1867, van Rees responded with *De Bandjarmasinsche Krijg van 1859-1863 nader toegelicht* (137 pages), in which he stated that, while orthodox Islam may have been strong in the larger towns on the coast and along the largest rivers, in the interior and especially further away from the southern coast to the northern region all villages had a mixed population of Muslims and pagans.

In 1886, H.G.J.L. Meyners extended van Rees's work with *Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Geschiedenis van het Bandjermasinsche Rijk, 1863-1866* (333 pages), on the continuation of the Banjarmasin War in the period 1863-6, based on field reports of the colonial army, which consisted largely of a chain of stories of small local battles with little mention of issues of religion. The colonial historian E.B. Kielstra's *De ondergang van het Bandjermasinsche Rijk* (1891) likewise set the dynastic problem as its major topic, with little reference to Islam as a cause of unrest. The basic issue for him was the question of who had the right to be the successor to Sultan Adam, who died in 1857, and to Tamjidullah who was deposed by the Dutch in 1859.

There are two Malay poems on the first decade of the Banjar War. The longer, entitled *Syair Perang Banjarmasin*, is about a man of Arab descent, who claimed to be a direct descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad through his grandson al-Ḥasan. He is therefore called in the poem Syarif Hasyim, and also *Pangeran* because of his relation (through his wife or mother?) to the ruling family of the Sultanate of Lingga, a small island just south of Singapore. The long poem, of 321 pages each of some 20 lines, is written in quatrains, like all traditional Malay poetry. According to the colophon in the single existing manuscript, it was written in 1871 by two persons, the first 13 chapters by Raja al-Haji Daud, the most famous author of poetry from the Sultanate of Lingga, and the longest section by a certain Raden Habib Muhamad. It was finished in February 1871, and a copy made one year later.

The first two chapters introduce the Dutch kingdom and its overseas possessions. In ch. 3, the lineage of Syarif Hasyim is introduced. His family was from Baghdad, but his grandfather came to Riau in West Sumatra. Syarif Hasyim wanted to offer his services to the government, and collected 40 armed men and left for Banjarmasin 'in the year of Jesus' (*tahun Isa*) 1861, where he fought bandits in some remote areas. His aim is described as the surrender and pledge of loyalty among his people towards the Dutch government. Ch. 10 tells how he attacked the Sungai

Durian fortification: 'With the help of God the One the castle was absolutely destroyed' (*Dengan didorongkan Tuhan Yang Esa/ benteng pun habis rusak binasa*, p. 58).

On p. 65, there is an account of how he brought a man who had killed a Dutch official (*controleur*) to Banjarmasin, together with his two sons. There was an agreement, and the prisoners took an oath in the name of Allāh (*sekaliannya itu lalu bersumpahlah/ lalu menyebut dengan nama Allah*). In later chapters, much more is written about Syarif Hasyim's role in negotiations than in actual fighting. After some time, he was even nominated as administrator of the region of Canang Manunggal for one year, and the poem praises his rule as of someone who 'ruled in peace and justice, about one year' (*perintahnya adil amatlah nyata / ada setahun pada kira-kira*, p. 148). His opponents are never called *kafir* or unbelievers but are viewed as bandits or robbers (*berandalan, pembegal*). In 1863, he was awarded the Order of the Dutch Lion for his bravery in the Banjarese War, and he received a monthly salary of 200 Dutch guilders.

The language of this poem has fewer Arabic loan words and religious terminology than many other examples of this kind of literature. Still, quite often Islamic phrases are used, such as 'it was God's decision' (*taqdir Allāh*). About one regent, the native ruler of Amuntai, who was killed by opponents, it relates that he 'had risen to heaven' (*mi'rat*), using the same word as for the ascension of the Prophet Muḥammad (p. 52). The religious fervour and enthusiasm of the beginning of the Banjar War in the village of Muning in early 1859 is not mentioned at all, perhaps because Syarif Hasyim only arrived in September 1860. But the frequent use of *ratip beamal* and the chanting of religious phrases before fighting to invoke protection from weapons, is criticised in strong words. Although the bandits said many prayers (*berandal beratib banyak terlalu*), their amulets proved to be ineffective in the fighting (p. 52: 'all their innumerable amulets were annihilated').

From ch. 44 (p. 190) on, the focus is entirely on Demang Wangkang, whose father Kendet had been hanged for an anti-Dutch rebellion in 1825. The two sons, of whom Wangkang was the younger, were banished to Java with some followers, but were pardoned in 1854 under a more liberal governor-general. They returned to their homeland of Bakumpai, and were even able to rebuild their father's village. When the war broke out in 1859, the Dutch destroyed a large amount of Demang Wangkang's trading stocks, upon which he decided to join in the war

against the Dutch as an ally of Prince Surapati, though he was also close to Antasari and his sons. In 1864, there were already rumours that he was ready to surrender. Dutch reports indicate that he used the ideology of *jihād*, mixed with superstition (see Syamsuddin, 'Fighting Dutch rule', pp. 241-73).

In *Syair Perang Banjarmasin*, first place is given to its real hero Syarif Hasyim and his role as advisor to the colonial government. It tells how, in 1870, Wangkang came three times to discuss the possibility of an amnesty for himself if he surrendered. The decision about this amnesty lay with the Council of the East Indies in Batavia, and they disagreed over it. Finally, in November 1870 the governor-general replaced Resident Tiedtke, who was seen as too soft, with the hardliner Ch. Chr. Tromp, and sent a letter of amnesty for Wangkang. However, during his third visit to Banjarmasin that month, Wangkang took so many troops with him that it was feared he would attack the town. Syarif Hasyim conducted the unsuccessful negotiations between the Resident and Wangkang, and this was followed by a skirmish, after which Wangkang and his men retreated. The new resident sent steamers to Marabahan, whereupon further fighting erupted and Wangkang was killed.

The *Syair Perang Banjarmasin* ends shortly after Wangkang's death with a description of the victory of the Dutch, their control of the rivers and the return to Surabaya of steamers and troops.

In addition to the long poem concentrating on the role of Pangoran Syarif Hasyim, there is another historical poem of relevance called *Syair Perang Wangkang*. It was written by a certain Haji Sulaiman from Amuntai, who also supported the Dutch in this conflict; in fact, he may have been writing on the orders of a Dutch official in this region, Lieutenant P. van Ham. Haji Sulaiman also relates the story of Wangkang coming to Banjarmasin to discuss the possibility of a surrender with honour, and it ends with the failure of the negotiations. Near the end of its 360 quatrains, it says that 'two men fell in the river, because they were already lifeless, slain by the man at the helm with a rifle owned by the *Kompeni*', by which was meant the East India Company, used in the 19th century for the Dutch colonial state (*Syair Perang Wangkang*, p. 46).

SIGNIFICANCE

The Dutch and Malay accounts are noticeably different in their recording of this colonial conflict. The Dutch reports mention the religious

aspects frequently, while the Malay poems either neglect this dimension completely or only make general remarks. There must be two reasons for this. The first is that the Malay authors were in the service of the Dutch colonial authority and were opposed to the Muslim revolutionaries, hence the descriptions of them as bandits, robbers or rebels, rather than Muslims. The second and more important reason relates to the fact that Dutch authors such as van Doren, who were writing in Europe, were inclined to stress Islam as a cause of the conflict and of the violence involved, while the Malay authors omit references to Islam because they wished to remain faithful to their religion, while also showing their loyalty to the colonial power.

If the accounts of the Banjar War are compared with narratives of other 19th-century conflicts, it will be seen that religion played a more modest role in Banjar than elsewhere. The conflict known as the Java War (1825-30) was also about a succession in the sultanate, but this time a major religious leader, Kyahi Maja, was involved, while the candidate, Prince Dipenagara, also wrote extensively in a Muslim-Javanese mystical way. The Paderi Wars in West Sumatra (c. 1803-36) were perpetrated by religious reformers. The Cilegon revolt of West-Java, Banten, in 1888 was initiated by leaders of the Qādiriyya Sufi order, while the Acehnesse War (1873-1912) involved both religious and (rival) secular leadership.

It seems that in Banjar the formal religious establishment of the sultanate was more inclined to remain neutral in what it saw as a political conflict, and accepted the Dutch army and administration. On the other hand, mystical brotherhoods and native traditional spirituality mixed with Islamic elements were in part the inspiration for a revolt against the growing influence of colonialism.

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Karel Steenbrink

China

The Chinese Repository

DATE 1832-51

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Chinese Repository was a monthly journal published in Guangzhou from 1832 to 1851. It was edited by the senior American missionaries Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1832-47), James Grainger Bridgman (1847-8) and Samuel Wells Williams (1848-51). The journal covered all aspects of Chinese life and culture and was intended for a wide readership throughout Asia. The readership principally was the missionary, diplomatic and commercial communities.

This was the first major journal of Sinology published in English. It remains an important record of missionary observations of life in China and, on many occasions, of other countries in the Asia-Pacific region. These observations range from methods of cultivation of rice, political issues such as the opium trade, the Chinese classics, the Jewish community in China, and occasional discussions about Islam and Chinese Muslims. Typically, each month the journal would contain on average 50 pages, an index, articles and a 'Journal of occurrences [*sic*]', or notices of significant events. As the editors were Christian missionaries, they naturally took an interest in the nature and the debates of the Christian community in China at the time. Articles on the debate over the correct translation of the word 'God' into Chinese were published throughout the 1840s. Major missionary figures, such as Walter Medhurst and Bishop Boone, wrote at length on the subject. The journal became the most widespread source of information about such issues at the time.

The Chinese Repository provides important information for an historical understanding of Muslim life in China. 'Mohammedan towns in west of China', in 'Notices of countries on the west of China proper, extracted and translated from Chinese writings by M. Amiot' (vol. 9, no. 3, July, 1840, pp. 123-32; Joseph Marie Amiot was a Jesuit priest) describes towns where Muslims lived, their lifestyle, geographical distribution, and their relations with the local Chinese population. Another Catholic source is 'Mohammedan presence in Hubei, Hunan, Shanxi and Shenxi' in 'Notices of the Catholic religion in China in a letter from the

Rt. Rev Joseph Rizzolati, vicar Apostolic of Hú-kwáng' (vol. 15, no. 1, January, 1846, p. 43). 'Mohammedans in Fuzhao' (vol. 15, no. 4, April, 1846, p. 204) describes six Muslim 'priests' and their activities, and 'The Jews and Mohammedans in Hunan' (vol. 20, no. 7, July, 1851, p. 449) notes that Jews and Muslims do not intermingle, and it describes in brief some observations on their buildings.

No articles in the journal discuss plans for, or activities of, direct Christian engagement with the Muslim community in China apart from a review of a work written 'in the Malayan language'. This anonymous article, 'Mohammedanism; its present attitude in Eastern and Western Asia, with an outline of the defense of the Gospel against the Malayan Mohammedans' (vol. 3, no. 4, August, 1834, pp. 161-71) is a purported defence of Christianity against Muslim objections and an exposé of Islamic falsehoods. The editor remarks that it 'is a curious and interesting work, and will prove instructive and interesting to Musselmen' (p. 161). The tone of the comments illustrates the view of the time: 'the gospel of God is destined to subdue and triumph over all the bad passions of these men' (p. 162). Anything approaching a more modern understanding of constructive dialogue was unlikely to be found in such an atmosphere. However, it could be said that this article was published because of common key questions raised in the wider context of encounter with Muslims. Foremost is the Muslim charge that the Christian scriptures were altered and falsified between the death of Jesus and the coming of Muḥammad. The journal article seeks to refute this long-standing argument and to establish the divinity of Jesus. Further articles on this theme appear in the 1870s and 1880s in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, which began publication in 1868.

A focus on the question as to when, where and how the Muslim community arrived in China is prominent and significant. However, no article mentions any contact between the Christian Nestorian community, which was present in China during the Tang Dynasty (618-907), and the Muslim community. The one brief exception is in the review of *Ancient account of India and China by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the 9th century, translated from the Arabic by the late, learned Eusebius Renaudot, with notes, illustrations and inquiries by the same hand*, London: Printed for Sam. Harding, at Bible and Anchor, on the pavement at St Martin's Lane, mdccxxxiii (vol. 1, no. 1, May-April, 1832, pp. 6-15). The article is a review and discussion of the book of the same name.

Other articles cover the history of particular mosques and Muslim communities. 'The Hiang Fan or Echoing tomb, a Mohammedan mosque and burial ground near Canton' (vol. 20, no. 2, February, 1851, pp. 77-84) discusses the history of this particular mosque and tomb, and the arrival of Islam in China.

In January 1844 (vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 31-3), the first of two articles by the Rev. William C. Milne appeared under the title 'Notices of seven months residence in Ningbo'. Milne describes his visit to the local mosque and records his impression of the 'head priest', whom he describes as an 'excellent man'. Milne makes no attempt to discuss faith with him, or at least does not record doing so. Rather, he describes the mosque and the state of the Muslim community in Ningbo, and notes that the centre of the Muslim community in China is in Hangzhou. He also remarks on the 'head Priest's' desire to visit Mecca, and on a tablet in the mosque honouring the emperor, and is told this is not an object of worship but was simply there to demonstrate loyalty should the Muslims ever be accused of being disloyal. In a second article (vol. 16, no. 2, February 1847, pp. 60-1) under the same title, Milne briefly notes the instructions to Muslim congregations regarding observances, and records the Chinese and Arabic pronunciations of the names of the calendar months.

The editors clearly displayed an intellectual and academic interest in Islam in China, though there is no direct engagement with Muslim writers on the pages of the journal. Rather it seems there was an underlying assumption that Muslims were to be brought into the Christian Church by convincing them of the perceived errors of Islamic doctrines. Most commonly, the editors include brief observations about 'Mohammedans' (their standard term for Muslims) in China. Examples include, in the June 1833 issue (vol. 2, no. 2, p. 96) a note in the 'Journal of occurrences' on a Chinese Muslim making a pilgrimage to Mecca and returning with books in Arabic, and this being the first known time that such a journey was made by sea. In October 1835 (vol. 4, no. 6, p. 296), the editors report the death of a Muslim who accidentally ate pork, commenting that this 'illustrates the strong superstition and credulity of this people'.

SIGNIFICANCE

While *The Chinese Repository* does not indicate any direct interaction between Christians and Muslim communities in China during this or earlier periods, it does display interest in how Muslim faith came to be in China and the current lifestyle and status of Chinese Muslims. Brief

remarks and comments scattered through various volumes reveal the ultimately dismissive attitudes of the editors towards Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

The Chinese Repository, Canton, 1832-51 (20 vols in all); 000541105 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Stuart Vogel

Samuel Wells Williams

DATE OF BIRTH 1812
PLACE OF BIRTH Utica, New York
DATE OF DEATH 1884
PLACE OF DEATH New Haven, Connecticut

BIOGRAPHY

Samuel Wells Williams was born in Utica, New York. His father was a publisher and an elder of the local Presbyterian Church. Samuel was nurtured in a Christian family and took an interest in the printing and publishing business. In June 1833, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent him, at the age of 21, to China to oversee their printing press operations in Whampoa (Huangpu), Guangdong. He and Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801-61) were the only missionaries in China after the death of the pioneer missionary, Robert Morrison, and Bridgman was the first American Protestant missionary in China.

Williams contributed much to the development of printing and publishing for the Chinese mission. He also assisted Bridgman in completing his work *Chinese chrestomathy in the Canton dialect* (1842), and Walter Medhurst to complete his *English-Chinese dictionary* (1848). He became well-known for his studies of the Chinese language, notably his *English and Chinese vocabulary in the court dialect* (1844), and of Cantonese (1856). In 1874 he published his most important work on the Chinese language, a syllabic dictionary arranged according to the Wu-fang Yuen Yin, with the pronunciation of the characters as heard in Peking, Canton, Amoy and Shanghai. With this work, he provided the missionary body and wider scholarship with the key resource for translation into Chinese.

In 1845, Williams married Sarah Walworth (1815-81), the niece of a chancellor of schools in New York, and returned to China. In 1847-8, he was in the United States, where he encountered difficulty finding a publisher for his book on China, given fears that it would not sell. However, despite this set-back, Williams provided the foundations of the study of the geography and society of Asia through his articles and his editorial work on *The Chinese Repository*, a leading journal on Asian affairs at the time and the only one published in China. Over 16 years, he contributed

over 150 articles to *The Chinese Repository*, and from 1848 to 1851 he was its editor. He also printed the first comprehensive map of China in 1872.

Williams turned to diplomatic affairs from 1855, when he became secretary to the US legation to China. He played a significant role in the negotiation of the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin). From 1860 to 1876, he was American chargé d'affaires in Beijing. He returned to the United States in 1877 and became Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at Yale University. He was awarded an LL.D from Union College in recognition of his work.

Williams's most notable writings include accounts of the United States naval commander Matthew Perry's expedition to Japan (1853-4) and of Chinese languages and dialects, translations of Genesis and the Gospel of Matthew into Japanese (now lost), and studies of Chinese religions, customs and institutions.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Hiáng Fan or Echoing Tomb

DATE February 1851

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This eight-page article, entitled 'The Hiáng Fan or Echoing Tomb, a Mohammedan mosque and burial ground near Canton', appears in *The Chinese Repository* of February 1851. In it, the author, who is presumably Williams, describes the mosque, the grounds and cemetery in detail, all just to the north of the north gate of the city, as they appeared in 1851.

The principal tomb is domed and is known for its echo when entered. One of the tombs, on the left in the cemetery, erected in 1776, was of an Arabian man who had lived in Canton. This indicates an ongoing interaction with the Middle East. The article notes the arrival in Canton of a Muslim sage known as Omrah in 629, and includes the translation of an extract from the Statistics of Kwangchau (Guangdong) as evidence for this, making the assumption that Omrah and Suhapasai, Muḥammad's maternal uncle who is referred to in the extract, are one and the same. Suhapasai died after building the Plain Pagoda and a monastery.

The article goes on to detail a black marble tablet that stands in the yard, containing a description of the records of the public lands of this monastery. This and the text on a second tablet on the outside wall of the mosque, which is given in translation, point to the likelihood that Omrah and Suhapasai are, in fact, the same person, although different dates call this into question. The second tablet, which was erected around 1830, describes the recorded repairs to the tombs over the previous one thousand years. The article ends with quotations from the Qur'an in Arabic and Chinese.

SIGNIFICANCE

The article stands out as a significant work of research by Christians into the history of Islam in China. However, during the 19th century research of this kind did not generate wide interest in this history among Christian scholars, and the interaction between Christians and Muslims was limited.

PUBLICATIONS

'The Hiáng Fan or Echoing Tomb, a Mohammedan mosque and burial ground near Canton', *The Chinese Repository* 20 (February 1851) 77-84

Stuart Vogel

Ma Dexin

Yusuf Ma Dexin, Ma Fuchu, Abd al-Qayyum Ruh al-Din Yusuf

DATE OF BIRTH 1794
PLACE OF BIRTH Dali, Yunnan
DATE OF DEATH 1874
PLACE OF DEATH Yunnan

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Dali, Yunnan Province, in 1794, Ma Dexin was also known as Ma Fuchu among Chinese Muslims. He claimed the title *sayyid* by linking himself as a 21st-generation descendant to Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din (1211-79), the first governor of Yunnan in the Mongol Yuan dynasty. From his childhood, Ma was trained to read Arabic and Persian Islamic texts, as well as the Qur'an, and he eventually became a renowned *madrassa* teacher.

In 1841, he went on pilgrimage to Mecca. The maritime route was heavily disrupted by the Opium War, so it took him nearly eight years to complete the *hajj* and return to China. Travelling extensively between Asia and the Middle East, he collected Islamic manuscripts and met many Muslim scholars in well-known centres such as Cairo, Alexandria, Istanbul and Jerusalem, recording his experiences in *Chaojin tuji* ('Record of the pilgrimage journey'). After completing the pilgrimage, he resumed *madrassa* teaching in Yunnan, though he was soon involved in the Hui uprising against Qing rule in western Yunnan, known as the Panthay Rebellion (1856-73), led by Du Wenxiu (1823-72). Although he disagreed with Du's radical approach, Ma Dexin was accused of being a spiritual leader who incited Yunnan Muslims in rebellion, and he was eventually executed by Qing officials in 1874.

Ma wrote and translated more than 30 works on Islam, including the first translation of the Qur'an into Chinese, and inspired a younger generation of Muslim scholars, among them Ma Lianyuan. Along with other *Huiru* (Confucian Muslims), Wang Daiyu, Liu Zhih and Ma Zhu, Ma Dexin is regarded as one of the four great Muslim thinkers in Chinese history.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Juli Zhizheng

'Confrontation on truth'

DATE 1865

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION

Ma Dexin wrote on the creeds of Catholicism, possibly after reading the Bible and Catholic works presented by the French Bishop Jean Joseph Fenouil (1821-1907) in Yunnan. *Juli Zhizheng* comprises two letters from Ma Dexin to Fenouil on various subjects pertaining to Catholic doctrines. He presents ten queries and ten reservations about central Christian beliefs.

He questions the oneness of God in Christianity, the divinity of Jesus, the incarnation and salvation. He criticises the Christian concept of God's oneness as incongruent with the two distinct personalities Father and Son, and Trinitarian belief as such. In addition, he opposes the idea of Jesus as saviour of the world, arguing that he was merely a human being conceived by Mary, not begotten by God. As a being of human flesh, Jesus's single death cannot save the whole of humanity. Further, his death contradicts the eternal nature of God, for God is omnipotent and has no need of any sacrificial death of God incarnate. For Ma, it is

unthinkable for a transcendent God to be incarnated in the world as Catholic doctrines proclaim.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is important to note that the two letters arose out of a close personal friendship between Ma Dexin and the French Catholic bishop in Yunnan. The main significance of *Juli Zhizheng* is that it is a leading Chinese Muslim's genuine response to the doctrines of Catholicism in the Qing China period. Further, it presents a peaceful if critical inquiry about Catholic beliefs during the period of the Muslim uprising in Yunnan against Qing rule.

The significance of *Juli Zhizheng* is that even though Ma Dexin presents in it sharp criticisms and doubts about Catholic doctrines, he nevertheless shows appreciation for the profundity and sincerity of Christian scripture. At the same time he openly recognises and acknowledges that Christianity and Islam are compatible in respect to doctrines such as the Last Judgement, the afterlife, heaven and hell, and the essential oneness of God (Trinitarianism notwithstanding).

PUBLICATIONS

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Wai Yip Ho

George William Clarke

DATE OF BIRTH 30 May 1849
PLACE OF BIRTH London
DATE OF DEATH 1919
PLACE OF DEATH Shandong, China

BIOGRAPHY

George William Clarke was born in Shoreditch, London, into a poor family of five children. He received little education, and was working by the time he was nine. He attended a Sunday School run by a certain Annie MacPherson, who was promoting the migration of children to Canada. In the early 1870s, he escorted some boys to Canada and heard Hudson Taylor's call to go to China with the China Inland Mission (CIM). He arrived in China in 1875, among one of the first groups of CIM missionaries, and travelled some 12,000 miles during 1876-7 selling scriptural tracts. He worked in a number of provinces before settling in the north-east.

In 1879, Clarke married Fanny Rossier, a Swiss missionary in Shanghai. The couple pioneered Christian mission in Guizhou in 1880, and then became the first permanent missionaries in Yunnan, when they settled in Dali in June 1881. Fanny was the first European woman to travel to Guizhou.

In 1884, Fanny died during the birth of the couple's second son. With no one to help care for his child, George left Yunnan and settled in north Shanxi. In 1886, he married Agnes Lancaster and, when they returned from furlough in 1889, the couple settled in Tianjin where Clarke was mission secretary. Agnes died in 1892 and Clarke died in Shandong in 1919, and is buried in the British cemetery in Tianjin.

Despite his lack of formal education, Clarke learnt and spoke fluent Chinese and translated an ancient Chinese classic. He also wrote books on Guizhou and Yunnan provinces, published in 1894, in which he recorded his observations. His diaries are noteworthy accounts of the social and political situation during his years in China.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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M. Broomhall, *The Jubilee story of the China Inland Mission*, London, 1915

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The introduction of Mahometanism into China

DATE July and August 1886

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This article, in two parts, is a free translation of a short book whose author is unknown, *The teachings of the religion from the West* (西來宗譜 [*Xilaizongpu*]). It was lent to Clarke by a Muslim friend after he had requested information from Muslim acquaintances as to how Islam had come to China and where the first teachers entered the country. It details a dream of the Emperor of China in 629, in which he saw the Prophet Muḥammad reciting the Qur'an (p. 269).

Clarke uses the term 'Mahometanism' throughout his article, and is the only writer in the journal who does this. He also prefers Mohammed for the name of the Prophet, though sometimes Mahomet.

Clarke's text summarises how the Chinese emperor commissioned an officer to travel to Mecca to seek the sage who had appeared in his dream. Mohammed sent three preachers with the Qur'an back to China, so that from 629 mosques were established in Canton, and Mohammed's troops assisted the emperor in suppressing a rebellion (p. 294). As a result, good mutual relationships were established.

SIGNIFICANCE

This two-part article is one of the earliest written by a Western missionary in China. Even though it is only a translation, it demonstrates an interest in Islam and its establishment in China.

Of particular interest to Christians in the 19th century, the article helped to set the scene for Christian understanding of Islam in China, and it contributed to setting the context for interaction between Muslims and Christians there.

PUBLICATIONS

George William Clarke, 'The introduction of Mahometanism into China (Parts 1 and 2)', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 17 (1886) 269-71, 294-6; 17.1886 (digitised version available through Bibliotheca Sinica 2.0)

Stuart Vogel

Missionary articles on Islam in China

BIOGRAPHY

This entry discusses articles by four authors, all of whom were Christian missionaries in China during the 19th century.

Joseph Edkins was a British Protestant missionary and linguist stationed primarily in Beijing. He was born in Nailsworth, England, in 1823, and died in Shanghai in 1905. He wrote much about religions in China, especially Buddhism.

Thomas Watters worked for the British Consular Service in China as an interpreter. He was born in Ireland in 1840, and died in London in 1901. He wrote prolifically on Chinese literature, philosophy and government. His book *Laotze. A study in Chinese philosophy* was published in London in 1870.

Luther Halsey Gulick was born in Hawaii in 1828, and died in Massachusetts in 1891. He became a missionary in Hawaii, Micronesia and Japan, and served for a time as editor of *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*.

Henry V. Noyes was born in Seville, Ohio, on 24 April 1836, and died in Guangdong, on 21 January 1914. He worked for the American Presbyterian Mission in Christian educational institutions in Guangdong.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

S.W. Bushell, 'Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D.', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (January 1906) 269-71 (obituary); <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25210243>

L. Mason, art. 'Joseph Edkins', *Biographical dictionary of Chinese Christianity*; <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/edkins-joseph>

S.W. Bushell, 'Thomas Watters', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1901) 373-5 (obituary); <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25208315>

The British Museum Archive, Thomas Watters (biographical details); http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=136054

Ed., 'Rev. Luther H. Gulick, M.D. D.D', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 22 (June 1891) 284 (obituary)

- Ed., 'Rev. Luther H. Gulick, M.D. D.D', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 22 (July 1891) 327-8 (obituary, reprinted from *The Friend*, May 1891)
- F.G. Jewett, *Luther Halsey Gulick. Missionary in Hawaii, Micronesia, Japan, and China*, Hawaii, 1895
- Ed., 'Henry V. Noyes, D.D.', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 15 (May 1914) 310-14 (obituary)
- See the website of Shatin Pui Ying College; <https://www2.pyc.edu.hk/history.html>

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Missionary articles on Islam in China

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Joseph Edkins published two short articles, 'Notes on Mahommedanism in Peking', in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 1 (January 1869) 176-7, and 'Mahommedanism: Remarks on Hwei Hwei Shuo', in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 22 (August 1891) 377-8. In the first, he describes the worship in mosques in Peking, the role of the *ahhung* or spiritual leader in the mosques, Muslim funeral rituals, and the importance of having the Qur'an read in Arabic. He also describes the physical features and origins of the Persian peoples living in northern China. He mentions a *hui-hui* (*hwei-hwei* in the transliteration system used at the time) dictionary of Persian words of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and dismisses the claim that the first Muslims arrived during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The second is a response to a review article, 'Mahommedanism', by C.F. Hogg that was published in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 22 (June 1891) 263-4. Edkins notes that in the Tang Dynasty the Islamic Uighurs were known as *hui* (*hwei*), and argues that it was through them that knowledge of Islam came to northern China. As a result, the Chinese character 回, *hui*, came to represent Uighurs, the Islamic faith and also the Persian language. Mosques used Persian language and resources in teaching the Qur'an. Edkins also notes that Islam in China has been strongly influenced by Confucianism.

Thomas Watters published his 'Notes on Chinese Mahometan literature' in *The China Review* 1 (1872) 195-9. He contrasts the Muslim rebellions in western China with Muslims living on the eastern seaboard. He

describes the Muslims in the east and comments on the reason why they are less persecuted than Christians or Buddhists. He discusses the current spread and state of the Muslim faith and beliefs in China, and the Muslim view of common biblical characters and theological questions, such as how a compassionate God can allow sorrow. He notes the influence of Confucianism on Muslim writings. The article is denoted as 'to be continued', but no continuation ever appeared.

Luther Gulick published 'Notice of recent publications' in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 13 (November-December 1882) 474-6, which reviews a number of books on Islam. Philibert Dabry de Thiersant's *Le mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental*, 2 vols, Paris, 1878, was the first extended study of Islam in China. In his review, Gulick sought to create interest and provoke discussion on the presence and importance of Islam in China. He gives population figures for Muslims in China and these were surprisingly large. The other books reviewed acquaint the reader with Islam more generally and its prospects in other areas of the world. These were W.S. Blunt, *The future of Islam*, London, 1882; J.W.H. Stobart, *Islam and its founder*, London, 1878; and W. Muir, *The Coran, its composition and teaching and the testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures*, London, [n.d.].

Henry Noyes published 'Mohammedanism in China' in two parts in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 20/1 (Jan 1889) 10-18, and 20/2 (Feb 1889) 68-72, which together comprise an examination of the history and contemporary status of Islam in China. The first part focuses on the history and spread of Islam up to the time of writing, for which Noyes draws on English-speaking authors only. The second part describes the current strength and integration of Muslims in the various Chinese provinces. It describes the Muslim rebellion from 1861 to 1873, noting that this was over religious issues and resulted in great losses for the Muslim community. Noyes concludes that the Muslim community increased by natural growth only and, while Muslims hold to their religion tenaciously, they do not emphasise the doctrines of their faith. They readily participate in Chinese ritual customs and are well integrated into Chinese society, and very few become Christian.

SIGNIFICANCE

Together, these articles reflect a growing awareness and interest among some missionaries about the numbers and importance of the Muslim minority in China. The predominant interest lies in how Islam came to China and in the size and distribution of its current population, while

the focus is on observation and analysis rather than engagement. No strategy is proposed for any evangelical outreach to Muslims, nor in respect of these articles was there any follow-up discussion in the journals concerned.

Edkins's first article, written in 1868, is an early attempt by a missionary in China to record observations of Muslim communities encountered there. It provides a glimpse into how Muslims practised their faith and it notes that, in this period, Arabic and Persian languages and rituals had been retained. The second article underlines the perceived importance of understanding the history of Islam in China in past centuries. It establishes the link between the Uighurs and the Islamic faith, and the acculturation of Muslim religious life to wider Chinese society. Both are significant markers of emerging Christian interest in, and cognisance of, Islam within the context of China.

Though brief, Watters's article is reputed to be the first serious review by a Western Christian scholar of the state of Islam in China. It gives a comprehensive overview and refers to the difficulties of spreading Christianity among the Chinese. This is a sympathetic, if at times critical, scholarly description of Islam and, again, it indicates a measure of Christian curiosity in respect of this religious 'other' and so the possibility, at least, of relational intercourse of some kind.

The article by Gulick brings the findings of the Roman Catholic scholar de Thiersant to the attention of Protestant missionaries. The challenge to respond to the Muslim community is clear, and it is this that constitutes the primary significance of the article. However, the article appears to have generated only a limited response.

The article by Noyes gives a comprehensive view of the Muslim community at the end of the 19th century and postulates some significant theories as to the origin of the community, its history in China, and its position within Chinese society as one of acceptance and quiet integration. It sets the scene for Christian perceptions of, and any interaction with, Muslims within China.

PUBLICATIONS

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal (digitised version available through Bibliotheca Sinica 2.0)

The China Review, or Notes and Queries on the Far East (digitised version available through Hong Kong Journals Online)

Stuart Vogel

Charles Frederick Hogg

DATE OF BIRTH 1859
PLACE OF BIRTH Belfast, Northern Ireland
DATE OF DEATH 14 November 1943
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Charles Frederick Hogg was born in Belfast. He experienced an evangelical conversion to the Christian faith at the age of 19. At the age of 25, he joined the China Inland Mission (CIM) and went as a missionary to the province of Shaanxi in 1884. While there, in March 1887 he married Sarah Muir of Blackheath, London, who was also a missionary with the CIM. The couple had six children, three of whom died in China. In 1894, after a furlough in England, Charles and Sarah returned to China and settled in Shihtao, Shandong (Shantong) province.

Hogg wrote a number of letters to *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, in which he compared Protestant translations with standard Muslim and Roman Catholic equivalents. He was particularly concerned about the accuracy of translations and the translation of etiquette and personal terms. He also wrote numerous tracts on Christian topics and contributed to the compilation of a catechism for Christian use in China. In his work *Hsian the capital of Shenxi, past and present*, Hogg describes the history, geography and communities of the province. He briefly describes the Muslim community in the area and spends considerably time on the Nestorian Stele.

By 1895, Hogg had left the CIM in order to work outside organisational missionary structures. In 1898, he was at Wei-hai-wei, Shandong, now with the Brethren Mission. He showed his interest in the Nevius system of attaining local self-supporting Chinese churches when he was leading a seminar on the subject at the Shandong Missionary Conference. He and his wife eventually returned to England in 1901 for health reasons and also, in part, due to the political turmoil in China. He continued to teach and preach, especially in the Plymouth Brethren churches. Sarah Hogg died in 1935, and in 1936 Charles married Amy Burwick of London and spent much of the last seven years of his life in South Africa, writing about his experiences there.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Charles Frederick Hogg, 'Shantung notes', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 25 (1894) 452
- Charles Frederick Hogg, 'Notes on translation. New Testament', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 26 (1895) 470-2
- Charles Frederick Hogg, 'Programme of Shantung Missionary Conference. Native Church', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 29 (1898) 514-15
- Charles Frederick Hogg, 'On etiquette', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 29 (1898) 553
- Charles Frederick Hogg, 'On the expression of reverence', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 32 (1901) 233-6
- Charles Frederick Hogg, 'The province of Shantung', in *The Chinese Empire. A general and missionary survey*, ed. M. Broomhall, London, 1907, 93-100

Secondary

- J. Bjorlie, art. 'Hogg, C.F.', Online Library of Brethren Writers; <http://www.plymouthbrethren.org/article/50>

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mahommedanism (a review) I

DATE June 1891

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This two-page article is the first in a series of articles on Islam in China. It is an account of the origin of the Chinese term for 'Mahommedanism' (*huijiao*), as contained in an undated book with this title written by an 'educated Mahommedan' as a defence of the term. The article is two pages long, and in it Hogg summarises the argument of the book.

Hogg is dismissive of the argument but finds the author's style of arguing intriguing. He summarises it not because it is compelling, but because it gives a glimpse into how the term is defended from the Muslim perspective. Hogg also notes that Islam in China had been detrimentally influenced by Chinese philosophy, but that it presents itself as an advance on native creeds.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is one of the few articles about Islam in the *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* that seek to understand the faith in some detail.

Hogg demonstrates that he has closely read the book he is reviewing, and repeats its arguments carefully. Although he is dismissive of the argument and its conclusions, he still demonstrates a scholarly approach to the work and evinces a desire to be fair. He thus gives evidence of a relatively open Christian inquiry concerning the presence of Islam and Muslims in China.

PUBLICATIONS

Charles Frederick Hogg, 'Mahommedanism (回回說 [*huihuishuo*] a review) I', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 22 (1891) 263-4; 22/1891 (digitised version available through Bibliotheca Sinica 2.0)

Mahommedanism (a review) II and III

DATE August and September 1891

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This article in two parts, each about five pages long, comprises the second and third parts in a series by Hogg on aspects of Islam in China. Together, they comprise a review of a book written in Chinese entitled *Xiuzhenmengyin* ('Guide to the rites of the true religion'), which was a one-volume work in Mandarin of around 60 pages, published in Canton in 1668. Its intention was to promote and elucidate the faith of Islam.

Some Muslim rituals are described, and observations on Islam in China are offered, as, for example, that women have a place in the practice of the religion and that little attempt is made to convert others to the faith, even though the book itself encourages this.

In his review, Hogg compares and contrasts Christianity and Islam. Themes include the forgiveness of sins, the portrayal by the two religions of Old Testament characters, fasting and worship. Most of the review summarises in a descriptive fashion the character of Islam, and it discusses the theology and rituals that underpin the Muslim understanding of sacrifice, parentage, marriage, birth and death.

SIGNIFICANCE

This two-part article demonstrates the close attention paid by a Christian to the theology and rituals associated with Islam in China. There is

an attempt to compare and contrast the two religions and to understand the other's faith. However, the tone is more one of a scholarly exercise or an academic inquiry than of an attempt to find and advocate a missionary strategy to evangelise the Muslim community. Articles such as this, demonstrating genuine Christian inquiry into Muslim faith and practice, were comparatively new developments within the journal, though no further articles were published after these five, and there was no recorded response.

PUBLICATIONS

Charles Frederick Hogg, 'Mahommedanism (修真蒙引 [huihuishuo] a review) parts II and III', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 22 (1891) 354-8, 401-5; 22/1891 (digitised version available through Bibliotheca Sinica 2.0)

Mahommedanism (laws and ceremonies) a review IV

DATE December 1891

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This article, nine pages long, is the fourth in Hogg's series on Islam in China. It consists of a review of a six-volume work published in Nanking (Nanjing) that comprises a compilation in Chinese from books in Arabic. The title of this work, *Tianfangdianli*, can be translated as 'The ceremonies of Arabia', or 'The heavenly place', a reference to Arabia.

The review gives a brief summary of the work. Issues raised include translation and transliteration of names into Chinese and the history, nature and role of the prophets. Islamic history, theology, the character of natural knowledge and the understanding of faith and religious practice also feature. The place of Jesus in Islam is raised, and the differences from Christianity noted. Chinese social relationships are also described, and Chinese notices of commendation for Islam are included. Quotations from Chinese literature and Buddhism are related to the Prophet Muḥammad's teaching. In the last section, guidelines for the appropriate personal and public behaviour of the faith community are outlined.

SIGNIFICANCE

This review, the most detailed of Hogg's four articles, indicates an increasing Christian understanding and awareness of Islam in China. Of particular interest is the influence exerted on Chinese Islam by the five relationships of Confucianism and the teachings of Buddhism, and also the way in which the faith has adapted to Chinese life and its world-views. Comments on the lives of Chinese adherents of Islam provide an idealised picture of daily life, as is required by Chinese-style Islamic law. The mainly descriptive article reads as a scholarly work of Christian interest and inquiry.

PUBLICATIONS

Charles Frederick Hogg, 'Mahommedanism (laws and ceremonies 天方典禮 [*huihuishuo*]) a review IV', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 22 (December 1891) 545-53; 22/1891 (digitised version available through Bibliotheca Sinica 2.0)

Mahommedanism. Note – recollections of a conversation, V

DATE February 1892

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Based on personal conversations between Hogg and a Chinese Muslim, this five-page article describes public worship among the Muslims in a town in Henan province, and records the answer of this 'educated Mahommedan' to the statement: 'Erh Sa (Jesus) was the son of God'. The author's purpose is to describe Muslim beliefs. He does not attempt to offer a response or even to reflect on the Muslim's reply.

The article lists terms and transliterations used by the Chinese Muslim community to designate biblical names, terms applied to God, and other theological terminology. The list also includes important Muslim place names and miscellaneous terms. Emphasis is placed on phonetics, with occasional notes on writing styles.

SIGNIFICANCE

The article draws attention to the difference between the Muslim and Christian understandings of Jesus in the Chinese context. It highlights

differences in biblical and related Chinese Muslim terminology. This was the first time such awareness had appeared in *The Chinese Recorder* and, while the article does not develop these issues, it certainly raises them for discussion, further reinforcing the line of Christian interest in, and inquiry into, the Muslim faith as encountered in China.

PUBLICATIONS

Charles Frederick Hogg, 'Mahommedanism. Note – recollections of a conversation, V', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 33 (1892) 57-61; 23/1892 (digitised version available through Bibliotheca Sinica 2.0)

Stuart Vogel

Ma Lianyuan

Nur al-Haqq

DATE OF BIRTH 1841
PLACE OF BIRTH Yuxi, Yunnan province, China
DATE OF DEATH 1903
PLACE OF DEATH Kanpur

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Yuxi in Yunnan, China, in 1841, Ma Lianyuan was well-known as Nur al-Haqq, from his full Arabic name ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Ḥājj al-Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr al-Ḥaqq ibn al-Sayyid Luqmān al-Ṣinī. He claimed the title of *sayyid* by styling himself as a descendent of the Prophet Muḥammad, and was a *ḥajjī* by virtue of completing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Well-trained in childhood by his father in both Arabic and Persian, Ma Lianyuan’s substantial writings were in both these languages. He travelled extensively abroad in the regions of Central Asia and the Middle East, and studied under famous Muslim scholars in Egypt and India. He also studied in China and became one of the inheritors of Muslim thought from Ma Dexin, who had strengthened intellectual ties between Sino-Muslims and Arab Muslims.

As an important *Han-Kitab* scholar in the late Qing period, Ma Lianyuan was a leading reformer of *madrasa* education in Yunnan and, with the financial support of Muslims in Yunnan, it is through his leadership and his students’ efforts that a Chinese translation of the Qur’an was reprinted.

Ma Lianyuan was an interlocutor and bridge-builder between the Arabic-speaking and Chinese-speaking worlds. He translated Liu Zhi’s work *Benjing* (‘Root scripture’) into Arabic under the title of *Al-laṭā’if* (‘The subtleties’), and he introduced Chinese Islamic thought to the wider Islamic world. In terms of interreligious dialogue, Ma Lianyuan responded to Christian missionary evangelism in Yunnan by writing a detailed critique of Christian doctrines. This was done after reading the Christian Bible (Torah and Gospel) in Arabic and other Christian literature obtained from F. Herbert Rhodes, a British missionary of the China Inland Mission.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ma Lianyuan, 'Bian li mingzheng yulu, in Wu Haiying et al. (eds), *Huizu dian-cang quanshu* [Hui nationality complete repository of significant items], vol. 34, Lanzhou, Gansu, 2008

Secondary

- F. Aubin, 'Islam and Confucianism. An offering to Fr. Malek', in B. Hoster, D. Kuhlmann and Z. Wesolowski (eds), *Rooted in hope. China – religion – Christianity. Festschrift in honor of Roman Malek S.V.D. on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, New York, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 527-39
- K. Petersen, *Interpreting Islam in China. Pilgrimage, scripture, and language*, Oxford, 2017
- Ma Jia, 'Yisilan jiao zhongguo hua de shijian zhe. Malianyuan ji qi sixiang yaoyi' [Praxis of Sinicisation of Islam: Ma Lianyuan and his fundamental thought], *Journal of Beifang University of Nationalities* 4 (2016) 82-6
- K. Petersen, 'Shifts in Sino-Islamic discourse. Modelling religious authority through language and travel', *Modern Asian Studies* 48 (2014) 340-69

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bian li mingzheng yulu

'Quotations on clear explanation and evidence'
'A clear and correct discrimination of principles'

DATE 1899

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION

In 1899, F. Herbert Rhodes, a British missionary of the China Inland Mission, presented Ma Lianyuan with a Christian Bible (Torah and Gospel) in Arabic and other Christian literature. After reading this material, in the same year Ma Lianyuan wrote a critique in response to the Bible and Christian doctrines, *Bian li mingzheng yulu*. In the preface, he reports that he was stunned to read the claim of the Christian scriptures that all religions are bogus except Christianity, which alone is true. He was also enraged to read that Confucianism and Islam are false. In explaining his intention in writing the book, he states that he aims to demonstrate and inform readers of the eternal truth of Islam, so that none will be misguided and go astray from the straight path of Islam.

The book consists of two sections. The first asserts the unicity of Allāh (*tawhīd*) and refutes some central doctrines of Christianity, in particular those concerning the divinity of Christ. Comparing the later triumphant earthly career of Muḥammad as a sage and the ‘Seal of the prophets’, the second section argues that Jesus was indeed a prophet, but that he was neither the final prophet nor God himself.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of *Bian li mingzheng yulu* is two-fold. First, many previous literary works engaging with Christianity by *Huiru* (Confucian Muslims) were not the consequence of direct Muslim-Christian encounters. By contrast, Ma’s writing was a critical response following a face-to-face encounter with F. Herbert Rhodes, as well as a close reading of the Christian scriptures and allied literature. In other words, Ma’s work can be viewed as one of pioneering Chinese Islamic apologetic in defence of Islamic faith through systematic argumentation with Christian doctrines. Second, Ma’s work is perhaps one of the earliest and most exceptional Chinese Muslim books to provide a comprehensive survey and polemical critique of central Christological doctrines. Throughout the book, Ma Liayuan rejects belief in Jesus as the incarnated Word from heaven; his crucifixion on the Cross; and his sonship within the Holy Trinity; as well as that he was the saviour of the world and the mediator between God and humanity; and that Jesus was divine, or God.

PUBLICATIONS

Ma Lianyan, *Bianli mingzheng yulu*, [s.l.; possibly Yunnan], 1899 [?]

Ma Lianyan, ‘Bian li mingzheng yulu’, in Wu Haiying et al. (eds), *Huizu diancang quanshu* [Hui nationality complete repository of significant items], vol. 34, Lanzhou, Gansu, 2008

STUDIES

Jia Fangtong, ‘Qingm zhongguo yisilan jiao yu jidujiao de duihua yanjiu. Yi Malianyan “Bian li mingzheng yulu” wei kaocha dian’ [Study of dialogue between Islam and Christianity in the late Qing dynasty. A case-study of Ma Lianyan’s *Quotations on clear explanation and evidence*], *Yúnnán shèhuì kēxué* / *Social Sciences in Yunnan* 2 (2016) 130-3

Zou Xiaojuan, ‘Qian xi qingmo hui ye “zhengxin” zhi bian de shizhi jí fansi’ [Inter-cultural reaction. A tentative study of Huiru’s defence of “true faith” in the late Qing dynasty], *Huízú yánjiū* / *Journal of Hui Muslim Minority Studies* 2 (2014) 69-75

Ma Jing and Wang Jianbin, 'Qingmo min chu yunnan huizu shehui dui jidujiao chuanbo de renzhi yu huiying. Malianyuan "Bian li mingzheng yuli" ji qi yingxiang' [The responses and cognition of the Hui Muslim community in Yunnan to Christianity during the late Qing dynasty and early Republic of China. A study based on Ma Lian-yuan's *Quotations on clear explanation and evidence*], *Beifang min zu da xue xue bao. Zhe xue she hui ke xue ban / Journal of the Second Northwest University of Nationalities* (Philosophy and Social Science) 1 (2008) 91-5

Wai Yip Ho

Sarah Query Ridley

Sarah Ridley

DATE OF BIRTH	Uncertain; possibly 1865-70
PLACE OF BIRTH	Essex
DATE OF DEATH	23 August 1913
PLACE OF DEATH	Xining, Qinghai, China

BIOGRAPHY

Sarah Query was born in Essex. She joined the China Inland Mission (CIM) in 1890, departing for China on 4 September 1890 and arriving in 1891. Together with Annie Taylor, who spearheaded CIM work with Tibetans, she was assigned to Tsin-Chau (modern Tianshui), Gansu province. Sarah met her husband, Harry French Ridley, while she was visiting his station in Ning-hsia (Níngxia). They were married on 1 May 1894 in Paoning (Langzhong), and moved to Sining (Xíníng), an area with a large Muslim population and the important Dongguan mosque, which had been built in 1380.

In 1895, the couple, together with their infant daughter and their co-worker J.C. Hall, were in Xining when Muslim rebels besieged it during a rebellion against the local Qing administration. Sarah later told her confidante Geraldine Guinness Taylor that she 'Never had the slightest fear, [was] quite quiet and peaceful' (Taylor, *Notes*) when she and her husband made the decision to remain in Xining through the rebellion. Local officials asked Sarah and Harry to provide medical care for those injured in the fighting, though they had no medical experience. Their patients were women and children who had been burned or injured. During the siege, Sarah developed quinsy, and Harry caught diphtheria. After the rebellion, she organised relief efforts for the nearly 350 Muslim women and children who were reduced to begging, establishing a soup kitchen and providing clothes and other necessities. In the wake of the rebellion, she became interested in mission to Muslims, spurred by her relief work and the suffering she witnessed. Her vision was to set up a hospital in Gansu; the CIM built this a few years after her death.

In 1899, she and Harry went on furlough back to the UK. Together, they addressed the prayer meeting of the CIM Board in Newington

Green, London, and the anniversary meeting of the CIM at Exeter Hall on the Strand, where they gave speeches about their missionary work. She emphasised that, through their medical work in Xining, the local people understood them better, and thus more doors were open to spread the Gospel. They returned to China in January 1900.

In 1907, Sarah published her first and only formal written work, a chapter in the book titled *Our Moslem sisters*, edited by Samuel Zwemer and Annie van Sommer. During her furlough in 1899, she addressed the CIM leadership and other missionary meetings about Islam in China, as evidenced by her diary and letters, which are often quoted in *China's Millions* in connection with missionary work in Gansu province. Furthermore, articles by Harry in *China's Millions* in 1896 and 1897 give additional detail about the family's experiences while they were besieged in Xining.

Other personal details about Sarah can be found in *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, a memoir by Susie Carson Rijnhart, a missionary working near the family in 1895.

Sarah died in Xining on 23 August 1913, after contracting typhoid fever from one of her patients. George Andrew wrote that at her funeral 'representatives of every class in society and many different races were present to pay their last respects to one they had learned to love and honour' (Taylor, *Call of China's great north-west*, pp. 106-7).

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS London, SOAS – World Missions Archive CIM/03/09/91, CIM/JHT Box 15 (Geraldine Taylor's (née Guinness) notes regarding Muslim rebellion and the Ridleys)

M.S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, London, 1898

S.C. Rijnhart, *With the Tibetans in tent and temple. Narrative of four years' residence on the Tibetan border, and of a journey into the far interior*, London, 1902²

G. Taylor, *The call of China's great north-west; or, Kansu and beyond*, London, 1923

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

In far off Cathay

DATE 1907

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

In 1906, Samuel Zwemer organised a major conference on Islam in Cairo. One of its outcomes was *Our Moslem sisters. A cry of need from the lands of darkness interpreted by those who heard it*, which he edited together with Annie van Sommer. It includes Sarah Ridley's 'In far off Cathay', a seven-page chapter, which is her only known publication. Although her name is not given (for reasons of security, it was explained), many clues point to her authorship: her memoirs about the 1895 Muslim rebellion in Xining, dictated to Geraldine Guinness Taylor, contain specific details that are also contained in the chapter, and the explorer Montague Wellby's *Through unknown Tibet* also contains many of the anecdotes related in the chapter.

Our Moslem sisters was aimed at a British and North American readership, drawing attention to the underserved missionary field of Muslim women. Annie van Sommer and other women attending the Cairo conference highlighted the 'hopeless' condition of women in Islamic lands, and appealed for women workers to go out to improve their situation by preaching the Christian gospel. These themes are emphasised in each chapter in the book. The underlying understanding throughout is that Islam was oppressive towards women.

Sarah Ridley's chapter consists of a collection of her thoughts concerning Protestant Christian work among Muslims in Gansu, as well as a call for more focus and further work among Muslim women in China. It includes a brief history and summary of Muslim life in Gansu, emphasising the diversity of the province both religiously and ethnically, and an account of the 1895 Muslim rebellion during which she and her husband were besieged in Xining. Like other works on Islam in China, Ridley's chapter emphasises the lack of piety among Muslims. She also addresses the work that she and her husband undertook to evangelise Muslims, much of it post-conflict relief work for Muslim widows and children. She concludes with a call for Christians to have compassion on Muslim women, and to improve their situation through evangelisation.

Two major themes that emerge from the chapter are the oppression of women in Islam, and the lack of orthodoxy among Muslims in the north-western regions of China. Ridley makes it clear that she does not believe the conditions faced by Muslim women in China are as difficult as those in the Middle East, though she nevertheless emphasises the oppression they suffer, both through the Islamic practices of polygamy and enforced veiling and through customs of foot binding and lack of education.

Common criticisms of Islam in China included accusations that Muslims had a tendency to participate in superstitious practices, lacked knowledge about orthodox Islamic beliefs and practices, and were lax in their observance of rituals such as prayer and fasting. Ridley argues that the lack of Islamic education for men held consequences for women, as they were dependent on their husbands and fathers to teach them.

SIGNIFICANCE

While 'In far off Cathay' shows the concerns with the domestic sphere of Chinese Muslim women's lives that only female missionaries could experience and come to understand, it also shows awareness of wider missionary interactions with Muslims. It is not the product of a mind that was restricted only to personal matters, but of one that was aware of social and political issues as well. It points to the insights to be gained from exploration of the written material that has been left by female Protestant missionaries.

PUBLICATIONS

Sarah Ridley, 'In far off Cathay', in A. van Sommer and S.M. Zwemer (eds), *Our Moslem sisters. A cry of need from the lands of darkness interpreted by those who heard it*, New York, 1907, 276-82; 001399313 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digitised Library)

A. van Sommer and S.M. Zwemer (eds), *Våra Muhammedanska Systrar : ett nödrop från mörka skuggors land Återgifvet af dem, som hört det*, Stockholm, 1908 (Swedish trans.)

Sarah Ridley, 'In far off Cathay', in A. van Sommer and S.M. Zwemer (eds), *Our Moslem sisters. A cry of need from the lands of darkness interpreted by those who heard it*, Whitefish MN, 2008, 276-82

Emily Dawes

Jane Söderström

L.V. Söderström

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly around 1870
PLACE OF BIRTH	Uncertain; possibly Liverpool
DATE OF DEATH	April 1947
PLACE OF DEATH	Tunbridge Wells

BIOGRAPHY

Jane Anne Hornsby applied to work for the China Inland Mission (CIM) in September 1891. Initially, the CIM board considered rejecting her application, unsure whether she was applying because of a personal call to serve in China or because of her engagement to a Mr Alty, a missionary on the field. She wrote a letter on 16 September 1891 from her home in Liverpool, in which she stated that she held herself free of any obligation towards Alty. In light of the letter, the board approved her application and she set out for China, unattached, on 10 December 1891, arriving on 24 January 1892.

Hornsby arrived in China in poor health, and her travelling companion, Jane Darrington, died. After a brief recuperation on the coast she moved to Shaanxi (Shǎnxī), where missionaries estimated about eight million Muslims lived. In Shaanxi, she met and married Ullrick Söderström in 1896. The couple then moved to Gansu (Gānsù), another province with a large Muslim population, remaining there until they were evacuated in 1900 because of the Boxer Rebellion. Ullrick died in 1901, during a trip to survey the safety of the northwest for missionaries in the wake of the Boxer Rebellion. Jane and her daughter Maria Josefina continued for the next few decades in the mission field together.

After her husband's death, Jane and her daughter spent much of their time studying Chinese and visiting the sick in surrounding villages in Yencheng, Henan province. In 1922, they were kidnapped by bandits in Shenqiu, Henan, and held for 15 days, but they were released unharmed nearly 100 km away in Yingzhou, Anhui.

Söderström's writings focus mainly on her experiences in Shaanxi, Gansu and Henan provinces. In 1913, she published an article titled 'How

can we best reach Mohammedan women?', which proved popular with lay and missionary audiences. She remained in China until at least 1932, and eventually retired to Tunbridge Wells, Kent, where she died in April 1947.

A number of English women missionaries in the Victorian era upset the expectations of their own society by, for example, leaving their home and travelling to China, preaching the Christian gospel and travelling to often dangerous and inhospitable places in order to spread Christianity. Some, like Jane Söderström, went further, publishing books and articles about their unorthodox experiences to be read by home audiences. She herself became involved in a mission and scholarly field that was dominated by male writers in order to attract the attention of Western audiences to the ignorance of the Christian gospel among Muslim women.

PRIMARY SOURCE

'In memoriam. Miss Jane Darrington', *China's Millions* (October 1892) 136-7

J.A. Hornsby, 'Work in the Si-gan plain', *China's Millions* 2/2 (1894) 25-6

J.A. Hornsby, 'Shensi' *China's Millions* 4/3 (1896) 42

J. Söderström, 'The new station in Gansu', *China's Millions* 5/10 (1897) 140

J. Söderström, 'The far northwest', *China's Millions* 6/8 (1898) 122

'In memoriam. Ullrick Söderström', *China's Millions* 10/4 (1902) 51

'Our Shanghai letter', *China's Millions* 14/11 (1906) 178-9

J.A. Söderström, 'The flowery land', *China's Millions* 16/10 (1908) 162-3

Works on Christian-Muslim Relations

How can we best reach Mohammedan women? The Mohammedan women of China

DATE 1913

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This four-page article was originally printed in 1913 in the missionary publication *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, in a series about 'the problem of Islam in China', which featured articles written by well-known missionaries such as W.B. Pettus and Samuel Zwemer. It was reprinted the following year in *The Moslem World*, which had been founded by Zwemer in 1913. It was also mentioned in the *North China Herald*, a daily English language newspaper for foreign residents of China.

Although the author was recorded as L.V. Söderström, the article was most certainly written by Jane Anne Söderström; the most likely reason for the mistake in her initials is that they were incorrectly transcribed by the printer. She was a frequent contributor to the missionary publication *China's Millions*, and her daughter, Maria Josefina, regularly submitted photographs to it.

Drawing on her 20 years of experience in Gansu, Shaanxi and Henan, Söderström describes the need for more missionaries in China to be trained to evangelise Muslims and to serve in Muslim areas. Her main concern is that no woman missionary worker has been called to work with Muslims. Overall, though the title implies that the article is primarily concerned with women, it focuses on the need for evangelising Muslims in general, with women as a fringe concern.

Söderström identifies the differences between non-Muslims and Muslims as the primary reason that Muslims in China need special workers. Missionaries should not expect that the same knowledge is sufficient to spread the Gospel among both Muslims and 'heathen' in China. As the primary needs for Muslim outreach, she lists training special workers, training native Han Chinese evangelists for work with Muslims, creating training materials that highlight the effect of Muslim teachings and will guide missionaries to present the Christian gospel to 'non-idolators'. She also encourages missionaries to print literature for Muslims, and to establish guest rooms exclusively for Muslims, since their aversion to pork often prevents them from mingling with other visitors. She does not mention any of the typical issues related to Muslim women that are commonly referred to in the literature of the time, such as the oppression of women, harems, polygamy and child marriage.

The article was intended to draw the attention of supporters at home in the United Kingdom and North America to the growing missionary interest in Muslims, in order to call more missionaries to evangelise them. This was the first article Söderström wrote about her recollections concerning Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Jane Söderström's article contributed to a slowly increasing body of literature. It first appeared with other articles that addressed Islam in China as a 'problem', a term borrowed by missionaries in China from their counterparts in the Middle East, Africa and India in the early 20th century. In this period, there was a concern to prevent the spread of what many missionaries saw as a depraved and bigoted faith. Missionary

literature began to suggest that Islam could expand in China, and that more evangelical efforts should be made to counter this potential threat. Writings discussing the 'problem' of Islam were intended to stir up equal measures of fear and Christian duty.

PUBLICATIONS

Mrs L.V. Söderström, 'How can we best reach Mohammedan women?', *The Chinese Recorder* 44 (February 1913) 94-7; 44.1913 (digitised version available through Bibliotheca Sinica 2.0)

L.V. Söderström, 'The Mohammedan women of China', *The Moslem World* 4 1914 (79-81) (repr. of the original article); 4.1.1914 (digitised version available through Wiley online library)

Emily Dawes

Representative Christian works on Muslims and Islam in China, 1800-1914

DATE 1788-1914

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

During the 19th century, China underwent rapid socio-political and religious changes associated with internal and external conflict. It was within this context that Christians and Muslims interacted. Some Christians were witnesses to and reporters on Sino-Muslim conflict, while others wrote pieces like those written in earlier centuries, with the focus on describing Muslims and Islam in China. Some commentators accepted and repeated claims made earlier. Others recorded new and more detailed information about Muslims in East Asia. Muslims were regarded by Christians in multiple positive and negative ways: as fellow foreigners and members of an Abrahamic religion, as targets for evangelisation, as forces of degradation or renewal. Nevertheless, more so than in earlier centuries, Christians and Muslims were engaged in direct interaction with each other. Much of this interaction was mundane, as when Christians and Muslims travelled together and lived alongside each other, or when Christians stayed at Muslim-run inns, bought from and sold wares to Muslims, or employed Muslims. Christians and Muslims provided each other with mutual aid and assistance. Some interaction was religious in nature, when, for example, Christians sought to convert Muslims and endeavoured to spread information about Christianity among them. Simultaneously, Christians took an interest in and observed Muslim worship and practices, and interacted with the mullahs and the religious.

This entry will seek to explore these complex forms of Christian-Muslim relations, interaction, and observance in 19th-century China. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to provide a measure of historical background and context.

Background history

From 1724, Christianity was proscribed in China and Christians were subject to persecution. Catholic missionaries (other than those attached to the Bureau of Astronomy) were confined to the port of Guǎngzhōu. Despite on-going persecution, these missionaries retained a presence in the country throughout the 18th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were 210,000 Chinese Catholics, with seven bishops and vicars apostolic, 80 Chinese priests and 23 foreign missionaries. Although persecution continued throughout the first half of the 19th century, Catholicism slowly grew. By the 1860s, there were around 336,000 Chinese Catholics, 167 Chinese priests and 193 foreign missionaries. The Russian Orthodox Church established a missionary presence following the Treaty of Kiakhta in 1727 and, until 1864, they maintained a company of four priests, six laypersons and two language students in line with the treaty's restrictions. The mission made few converts, but it made progress in translating religious texts into Chinese. Although Protestant missionaries had visited Taiwan in the mid-17th century, their first sustained presence in China commenced with the mission of Robert Morrison (1782-1834) of the London Missionary Society to Guǎngzhōu and Macau in 1807. Other missionaries followed, including members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), who reached Guǎngzhōu in 1830. The early Protestant missionaries translated the Bible and printed numerous religious publications, but they were unable to make many converts because of laws that restricted their work.

The Treaty of Nanking, signed between Britain and Qīng China in 1842 following the First Opium War (1839-42), led to the lifting of trade restrictions and direct state-to-state relations. Further treaties, such as the Supplementary Treaty of the Bogue (1843), permitted British trade through five ports and residence there, and also provided rights for limited travel outside them. Treaties with the US and France followed in 1844. The French gained concessions, including the lifting of the ban on Christianity and permission for the Chinese to practise Catholicism. By the end of the Second Opium War (1856-60), the foreign powers had secured extra-territoriality, control of the treaty ports, a naval and military presence and limited tariffs. The Sino-French Treaty of Tientsin (1860) legislated the return of previously confiscated Catholic facilities and 'guaranteed to Catholic priests the freedom to preach and practise their religion [...] and to Chinese subjects the right to practise Christianity without [...] punishment' (Cohen, 'Christian missions and their impact to 1900', p.

553). Owing to the most-favoured-nation clauses found within Sino-foreign treaties of the time, Protestant missionaries from other countries were also able to capitalise on the concessions won by the French. As a result, the state of Christianity in China changed radically following the Second Opium War. After 1860, missionaries were no longer confined to the treaty ports, but could enter the country proper. In this new context, the Catholic Church grew quickly, reaching 720,000 members by the last decade of the century and over a million by 1907. Similarly, Protestant missions to China grew rapidly, with the number of missionaries increasing from 80 in 1860 to 3,445 in 1905, resulting in some 178,000 converts by 1907. From 1864, the Russian Orthodox Mission was relieved of its secular duties, having previously been required to act as a diplomatic service. Russian Orthodox missionaries focused more on translation work and other scholarly endeavours, and did not make a great number of converts.

Muslims, although a minority group, remained widespread in China throughout the 18th century. In the 1750s, the Qīng defeated the Dzungar Khanate and installed a Muslim puppet emperor, Khoja Burhan al-Din. His subsequent rebellion was quelled and the regions were brought under Qīng control in 1759. Nevertheless, Sino-Muslim conflict continued. The introduction of Khafiyya and Jahriyya Sufism to the Salars (an ethnic group from the Qīnghǎi and Gānsù areas) in the late 18th century led to sporadic violence between the two orders in 1762, 1769, 1773 and 1780. In 1781, when widespread conflict erupted and evolved into a rebellion, the Qīng sent its forces to quell the uprising. A further Jahriyya uprising occurred in 1784, resulting in what Johan Elverskog describes as the Qīng's 'virtual military occupation of northwest China' (*Buddhism and Islam*, p. 251). By the turn of the century, therefore, the Qīng had 'forged an uneasy relationship with the Islamic world' (Millward and Newby, 'The Qing and Islam', p. 113).

The 19th century

Sino-Muslim conflict continued during the 19th century. In 1826, a rebellion led by Jahanghir Khoja (1788-1828) saw the Qīng temporarily lose control of several regions in the predominately Muslim area of Xīnjiāng until the rebellion's defeat in 1828. Then, in 1847, 1852, 1855 and 1857, Kashgari and Kyrghyz under the command of Wali Khan (d. 1865) staged attacks on Qīng-held Kashgar. The 1857 attack resulted in Wali Khan's

77-day reign over the region, before the Qīng wrested the area from his control. During the same period, two major Muslim rebellions broke out: the Panthay Rebellion (1856-73) centred on Yúnnán, and the Dungan Revolt (1862-77) in Shǎnxī, Gānsù, Níngxià and Xīnjiāng. The Panthay Rebellion was viewed as particularly dangerous by the Qīng authorities since it resulted in the establishment of a short-lived independent state known as Píngnánguó under the rule of the Chinese Muslim Dù Wénxiù (1823-72). While Sino-Muslim conflict was therefore frequent, conflict *per se* was not the status quo and Muslims were Chinese subjects. Moreover, systems of administration used in the predominantly Muslim area of Xīnjiāng did not differ from the system used by the Dzungar Khanate until the 1860s. From 1830, Hànn Chinese moved into the area, and it was not until 1884 that the region was incorporated into the empire as a province.

The 19th century saw a boom in the publication of books, journals, newspapers etc., coupled with the simultaneous 'opening' of China to foreign visitors. It would probably be an impossible task to locate and include everything written by Christian authors pertaining to Muslims in China in a single entry. Many publications and personal correspondences, in particular, are single manuscripts in numerous languages and likely to be found in archives spread across the world. This entry will focus only on key texts in English, mainly the books and papers of prominent missionaries. Principal among these are the works of Robert Morrison (1782-1834), which have been included because of his overall significance in the mission field, and James Gilmour (1843-91), who is one of the few missionaries of the period to refer to Muslims in Mongolia. The entry also includes some sections on the work of non-missionary Christian explorers. However, this is not an exhaustive record concerning this genre; rather it includes only the key works that seem to have informed Christian writers of the age. Some of these, such as the works of Henry Lansdell (1841-1919), are also applicable to other geographies, such as Russia and Western Asia. They are included here because they incorporate extensive material pertaining to Muslims in China.

Apart from a few that are worthy of inclusion here, works by people who were primarily scholars or diplomats, and not missionaries, are not included. Nonetheless, they may have some bearing on Christian-Muslim relations, and need yet to be assessed. Among these are the works of Henri Cordier (1849-1925), and Henry Yule (1820-89). The latter translated works of historical importance, such as *The books of Ser Marco Polo* (1871) and *Cathay and the way thither* (1866). Another is Thomas Douglas

Forsyth (1827-86), whose account of his mission to Yarkand (1873) is particularly important for understanding the situation in Chinese Central Asia following the Dungan Revolt (1862-77).

Missionaries and their writings

Robert Morrison (1782-1834) was the first Protestant missionary to China. Also known by his Chinese name, Mǎ Lǐxùn, he was a Scottish Presbyterian employed by the London Missionary Society. He refers to Muslims several times in his works. In his two-volume diary, published posthumously, he notes on his journey to China that those in the Malay village of Angier are 'poor naked creatures [...] deceived by the priests of Mohammed' (*Memoirs of the life and labours*, 1839, p. 151) and laments that the Muslims have beaten Christian missionaries to the area. After arriving in Canton, he records a large Muslim population. Later, he notes direct interactions with, rather than merely observations of, Muslims. In 1816, he spoke with a Muslim in a Buddhist temple (he notes that temples are often also used as inns) in Keang-nan (Jiāngnán) and another two in the same region. He records details of these conversations in a letter to George Burder (1752-1832), in which he states that Muslims in China are numerous and freely able to practise their religion (*Memoirs of the life and labours*, pp. 454-6). The Muslims informed him that their worship was conducted in Arabic and he recorded the terminology they used to refer to God. Through his conversations, he also learnt of the existence of Jews in China, although his Muslim informant believed that the Jews to which he was referring were in fact Roman Catholics.

Morrison's *A view of China for philological purposes* (1817) also contains some brief political, historical and geographical references to Muslims. It includes short religious notes in which Morrison records that, although Muslims are permitted to have their own mosques, they are not allowed to proselytise. Although references to Muslims and Islam are sparse, Morrison's record illustrates that early Protestant missionaries observed and interacted with Muslims, even using them as informants to learn about China. Morrison used the then popular term 'Mohammedan' to refer to Muslims.

Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803-51), also known as Charles Gutzlaff, Carl Guetzlaff, Guō Shìlì, and Guō Shìlǎ, was the first Lutheran missionary to China, initially serving for the Netherlands Missionary Society and

later funded by the London Missionary Society. Born in Prussia, he arrived in China in 1831 after serving in Sumatra, Singapore and Siam. Prior to his arrival, he was already composing pieces on Islam, such as *Smeek-schrift, ten behoeve der Heidenen en Mahomedanen, gerigt ann all Christenen van Nederland* (1826). His two-volume *A sketch of Chinese history*, published in 1834, makes numerous references to Muslims, referred to by the term 'Mohammedan'. Early in the first volume, Gützlaff describes the geographical spread of Muslims in China. He remarks that Muslims are in a state of constant hostility, which has resulted in frequent disturbances on China's borders. Later, when describing the religions of China, Gützlaff accepts the position popular from the preceding centuries that Muslims in China neither strictly observe their religion nor propagate it. He gives no detailed description of the religion as such, and direct references to Muslims feature sparingly in his descriptions of the history of the Arabs and Turks during the Táng Dynasty and in his exploration of Mongol victories over Muslim forces during the expansion of the Mongol Empire. He also attributes an increase in crimes, such as robbery in the late Yuán Dynasty, to the oppressive actions of Muslim administrators. Most references to Muslims, however, appear in the second volume of the work.

The first detailed treatment in this volume comes with the author's exploration of the suppression of the Jahriyya revolt in 1781, which focuses on the actions of the Manchu general Āguì (1717-97). The text provides descriptions of the Red cap and White cap Muslim sects in Gānsù, and the beginning of the hostilities. Gützlaff argues that the White caps claimed to adhere strictly to the Qur'an and accused the Red caps of laxity. The White caps sought to make the Red caps 'equally zealous, which gave rise to feuds and bloodshed' (Gützlaff, *Sketch of Chinese history*, 1834, vol. 2, p. 60). As a result, 10,000 White caps were exiled. While some other 19th-century authors, such as John Anderson (1833-1900, see below), link the genesis of Muslim rebellions to oppression, Gützlaff argues that the exiled Muslims exaggerated their oppression in order to persuade others to join their cause. Although Gützlaff clearly views the revolt as a Sino-Muslim conflict, he also importantly notes the role that other Muslims who worked with the Qīng played in putting down the rebellion. He depicts the rebelling Muslims negatively, arguing that once they were besieged they resorted to killing their own family members in order to stay alive. Moreover, he views the Qiánlóng emperor's (1711-99) subsequent command to kill all Muslims in Gānsù over the age of 15, and Āguì's implementation of this order, as a way to expiate the Muslims of

their crimes. Later, Gützlaff refers to Muslim rebellions during the reign of the Dàoguāng Emperor (1782-1850), who was in power at the time he was writing the books, but he does not provide any detailed descriptions of these contemporary events.

In his exploration of the history of religions in China, Gützlaff refers to the coexistence of Syrian Christians (described in the text as Nestorians) and Muslims. Moreover, he argues that the extinction of Syrian Christianity was the result of Muslim conquest and conversion to Islam, thereby hinting at a history of Christian-Muslim conflict in China. Gützlaff's assessment of Muslims is negative. He argues that Muslims in China are 'abhorred, as an unruly, vicious race of people' (*Sketch of Chinese history*, vol. 2, p. 88), but that their religion is tolerated since numerous Muslims hold positions in the government. His most extensive treatment of Muslims and their religion is a 16-page sub-section of the chapter on China's foreign discourse. His treatment is complex. It is primarily anti-Muslim in nature, but it also contains positive assessments of Islam and its followers. He describes early Muslims as vagrant Arabs who were 'animated by religious fanaticism' (*Sketch of Chinese history*, vol. 2, pp. 198-9). Turned from barbarism by the caliph, the Arabs expanded their empire, made discoveries and built upon the learning of those they defeated. Gützlaff argues that some Tatars probably converted to Islam, since it was a religion that supported their nomadism and love of robbery. Nevertheless, he also notes that Islam has never made progress in China, that the Muslims struggle to maintain their numbers, and that they are rumoured to buy children in order to sustain their religion. He records the existence of mosques, the undertaking of the *hajj* by Chinese Muslims, and the existence of Chinese Muslim literature. In order to explore historical Sino-Muslim trade, Gützlaff quotes extensively from Eusèbe Renaudot's *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine* (1718) with some minor commentary. Gützlaff suggests that the sort of trade described in Renaudot's work may have been irregular and not extensive. Following this, Gützlaff discusses the journey of Marco Polo (1254-1324), but does not link the discussion to Muslims or Islam. Later in the volume, he briefly refers to a Muslim attack on the Jesuit chapel at Ilha Verde in the early 17th century, which he claims occurred when the chapel was mistaken for a fortress.

Gützlaff's *China opened*, published in two volumes in 1838, also contains references to Muslims. In the introduction, he makes some brief notes about religion in Asia and, whilst lamenting that Christianity is virtually non-existent, he notes that Buddhism and Hinduism are prominent, and argues that, although Islam is known, it has only gained a

foothold in western regions of China. The main text is interspersed with brief references to Muslims in Chinese history or as part of geographical descriptions. For instance, the presence of a mosque and a population of 30,000 Muslims in Canton (Guǎngzhōu) are noted. Gützlaff also refers to the conversion of Mongols to Islam, arguing that the religion complemented their disposition to war. He provides a lengthy description of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan, but with few explicit references to Islam or Muslims. He notes that, despite their oppression, Muslim inhabitants dance, sing, partake in other festivities, and produce and consume alcohol. He also refers to the consumption of meat, but notes that Muslims may consume only meat killed by Muslims. More references to Islam and Muslims appear once Gützlaff turns to the topic of Eastern Turkestan. He argues that the Turkomans (Turkmen) study the Qur'an, pray and visit mosques diligently, and notes that they keep slaves and practise polygamy. He asserts that the Chinese vilify the Turkmen, but that several have risen to high ranks in the Chinese military. He notes also that Islam entered the country from this region, but that Chinese converts neither proselytise nor wear distinctive dress. He argues that converts do not consume pork and refuse to partake in certain rituals, but 'otherwise [...] are in heart and manners true Chinese' (*China opened*, 1838, vol. 1, p. 258). In the closing pages of his chapter on Chinese literature, Gützlaff refers to Muslim texts, noting that they were interspersed with Arabic characters, but contained nothing extraordinary in terms of style or content.

In the second volume, Gützlaff praises the Chinese employment of Muslim astronomers in earlier years and the tools that were in use by these astronomers when Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the 17th century. However, at the same time he notes that the missionaries discovered that the Chinese astronomical observations and calendar were inaccurate. Later, he discusses the astronomical controversies of the 17th century. Noting that the astronomical department was under the control of Muslims when the Jesuits arrived and that 'the Chinese hesitated a long time before they could relinquish their prejudices, and accord the palm of true science to superior knowledge' (*China opened*, vol. 2, p. 325). The Jesuits sent a petition to the government in which they pointed out errors in the calendar created by the Muslims, and the accuracy of the Jesuits' calculations led to their being promoted to positions on the Astronomical Board. However, the discussion generally focuses on Christian involvement in astronomy in China, rather than the astronomical controversies in which Christians and Muslims were involved.

The most extensive discussion of Islam and Muslims in *China opened* appears in the chapter on religion in China. Gützlaff relegates Islam to the end of this chapter and, whereas he discusses Taoism, Buddhism and Christianity individually, Islam is included in a short section along with other miscellaneous sects. He accepts the hypothesis that Muslims came to China while the Companions of the Prophet were still alive, but argues that the religion was insignificant until maritime intercourse with the Arabs began in the 9th and 10th centuries. According to Gützlaff, Islam became widespread when China was under the rule of Kublai Khan (r. 1260–94), who promoted Muslims to high ranks, which Gützlaff assumes allowed them more easily to propagate their religion. Muslims exist in all major cities, but they cannot be easily distinguished from non-Muslims since they eat and dress similarly to the Chinese and partake in the same ceremonies. Gützlaff remarks that both their literary and inter-religious influence has been unremarkable. He refers to instances of anti-Muslim persecution, but argues that this has only occurred when Muslims have been suspected of aligning themselves with rebels and that instances of persecution have probably served to benefit Muslims who hold high-ranking government positions. Repeating claims made in *A sketch of Chinese history*, Gützlaff argues that Muslims in China are despised, that they are accused of buying children and converting them, and that they do not follow the tenets of their religion strictly. Moreover, he predicts that the religion will never become prominent in China and he closes his discussion by noting that some Chinese Muslims partake in the *hajj*.

Gützlaff's *Journal of three voyages*, which was published in 1834, appears to be the only one of his principal works to refer directly to his interactions with Muslims. In the course of discussing a visit to Tiānjīn (here rendered Teen-tsin) in his 'Journal of a residence in Siam', dated 1831, Gützlaff notes that he failed to find Catholics in the region, but was able to converse with Muslims there. These Muslims were strict in their eating habits and even went so far as to refuse to eat with non-Muslims. Nevertheless, their dress and morals were similar to those of their Chinese neighbours. Gützlaff notes that the Muslims are numerous, but they lack public influence and do not propagate their religion. He notes that 'in their notions of deity they were not at all correct' (*Journal of three voyages*, 1834, p. 140). This work also records the existence of Moors resident in Siam. Gützlaff is critical of the chief of the Moors; he has rights to communicate with the Siamese king, whom he encourages to avoid extensive trade with Europe. He notes that lower-ranking Moors do not wear Muslim dress and that they even attend pagan festivals. Gützlaff

also refers to the presence of Malays, who, he argues, mostly embrace paganism, but among whose number there are also priests who give instruction on the Qur'an. His 'Journal of a second voyage along the coast of China', dated 1832, records interactions with a Muslim on 29 April of that year, when a member of the literary class named Yang visited his ship. He appeared to know little about the Qur'an, but was familiar with some Arabic and was joyful to find other Muslims among the crew of Gützlaff's ship. Gützlaff describes Yang as a liar; nevertheless, he appears to have learnt various things from Yang regarding Muslims in China such as that many Muslims are descended from Turkish tribes and that they lack numbers and influence. Gützlaff regards Muslims as pretending not to commit idolatry, noting that those in government office are required to prostrate themselves before idols in the temples during festivals. On 27 May, Gützlaff again interacted with Muslims in Níngbō when his company received a visit by Chinese of civil and military rank, two of whom Gützlaff describes as 'Turkomans by descent, and Mohammedans by profession' (*Journal of three voyages*, p. 245). He describes one of these Muslims (called Ma) as intelligent and knowledgeable of both foreign customs and Chinese diplomacy. Unlike the Chinese, whom Gützlaff argues are usually unaware of foreign affairs, Ma was able to discuss China's European trade partners, Persia and Arabia. He notes that Ma attempted to speak some Arabic phrases and that he was in favour of Europeans and Sino-European trade. Ma even discussed the topic of Sino-European trade with his fellow Muslims. Gützlaff describes Ma's conversation as interesting, but lacking in value due to his reliance on excessive praise. The next day, Gützlaff and his party met with Chinese friends who were joined by the two Muslims (Ma and Le). The group tried to dissuade the party from approaching too close to the city and, after a discussion, the party promised to speak to the local leadership so that no trouble would befall the group of Chinese and Muslims should they be permitted to land. Gützlaff's party met with Ma and Le again on 31 May. On this occasion, Gützlaff does not refer to their religion, but describes them as his friends. They visited in order to discuss trade. On 1 June, Ma told Gützlaff that he had had to participate in the worship of idols at the temple. Gützlaff asked him if he felt polluted by such practices, since they were opposed to Muḥammad's teaching, but Ma 'disclaimed all actual participation, and considered it as a mere ceremony' (*Journal of three voyages*, p. 259). Ma and Le visited Gützlaff's group again on 3 June. Ma explained that the group were treated with

suspicion because of their intelligence, business skills and preparedness. He also stated that they would be permitted to trade if they could prove that they were not concerned with acquiring political power. It appears that Ma was involved in smuggling goods from the party's ships, and Gützlaff notes that Ma spoke with members of the crew privately about continuing this trade. On 12 June, the group decided to leave the harbour in which they were anchored. Ma offered demurrage and provisions, but Gützlaff's party refused these. He says that Ma had ultimately failed to turn the European ships away, to the disappointment of the locals, and suggests that Ma may have been the cause of the group's misfortune.

Gützlaff continues to discuss Islam and Muslims in a supplementary chapter on religion in China (pp. 370-88). He notes that Muslims are numerous in the west of the country and repeats claims he makes elsewhere that Muslims are distinguished from the Chinese only in terms of diet and their dislike of idolatry, but this dislike of idolatry does not stop them from partaking in Chinese ceremonies. In a subsequent chapter on Christianity (pp. 389-410), Gützlaff refers to cooperation between the Mongols and the crusaders (particularly the French) against Muslim forces.

Gützlaff also refers to Muslims briefly in *The life of Taou-Kwang* (1852), which explores the biography of the Dàoguāng Emperor (1782-1850). The text refers to uprisings and discontent in Muslim provinces on a number of occasions, but generally uses geographical descriptors such as the term 'North-Western Provinces' rather than terms that would reveal the religious identities of those living in the rebelling regions. Later, he argues that the putting down of Uzbek rebellions in 1826, which included the capture of Yarkand, was unwise and that further uprisings arose because of the cruelty with which the rebellion was quelled. He writes: 'The fanaticism of the Mohammedans had been roused to madness; it became a holy war against idolaters, whom it was the greatest dishonor to serve' (*Life of Taou-Kwang*, p. 80).

This religious war imagery is drawn upon again as Gützlaff describes further Sino-Muslim conflict and, presumably borrowing Muslim terminology and ideas, he paints the Chinese as idolatrous oppressors and the rebels as 'believers' seeking freedom from oppression. Nevertheless, Muslim leadership too, he argues, became oppressive, whereas the emperor sought to treat the affected regions kindly after the rebellion was crushed. He also notes the existence of the Black caps and White caps, which he claims hated each other. Later, he refers to uprisings in Kashgar in 1847, but notes that the Muslim leadership was split on whether to accept the

imperial bounty or continue their rebellion. They chose a middle way, allowing the Chinese to retake Kashgar by force before signing a treaty. A further Muslim rebellion, which was put down with a great amount of bloodshed, is also mentioned. In sum, whilst there are references to direct interactions between Christians and Muslims in Gützlaff's work, Muslims generally feature in his texts as background figures in historical or contemporary social descriptions.

Alexander Wylie (1815-87) was a sinologist and British Protestant missionary of the London Missionary Society posted to China. His *Notes on Chinese literature* (1867) contains several references to Muslims, including descriptions of Chinese texts about Muslims and their territories, and descriptions of texts by Lodovico Buglio (1606-82) and Yáng Guāngxīān pertaining to Christian-Muslim conflict during the astronomical controversies in the 17th century. Wylie argues that Yáng's attacks on Christianity were grounded in his jealousy of the favours given to the Jesuits for their success in mathematics. He also briefly describes the anti-Christian persecutions during the controversies. Later, he includes a short list of Chinese texts written by Muslims and describes their contents. These texts include explanations of Islam, narratives on the arrival of Muslims in China, and accounts of the history of Islam. He argues that the paucity of Muslim-authored texts written in Chinese partly arises because Muslims continue to use religious texts written in Arabic. Furthermore, he states that those Chinese-language texts that do exist are insignificant.

Chinese researches is a collection of essays published ten years after Wylie's death in 1897. The book is divided thematically into literary, historical, scientific and philological essays and lectures. In his lecture on Prester John (pp. 19-43), Wylie refers to Muslim aspirations for expansion and notes the fear that it struck into the minds of Europeans. Moreover, he links the expansion of the Mongol Empire and Muslim powers and associated political changes in the 13th century to the fading of knowledge about Prester John. In his paper on Buddhist relics (pp. 44-80) Wylie notes that Muslims appropriated Buddhist relics on Ceylon (Sri Lanka) following their domination of the island in the 13th century. For instance, the Buddha's footprint and teeth were re-designated as Adam's.

Wylie also comments on the place of relics in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. He argues that Christ's rebuke of the scribes and Pharisees recorded in Matthew 23 illustrates that, during the 1st century, Judaism

had 'a spirit very near akin to that of relic worship' (*Chinese researches*, 1897, p. 80). The study of Islam too, he argues, reveals similar practices of relic worship, which he stresses is common to all religious systems. In his essay on the Bible in China in this work (pp. 81-109), Wylie records that a Syrian Christian manuscript of part of the Old Testament was discovered in 1725 among the possessions of a Muslim who was a descendant of Christian or Jewish ancestors. He argues that, since its passages are frequently referenced in the Qur'an, the Bible provides common ground on which to meet with China's numerous Muslims, and this form of contact should be favoured instead of polemical essays. Elsewhere in the work, Wylie summarises Nicolas Trigault's (1577-1628) descriptions of Chinese terminology for Muslims, Jews and Christians at the beginning of the 17th century. Followers of the Abrahamic religions were known as *Hwuy-hwuy* (*huí huí*), and those who abstained from pork (Muslims), were distinguished from those who abstained from animals with cloven feet (Jews), and those who were cross-worshippers (Christians). Wylie argues that these terminological distinctions probably evolved from the desire of each group to avoid various persecutions. Later, he notes that, in his own time, the terms used to describe Muslims were *Hwuy-hwuy* and *Hwuy-tszè*, and that Jews were sometimes referred to as 'Blue cap *Hwuy-tszè*'. He also records terminological links between Muslim and Jewish places of worship, including the fact that both mosques and synagogues are referred to by the same term. Later he refers to Muslim officers who in the 9th century were placed in charge of arbitrating over Muslim religious affairs, performing religious festivals, and delivering the sermon during Friday prayers.

Wylie refers to Christian-Muslim relations as he notes a conversation between the Jesuit Álvaro Semedo (1585/6-1658) and a Muslim who informed him of the existence of four Jewish families in Nánjīng who had converted to Islam. When he discusses the Nestorian Stele, Wylie argues that Syrian Christians came to China seeking refuge from Islamic expansion in the Middle East. In general, Wylie's work repeats earlier claims made by Christians about Muslims in China, but also adds to these. Nevertheless, he does not appear to have referred to direct instances of personal interaction with Muslims, whom he calls 'Mohammedans', the common term at the time.

Henry Lansdell (1814-1919), a priest and explorer, wrote two two-volume works, *Russian Central Asia* (1885) and *Chinese Central Asia* (1893). Both contain numerous and extensive references to Muslims and Islam,

and point to long-term sustained relations between Christians and Muslims in Central Asia. His 1882 travelogue *Through Siberia* also includes descriptions of the physical appearance and practices of Muslim Tatars in Russia, relating that they are well-liked, strong and good workers, and do not get drunk. He also records his visit to a mosque, his experience of seeing Tatars pray and some details about the Islam practised by the Tatars. He notes, for instance, that their God has 99 names and that each bead on their rosary denotes a separate prayer. He also records that he distributed Turkish language Gospels to Tatar prisoners in Barnaul.

Russian Central Asia, a travelogue and geography, explores various regions of Central Asia and Lansdell's journeys there. In the two volumes, the social, historical and geographical descriptions are interspersed with numerous references to Muslims and records of interactions with them. Areas with high Muslim populations tend to have lower crime rates than those with Russian Christian populations, partially due to differences in drinking practices. At various points, he provides descriptions of Muslim peoples. One example is his description of the Dungans. He notes that, like the Taranchis, the Dungans wear skullcaps and shave their heads, but they are distinct in terms of language, dress, etc. Although Lansdell describes the Dungans as Muslims, he states that their 'fanaticism has been somewhat modified by contact with idolaters' (*Russian Central Asia*, 1885, vol. 1, p. 210). He also provides social and historical descriptions. He refers to Chinese Muslim immigration to the Ili Valley region, and states that the Muslim schools in Kuldja (Yining) are not of a high standard in comparison with Chinese schools, since Muslim schools teach only the Qur'an and the *shari'a*. A whole chapter is devoted to 'Muhammadan and Jewish Samarkand' (vol. 1, pp. 580-91), the first part of which focuses particularly on the Muslim and Christian manuscripts said to exist in the region. He also describes the college of Shir-Dar and its mosque, and notes some details of Jewish life under Muslim rule, such as the need for Jews to obtain the emir's permission to buy a house from a Muslim and the requirement for Jews to submit to beatings and insults from Muslims. Elsewhere in the monograph, Lansdell refers to the Dungan revolt, which, he argues, stemmed from Chinese oppression of the Muslim inhabitants. He also provides a description of a prison in Tashkend (Tashkent) and its facilities for Muslims.

The most pertinent part of *Russian Central Asia* for the study of Christian-Muslim relations is Lansdell's descriptions of his direct interactions with and missionary work among Muslims, as well as the conversations

he records with others about them. He reports a conversation with the Imperial Russian consul for Chuguchak (Tǎchéng), Mr Balkashin, who upon discovering Lansdell's intention to provide scriptures for Kyrghyz Muslims, advised against entering into religious discussions with them because of their bigotry and the risk of personal injury. In another conversation with a general on the Urals, Lansdell argues that there is middle ground between forcing religion upon a conquered people, as Muslims have tended to do, and not attempting to convert a people at all. Instead, they can be offered educational books and scriptural texts. Accordingly, he began to distribute scriptures to Kyrghyz Muslims in Omsk. He visited a mosque and presented the mullah with a copy of the Kyrghyz New Testament. He was also able to sell scriptures to Muslims in Pavlodar, including to a mullah.

From his conversations with a certain Archbishop Alexander, he also provides details of a mission to Issik-Kul (Issyk-Kul). The Archbishop informed him that the Kara-Kyrghyz were 'not real Muhammadans, and not knowing the Koran, though they register themselves as good Mussulmans' (*Russian Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 172). He also records an interreligious conversation with some Kyrghyz in which they explained their religion to him and listened to his own explanations of Christianity. This conversation was conducted through multiple interpreters. He details the roles of Kyrghyz mullahs, although he describes the majority of them as 'pitifully ignorant, and lazy to a degree; they take advantage of a credulous race, and resort to sorcery and kindred devices' (*Russian Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 346). He presented the mullahs at Shah-Zindeh mosque with a Persian Bible, which they were happy to receive. In Russian Samarkand too, Lansdell distributed scriptures to the mullahs, which likewise were well received.

The second volume of *Russian Central Asia* records Lansdell's journey from Samarkand to Krasnovodsk (Türkmenbaşy). Interactions with Muslims are extensive early in the book, which later focuses more heavily on geographical and historical descriptions. His party was joined by some horsemen (*djiquitts*), two Uzbeks (Kolutch and Fazul) and a Tatar interpreter (Suleiman Yakooboof, referred to as 'Yakoob' in the book), who feature frequently during the early narrative. Lansdell records religious conversations with some of these travel partners, including their secretary. One such conversation was between Lansdell and Yakoob. After Lansdell fell from his horse, Yakoob had told him that he had shown disrespect by riding near Muslim holy sites when he should have been walking. His fall was therefore an act of divine punishment. In conversations

and interactions with local officials Lansdell presented translations of the Gospels, which were accepted and kissed as one of the four books that God had given to humankind. Interestingly, Lansdell identifies himself as an 'English mullah' in conversations with some of these officials.

Lansdell notes on several occasions that Sunnī Muslims are opposed to pictorial representations of things created or otherwise. He states that his party was welcomed into mosques, but suggests that, prior to the arrival of the Russians in the 1860s and 1870s, a journey by 'infidels' through the land would not have been possible. He describes the party's entry into Bukhara on horseback, which previous Christian travellers had not been permitted to do. While Lansdell suggests a movement from interreligious relations that focus on conflict to those that focus on coexistence, on his visit to Charjui (Türkmenabat) he nevertheless records some anti-Russian sentiment, noting the existence of an unfounded fear that the Russians would ban Islam and the probably accurate fear that they would allow prostitution and introduce alcoholism to the region. In Bukhara, Lansdell asked to attend Friday congregational prayers at the mosque. This presented some problems and his minders sought to ensure that he would not be able to attend, since they suspected him of being a spy. When he arrived, there was an altercation in which his minders and Yakoob opposed his presence on the basis that, if the congregation saw him, the prayers would lose their efficacy. The incident was resolved once the mullah began to speak and the minders and Yakoob were forced to take their positions for the service, which Lansdell describes as 'far more decorous than that of an average Christian assembly' (*Russian Central Asia*, vol. 2, p. 98). Following the prayers, Lansdell sought to look at a font-like object in the mosque, which he thought might have Nestorian origins. However, a crowd surrounded him and, fearing for his safety, he decided to leave.

Lansdell refers to other mosques that he visited in Bukhara, and records that the people had a special mullah (to whom he gives the title *ishan*) who prays for those who are ill and about to die. He also describes meeting with representatives of the Commercial Russian Company in Bukhara, whose position was originally dangerous in a land surrounded by hostile Muslims. Unlike Hindus and Jews, who had to suffer beatings from Muslims without resisting, the Russians had fought back and thereby fomented fear of all Russians among resident Muslims. For example, one Russian, without his gun, aimed a telescopic pencil on those who sought to beat him, terrifying his would-be attackers.

Lansdell writes that, although one may be inclined to think that Islam is a regressive influence, especially in the sphere of education, in Central Asia Muslims are not fanatical; they are rather quite welcoming of Christian guests. He also records religious conversations with the khan of Khiva, who believed the claim that Christ was both a prophet and God's Son to be false, but noted that the world is religiously plural. He outlines some theological reasons for attempting to convert Muslims in Central Asia, and describes the Russian Orthodox Mission and the British and Foreign Bible Society Mission there. Consequent upon his visit to Merv, he describes the religious beliefs of the Turkomans, who identify as Sunnī Muslims but 'are guided more by custom than by the precepts of the Koran, unless it be the injunction which enjoins war upon Kafirs' (*Russian Central Asia*, vol. 2, p. 479). Lansdell records that the Turkomans take Persian slaves since these are Shī'as, but also argues that they take Sunnī slaves if they can force them to confess to being Shī'as under torture.

Lansdell's *Chinese Central Asia* of 1893 explores his journey to Tibet and records direct interactions, both secular and religious, with Muslims. The book opens with a letter to the Chinese emperor in which Lansdell asks him to give Christianity fair consideration and assures him that the West will not seek to force its religion upon China, as the Muslims have done with theirs. On his train journey from the Caspian Sea to Merv, Lansdell travelled alongside Muslim passengers who he notes exited the train at sunrise to wash and pray. When he was the guest of one Colonel Alikhanoff, a Muslim, Lansdell remarks on his provision of wine for his guests, despite his own abstinence. He praises Alikhanoff's work in reducing local crime and describes him as well suited to his position because of his ethnic and religious links to those over whom he rules. He also notes that Alikhanoff had assured the local Turkoman populace that acceptance of Russian domination did not mean that they would be forced to abandon their religion. In Bukhara, he met with the minister of the interior (the Kush-Beggi), who took him to the bazaar and the mosque. He records that, whereas he had had to flee the mosque on his previous visit, this time he was welcomed to inspect it at his leisure. Whilst in Bukhara, he also visited some madrasas, at one of them giving alms to a student.

In Suiting (Shuǐdìng), Lansdell stayed at an inn run by a Muslim, who, he records, was not pleased when a gift of pork from the local governor was brought onto the premises. Nevertheless, the innkeeper was happy to be entertaining local officials, so the event did not cause a wider

dispute and the pig was sold to a Chinese household. In Kuldja, he met Osman Bai Yusup Ali, a former commander during the Dungan Revolt (1862-77), whom he employed as the leader of his caravan. Other Muslims also appear to have been in his party. He later records an episode when Osman Bai refused to eat the mutton he was offered because he thought the sheep had been slaughtered by a non-Muslim. Even after learning that it had been killed by a Muslim, he still refused to eat it since he had not witnessed the slaughter himself. In response to this episode, Lansdell gave orders that henceforth all sheep should be killed by a Muslim so that Osman would be able to eat it. This action won the respect of Osman, who declared that he would also be willing to eat meat killed by Lansdell himself.

At Aksu (Ākèsū), the party met with numerous Afghans and Andjanis (Uzbeks), although their interactions appear to have been primarily social, commercial and diplomatic. He records the distribution of some scriptures to the Afghans and also notes that he met several Muslim parties attending the feast of Kurban-Bairam (ʿĪd al-aḍḥā). In Kashgar, Lansdell wanted to visit the shrine of Hazrat Aphak, but was careful to be on his best behaviour since 'Muhammadan bigotry' could frustrate his chances to take photographs there. He spoke with the shaykh, describing himself as a mullah, and gave him copies of the Bible. Lansdell decided to take photographs near Muhammad Yaqub Bek's former burial site, with the mullahs indicating the spot.

Chinese Central Asia also contains social, geographical and historical descriptions that feature Muslims and Islam. Lansdell notes difficulties experienced by European women residing in Bukhara, including that riding horses and going out in public without a veil attracted unwanted attention. He visited the mausoleum of Tamerlane (the Gūr-i Amīr) and notes that it was in a better condition than it had been on his previous visit, thanks to Russian maintenance. Russian care of the site, Lansdell writes, was 'fairly puzzling to the Muhammadans' (*Chinese Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 90). From his journey from Issik-Kul (Issyk-Kul), Lansdell provides details on the religion of the Kara-Kyrghyz. He notes that they are ostensibly Sunnī Muslims, but 'in general are indifferent and ignorant of doctrine' (*Chinese Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 121). Their beliefs include a mixture of Muslim and pagan elements. They pray and fast like other Muslims, but are more liberal in their approach. Furthermore, there are only a few mullahs, all of whom have limited knowledge of the Qur'an, and few mosques.



Illustration 16. Henry Landsell, *Chinese Central Asia*, 'At Kashgar – mullahs indicating the rifled grave of Yakub Khan', vol. 1, p. 450

Landsell also provides an account of the Christian mission to those in Issyk-Kul, which is first referred to in his former work, *Russian Central Asia*, vol. 1. He notes that some 23 Kyrgyz had been baptised by the mission. After arrival in Khuldja (Yining), Landsell provides some descriptions of China. He records that there is a large population of immigrant Muslims and a large number of mosques in Manchuria. He also describes the religious make-up of Sungaria, noting that the 'Kamluks are Lamaists, the Turkish peoples are Muhammadans, and the Chinese probably Confucians, or perhaps Buddhists' (*Chinese Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 169). Leaving Kuldja, Landsell describes the Dungan mosque, which is Chinese in style, and the village of Damarchi and its Taranchi residents, noting that they have more liberal policies towards their women than Muslims elsewhere. He provides a lengthy description of Chinese Turkestan but, in his description of the religion of the inhabitants, he focuses primarily on Christian missions. His history of Chinese Turkestan focuses on Muslim

figures and refers to the visit of Bento de Góis (1562-1607) and the Jesuit astronomical observations used to estimate the position of Hami (Hāmī). In a chapter on historical sources pertaining to Chinese Central Asia, (vol. 1, pp. 356-76) Lansdell refers to the history of Muslims in the region and notes the presence of Chinese fortresses built in response to the Dungan Revolt. A further chapter includes descriptions of the peoples of Chinese Turkestan (vol. 1, pp. 396-414). He praises the Kyrghyz's abstinence from alcohol, tobacco and opium, and their hospitality, compassion and lack of crime, but he also states that they are lazy, vain and unclean. He complains that, unlike other Muslim regions, the cities in Chinese Turkestan lack baths, records that Muslims smoke cannabis and other narcotics in some regions, and complains about polygamy. Referring to Muhammad Yaqub Bek (1820-77), Lansdell notes that, whilst Bek was a reformer responsible for building schools and mosques and suppressing prostitution, he was also said to have had 300 wives. Elsewhere, Lansdell describes the Dolan people, whom he states are ostensibly Muslim but share their wives with guests in their homes. He comments that 'the reader may [...] form an idea to what degree Muhammandanism is capable of degrading a country after centuries of unopposed sway' (*Chinese Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 412).

The second volume of *Chinese Central Asia* contains the most extensive references to Muslims and Islam in Lansdell's corpus of work. For example, after setting out on a journey, Lansdell inquired as to why the party had additional horses and was informed they were to be delivered to an Afghan called Kurban Ali Khan. Lansdell objected to this since it amounted to double employment, referring his employees to the Bible and arguing that their Muslim master, Kurban Ali Khan, would probably not let Lansdell rest on the Sabbath. After calling upon the high-ranking Kudaberdi Kazi Bek to arbitrate in the dispute, the sides agreed to send the additional horses back to Yarkand. On another occasion, Lansdell was asked to write a letter to the British Commissioner of Leh to aid a Turkic stranger travelling to Mecca whose travel partner had died at Leh, which he did.

The second volume also includes numerous thematic chapters. One focuses on the history of Chinese Turkestan, and Lansdell notes that nobles such as Saman Khuda were able to regain their land holdings after they embraced Islam. He also notes the existence of Muslim alliances formed to fight against the 'infidel' Chinese and provides a detailed description of the Dungan Revolt in which Chinese troops were forced

to convert to Islam. Following this revolt, the Chinese appointed Muslims as the heads of town, permitted *shari'a* law, and promised not to interfere with Islam. Another thematic chapter focuses on the history of Christianity in the region. Drawing on early sources, Lansdell refers briefly to Muslim efforts in the 14th century to convert Christians, and the death penalty that was to be applied to those who refused. He also records the possible historical repurposing of Syrian Christian buildings by Muslims, and the historically important role of Syrian Christian scholars under Muslim rule.

Lansdell describes the history of Yengi Hissar (Yengisar), noting that it was the site of a battle between Muslims and Buddhists in the 11th century, and he suggests that there were Christians allied to the Buddhist cause. He records historical details about Khotan, including the advent of Muslim rule and the journey of de Góis to the region. Drawing on scholarly and other sources, he describes Chinese rule in Chinese Turkestan, suggesting that the residents are docile and are given religious freedoms in exchange for their taxes. He also records a conversation with a Turk who, when asked if he would prefer Muslim to Chinese rule, answered in the affirmative. In Tibet, Lansdell provides descriptions of historical instances of Muslim assistance to the country, as well as Muslim raids, describing raiders who plunder the monasteries as 'good Muslims' (*Chinese Central Asia*, 1893, vol. 2, p. 296).

In terms of descriptions of religion and his direct interactions with Muslims, Lansdell records his visit to several mosques and madrasas in Yarkand, and makes brief notes about their appearance and history. He refers to his lengthy interactions with Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Joo, who had served Andrew Dalglish (1853-88) and Arthur Douglas Carey (d. 1936) on their journeys in the region. In Posgam, Lansdell decided to stay at a former mosque, but his Muslim party, who were not keen on this idea, persuaded him to make other arrangements. At Yak-Shambah, Lansdell took numerous photographs of Muslims, including a mullah. Once again, he notes that the Muslim members of his party would not accept food prepared by non-Muslims, and he also records details about the existence of small clearings surrounded by stones that indicated the direction towards Mecca and were used as mosques by Muslim travellers. He also describes other such travellers' mosques made of brick and wood. In Khotan, Lansdell describes the presence of dervishes at the madrasa of Hazrat Sultan. He invited them for breakfast the next day in order to photograph them; after eating, they danced and sang for him, and then he took photographs. As he had done elsewhere, he

also photographed other local residents, and he describes Muslim feasts and other celebrations, such as those associated with marriage and birth. Lansdell also notes past inequalities between Christians and Muslims, and present-day inequalities between Jews and Muslims and Hindus and Muslims, in the hope that current circumstances would give the Muslims some taste of their own medicine. Lansdell devotes an entire chapter to Islam in Chinese Turkestan (vol. 2, pp. 207-20), and concludes that missionaries and Christian educators would be useful in the region. He generally, though not exclusively, refers to Muslims in negative terms in this chapter, describing Muḥammad as a false prophet. On several occasions, he refers to Muslim leaders in less than glowing terms, calling them 'monsters of cruelty' (*Chinese Central Asia*, vol. 2, p. 214) and gives details of their atrocities. He notes that the region has been historically dangerous for Christians and refers to de Góis's journey as evidence, pointing to occasions when his life was threatened.

In a subsequent chapter, on the Christian mission to Chinese Turkestan (vol. 2, pp. 338-50), Lansdell records his own distribution of Christian scriptures, noting that warnings from Russian acquaintances about Muslim Turks' fanaticism had made him cautious about distributing them on arrival in Aksu. He first gave copies to his host, who afterwards took Lansdell to sell copies in various parts of the town. He records enthusiasm for the scriptures among the Muslims at Tum Chuk, Kashgar, Yengi Hissar and Yarkand, but doubts that many of his customers could read Persian and Arabic. He then turns to the lessons he has learnt on his travels, noting the need for a missionary presence in Chinese Turkestan. He argues that there is some good in Islam, including its rigorous ritual, but also states that there is need to teach the misguided people of Chinese Turkestan about the 'nobler and higher truths of Christianity' (*Chinese Central Asia*, vol. 2, p. 344). He argues that Chinese Turkestan is a favourable mission field, since Islam arrived there later than in other countries and, as the rulers of the area are not Muslim, there is less fear of persecution. He also remarks on the necessity for both male and female missionaries, since Islamic customs would make it impossible for an all-male mission to evangelise local women. The chapter closes with a reminder about the Syrian Christian and Roman Catholic martyrs of the past, and by calling Christians to re-establish a mission to Central Asia.

Lansdell's immense corpus of work encompasses copious references to direct instances of Christian-Muslim relations alongside historical, geographical, social and religious descriptions. He primarily uses the

term 'Muhammadan' to refer to Muslims, though on occasion he uses the term 'Mussulman'.

Arthur Evans Moule (1836-1918) was a Church Missionary Society missionary to Shanghai. He refers to Muslims and Islam in some of his works. In *Four hundred millions* (1871), he explores some of the religions in China and notes that Muslims maintain large populations in some areas, but he does not provide a more detailed survey of the religion. It is interesting to note that this short reference to Islam is juxtaposed with references to the 'religion of the white lily' or 'no hypocrisy religion' (pp. 14-15; these have not been identified).

In *New China and old*, Moule explores opium addiction, seeking to exonerate the British and arguing that Muslim and Arab traders in fact introduced the poppy to China. Elsewhere in the book, he argues that converts to Christianity should not be made to engage in idolatrous practices. Indeed, since Muslims are opposed to idolatry and yet many have held office in the Chinese administration, 'some arrangement must have been tacitly acquiesced in by the Government for the relief of conscience' (*New China and old*, p. 160). He argues that recent Muslim rebellions have fomented prejudice against Muslims, which 'must be nearly as strong as the prejudice against Christians' (*New China and old*, p. 160). His *Half a century in China* (1911) includes brief descriptions of the Panthay Rebellion and the Dungan Revolt of recent memory. However, it is *The Chinese people* (1914) that contains the most extensive references to Islam and Muslims in his works. He notes that both the Jesuit missionaries and Muslims before them identified the term Shang Ti (Shàngdì) with God/Allāh. Ch. 8, entitled 'Christianity in China. Early Christian missions and other religious influences from the West', includes a section on Islam and its history in China (pp. 302-51). Here Moule explores the origins of Islam, arguing that Muḥammad was strongly influenced by Christianity. He argues that the origins of Islam in China cannot be ascertained, but suggests that it may have arrived alongside Syrian Christianity around 635. He notes that Islam in China has not taken an anti-Christian approach, even recording that there are Muslims in China who expect the eschatological return of Christ rather than of Muḥammad (which is, of course, orthodox Muslim belief). He states that Islam primarily spread through commercial and military relations and exchange, and notes that individual Muslims have been prominent in Chinese history. He describes the geographical spread of Muslims and interestingly notes that most scholarly Muslims live in Sūch'uan (Sichuān), which also happens to be

the location where they print most of their books. Muslim rebellions in the 19th century had no clear cause, and therefore they probably resulted from the Muslim love of warfare. Given there has not been a long history of Sino-Muslim conflict, he comments that the rebellions were 'not religious wars so much as the old conquering spirit (provoked by petty quarrels or accidents) awake again' (*Chinese people*, pp. 318-19). Moule also records conversations between Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and Ài Tián about Christianity, Judaism and Islam in China. As with other authors, he tends to favour the terms 'Mohammedan' and 'Moslem' to refer to Muslims.

Some other contemporary missionaries also refer to interactions with Muslims, or describe Muslims and Islam. Among them, the famous Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) of the China Inland Mission includes some sporadic references. His *After thirty years. Three decades of the China Inland Mission* (1895) refers to the fact that few conversions have been made in Yun-nan (Yúnnán), which Taylor notes is often the case in regions with a large number of Muslims. *China's millions* (1890), which he edited, includes several references to Muslims in the reports of other missionaries. For example, a report by a Mr Drysdale records details of a Muslim convert to Christianity and his family being reprimanded by a Muslim priest. John Brock's account also refers to a Muslim convert, and a Miss Gates refers to her evangelising a Muslim family.

The Protestant missionary James Gilmour (1843-91) of the London Missionary Society, known for his missionary work in Mongolia, records in *Among the Mongols* that the Mongols had earlier contacts with both Christianity and Islam. James Legge (1815-97), a Scottish sinologist and missionary, who served the London Missionary Society in Malacca and Hong Kong (1840-73), records in *The religions of China* (1880) a notice at a mosque in Canton condemning foot binding, arguing that it was against God's will.

In addition to these texts, Émile René Pourias's French account of his missionary activity in Yúnnán with *Missions étrangères de Paris*, entitled *La Chine. Huit ans au Yun-nan* (1888), is worth noting, and missionaries and scholars associated with the Russian Orthodox Mission to China are also worthy of mention. Archimandrite Palladius (1817-78), also known as Pyotr Ivanovich Kafarov, was head of the Russian Orthodox Mission, mentor to Bretschneider, and a prominent sinologist. Rudolf Loewenthal refers to Palladius's *O magometanakh v Kitae* ('On the Muslims in China'; 1886), as well as his *Musul'mastvo v Kitae* ('Islam in China'; 1913)

as particularly pertinent (Loewenthal, 'Russian contributions', pp. 313-14). More detailed descriptions of 'On the Muslims in China' and also *Kitaïškaia literatura Magometan* ('Chinese literature of the Mohammedans'; 1887), pertaining to Palladius's discussions about intra-Muslim conflict and Chinese Muslim practices and teachings, are provided in a paper by Nurzat M. Mukan et al. ('Confessional peculiarity of Chinese Islam', pp. 7906-15). Another figure associated with the Russian Orthodox Mission is Vasily Pavlovich Vasilyev (1818-1900), who published *O dvizhenii magometanstva v Kitae* ('On the Muslim movement in China') in 1867, translated into both German (1909) and English (1960). Loewenthal notes that 'Vasil'ev was concerned that the Muslims might propagate their faith in China, gain control of the government and overthrow the declining Manchu dynasty. He feared that a vigorous Islamic state might oppose the Christian West' (Loewenthal, 'Russian contributions', p. 313). *Vostochnye Magometane i Kitajskie v osobennosti* ('Oriental Muslims and Chinese Muslims in particular') by Aleksij Vinogradov is also listed by Loewenthal as important. It would appear to focus partially on Christian polemical texts.

The Sladen mission to Momien

Following the Panthay Rebellion in 1855, an independent Muslim state known as Píngnánguó was established in Yúnnán. In 1866, Albert Fytche (1820-92), the chief commissioner of the British Crown Colony of Burma, received permission to dispatch a mission that would travel via Bhamo to Yúnnán. Headed by the British Political Resident at the Burmese court, Captain Edward Bosc Sladen (1831-90), the mission left for Yúnnán in early 1868, with the goals of surveying the area and reopening trade. The mission was therefore not of a religious nature and its principal members, although Christians, were scholars, explorers and diplomats rather than missionaries. Nevertheless, contemporary English-language texts on Islam in China (including some of those noted above) drew heavily on accounts of the mission and referenced them frequently, so it is reasonable to include here texts pertaining to the mission.

Sladen's account of the journey is included alongside other accounts and letters on the expedition in his *Official narrative of and papers connected with the expedition to explore the trade routes to China via Bhamo*, published in 1869. Like John Anderson (1833-1900; see below), Sladen

records that the Chinese viewed the British expedition with suspicion, believing them to be aligned with the Panthays. He records the Panthay desire to open trade (Sladen, *Official narrative*, p. 24), but also notes that the Muslim rebellion was the cause of the cessation of trade. Sladen refers to direct interactions and cordial relations with Muslims on several occasions, as well as recording his own impressions of Chinese Muslims and Islam. The Panthays offered military protection to the party, only allowing the expedition to cross over to Yunnan after they had secured the route and payment for expenses. Describing their Panthay escort, Sladen notes that they were well-dressed and describes them as having an 'Arab or Musselman type of countenance and features [...] in spite of a decided Chinese admixture' (*Official narrative*, p. 132). Referring to the appearance of other Muslims, he notes what he describes as 'orthodox' facial hair and clothing. There were those who did not dress in an 'orthodox' manner, but still betrayed their Muslim identity through their behaviour. For example, Sladen records that the governor wore Chinese style clothing, but shook hands 'in a style which was Musselman' (*Official narrative*, p. 148). This suggests that the governor did not conduct himself in a way similar to the Chinese. Indeed, Sladen records that the governor did not consume alcohol, but also that he was 'polite enough to disregard all Musselman restraints when hospitality was called for' (*Official narrative*, p. 156). Sladen notes that some other Muslims, such as the chief military officer, drank alcohol. Referring to this and illustrating his knowledge of certain trends in Islam he comments 'I was glad to see that he was less of a Wahabee in this respect than many of his confrères in Chinese Mahomedanism' (*Official narrative*, p. 177). Sladen provides accounts of the interviews between himself and the governor of Momien (now known as Tóngchōng) and they indicate that a friendship formed between himself and the governor. Sladen notes that he sought to learn from their conversations about the state of Yunnan while assuring the governor that he was not interested in opposing 'Mahomedan advancement in a Province which belonged to them by right of conquest' (*Official narrative*, p. 168). He also records collecting extracts from a manuscript about the origins of Islam in China which is in the appendices of both Anderson's and his own work. Sladen uses various terms including 'Mahomedan' and 'Musselman' to describe Muslims and Islam.

Various scholarly works

John Anderson (1833-1900) was a zoologist who worked in India and later served as a professor at Free Church College in Edinburgh. In his *Mandalay to Momien* (1876), ch. 8, entitled 'The Mahommedans of Yunnan' (pp. 223-47), constitutes his primary exploration of Muslims. As in his *Chinese Mohammedans*, he asserts that Muslims purchased children in order to spread their religion and later notes their capture in war. He also explores some aspects of Chinese Muslim practices, such as their intermarriage with the Chinese and their partaking in the *hajj*. Later, he describes the Muslims he met in Momien and the origins and events of the Panthay Rebellion. He describes the Momien Muslims' physical appearances and clothing, noting that they were athletic, fair-skinned, had moustaches and were distinct from the Chinese. In general, even though they abstained from alcohol, opium and tobacco, the Muslims in his party frowned upon these people's laxity in worship. He argues that the Panthay Rebellion was caused primarily by the oppression of the Chinese. Chinese-backed riots had led to the destruction of mosques, which in turn fomented a Muslim uprising.

French Catholic missionaries had aided in manufacturing gunpowder for the imperial viceroy, and forwarded letters to the emperor in favour of the imperial supporter Ma-kien, facts of which the Muslim authorities would have been aware. Anderson's account is decidedly pro-Panthay in approach. He describes the rebels as being superior in prowess to the imperial forces, and notes that their leadership was unified. Furthermore, although they were merciless in warfare, the Panthays 'were desirous of establishing a firm and orderly government: in all cases their officers protected the passage of merchants, and dealt much more justly by them than the mandarins had been accustomed to do' (Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien*, p. 244). Before leaving, Anderson's party established trade duties with the Panthay leadership and received diplomatic letters to attempt to open friendly relations with the United Kingdom (*Mandalay to Momien*, p. 246). The appendices of this work include the translation of a text on the origins of Islam in China by Sladen. Anderson tends to use the term 'Mahommedan' alongside ethnic terminologies to refer to Muslims.

Edward Harper Parker (1849-1926), a sinologist and interpreter, published in 1890 *China's intercourse with Europe*, a translation of Hia Sieh's (Xià Xiè's) *Si-Chung Ki-shi* or *Record of Chinese and Western relations*

(probably *Zhōngxī Jìshì*). It contains some fleeting references to Christian-Muslim relations, and particularly the 17th-century astronomical controversies involving Johann Adam Schall von Bell (referred to here as Adam Schaal, 1591-1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-88) and Yáng Guāngxǎn (referred to as 'the Mussulman Yang Kwang-sien'). Nevertheless, as a translation rather than a text by Parker's own hand, *China's intercourse with Europe* does not reveal much about Christian-Muslim relations in 19th-century China. Other references to Islam are included in other early texts by Parker. His *A thousand years of the Tartars* (1895) includes a discussion of Chinese terminology for Islam, Muslims and Uyghurs, which would become the basis of his discussion in his *China and religion* (1905; see below). More substantial discussions of Islam and Chinese Muslims feature in Parker's later works. His *John Chinaman and a few others* (1901) includes a three-page account of Parker's interview with Prince Hassan, son of the former Panthay sultan Dù Wénxiù, and other Muslims (pp. 81-3). This account opens with a description of different types of Chinese. According to Parker, the prince had the appearance of the Turkish or Persian type of Chinaman. He closes the section by noting that he had subsequently sent the prince, to the latter's pleasure, a copper seal and some archival Islamic documents, and that the prince was to visit Mecca in the summer of 1901. Ch. 9, entitled 'Religion and missionaries' (pp. 180-204), includes a section focusing on Muslims in China. Parker notes that none of the Chinese Muslims he had met were 'infected with the militant spirit of early Islam' (*John Chinaman*, 1902, p. 183). Indeed, he feels that Chinese Muslims have a certain sympathy for Christian visitors, and he records some details of Chinese Muslim practices that he had learned from his conversations with Muslims, including circumcision, male shaving, abstinence from pork, and the prohibition of interreligious marriage. He also praises Chinese Muslims, noting that they are self-respecting, disciplined and more 'cleanly-minded and scrupulous than ordinary Chinese' (*John Chinaman*, p. 183).

Subsequent pages record Parker's interactions and conversations with a Muslim whom he refers to as Kin Cho-an, or John Kin. Conversations were both political and religious in nature, and Parker suspects that John may have been employed by the Chinese or Muslim authorities to extract information from him. He writes that he felt John had sympathy for him, but at the same time he notes that he had been unable to fathom John's character. He refers to animosity between John and a Christian whom he refers to by the name of Lo Pao-chī, which he believed had grown out of economic rivalry. In a later passage, he notes that other Muslims

also disliked Lo Pao-chī owing to their jealousy of his commercial success and 'Christian predominancy over Islam' (*John Chinaman*, p. 193). Parker makes other references to direct interactions with Muslims, but does not expand greatly upon them. At the end of his chapter on religion, he outlines his religious position: 'The Christian spirit of Christ is [...] as much present in Buddhism and Taoism as it is in our Churches; and even in Islam there is much that resembles the Christian spirit, – which, indeed, Islam itself recognises with respect' (*John Chinaman*, p. 203). This is a particularly stark statement of moral and religious relativism, which is followed by Parker's assertion there is only one religion and one truth.

Parker's *China, past and present* (1903) also contains some brief references to Islam and Muslims. Many do little more than identify certain figures as Muslim, but some are more substantial. For example, Parker writes that Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Confucianism were afforded equal treatment under Mongol rule, but that under the subsequent Míng Dynasty (1368-1644) little is recorded about Islam. He also notes the role that Muslim rebellions played in the drop in Chinese population between 1852 and 1894.

His *China and religion* (1905) contains one of Parker's most extensive discussions of Islam in a chapter devoted to the topic (pp. 139-63), but also includes references to Muslims and Islam throughout the text. In his first reference to the religion, in the introduction to the work, Parker notes that Muslims, who throughout Chinese history have fought for and against China, have inexplicably requested neither recognition nor rights to proselytise, but have still been able to spread widely. Parker notes that there are few references to Muslims in Chinese history and that it was not until the Qīng dynasty that religious disputes involving Muslims were recorded. He asserts that, even following the Muslim rebellions of recent memory, the Chinese do not feel animosity towards Muslims. Parker's chapter on Islam opens by noting the absence of references to the arrival of Islam in China in Chinese sources, but also its positive influence in comparison with 'superficial' and woman-dominated Chinese Buddhism. He dates the beginning of Sino-Arab discourse to the 7th century, following the Arab defeat of the Sassanian Empire in 651, and describes Chinese sources referring to Islam. Following this, he provides a brief sketch of the arrival of Muslims in China prior to 1200 and seeks to address the paucity of early Chinese sources on the matter, arguing that the distance of Islamic regions from China and the fact that relationships with Muslims were mostly commercial, limited textual references to Islam and its adherents. He notes also the potential existence

of early Muslim inscriptions that point to the arrival of Muslims by the 8th century. However, he argues that, since the Chinese sources are untrustworthy on Islam, and because no Europeans have seen the inscriptions, further comment cannot be made. Parker discusses Chinese terminology and seeks to illustrate how ethnic terms referring to the Uyghur evolved to encompass religious meaning and became identifiers for Muslims. He argues at one point that early references to Ouigour (Uyghur) and mul-lahs in Chinese history are not references to Muslims *per se*, but to Manichaeans. Sporadically continuing his terminological discussion, Parker turns his focus to the spread of Islam in Central Asia and China from the 9th century to the early 14th century, and then from the 15th to 17th centuries.

Turning to the Qīng dynasty, he briefly notes the Jesuit and Muslim astronomical controversies of the late 17th century. Later, the chapter focuses on the Sino-Muslim conflicts of the 18th and 19th centuries before turning to a more general description of Islam in China within the period, and back to the question of when Islam first arrived. He also describes Muslims in contemporary China, like his contemporaries noting their lack of proselytisation. He writes that the Muslims have rarely caused trouble in China and that the rivalries between the White-cap (Sunnī) and Red-cap (Shī'ī) sects 'are quite subjective, and confined among themselves, while their resigned fatalism and conservative tendencies do not often run counter to Confucianism' (*China and religion*, p. 161). Parker notes that the Qur'an has not been translated into Chinese and that Muslim clergy are usually ignorant of Arabic, only learning and mimicking its sounds. He closes the chapter by arguing that Islam in China has been 'tamed and subdued' (*China and religion*, pp. 162-3), meaning that it has never been persecuted, that the priests have never been found guilty of corruption, and that the Chinese have come to view Muslims as their equals.

Parker's *Studies in Chinese religion* (1910) is similar in scope to *China and religion*. In it, he notes that Islam was introduced shortly after Syrian Christianity, and states that Islam is mostly unmentioned in Chinese history but that, unlike other foreign religions, it has survived and flourished due to its lying low. Instances of aggression have been limited to recent history. Part 5 of the book (pp. 243-67) is entitled *Islām in China* and consists of two chapters. The first is a partial translation of a pamphlet entitled *The origin of the Mussulmans* or *Hwei-hwei Yüan-lai* (probably *Huīhuí Yuánlái*) from western China, with a commentary by Parker. These translations, Parker argues, mirror Gabriel Devéria's (1844-99)

findings in his *Origine de l'islamisme en Chine*, which describes attempts by Chinese Muslims to 'reconstruct [...] the alleged history of early Islām in China, and to connect the well-known mosques of Canton with the earliest missionaries said to have been dispatched to China by Mahomet' (*Studies in Chinese religion*, p. 243); he evidently believes that there is a lack of evidence in both Chinese and Muslim sources to suggest that Muslim missionaries came to China in the 7th century. He provides a translation of the pamphlet with intermittent comments in parentheses. These mostly clarify biographical or historical facts, but on occasion he draws upon his theories outlined in *China and religion*, such as his claim that there is no Chinese term to refer to Muslims prior to the 12th century. The pamphlet provides some information on Islam, which Parker states is taken from *The true history of Arabia* or *T'ien-fang Shih-luh* (probably *Tiān fāng shílù*) and *An inquiry into matters of general interest* or *Shī-wu T'ung-k'ao* (probably *Shíwù tǒngkǎo*), and he provides translations and commentary on this part of the pamphlet also. Following these partial translations, Parker provides a brief description of parts of another book that he had received from western China, and an account by Liu Chī (Liú Zhì) (1600-1739) that is pertinent to the study of the arrival of Muslims in China. Finally, he turns to an account sent to the emperor in 1871 by official Tso Tsung-t'ang (Zuǒ Zōngtáng) (1812-85), who had collected information from prisoners and residents during the Dungan Revolt (1862-77). He again provides a translation and commentary on the account.

The second chapter, 'Islām in China (modified)' (pp. 261-7), appears to be an expansion of his chapter in *China and religion*, now drawing on new research and evidence. Parker's focus here is a Muslim inscription from Si-an (Xī'ān), which in *China and religion* he stated had not been seen by Europeans. Now he writes that, following the publication of the book, he had received a letter from Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) of Columbia University, who claimed to have seen the inscription on a visit to China. He therefore wrote to the French bishop in Xī'ān to request rubbings of the inscription, and thus he provides a description of its authorship and, drawing on the work Devéria, casts some doubt on its dating, although he eventually accepts that the inscriptions are from the Táng dynasty (618-907). He also provides a translation and commentary on the text. Parker tends to favour the term 'Mussulman' to refer to Muslims.

Another Christian sinologist of the era was the German Emil Bretschneider (1833-1901), who worked at the Russian Embassy in Tehran (1862-65) and Peking (1865-84). His two-volume *Mediaeval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources* (1888) contains, in the first volume, translations of Chinese texts that describe Muslim peoples and their lands. Bretschneider provides some bibliographical notes on the Muslim texts, drawing on *Histoire des Mongols* by Constantine Mouradgèa d'Ohsson (1779-1851). He also praises texts such as Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb's (1247-1318) *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* as particularly valuable. He includes some translations of extracts from these Muslim-authored texts, taken from d'Ohsson's work, with his own introduction and commentary. Following the bibliographical notes, there is a series of chapters on various ethnic groups and their histories. The first of these focuses on the Uigurs (Uyghurs), who have played an important role in the history of Central and East Asia. A subsequent chapter focuses on medieval Chinese sources on Muslims, which opens with a discussion of Sino-Middle Eastern interaction prior to the time of Muḥammad and then turns to describing the contents of Chinese sources.

Bretschneider also summarises the contents of some of the work of the Russian Orthodox Mission's Archimandrite Palladius (1817-78), including Palladius's notes on an Islamic tablet found at Xī'ān (explored in the work of Parker), the information the tablet contains concerning the arrival of Islam in China, and Palladius's discussion of a Chinese biography of Muḥammad. Bretschneider describes sources pertaining to the arrival of Islam in China including the *Hui-hui yüan lai* (*Huìhuí Yuánlái*), but notes that such recent accounts are not corroborated by early historiographies. Like Parker in his *China and religion*, Bretschneider seeks to explore how the term *Huìhuí* and related words evolved in order to demarcate religious affiliation rather than ethnicity. Bretschneider also provides historical and biographical information on some prominent Muslim figures mentioned in the *Yüan shi* (*Yuán Shǐ*) and an historical account of Mongol expeditions westwards, which contain information given in Muslim, Chinese, Mongol and Russian annals. The second volume includes notes on Christians' travels to Muslim regions, such as Bento de Góis's sojourn in Turfan. Bretschneider's works are descriptive, drawing heavily on other sources and including copious translations. This heavy usage of Muslim works suggests that he trusted the testimony of Muslim writers and historians. Bretschneider favours the term 'Musliman' to refer to Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Unlike in preceding centuries, it is not unusual to find references to Muslims and Islam in the works of Christian visitors to China in the 19th century. Although Muslims generally take a peripheral position in these works, reflecting perhaps their status as a religious minority in China, or the various authors' geographical situations, their inclusion itself, made possible by the 'opening' of China, is of utmost significance. Peripheral as Muslims may be, the sheer volume of texts that refer to them and indeed the presence of texts solely devoted to studying and describing them illustrates the existence of changing attitudes towards Chinese Muslims and greater interest by Christians in this religious 'other'. Moreover, although Muslims feature as part of the authors' historical, geographical and social descriptions, as they had in earlier works, they also feature as figures with whom the Christian authors directly interact.

The extensive interactions recorded by 19th-century authors illustrate that Christians and Muslims encountered one another in numerous ways, both secular and spiritual. Such interactions, and indeed Christian-Muslim relations in this spatial and temporal location, can generally be described as instances of coexistence, collaboration and cooperation. Christians travelled with Muslims, employed them, conversed with them, bought and sold goods and services to and from them, and so on. They also sought to learn from Muslims and about Islam: they interviewed them, and some attended Muslim worship. Such interactions appear to be much more widespread or at least more rigorously recorded than previously. Christian-Muslim conflict is mentioned within historical descriptions, but now such conflict is regarded primarily as a form of Christian-Muslim relationship that existed in the past.

The Christian authors encapsulate a variety of positions vis-à-vis Muslims and Islam. Figures such as Sladen and Anderson supported the Panthay Rebellion, predicting the advent of a new Muslim superpower seeking to establish cordial commercial and diplomatic relations, and attributing the outbreak of rebellion to oppression at the hands of the Chinese. Sladen and Anderson also provide highly positive descriptions about the character of Chinese Muslims. A number of texts highlight the existence of trust in Muslims as reliable authorities; Lansdell goes to a mullah to receive a reference for a potential employee, and Robert Morrison, whilst he is aghast that Muslims had been able to proselytise in Malaya faster than Christians, trusted Muslims as a reliable source of knowledge. In addition, for many Christian authors, Muslims are targets for evangelisation; they are misguided and require religious correction.

Akin to this, there are negative and critical treatments of Islam, with some viewing it as a degrading social force.

Despite his lengthy interactions with Muslims, and his friendship and cooperation with them, Lansdell's chapter on Islam in Chinese Turkestan shows that he also imagined Muslims to be immoral, violent and of low intelligence. Nevertheless, despite these negative judgements, there also appears to be an understanding that Muslims do indeed belong to the Abrahamic tradition, and therefore that Islam has some good in it. An example is Parker's description of Islam as comparatively better than Chinese religions such as Buddhism. The positions taken are therefore varied, and a single author may in the course of his work, or even a single text, accept that Islam and Muslims have some good qualities, such as their adherence to ritual and their abstinence from alcohol, whilst simultaneously having bad qualities such as practising immoral forms of marriage or lacking intelligence.

Strictly apologetic and polemical tropes are mostly absent from the texts of the 19th century. The prevailing modality is rather simply descriptive, a case of inquiry about and observation of the 'other'. Nevertheless, religious themes are present in such inquiry. And, as in earlier centuries, tropes that deny Muslim orthodoxy also exist, with many of the writers claiming some sort of laxity in religious belief or practice, an inability even amongst mullahs to understand religious texts and doctrines, and in some instances an abandonment or bastardisation of beliefs and practices. Thus, even when the Christian authors are willing to concede some ground by noting that Islam has potentially good qualities, they deny that the Muslims with whom they interact are even 'proper' Muslims. Terminologically, authors tended to choose contemporary popular terms such as 'Mohammedan' or 'Mussulman' to describe their Muslim counterparts, but these terms do not indicate a particular position vis-à-vis Muslims.

Although some authors, as noted, repeat centuries-old claims that Chinese Muslims are lax in their religious practice, or the often-repeated observation that they lack the ability to understand Arabic, there is also advancement in knowledge in comparison with previous centuries. The debate around the origins of Islam in China appears to have been particularly important, and involved not only scholars but also missionaries and diplomats, showing that discussion did not take place in a vacuum. There was also new interest in texts written by Chinese Muslims or pertaining to Islam in China, which authors sought to record, translate and describe. Again, this was a task undertaken not only by scholars, but

also by missionaries and diplomats. It is perhaps linked to the growth of European Orientalism, which, during the 17th and 18th centuries, had begun to reconsider the place of Islam, and to interact with Muslim-authored historical sources more seriously (see Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic letters*, pp. 75-107).

Perhaps of greatest importance is a movement away from the understanding of Chinese Muslims as a homogenous block. Ethnographic descriptions and travelogues illustrate that some of the authors of the period were aware of there being numerous types of Muslims divided not only according to sect, but also according to ethnic group and geographical location.

Furthermore, frequent reprints of a large number of the texts discussed above illustrate their continued relevance even today. Whereas many of the scholarly works are now generally outdated, travelogues and texts based on daily observations continue to hold academic appeal and to be used as sources of information. The accounts by Sladen, Anderson and Fytche, for example, continue to be used as key sources on Píngnánguó and the Panthay Rebellion in such studies as David G. Atwill's *The Chinese sultanate* (2005). Whilst missionary texts with their treatises on the need to evangelise Muslims, and the methodologies they offered to do this, probably affected the way in which other missionaries engaged in contemporary Christian-Muslim relations, the political changes that have since taken place in China mean their impact did not extend beyond the early 20th century.

In sum, it appears that writers and missionaries from the West first took a deep interest in Islam in China in the 19th century. Authors entered into debates about its nature, they recorded its history, discussed its practices, observed it, and most importantly they left extensive records of their direct relations with Muslims. As noted, this flourishing of interest and interreligious relations led to the formulation of multiple viewpoints about Muslims in China and the development of knowledge about their faith. In addition, although Muslims were often the targets of attempts at conversion, Christians overall appear to have maintained cordial relations, friendships and good employer-employee relationships with those with whom they interacted.

PUBLICATIONS

The various works referred to are listed alphabetically by author. Some works were published many times, though in general only the earliest editions, translations and recent critical editions are listed.

- John Anderson, 'Chinese Mohammedans', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1872) 147-62
- John Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien. A narrative of the two expeditions to western China of 1868 and 1875 under Colonel Edward B. Sladen and Colonel Horace Browne*, London, 1876; 001258971 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- John Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien*, Taipei, 1972
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James Harry Morris

Marshall Broomhall

DATE OF BIRTH 17 July 1866
PLACE OF BIRTH London
DATE OF DEATH 24 October 1937
PLACE OF DEATH Northchurch, Hertfordshire

BIOGRAPHY

Marshall Broomhall was the fifth of ten sons of Benjamin Broomhall (1829-1911) and Amelia Hudson Taylor. He was the nephew of Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), the founder and director of the China Inland Mission (CIM). From the age of nine, he lived at the CIM headquarters. After graduating from Cambridge University in 1890, he sailed to China to join the CIM as a missionary at Taiyuan and Hongdong in the Province of Shanxi, but in 1899, due to the poor health of his wife, Florence Corderoy, he left China and permanently returned to England.

In 1900, he took up the post of editorial secretary at the CIM headquarters, which he held until 1927. During the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, when hundreds of missionaries and Chinese pastors were killed, Broomhall started documenting martyred CIM missionaries and their family members. This led to two memorial books on the CIM mission. Broomhall's diligent work in recording the formative era of the CIM, his writings in CIM magazines, his book *Islam in China*, and numerous books of biographies of CIM missionaries, have earned him recognition as a leading contributor in understanding China. His work helped to direct the Western Christian missionary enterprise among world churches into paying attention to what he saw as the spiritual needs of China.

Besides his acknowledged contribution in providing Christian missionaries with a spiritual atlas of the Chinese Empire, Broomhall was specifically commissioned by the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh to conduct research among Muslims in China. This led to his pioneering work in producing an important book, *Islam in China. A neglected problem*, published in 1910. It was intended to inform Christian missionaries, and missionary churches more widely, that China's Muslims had been long neglected as potential recipients of the Christian Gospel. It was also the first systematic scholarly book in the English-speaking world to introduce the history of Chinese Islam and the life of Muslims

in China, and to give an estimation of the Muslim population in China. It demonstrated active Christian interest in Islam and the presence of Muslims in China, thus setting the scene for potential outreach to, and evangelical engagement with, Muslims.

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Wai Yip Ho

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Martyred missionaries of the China Inland Mission

DATE 1901

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Martyred missionaries of the China Inland Mission with a record of the perils and sufferings of some who escaped was published in London in 1901. It is 328 pages long (excluding additional materials such as maps), and includes four references to Muslims within reports and letters written by CIM missionaries in China, relating to their experiences during the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1900). Place names in the text are hard to trace due to unusual styles of Romanisation. For this entry, the *Directory of Protestant missionaries in China, Japan and Corea, for the year 1910* (Hong Kong, 1910) was used to help decipher them.

The first of these references appears in a section focusing on the mission station at Honan (now Hénán), in the form of a report entitled 'Our day of trouble and of God's deliverance' by a Mr A. Gracie (pp. 218-23). As they were making their way to the city of Chau-kia-k'eo (Zhōukǒu), where there was a CIM house they had heard was safe, Gracie and his party were taken to an inn where they were surrounded by a crowd wanting to kill them. However, the high-ranking Muslim ('Mohammedan') innkeeper offered them shelter and promised them safety. After entering the inn, the party was greeted by other Muslims who demanded payment for protecting them and refused to believe that the missionaries had only a limited amount of silver. The Muslims then threatened to kill the party if they did not give them more silver. In the event, Gracie and his party were later able to secure from the Chinese a safe, armed escort out of the city.

The account describes the Muslims in somewhat neutral terms, despite their behaviour. Neither the innkeeper nor the group who demanded payment are described negatively simply because they are Muslims.

The second reference does not record a direct interaction. It appears in a report by a Mr (W.E.?) Shearer, entitled 'The Chau-kia-k'eo riot and escape' (pp. 225-9), included in the same chapter about the Boxer Rebellion in Honan. During a riot, Shearer and his party hid in the *yámén* (the office or residence of the local bureaucrat, or a government office). They were afraid, since they had heard rumours that their mostly Muslim enemies might attack the *yámén*, though this does not appear to have materialised. Here Muslims are portrayed as the leading enemies, maybe reflecting the real situation or, since the attacks did not materialise, Shearer's anti-Muslim sentiments and prejudices.

The third reference appears in a report by Mr C. Howard Bird, which he calls 'My escape from Siang-Ch'eng' (pp. 244-50). Bird found that he could not rely on help from the Chinese, but in his moment of despair 'the Lord in a wonderful way raised up a good friend for me, who took me to his house for the night. This man was a Mohammedan, as were also two others who befriended me' (p. 246). The two others provided him with food and refused to accept payment. Bird's original 'good friend' stayed with him for four to five days, supplying food, finding him a hiding place, and sending messengers to other people in his party. He then hired a boat to take Bird onwards. The section in which Bird provides this report, entitled 'A noble friend', is placed together with stories of thievery and wrongdoing on the part of the Chinese, thereby highlighting the superior

qualities of the Muslims. This unusual depiction serves to illustrate that not all Christian-Muslim interactions in the period were negative or conflictual, and that friendships that crossed religious boundaries could be forged. In distinction from the report given by Gracie, it also shows that there were Muslims willing to aid Christians selflessly, rather than demanding payment for their services.

The final reference to Muslims appears in a chapter entitled 'Concerning the native Christians' (pp. 257-81). It includes a letter dated 22 August 1900 from a Christian who is identified only as C.-C.-H. to a Mr Folke stating that he has entered negotiations with some Muslims to escort some missionaries (Mr McKie, Miss Chapman and Miss Way) who were hiding in the mountains, for which he had promised to pay a substantial sum. This illustrates the willingness of Christians to engage with and employ Muslims. It also suggests that Muslims were trusted with important tasks for the mission, such as escorting Christians to safety. Alongside Gracie and Bird's accounts, C.-C.-H.'s letter again illustrates that Muslims were ready to aid Christians.

SIGNIFICANCE

These references illustrate that to Christians, Muslims could be enemies, friends, saviours and employed assistants. They could be paid for their services, they could extort, or they could act selflessly. The complicated picture the four accounts paint is particularly useful for understanding that Christians and Muslims in late Qīng China interacted in a multitude of different ways, both positively and negatively, as friends and as enemies, in conflict and in peace. The text refers to Muslims as 'Mohammedans'. It does not add to existing knowledge of Chinese Muslims, and does not refer to Muslim practices or beliefs. But it does express attitudes and values held by Christians towards Chinese Muslims.

Howard Bird's account, which is the lengthiest, is particularly valuable since it shows that Christians and Muslims could forge friendships, and that Muslims were willing selflessly to aid Christians. For Bird, his Muslim friends were his saviours and were sent by God. This is a particularly interesting and radical appraisal of the Muslims that he interacted with. By comparison, Muslims who aided Christians mentioned by Gracie and C.-C.-H. were not understood as sent by God but rather engaged in a secular transaction of employment and payment.

Martyred missionaries of the China Inland Mission has remained an important work for studying the CIM in late Qīng China. It has received numerous reprints. But given that references to Muslims are sparse and

not a primary feature of the text, it is no surprise that it does not appear to have been particularly important in forming or changing Christian attitudes toward Muslims in either Europe or China.

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James Harry Morris

The Chinese Empire. A general and missionary survey

DATE 1907

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Chinese Empire is a text edited by Marshall Broomhall. Published in London in 1907, it is 472 pages long and includes extensive references to Muslims. They are generally referred to as Mohammedans, though the ethno-national categorisations of Arab, Persian and Turk are also used. The book includes information on the CIM's work in China past and present.

In his introduction, Broomhall explores the arrival of Syrian Christianity in China in the 6th century. He argues that its later disappearance can be attributed to persecution by the Chinese, the rise of Islam, the expansion of the Arabs (who severed the Christians' ties to the West), and the inadequacy of the Syrian Christian gospel. The comments pertaining to Islam and the Arabs are descriptive and value-neutral. Broomhall also notes the existence of Arab accounts that refer to dialogue between Ibn Wahb al-Qurashī and the emperor of China regarding the Old and New Testaments. These accounts are recorded in earlier works such as Eusèbe Renaudot's (1648-1720) *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine de deux voyageurs Mahomentans, qui y allerent dans le neuvième siècle* (Paris, 1718). References to this work in relation to these Arab accounts in the appendices suggest that it was Broomhall's primary source for such information. He again reiterates that it was the rise of Islam and the heretical nature of Syrian Christianity that led to its demise.

Broomhall's chapter on Gānsù (here rendered Kansu) also includes references to Islam and Muslims (pp. 189-97). Initially he provides statistics on the Chinese Muslims living in Gānsù, Shǎnxī (here rendered Shensi), and Yúnnán (here rendered Yunnan). He suggests that some 30 million Muslims live in China, with up to 9 million in Gānsù, 3 million in Shǎnxī and 4 million in Yúnnán. He then draws the conclusion that, since the total population of Gānsù is between 10 and 11 million, the majority of residents must be Muslim.

Following his statistical analysis, Broomhall explores the occurrence of Muslim rebellions, arguing that Muslims are an 'unreliable' and 'menacing' portion of the population because they have been treated 'unwisely' in the past (ed. London, 1907, p. 193). He notes the outbreak of five large rebellions in Gānsù over the past 40 years and notes that, due to these rebellions, Muslims are no longer allowed to reside in the cities. Referring specifically to the Muslim rebellion of 1895, he praises the actions of the CIM missionaries who, despite being under siege, aided the wounded and received official recognition for their actions. He later notes in passing that Níngxià (Ningsia) was ruined during a Muslim rebellion. These references to Muslims are also predominantly descriptive and neutral in nature. Although Broomhall employs the negative stereotypes of Muslims as unreliable and menacing, the sorts of behaviour here referred to are the result not of something deeply ingrained in Islam or Muslims, but of bad governance. Broomhall's preoccupation with Muslim rebellions could also be considered as typecasting Muslims as violent, though

it appears that his primary goals are to describe the historical realities of the region rather than to make Muslim residents appear alien.

The final section of the chapter focuses on the history of the CIM in the province, and includes quotes from the reports of missionaries. One report refers to the selling of 113 Bibles in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Another, from the diary of a Mr Parker, refers to a mullah who was so eager to buy Parker's last copy of the Arabic Bible that he paid for the book despite having only enough money for the return trip home; Parker promised to reserve the text for him until he could gather the funds.

Writing fondly of selling the Bible to Muslims, Parker comments that when they buy copies they generally treasure them, although some returned them because of references in them to pigs. In his commentary, Broomhall notes that the reaction to Christianity in Gānsù has overall been one of indifference. This final section is significant, because it includes materials that refer to direct Christian-Muslim interaction.

The focus of these interactions was the conversion of Muslims, and Broomhall chooses the material he includes to emphasise the fact that there were Muslims who were interested in Christianity and eager to buy copies of the Arabic Bible. Although he notes negative rejections on the part of some Muslims, this is more of an afterthought – whilst the eagerness of Muslims to buy Christian texts is discussed for half a page, negative reactions take up only four lines. Nevertheless, his concluding remarks that the residents of Gānsù have generally been indifferent toward Christianity suggest that the eagerness of Muslims to learn about it and buy its scriptures may have been overstated.

The next chapter to include material on Muslims is that on Shǎnxī (pp. 198–208). But despite the fact that the chapter on Gānsù records the large number of Muslims in Shǎnxī, references to Muslims and Islam in the chapter itself are sparse. In reference to the Muslim rebellion of 1874, Broomhall writes that the province suffered severely and argues that since all the Muslims involved were put to death the province's population was halved.

References to Muslims also appear in a chapter on the province of Yúnnán, contributed by John McCarthy. Although McCarthy notes that there have been various rebellions in the history of Yúnnán, he singles out the Muslim rebellion of recent memory, the Panthay Rebellion. He quotes from the testimony of Edward Colborne Baber (1843–90), who writes that the Muslims of Yúnnán are the same race as their Confucian and Buddhist neighbours, and that they can only be called Muslim in so

far as they abstain from pork. They do not practise circumcision, do not observe the 'Sabbath', do not know Arabic, do not pray towards Mecca, and do not seek to propagate their faith. Baber also records that an Indian who accompanied John Anderson (1833-1900) on an expedition through the region argued that the inhabitants were not Muslims. This Indian's comments are also referred to in Anderson's 'Chinese Mohammedans' (*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1872) 147-62, p. 161). McCarthy explores the suppression of the rebellion, writing that the sultan (a reference to Dù Wénxiù, 1823-72), before he was executed, begged the Qīng to spare the people (*The Chinese Empire*, p. 240). But the Qīng massacred the population of Dàlǐ (Tali), and rebels elsewhere in the region generally surrendered. McCarthy argues that the region has still not recovered from these events, and that British and other foreign support for the rebels has not aided in ingratiating foreigners with the Chinese. This chapter is descriptive, without any opinions expressed about the Muslims. Despite their large numbers in the province, McCarthy gives more attention to other ethnic groups, potentially indicating a desire on his part to understate the presence and importance of Muslims.

The final substantial section pertaining to Christian-Muslim relations is the third appendix to the book, entitled 'The introduction of Christianity in China' (pp. 433-5), which for the most part is a quotation from an English version of Renaudot's *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine* (Broomhall notes that it was published in 1733). Before the quotation there is a short comment by Broomhall to explain the Arabic accounts to which he refers and the religious identity of their authors. He refers to the dialogue between Ibn Wahb al-Qurashī and the emperor of China, which illustrates the emperor's knowledge of Christianity. The re-publication of this narrative in the appendix suggests that Renaudot's work was an important text for missionaries in China in the 19th century.

Other fleeting references also permeate the text. Several of these are little more than passing descriptions. For example, J. Campbell Gibson notes in his account of Guǎngdōng (here called Kwangtung) that the area had a long history of interaction with Roman, Arab, Dutch and Portuguese traders. Similarly, in his description of Guǎngxī (Kwangsi), Louis Byrde notes briefly that the Panthay Rebellion affected the western part of the province. George Hunter provides more detailed notes on Muslims in the form of descriptions and instructions for future missionaries. In his chapter about Xīnjiāng (Sinkiang), Hunter notes that Islam

has spread rapidly among the tribes there with most converting, and that some such as the Kyrgyz have adopted the Turkish language. He also refers to past Muslim rebellions in the region. Later, Hunter argues that missionaries to Xīnjiāng need to learn about Islam and should be able to read some Arabic in order to translate religious terms. He also argues that spoken ability in Chinese and the Turkish languages would be useful. Although Hunter's aim was the conversion of Muslim communities, it is interesting to note that he encouraged other missionaries to learn about Islam and the languages predominately used by Muslims. Other passages describe direct Christian-Muslim relations. For example, Cecil Polhill refers to interacting with Muslims within his description of Tibet, without expressing any opinion about them; Polhill travelled with Muslim traders. He describes the Jalar (potentially a rendering of Salar) Muslims whose land he travelled through, noting that they were originally from Turkestan and that their women speak Turki. Broomhall mentions Muslims in his chapter on Mongolia, where he writes that in Yīníng (Kuldja) in 1865 the Chinese and Manchu oppressors were massacred by the Muslim Dungans who rose against them. In defining the Chinese and Manchus as oppressors, this appears to vindicate the Muslim rebels.

The Chinese Empire contains a large amount of information concerning Muslims, most of it descriptive and neutral in tone. This potentially reflects increasing interests in the religio-ethnic makeup of China among missionaries, as well as the nature and remit of the text itself, which seeks to describe each of China's provinces. Despite this, it also appears that the editor and contributors sought to downplay the place and role of Muslims in China. While they note the large Muslim population, references to Muslims are sparse at best, especially in the chapters on Shǎnxī and Yúnnán.

Descriptions of Muslims tend to be brief, quantitative and statistical. There are few attempts on the part of the authors to describe in detail Muslim practices, culture or lifestyles. On occasion, the text includes short narratives pertaining to Muslims, such as McCarthy's retelling of the story of the death of Dù Wénxiù. The authors appear to have two primary interests in Muslims, either noting the size of their populations or referring to rebellions among them. Indeed, references to Muslim rebellions pervade the book. This may simply have been the result of 19th-century China being turbulent, though it might also suggest that the authors wished to portray violence as a central Muslim characteristic. Broomhall himself, echoing John Anderson's 'Chinese Mohammedans',

appears to have believed that the Muslims were oppressed by the Chinese and Manchus, suggesting that Muslim violence was less intrinsic and more a result of circumstances.

Most references to Muslims do not suggest that direct Christian-Muslim interactions or dialogue took place. There are, however, several references to direct interactions, although these lack detail (e.g. Pohill's description of travelling with Muslim traders). Hunter's instructions that future missionaries to Xīnjiāng should familiarise themselves with Islam and Arabic is particularly interesting. It suggests that direct dialogue and interactions with Muslims were being encouraged, even if the aim of these interactions was ultimately conversion.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Chinese Empire appears to have been well received among church organisations following its publication and it is still frequently cited in academic publications. It illustrates an increasing interest in Muslims in China among the missionaries there.

PUBLICATIONS

Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire. A general and missionary survey*, London, 1907; BV3415.B744 (digitised version available through Princeton Theological Seminary Library)

Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire. A general and missionary survey*, Toronto, 1907; 990937 (digitised version available through Canadiana online)

Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire. A general and missionary survey*, Philadelphia PA, 1908

Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire. A general and missionary survey*, [s.l.], 2010

James Harry Morris

Islam in China. A neglected problem

DATE 1910

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Commissioned for the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910) to map the unoccupied mission fields of China, Marshall Broomhall's seminal book *Islam in China. A neglected problem* is a part of the

investigation that would inform Western missionaries and churches of the missionary field in China during the early 20th century. It is both an historical and contemporary description of the conditions of China's Muslims during the late Qing Dynasty.

The book is divided into two parts, totalling 322 pages in all. Part I (pp. 5-178) traces the historical relationship between China and the Arab world in the time of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid Empires. It also includes early Muslim travellers' accounts of their visits to China, and how Islam was indigenised into Chinese culture.

After some personal reminiscences about meeting Muslims in China, Broomhall begins by remarking on the importance of exploring their place in China, since their population is comparable to that of Egypt, Persia and Arabia. He betrays one of his motivations when he notes that there is a dire need for Arabic-speaking missionaries to be sent to China and that he hopes the book will bring attention to China's Muslims, or as he terms them 'these needy millions' (pp. xiv-xv). He also notes that there is renewed interest in China from the Islamic world influenced by pan-Islamism, and that Muslim rebellions are a concern not only for the Chinese government but also for the Christian communities found within the empire.

Drawing on European and Chinese sources, the first chapter focuses on Sino-Arabic and Sino-Persian relations, Muslim expansion and the arrival of the first Muslims in China during the Umayyad (here rendered Omeiyde) Caliphate. Similarly, the second chapter explores relations following the advent of the 'Abbasid (here rendered Abbaside) Caliphate. There do not appear to be any mentions of Christian-Muslim relations in the period.

The third chapter explores the accounts of early Muslim and Christian travellers to China. It first focuses on the accounts of two Arab travellers recorded in Eusèbe Renaudot's (1648-1720) *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine* (1718). The focus here is the part of the account which refers to a supposed dialogue between Ibn Wahb al-Qurashī and the emperor of China, in which references were apparently made to the Old Testament, New Testament and Islam. Broomhall argues that the passage illustrates the extent to which both the Bible and Islam were understood in China at the time. The dialogue is quoted, and is followed by a commentary in which Broomhall comments that it contains no references to a mosque or Muslim population and conveys the impression that there were no

efforts on the part of Muslims to proselytise in China. It is interesting to note that, unlike treatments of this passage in Broomhall's other works and in Renaudot's original exploration of the passage, here the focus is on what can be gathered from it about Muslims in China rather than what it informs us about Christianity in China during the period.

Broomhall also briefly refers to another passage which mentions the rebellion of Huáng Cháo (874-89) and the massacre at Guǎngzhōu (here rendered Kanfu) which relates that Muslims, Jews, and Christians perished. Following this, he turns to European accounts. He records that William of Rubruck (1220-93) asserted that the Mongols maintained friendly relations with both Muslims (Saracens) and Christians, and also records that Rubruck was accused by the court, who were mostly Muslims, of claiming that the Khan did not keep God's commandments. In consequence, the Khan organised a debate between the various religions in which Rubruck gained the support of the Muslims and Syrian Christians in his debate against idolaters. Broomhall then turns to Marco Polo's accounts, recording various references in the text to the place of Islam and Muslims in Yuán dynasty China, quoting Marco Polo's testimony about where Muslims and Syrian Christians co-resided. He also briefly explores the account of Odoric of Pordenone (1286-1331).

Whilst this exploration does not refer to direct Christian-Muslim relations or provide much in the way of commentary on the material Broomhall quotes, it is important to note that he is using Christian sources to build a picture of Islam in China. These sources point to the peaceful coexistence of Christians and Muslims.

Finally in the chapter, Broomhall provides a summary of some of the Jesuit accounts on Islam in China from the late 16th and early 17th centuries. These include references to a conversation between Bento de Góis (1562-1607) and a Muslim merchant who informs de Góis of the presence of Christians and Jews in the country. He closes the chapter with a quote from Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674-1743), which notes how the number of Muslims has increased without any recourse to proselytisation on their part.

The fourth chapter explores Chinese Muslim beliefs about the origins of Islam in China, the fifth explores Muslim monuments and inscriptions, the sixth is a translation of an Arabic inscription in the mosque in Xī'ān dated to 1545 (pp. 101-6), and the seventh explores the mosques and graves in Guǎngzhōu (Canton) with reference to records and steles

found there. The eighth and ninth chapters focus on Muslim rebellions in Yúnnán and Dungan (here rendered Tungan) provinces, and the tenth examines Chinese terminology.

In Part II (pp. 179-298), Broomhall gives an overall portrait of the current Muslim situation in China, based on his own ethnographic observations in respect of mosques and tombs in Guangzhou. Using his own calculations and different sources, he gives estimates of China's Muslim population in various provinces. After introducing the socio-religious conditions of Chinese Muslims, he discusses the problems of evangelisation and spiritual warfare within China, concluding with an appeal to readers about the urgency of meeting the spiritual needs of Muslim communities in China.

While Part I is important for exploring scholarly developments in the study of Islam in China, Part II is much more pertinent to exploring direct Christian-Muslim interactions and relations more generally. The eleventh chapter, entitled 'A visit to a Chinese mosque', consists of a paper by Donald MacGillivray edited by Broomhall, a description of a mosque in Línqīng (here rendered Lintsing) in Shāndōng (Shantung). The first few pages cover the description of the mosque and some details on Islam in the area, and then MacGillivray describes his visit. He writes that his group was impressed by the vastness and cleanliness of the mosque and its lack of idols. As in other mosques, there was a tablet on an altar kept for worshipping the emperor, which missionaries elsewhere had argued with Muslim clerics was an idolatrous practice. MacGillivray's own guide also denied that it was idolatry, from which MacGillivray concludes that the tablet is a concession to other sects, and a means by which Muslims gain imperial sanction. Later he went to the mosque to witness Muslim worship. It is noteworthy that MacGillivray's descriptions of the Muslims he encountered are positive.

The twelfth chapter, which discusses the Muslim population, is a reproduction of Broomhall's 1911 paper, 'The Mohammedan population of China', published in the inaugural issue of *The Moslem World* (1911, pp. 32-53), while the thirteenth, entitled 'Personal and social conditions', explores Muslim society in China through the correspondence that Broomhall had collected. He notes that Muslims are generally lax in observing laws about pork and alcohol, though few are opium smokers. They make a show of worshipping the emperor in order to conform to Chinese expectations. Towards the end of the chapter, he notes some Muslim practices relating to marital fidelity that appear to have

originated in Confucianism. It is important to note that, within the chapter, Broomhall asserts that it is impossible to generalise about Muslims in China.

The fourteenth chapter focuses on Muslim religious practices. Building on the correspondence he has received, Broomhall outlines the characteristics of Chinese mosques, and at one point notes that many of the Christians who have written to him argue that the style of mosques is preferable to that of churches, and suggests that efforts should be made by the missions to adopt Chinese architectural styles. Other correspondents refer to the presence of Muslim missionaries who rely on Arabic since they do not speak Chinese, and to Muslim schools for girls, and, in accounts from Gānsù, even of female mullahs. Broomhall judges that Muslims understand little of their religion, and are lax in following the laws they know. The remainder of the chapter focuses on the Five Pillars of Islam in the Chinese context, with a final note about the existence of different Muslim sects in the north-west and south-west. The fifteenth chapter contains a condensed translation of a booklet entitled *The Moslems of China*, written by a Turkish missionary known as Abdul Aziz.

The sixteenth chapter explores evangelisation, mostly Christian evangelisation of Muslim communities. Broomhall notes that Muslims are more open to conversing with the missionaries than the Chinese, due to the status of Muslims as immigrants and Muslim recognition that the missionaries nominally worship the same God and detest idolatry. He continues that during the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901), when the missionaries faced grave dangers, many Muslims 'proved themselves friendly and sympathetic and gave practical help in protecting the foreigner' (p. 273). By contrast, he also notes that the Muslim Dǒng Fúxiáng (1839-1908) led Muslim fighters in an attack on Peking, though he explains that Dǒng was a renegade who fought against his co-religionists and, as such, does not provide a fair example of Chinese Muslims. This shows that Broomhall held Chinese Muslims in some esteem and thought of them as potential friends and allies of the missionaries in times of need, as well as being targets for conversion.

Indeed, he argues that a friendly feeling between Christians and Muslims sometimes exists. He notes that there is a Muslim merchant near one mission station who annually invites the missionaries to a banquet, and that other Muslims have been instrumental in helping the CIM missionaries to enter hostile parts of China by hosting them, allowing them to preach from their inns, and helping them to buy property. Broomhall

refers to one Muslim who regularly attends church services, and has told the local missionary that Muslims sought to spread the faith through education and had gained a few converts, though they would be more successful if they could conduct street preaching like the Christians.

Broomhall records that some of his correspondents have felt that their associations with Muslims have been a detriment to their work among the Chinese because it opens them to suspicion, especially in areas where Muslim rebellions have taken place. In any case, it appears from Broomhall's account that Christians and Muslims interacted closely and that Muslim aid was indispensable to some missionaries. These rare references to direct interaction provide significant insight into Christian-Muslim relations in China.

Continuing the chapter, Broomhall notes Muslim hospitality and argues that Muslims are not opposed to entering churches or receiving visits from the missionaries at home or in the mosques, where they may freely preach. Despite this, many reports indicate that once missionaries stray into topics over which Christians and Muslims differ, such as the nature of Christ, they are met with hostility. One correspondent notes that many Muslims will argue that the Bible is corrupt and deny that Christ is divine.

Some missionaries report a few converts among the Muslims: one has become a deacon, another has been ordained. By contrast, Muslims have done little to spread their own religion, and make little effort to distribute literature. The final part of the chapter is a call to preach to the Muslims, who are weak and intellectually inferior, do not understand their own doctrines, do not understand the Arabic of Muslim missionaries, and lack religious zeal. They are targets for conversion.

The concluding chapter, entitled 'The present urgency', explores further the need to preach to Muslims. Noting that previous Christian calls to mission among Muslim communities have been met with the expansion of Muslim missions abroad, Broomhall writes that he suspects Ottoman negotiations with China are much more extensive than had been expected. The fact that Islam has a religious and political centre outside China has aided in fomenting anti-Muslim fear and suspicion among the Chinese. He concludes: 'In view, then, of present opportunities and [...] favourable conditions, and [...] of those signs of Moslem activity which augur greater difficulty in the near future, the earnest prayer and sympathetic consideration of God's people is sought for Islam in China' (p. 298). This final chapter frames the whole book as a call to evangelise



Illustration 17. Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China. A neglected problem*, 'The baptism of a Chinese Moslem', facing p. 278

the Muslim communities of China. There follows a series of appendices, including a bibliography of Chinese Muslim literature and a translation of a Chinese Muslim tract.

SIGNIFICANCE

This book is a major contribution to the study of Christian-Muslim relations in China. Zvi Ben-Dor Benite writes that, while it was Broomhall's main intention to make the Chinese Muslims a target for mission, the result of his project was 'an excellent scholarly work concerning the history and life of Islam and Muslims in China' ('Chinese Islam', p. 171). The work has remained important as a scholarly contribution to the study of Islam in China to the present day, and is widely cited in works on the topic. Its unique value lies in Broomhall's ability to draw on multiple

pieces of 19th-century scholarship and to correct, affirm and expand upon them through the accounts of contemporary missionaries. He paints a picture of cordial Christian-Muslim relations in which Muslims are the friends, allies, assistants and neighbours of Christians. They aided Christians, found them homes, provided them with an unusual amount of freedom to preach, and in times of crisis they even went so far as to protect Christians from persecution. As a result, the book often reads like a defence of the character of Chinese Muslims, though towards the end, as Broomhall begins to urge missionaries to target Muslims, it gives the impression that he views Chinese Muslims as naïve, an easy target for the more sophisticated Christian and Muslim missionaries of the West.

Through the work, the members of the Commission of the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, John R. Mott, Harlan P. Beach and Samuel M. Zwemer, came to recognise that, although the accessible and large Muslim population in China was greater in number than the Muslim populations of either Egypt, Persia or Arabia, no practical missionary work had been done among them, and the Commission called attention to this missionary challenge. Indeed, following publication of the work, Samuel Zwemer, a prominent Christian missionary scholar and chief editor of the journal *The Moslem World*, embarked on two field-trips to China. In 1917, he made the optimistic claim that Chinese Muslims were less resistant to the Christian Gospel than other Chinese nationals and, as a result, a number of Western missionaries dedicated themselves to work among Muslim communities in China.

PUBLICATIONS

Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China. A neglected problem*, London, 1910, repr. 1920; 280261 (digitised version available through California Digital Library)

Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China. A neglected problem*, New York, 1966

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Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China. A neglected problem*, s.l., 2010

STUDIES

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Wai Yip Ho, 'On M. Broomhall's pioneer study of Islam in modern China'

Wai Yip Ho, 'Marshall Broomhall's Islamic studies'

Gladney, *Muslim Chinese. Ethnic nationalism in the People's Republic*

Wai Yip Ho and James Harry Morris

Other works pertaining to Muslims in China

DATE 1909, 1915

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Broomhall's 78-page *Faith and facts as illustrated in the history of the China Inland Mission* (1909) refers to Muslims in a section entitled 'A table in the presence of mine enemies' (pp. 45-52), which records events that took place in Xīníng (here rendered Sining) during 1894 and 1895. Broomhall writes that, after he had been working for a year in the region, a Muslim uprising broke out in Xúnhuà (here rendered Sunhwa) (p. 46). This was the result of a quarrel between two Muslim sects, the Black caps (the Salar) and the White caps (the Hui). This would appear to be a description of the Dungan Revolt (1895-6), which, like the Jahriyya revolt of 1781, arose from conflict between Jahriyya Sufi Muslims and Khafiyya Sufi Muslims (Lipman, 'Ethnicity and politics', pp. 298-300). After the initial defeat of the Qīng forces, and in order not to repeat the events of past Muslim uprisings, the governor ordered that the Salar should be completely slaughtered. This edict was later revoked but the uprising began to spread throughout the region and eventually reached Xīníng. Broomhall goes on to describe the care given to casualties by the missionaries H.F. Ridley and his wife, who were present during the rebellion.

This descriptive passage is clearly designed to give context to stories of Christian heroism in which the missionaries who cared for the wounded are praised. No judgement is passed on any Muslims.

The 386-page *The Jubilee story of the China Inland Mission* (1915) contains some sparse references to Muslims. However, none of these is substantial, and they are often inconsequential to the overall narrative. As in other works by Broomhall, Muslims primarily feature as the fomenters of rebellions or the targets of conversion.

SIGNIFICANCE

These works are significant not because of any particularly new content, but because they record instances of direct Christian-Muslim interactions in China. They do not appear to have been used by later scholars who worked on Christian-Muslim relations in China.

PUBLICATIONS

Marshall Broomhall, *Faith and facts as illustrated in the history of the China Inland Mission*, London, 1909, repr. 1913; BV3410.C56 B76 (digitised version available through Princeton Theological Seminary Library)

Marshall Broomhall, *Faith and facts as illustrated in the history of the China Inland Mission*, s.l., 2015

Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee story of the China Inland Mission*, London, 1915; BV3415.B745 (digitised version available through Princeton Theological Seminary Library)

Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee story of the China Inland Mission*, s.l., 2016

STUDIES

J.M. Lipman, 'Ethnicity and politics in Republican China. The Ma family warlords of Gansu', *Modern China* 10 (1984) 285-316

James Harry Morris

Japan

Mori Arinori

DATE OF BIRTH 23 August 1847
PLACE OF BIRTH Kagoshima, Japan
DATE OF DEATH 12 February 1889
PLACE OF DEATH Tokyo, Japan

BIOGRAPHY

Mori Arinori was a member of the oligarchy based in the Satsuma domain that was pivotal in toppling the Shogunate and the restoration of imperial rule in 1868 Japan (the Meiji Restoration). After initially training in 'Western learning' at the domain's academy, the Kaiseijo, in 1865 he was selected to join a small group of students who were secretly smuggled abroad to England – it being still illegal to travel without Shogunal permission – where he studied subjects related to naval surveying for a year at University College, London.

Towards the end of his first year abroad he made a journey to Russia via the north of England, and records in his diary how impressed he was by institutions established by Christian missions for caring for the blind. It is plausible that this led to a deeper interest in Christianity for, following his return to Japan, he took up the opportunity through an introduction from Laurence Oliphant to travel to the United States and visit a community of adherents to a religious visionary with Swedenborgian proclivities, Thomas Lake Harris.

He returned to Japan soon after the Restoration and, although still in his early twenties, he was quickly seconded into official roles that entailed the use of his, by now, exemplary command of English. He was also no stranger to controversy as he had the temerity formally to propose the abolition of the samurai right to carry swords in public. Furthermore, he famously proposed the adoption of English as a national language.

He was sent as Japan's diplomatic representative to Washington in 1871, and was pivotal in attempting to negotiate a redress of the 'unequal treaties'. In the event, these negotiations foundered. However, despite difficulties efforts were made to address a number of issues that could be clearly identified as impeding the normalisation of Japan's status among nations, one of the most significant being the matter of religious

freedom. With the assistance of his consular secretary, Charles Lanman, Mori drafted in English a treatise entitled *Religious freedom in Japan*, which was published in 1872.

After returning to Japan in 1873, Mori established an intellectual society, the Meirokusha, which met monthly to discuss issues of the day. Presentations were published in the society's journal and these included contributions from contemporary luminaries such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, who had penned the best-selling *An outline of civilization*.

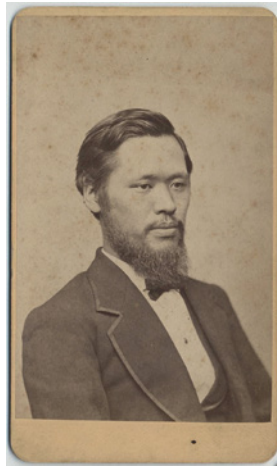


Illustration 18. Mori Arinori, 1871

Arinori was dispatched to China as Japan's envoy in 1876, was made vice foreign minister in 1878, and was Japan's chargé d'affaires in London, 1881-4. He was then appointed to the first Ito Hirobumi cabinet in 1885, as minister of education. He set about establishing a national network of elementary schools for universal education, along with a higher tier of schools for the cultivation of the nation's elites. He held this post until his assassination by a Shinto fanatic in February 1889. He had been accused of disrespectful conduct towards the Ise Shrine during a visit two years earlier and was broadly suspected of being a Christian.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Mori Arinori, 'Religious freedom in Japan. A memorial and draft of charter', 25 November 1872 (repr. in Okubo Toshiaki et al. [eds], *Shinshu Mori Arinori Zenshu*, Bunsendo Shoten, 1997, vol. 2, 67-80)

Mori Arinori and Hara Jun, *Ko Mombu Daijin Mori Shishaku Kyoiku Iken Ippan*, Mombusho, 1888

Kimura Kyo, *Mori Sensei den*, Kinkodo Shoseki, 1899

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Inuzuka Takaaki, *Mori Arinori*, Tokyo, 1986

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Religious freedom in Japan

DATE 25 November 1872

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Religious freedom in Japan is a short treatise that forthrightly addresses the concern of the American government that, with the formal endorsement of Shinto as the national religion of Japan, the country might vitiate the principle of freedom of conscience or that, indeed, the opportunity to send Christian missionaries to Japan would be denied. Mori rather eloquently assures his readers that the Japanese government understood the concerns of Christian nations and was committed to ensuring freedom of conscience as was consistent with the practice and custom of 'civilised' nations. It stands out as a surprisingly robust defence of the freedom of conscience; all the more surprising in that it was written in English by a Japanese.

It is arguably no accident that Mori went on public record with such an affirming statement. The Japanese government, in particular the Imperial Household, had come to set store by developing good relations with all international powers, and this included the Ottoman Empire. By the late 1870s, the Japanese government had dispatched several small delegations, some in the form of naval visits, such as in 1878. Others made less formal visits as part of broader travel in Europe. The most significant such visit was arguably the Yoshida Mission under Yoshida Masaharu, which left Japan in 1880 and travelled through the Middle East via Tehran and Baghdad, ultimately making representations at the court of Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876-1909) in Istanbul. One of the delegation,

Furukawa Nobuyoshi, wrote down one of the more extensive records of their travels in Islamic countries, noting in detail aspects of cultural and religious practice.

This was followed by a visit in 1887 by Prince Komatsu Akihito, who conveyed the information that the Meiji Emperor had bestowed the nation's highest honour on Abdul Hamid. The sultan was enthusiastic in his response, conferring ceremonial honours on the emperor back in Japan. A naval delegation from Turkey was sent to Japan in 1890, but was shipwrecked off the coast of Wakayama. However, this galvanised public sympathy for Turkey, and a memorial to the wreck remains intact to the present day.

SIGNIFICANCE

Mori's commitment to religious freedom extended beyond Shinto and Christianity. He took the issue of freedom of conscience very seriously, as is attested by the transcript of an interview he had with the Chinese chief diplomat, Li Hongzhang, published in Mori's collected works (*Mori Arinori zenshu*, vol. 1, pp. 153-61). Apart from a frank exchange of diametrically contrasting views on the manner in which China and Japan should engage with Western culture and Western imperialism, Mori affirms unequivocally that he adheres to the notion of recognising the equal status of all religions, among which he explicitly includes Islam. This treatise implicitly sets the context for the possibility of relations between Muslims and Christians in Japan. It certainly asserts an equal footing for both within the country.

PUBLICATIONS

Mori Arinori, 'Religious freedom in Japan. A memorial and draft of charter', 25 November 1872 (repr. in Okubo Toshiaki et al. [eds], *Shinshu Mori Arinori zenshu*, Bunsendo Shoten, 1997, vol. 2, 67-80)

STUDIES

Swale, *Political thought of Mori Arinori*

S. Esenbel, 'Japanese interest in the Ottoman Empire', in B. Edstrom (ed.), *The Japanese and Europe. Images and perceptions*, Richmond, Surrey, 2000, 95-124

Hall, *Mori Arinori*

Alistair Swale

Takahashi Gorō

DATE OF BIRTH July 1856
PLACE OF BIRTH Kashiwazaki, Echigo Province, Japan
DATE OF DEATH 7 September 1935
PLACE OF DEATH Possibly Tokyo

BIOGRAPHY

In the latter decades of the 19th century, Takahashi Gorō was among the most prominent Christian journalists and educators in Japan. Being a prolific translator from several European languages, he was also involved in both Protestant and Catholic Bible translation projects before 1900. Almost four decades later, together with a Japanese convert to Islam, he produced the second complete translation of the Qur'an into Japanese, published posthumously in 1938.

As a young student, Takahashi left his native province of Echigo in northern Japan to start secondary studies in the same year that the old shogunate was toppled and the government was taken over by the victorious Meiji revolutionaries. After moving to Tokyo, he soon took up the study of English under the Protestant missionary Samuel Robbins Brown in Yokohama. He was baptised by Brown in 1874 and began working as his assistant on the first full translation of the Bible into Japanese. The Japanese New Testament produced by this missionary committee was eventually published in 1880. In the same year, Takahashi published critiques of the native Japanese religions of Shintō and Buddhism from a Christian point of view, and then his 1881 book *Shokyō benran* ('Guide to religions'), which was notable for being among the very first comparative treatments of religion in the Japanese language, and included a chapter on Islam.

Takahashi achieved greatest prominence when he stood at the forefront of attempts to defend Japanese Christians from attacks against their alleged lack of patriotism in the early 1890s. A nationwide scandal had erupted in 1891, when the Christian teacher Uchimura Kanzō had refused to bow before his school's copy of the Imperial Rescript on Education at a ceremonial reading of the rescript. An acerbic debate ensued over the loyalty of Christians to the Japanese nation. The main attack was formulated by the pre-eminent moral philosopher of the Meiji state,

the Tokyo University professor and staunch conservative Inoue Tetsujirō, while the most prominent counter-attack issued from the pen of Takahashi, who summarised his arguments in favour of Christianity in an 1893 book entitled *Hai-i-tetsugaku ron* ('Refuting the false philosophy').

In the following decades, Takahashi remained an active public intellectual. He held various teaching positions, wrote for Christian journals, figured as main author of the first complete Catholic translation of the Bible into Japanese, and continued to publish Christian opinion pieces on a broad range of topics such as science and religion, materialism and social problems. In 1933, he was approached by Ariga Amado, a Japanese convert to Islam, to help with a translation of the Qur'an into Japanese. An earlier translation had been published in 1920 and had clearly been aimed at a general audience. In contrast, Ariga wanted a translation for Muslims such as himself, and accordingly approached Takahashi as an expert in translating holy writings. Just as the team that had translated the New Testament into Japanese during the 1870s had worked with the King James Bible, Ariga and Takahashi also worked on the basis of an English translation, not the Arabic original. As is clear by the order of suras given, they employed the 1861 translation by John Medows Rodwell, which very likely was the same source that Takahashi had already used for his chapter on Islam in his 1881 overview of six Japanese and world religions.

Although Takahashi's own knowledge of Islam was shallow and secondary, through his chapter on Islam and his translation of the Qur'an he influenced public opinion on Islam in modern Japan greatly at two different points more than 50 years apart.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- A. Ebisawa, art. 'Takahashi Gorō', in *Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten*, Tokyo, 1988, p. 827
- H.M. Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents. The reception of Islam and translation of the Qur'an in twentieth-century Japan', *Journal of Asian Studies* 73 (2014) 619-40
- N. Suzuki, *Seisho no Nihongo. Hon'yaku no rekishi*, Tokyo, 2006
- N. Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan. From conflict to dialogue, 1854-1899*, Honolulu, 1987

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Shokyō benran

‘Guide to religions’

DATE 1881

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Japanese

DESCRIPTION

According to his foreword, Takahashi Gorō had two main goals in mind when he wrote his *Shokyō benran* in 1881. The first was to aid those Japanese who were in contact with foreigners. Japan had been newly opened to the world. It now engaged in commerce with a great variety of countries, which included, as Takahashi explicitly mentions, Islamic countries such as Persia and Turkey. These countries not only differed in their languages and customs, but also in their religions, so it behoved the Japanese to get to know the latter more closely. The second goal was to offer readers an opportunity to judge for themselves ‘what is true and what is false within those religions’ (p. 4). Although Takahashi has been characterised as a ‘roughshod apologist’ (Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan*, p. 72) for the Japanese Christian Church in the 1880s, he maintains a neutral tone throughout his work and refrains from missionary overtures.

In his chapter on Islam – others deal with Shintō, Buddhism, Hinduism, Daoism and Christianity – Takahashi begins by describing the revelation of the Qur’an to Muḥammad. Only the barest outlines of biographical data and historical background are given; instead, the text focuses on the circumstances of the revelation and the central tenets of Islam. Takahashi highlights that ‘Muḥammad (because he had received the help of Christian and Persian believers) created his own new religion by taking many principles from the Christian Bible and borrowing the idea of hell from Zoroastrianism’ (p. 102). Indeed, the central argument of Takahashi’s chapter is the closeness of Islam to Christianity, which is most clearly articulated in the following passage:

Now, when we read through the Qur’an diligently, then we find that what it speaks of – namely the character of the true God, rewards and punishment in the future, resurrection in the future, the final judgment and so on – is all taken from Christianity, there being no differences. (p. 104)

The main differences Takahashi does see, however, are the practice of polygamy in Islam, the lack of acknowledgment of Jesus as saviour, the details of paradise, and the acceptance of *jinn*. Takahashi goes to some lengths to demonstrate these points of difference by quoting appropriate passages from the Qur'an. The basis of his partial translations here appears to be Rodwell's 1861 English translation, but frequent errors mar Takahashi's understanding of the passages he introduces.

SIGNIFICANCE

Before 1881, the year that *Shokyō benran* was published, almost nothing had been written on Islam in Japan. In premodern times, there had only been a few vague references to Islam as the religion practised in north-western China. Japanese curiosity about the wider world was rekindled after the opening of the country in 1854, but knowledge about Islam remained extremely sparse at first. Throughout the 1870s, literally only a handful of books mentioned Islam in passing, most focusing on Muḥammad, and none treating Islam as a religion in the strict sense. Humphrey Prideaux's polemical *Life of Mahomet* (1697) appeared in a Japanese translation in 1876. Attention remained largely focused on Muḥammad as a historical figure, with the first Japanese biography of him written in 1899 (R. Sakamoto, *Muhametto*, Tokyo, 1899). In this sense, Takahashi's treatment of Islam was, albeit brief, a pioneering effort in dealing with Islam primarily as a religion commensurable with the other five he took up in his book.

It was certainly no coincidence that it was a Christian writer who authored the first serious treatment of Islam as a religion and that that author emphasised the points of congruence between the two faiths. In Japan, Islam continued to be seen as a 'Western' religion, a monotheism with great similarities to Christianity. When the Qur'an was translated into Japanese several times from the 1920s onwards, it is striking that terms already coined for Christian concepts were used to render key Islamic concepts. The similarities between Christianity and Islam stressed by Takahashi in 1881 may also explain why he, a publicly known Christian intellectual, in the 1930s agreed to assist in translating the Qur'an.

Takahashi's *Shokyō benran* helped set the tone for a reception of Islam in Japan that saw it as basically another variant of Western monotheism, similar to Christianity and not unlike Judaism.

PUBLICATIONS

Gorō Takahashi, *Shokyō benran*, Tokyo, 1881; <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/814918> (digitised version available through National Diet Library)

Hans Martin Krämer

Christian-Muslim relations in 19th-century Japan

The Tokugawa *bakufu* outlawed Christianity in 1614 and, through systematic persecution, effectively ended Christian presence in the country by the mid-17th century, other than some small and scattered hidden communities (Elisonas, 'Christianity and the Daimyo', p. 370). In addition, from 1639 Japanese foreign policy heavily restricted interactions with other nations, which meant that Christian missionaries were unable to visit the country for over two centuries. However, Japan opened relations with the US following the visits of Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853 and 1854 (Beasley, 'Foreign threat', pp. 268-70). The UK, Russia and France opened relations with Japan shortly afterwards and further treaties opened the path for the arrival of missionaries.

The *Société des missions étrangères de Paris* had dispatched Catholic missionaries to Ryūkyū in 1844 and first visited mainland Japan in 1856, establishing a permanent mission in 1859 (Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, pp. 565-7). Anglican missionaries arrived on Ryūkyū in 1846 and the first Protestant missions to the mainland were established in 1859 (Ballhatchet, 'Modern missionary movement', p. 42). The Russian Orthodox Church joined the mission field in 1861. The Tokugawa *bakufu* was dismantled during the Meiji Restoration of 1868, but anti-Christian policy and the proscription of proselytisation continued to be actively enforced until 1873, and religious freedom was not guaranteed until the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan in 1889. By the end of the 19th century, there were 54,602 Catholic converts, 42,600 Protestant converts between the five major denominations, and 25,698 Orthodox converts (*Proceedings of the General Conference*, pp. 1004-5).

For much of the 19th century, there were no Muslims in Japan, though limited trade interactions with the Middle East continued, albeit through Dutch middle-men, as it had throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. For instance, Hosaka Shuji notes the regular import of Arabian horses, as well as a commercially successful camel show in the 1820s that used Arabian camels imported by the Dutch (Hosaka, 'Japan and the Gulf', pp. 6-7). As was the case in the 16th century, when Muslim visitors used Portuguese vessels to visit Japan (Morris, 'Christian-Muslim relations', pp. 38-9), the earliest Muslim visitors in the 19th century appear to have arrived aboard European ships (Hosaka, 'Japan and the Gulf', p. 9). The

first of these included some Arabs or Yemenis, and Zanzibarians, who were among the crew of a P&O ship. Although some envoys visited the Middle East on their way to Europe during the late Edo period, the delegation to the Persian and Ottoman Empires in 1880, led by Yoshida Masaharu (1852-1921), was the first official mission to the region and resulted in the earliest first-hand Japanese accounts of the Middle East. Hosaka notes the existence of newspaper reports that suggest some early Muslim visitors in the 1880s were involved in efforts to proselytise. However, the first conversion to Islam of a Japanese individual in Japan in the modern period appears to have occurred much later, in 1909 (Esenbel, *Japan, Turkey and the world of Islam*, p. 123). Therefore, unlike Christianity, Islam remained a foreign religion with almost no Japanese adherents for the entire 19th century.

Nevertheless, Christians, whether foreign or Japanese, and Muslims interacted with each other in Japan in several key ways. Initially it was through their relationships with or, perhaps more appropriately, employment by Christians that Muslims were able to visit Japan. However, since few Muslims were present in Japan, most Christian converts' interactions with Islam came through media such as art and books, imported by missionaries and foreign visitors following the opening of trade, and translated. Geographical and historical works written by Christians were particularly important since they described Muslim societies and Muslims. William Francis Collier's *The great events of history* was translated by Kawazu Sukeyuki (1850-94) and published in four volumes under the title *Seiyō ekichiroku* in 1869. This included often negative descriptions of the violent spread of Islam and the history of Islamic nations (Collier *Seiyō ekichiroku*, pp. 59-65, 85-7, 154-9). Another example is Mitsukuri Genpo's (1799-1863) 1860, and later Fukuda Keigyō's (1818-94) 1875 translations of a geographical work by Richard Quarterman Way (1819-95), known in Japanese as *Chikyū setsuryaku*, which became a popular geographical source and was used as a textbook during the period (Sakai, 'Islam, Muslims, neighbors in Asia?', p. 127). The text offered up-to-date descriptions of Islamic societies, but also contained anti-Muslim elements including descriptions of Arabs as 'unintelligent'. Other works that were translated included *Chambers's encyclopedia* (1885), and Meredith White Townsend (1831-1911) and John Langton Sanford's (1824-77) *Asia and Europe* (1905).

Explicitly Christian works were also translated. For example, a church history work by Samuel Merrill Woodbridge (1819-1905) was translated by Segawa Asashi under the title *Kyōkai rekishi*. It was published in two

volumes, in 1885 and 1887, and contained limited negative treatments of the 'Islamic infestation' (vol. 1, pp. 103-8). All these texts informed the Japanese, whether Christian or non-Christian, of the Muslim other and framed the way in which the Japanese would come to envisage Muslims and Islam. Japanese converts to Christianity could have also been potentially introduced to Islam by their foreign teachers, whether in the secular or religious education system.

Finally, it must be noted that new freedoms to travel overseas that were granted to the Japanese following the Meiji Restoration provided some Japanese Christians with the ability to travel and study abroad, enabling them to interact with Muslims or learn about Islam in foreign schools. For instance, we know from the lecture notes of Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930) that he learned about Islam during his studies in America in the late 1880s (Uchimura, 'Lectures on history').

Although translated texts and imported media were important for shaping Japanese Christians' images and understandings of Muslims and Islam, they were the product of Western contexts. In contradistinction to these texts, this entry will primarily focus on texts written by Japanese Christians in the late 19th and very early 20th centuries. Most Christian treatments of Islam produced in the period were historical or theological explorations of the religion, and are found within works of a larger scope. Other important pieces included travelogues, diaries and letters.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Kanzō Uchimura, 'Lectures on history, by Prof. Morse', in *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 40. *Hensan, nenpu, daimei sakuin*, Tokyo, 2001, 97-181

Secondary

- J.H. Morris, 'Christian-Muslim relations in China and Japan in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', *ICMR* 29 (2018) 37-55
- S. Esenbel, *Japan, Turkey and the world of Islam. The writings of Selçuk Esenbel*, Leiden, 2011
- Shuji Hosaka, 'Japan and the Gulf. A historical perspective of pre-oil relations', *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies* 4 (2011) 3-24
- K. Sakai, 'Islam, Muslims, neighbors in Asia? The transformation of Japan's perceptions as shown in its media', in T.Y. Ismael and A. Rippin (eds), *Islam in the eyes of the West. Images and realities in an age of terror*, London, 2010, 125-47
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- J. Elisonas, 'Christianity and the Daimyo', in J.W. Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Japan*, vol. 4. *Early modern Japan*, Cambridge, 1991, 301-72
- W.G. Beasley, 'The foreign threat and the opening of the ports', in M.B. Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Japan*, vol. 5. *The nineteenth century*, Cambridge, 1989, 259-307
- Y. Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, Tokyo, 1984

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various languages

DESCRIPTION

Six authors and their works on Christian-Muslim relations are treated in this entry.

Muslim seamen in Japan

The biographical introduction above mentions an account that refers indirectly to Muslim staff among the crew of a P&O ship bound for Japan. This account is worth exploring briefly as it appears to be one of the earliest mentions of Muslims visiting Japan in the modern period. The ship left Shanghai for Yokohama in 1864 (Hosaka, 'Japan and the Gulf', p. 9) and the account of the voyage was subsequently included in Heinrich Schliemann's (1822-90) *La Chine et le Japon au temps présent* (Paris, 1867). It refers to the crew members only briefly, and Schliemann does not explicitly mention their religious identities but rather chooses

to refer to them by their nationality, noting that among them there were 'd'Arabes de Moka et de nègres Africains de Zanzibar' (*La Chine et le Japon*, p. 83). Given that these two areas were predominately Muslim, we can infer that the crew members were probably Muslims. Hosaka notes that we are unable to ascertain whether these crew members left the ship in Japan ('Japan and the Gulf', p. 9), though the text is potentially important for understanding Christian-Muslim interactions in the Japanese context since it indicates that Muslims, in this case employees, travelled alongside Christians to Japan. It might therefore be possible to suggest that broader interactions between the Japanese and Muslims were fostered (maybe unwittingly) by the actions of Christians.

Takahashi Gorō

Takahashi Gorō (1856-1935) was baptised by Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-80), a missionary of the Reformed Church in America, in 1875 (Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan, *Kirisutokyo jinmei jiten*, p. 844). In 1881, he published *Shokyō benran* ('Guide to religions'), which contains a chapter on Islam, rendered by the Japanese term *Fuifuikyō*. He provides a brief history of the religion and notes its spread to China and the way in which Islamic terms are rendered in Chinese (Takahashi, *Shokyō benran*, pp. 97-9). The text also provides an account of Muḥammad's ('Muhanmado') first revelations, with translated quotations from the Qur'an, plus commentary. Within this exploration, Takahashi provides some comparative comments on Christianity, noting the presence of the Angel Gabriel in the Bible as well as the Qur'an, and the motif of angels bringing prophecies and news. Although this treatment most likely stems from Takahashi's own Christian beliefs, it may also have aided his audience in their understanding of Islam since the Japanese at the time were more familiar with Christianity than with Islam. The text goes on to explore the spread of Islam, and Takahashi offers a comparison of Islam and Christianity, again noting that, whilst the two religions are similar, there are also major differences between them. Quoting from the Qur'an to illustrate his point, he writes, for example, that Islam allows polygamy, denies that God has a son or that Christ is the Saviour, but promises a paradise of beautiful women in the afterlife and proscribes marriage outside the religion. This comparative discussion is framed within the idea that Islam was a new religion created by Muḥammad which drew heavily upon Christianity and Persian religions in order to appeal to the followers of those religions and receive their support. In his final closing thoughts, Takahashi notes

that, while there are fools devoid of knowledge who may be attracted by the vision of a pleasurable heaven, there are also more knowledgeable people such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe who suggest that the Qur'an will forever be a work of great power.

Shokyō benran is mostly descriptive, however, and Takahashi's approach to comparative religions appears to have aided his apologetic motives. Through comparing Islam and Christianity, he is able subtly to suggest that Christianity is superior and that similarities between the religions are the result of a conscious copying of Christian beliefs and doctrine on the part of Muḥammad. In later life, Takahashi alongside the Japanese Muslim Ariga Amado, worked on the second Japanese translation of the Qur'an, published in 1938 (*Sei Kōrankyō*; Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', pp. 624-5).

Niijima Jō

Wanting to study Western sciences, and with travel abroad for Japanese still proscribed, Niijima Jō (1843-90) secretly travelled to America in 1864 with the help of the commanders of American ships. During his time there, Niijima converted to Christianity (in 1866), studied at Amherst College, and eventually undertook theological studies at Andover Theological Seminary. He was ordained in 1874 (*Kirisuto Kyōdan Nihon, Kirisutokyō jinmei jiten*, p. 1014) and after his return to Japan in 1875 he founded Doshisha Eigakkō (now Doshisha University).

Following Niijima's death, Arthur Sherburne Hardy, the son of Alpheus and Susan Hardy (who had aided Niijima in the US) published *Life and letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima* (1891). This includes some of Niijima's letters as well as extracts from his journal. Niijima's account of his second trip to America in 1884 is particularly interesting, because it contains some of the earliest references to encounters with Muslims described by a Japanese Christian. The first reference occurs only six days into his trip, when Niijima decided to explore the 'Mahometan' cemeteries in Hong Kong (Hardy, *Life and letters*, p. 248). He describes their architecture as peculiar, though notes that they are 'handsomely and tastefully laid out' and are like a paradise. A reference to the fact that Muslim passengers were absent from the Anglican service held onboard on 27 April indicates that Niijima was travelling alongside Muslims, although he does not offer comment or judgement on his co-travellers. Like Schliemann's account mentioned above, this passage indicates that Christians and Muslims travelled together throughout East Asia. After arriving in Sri Lanka on 29

April, Nijjima went to the home of Aḥmad ‘Urābī (1841-1911) with a Japanese friend and recorded their conversations, which focused on Japan’s education system, the Japanese military and Egypt. Nijjima inquired about the religion of the Arabs, and notes that ‘Urābī was pleased to hear that he possessed a copy of the Qur’an (although Nijjima had not yet read the text). ‘Urābī also informed him that Islam was spreading rapidly in India and China. It must be noted that Nijjima does not offer any sort of value judgements about Islam in these accounts. The end of Nijjima’s entry on ‘Urābī includes a lengthy, positive description of ‘Urābī’s personality and appearance. His journal entry for 13 May describes Suez, remarking that it is a ‘miserable place’ (Hardy, *Life and letters*, p. 254). He complains about the railway system, noting that a fight between the train’s conductor and engineer resulted in delays, which leads him to declare, ‘Time is nothing to these Egyptians’ (Hardy, *Life and letters*, p. 254). Nevertheless, the religious make-up of Egypt does not appear to have factored into Nijjima’s conclusions.

References to Islam also appear in other works by Nijjima, although they are rare and appear to consist of little more than mentions among lists of the various types of religions that exist in the world (Ōkoshi, ‘Nijjima Jō no Shingaku Shisō’, p. 207). Ōkoshi Tetsuji notes Islam is mentioned so rarely in Nijjima’s work that it is difficult to ascertain his thoughts on it (Ōkoshi, ‘Nijjima Jō no Shingaku Shisō’, pp. 210-11).

Togawa Zanka

In 1895, Togawa Zanka, also known as Yasuie (1855-1924), a minister in the Presbyterian *Nihon Kirisutokyōkai*, published his *Sekai sandai shūkyō* (‘The three great religions of the world’). The book primarily focuses on Buddhism, Christianity and Confucianism, but its appendix includes sections on Islam, Hinduism and Shinto. Togawa’s exploration of Islam is quite extensive, covering 22 pages (Togawa, *Sekai sandai shūkyō*, pp. 253-75). He refers to Islam as *Kaikyō*, but also notes the use of the terms *Mahomettokyō* and *Isuramu* and spends the first few pages of his exploration recording the religion’s global spread. The appended chapter on Islam is split into several sections, of which the first focuses on Muḥammad (‘Mahometto’). He begins by exploring the different naming conventions in English and Japanese, and gives an extensive biographical exploration of Muḥammad’s early life. He refers to Muḥammad and his family’s knowledge of (and in some cases adherence to) Christianity

and Judaism, and then explores Muḥammad's first revelation and the spread of the new religion through Muḥammad's immediate family. As he continues, he focuses on major events in the early history of Islam, referring to initial opposition to the religion, its spread and conflicts, and Muḥammad's death.

The second section focuses on Islamic doctrine (*kyōgi*). Togawa stresses that Arabs and Jews have shared origins, and links this to the Muslim belief in one God. He notes the existence of Christianity in the region during Muḥammad's lifetime, and the prevalence of pre-Islamic idol worship in the region. The text then details 21 items of information about Islamic doctrine, including God, the Qur'an, Islamic monotheism, paradise, hell, angels, pilgrimage, Ramaḍān, abstention from alcohol, the proscription of murder, and so on. This section occasionally contains further comparisons with Christianity and Judaism, and notes their connection as monotheistic religions. It appears to be one of the most detailed explorations of Islamic doctrine and belief written by a Christian from Japan in the period.

The final section focuses on the spread of the religion and mission. Togawa opens by noting that Christian and Buddhist mission have differed from Islamic mission in so far as the latter has been spread through violence. He also writes that modern-day Muslims are fervent believers.

Togawa gives a thorough description of Islam that is often lacking in other contemporary Japanese works. His appendix is primarily descriptive, and is not noticeably apologetic or polemical. Whilst his regular comparisons of Islam with Christianity and Judaism may be devices to help his audience in their understanding of the religion, as in Takahashi Gorō's *Shokyō benran*, they also appear to serve an apologetic agenda in which Islam is understood primarily as an offshoot of Judaism and Christianity.

Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck

Few works by foreign missionaries in Japan at this time refer to Islam. One exception is a speech by the Dutch Reformed Church missionary Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck (1830-98). The speech, entitled *Kirisutokyō ni kansuru gokai o henzu* ('Regarding the misunderstandings of Christianity'), was subsequently published by Kyōbunkan in 1896. In it, Verbeck argues that, like Buddhism, Confucianism and Islam, Christianity was originally an Oriental rather than a Western religion (Hommes,

Verbeck of Japan, p. 359). Whilst it is tempting to view this as a statement of interreligious equity and equality, it ultimately claimed that Christianity was not a foreign, imported religion. Such a claim had apologetic motives that probably aimed to increase the appeal of Christianity to a Japanese audience.

Matsumura Kaiseki

Matsumura Kaiseki (1859-1939) was a Christian convert of the Dutch Reformed missionary James Ballagh (1832-1920), who eventually founded his own Christian new religious movement, *Dōkai*, in 1907 (Mullins, *Christianity made in Japan*, pp. 38, 42). In 1902, he published his *Bankoku kōbōshi* ('The history of the rise and fall of nations'), in which he introduces Islam in a chapter entitled *Mohamettokyō* ('Islam') (*Bankoku kōbōshi*, pp. 114-22). This chapter covers the early history of Islam, divided into two parts, the life of Muḥammad and Islam under his successors. The opening sentence declares that Muḥammad was influenced by Christianity, and the chapter proceeds to give Muḥammad's biography and details about his revelations. It then argues that Christianity had a strong influence on the formation of the religion of Islam. This can be plainly seen in the Qur'an, the presence of Abraham, Moses and Christ as prophets, and belief in essentially the same God as Christians, which shows there was a large amount of borrowing from Christianity. This attempt to describe Islam as a derivative of Christianity can be more strongly felt here than in the work of Takahashi or Togawa. Matsumura finishes this section by introducing some basic tenets of Muslim doctrine and morality, noting abstinence from alcohol, the practice of polygamy and the direction of prayer.

As noted, the second part of the chapter focuses on Islam after Muḥammad's death, and here Matsumura's concern is primarily with military expansion. Muslims receive a fairly extensive treatment in Matsumura's chapters on Spain and the Byzantine Empire, which focus primarily on Christian-Muslim military conflict. Nevertheless, Matsumura also strives to link Judaism, Christianity and Islam through their belief in one God and their hatred of idolatry. A short nine-page chapter deals with the topic of Muslims (*Kaikyōto*) in the period before the Crusades (*Bankoku kōbōshi* (pp. 254-65). The first part of this chapter continues the history of Islam, exploring the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate, the rise of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, and expansion through trade, and also deals

with such topics as Islamic learning in the Middle Ages. The text also introduces the various schools and branches of Islam and key aspects of Islamic society. The end of the chapter mostly focuses on the Ottoman Turks. A chapter on the Crusades opens with the capture of Jerusalem by the Seljuks and argues that the new rulers sought to oppress non-Muslim religions, destroy their holy sites, and exterminate Christians. The Crusades are therefore seen as a response to this situation by the people of Europe and the Church, and are viewed as good, just and in a sense defensive. While the chapter explores the history of the Crusades, it primarily focuses on the European Christian forces and viewpoint, with only sporadic references to Islam. Nevertheless, in a further chapter covering the consequences of the Crusades, Matsumura interestingly writes that one of the lessons learned in Europe was that Muslims were humans like them, who, in accordance with the Good Word, should not be killed (*Bankoku kōbōshi*, p. 301). This is significant, since although Matsumura stresses that the Crusades were a response to Muslim actions and policy, he also affirms that the killing of Muslims was an act discordant with the teachings of Christianity. While he does not expand on this, he does offer a theological defence of Muslims' right to life. Further details on the history of Islam follow, and Muslims are sporadically mentioned in the chapters on the Mongol Empire and the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

Following his creation of *Dōkai*, in 1912 Matsumura published *Tenchijin* ('Heaven, earth and man'). A short four-page chapter on Islam (*Fuifuikyō*) opens with the assertion that, although there are no issues with Islam being regarded as a sect or school of Christianity, the two religions are not the same since Islam denies the divinity of Christ (*Tenchijin*, pp. 214-15). The chapter tells the story of a Turkish Muslim military officer to a Japanese church (*Nihon kyōkai*). The author appears to have informed the visitor (known as *Fadorē* in Japanese) that the consumption of pork and alcohol, and handwashing are left to the choice of the individual in Christianity, but the Muslim objects to this. Matsumura ends the passage by arguing that the path of all religions is the same, though their way of seeing things is different.

The chapter is significant in several ways. First, *Tenchijin* expresses the view that Islam is derived from Christianity, though the denial of Christ's divinity in Islam means that the two religions, whilst strongly linked, are clearly distinct. Second, like Nijima's journal, *Tenchijin* records a conversation between a Japanese Christian and a Muslim. This conversation, whilst not conflictual, highlights theological disagreements between the Christian and the Muslim. Finally, and probably resulting

from Matsumura's abandoning of orthodox Christian doctrine, he provides a theological vision in which Christianity and Islam have the same path, but different ways of proceeding and understanding.

Yamaoka Mitsutarō

The first Japanese to convert to Islam in Japan, Yamaoka Mitsutarō (also known as Omar, 1880-1959), published in 1912 his *Sekai no shinpikyō. Arabiya jūdanki* ('A mirror of the world's mysteries. A record of crossing Arabia'), an account of the first *hajj* completed by a Japanese. He refers to Christianity in a chapter entitled *Bonbeishi zakkan oyobi Fufuikyō to Fufuikyōto* ('Insights on the city of Bombay, Islam and Muslims'), noting that British India is home to the world's three big religions, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Muslim relations with the followers of other religions are based on clear distinctions, and Muslims cannot stay with the followers of other religions because of the differences between them in customs concerning clothing, food and shelter. Yamaoka notes particular dislike and criticism of Christianity amongst Muslims. In an increasingly anti-Christian tone, Yamaoka later states that, if non-Muslims and especially Christians, are found entering Muslim holy places in Arabia they should be put to death. In a later chapter entitled *Mekka Dairaihaiden sono ni* ('The Great Mosque of Mecca, Part II'), Yamaoka argues that Muslim teachers are no different from Buddhist monks or Christian missionaries. This is potentially an attempt to explain the foreign religion to his Japanese readership, who are more likely to be acquainted with Buddhism and Christianity.

Yamaoka's work is primarily descriptive, a travelogue that also records historical and theological details. Whilst there are no explicit value judgements vis-à-vis Christianity, the majority of references to the religion are framed negatively. Thus, it is a religion that is disliked and criticised, and its members are to be killed in certain circumstances. In this sense, the text contains distinct anti-Christian expressions.

SIGNIFICANCE

For the most part, works from the Japanese context have generally lacked long-lasting influence both inside and outside Japan. This can probably be attributed to the fact that neither Christianity nor Islam has become widespread in the country, and therefore there has been little market for Christian or Muslim works about the religious other. It can also be

attributed to the fact that many of the authors produced large bodies of material in which references to Islam have been rather hidden and forgotten. Despite this, the work of Takahashi Gorō, for example, was highly important among his contemporaries and aided in popularising comparative religious studies in Japan. This does not mean that Takahashi's work on Islam was afforded particular importance, but that his general corpus of work on comparative religion was foundational in the study of comparative religions in Japan. Furthermore, his translation of the Qur'an became an important work in the 1930s (Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', pp. 625-6), and he was a public figure and a key player in Meiji period Protestantism (Auerback, *Storied sage*, p. 171).

The works described above show increasing interest in Islam among Christians in Japan in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This is apparent from the ever-increasing amount of space given to discussing Islam and Muslims in works by Christians. In previous centuries, Japanese descriptions of Islam contained only sparse material, describing things such as abstinence from alcohol and pork. However, the 19th-century works illustrate the development of detailed learning on Islam, particularly its history, but also its doctrines. From a European perspective, this material is not by any means new, though in the context of Japan these historical and doctrinal discussions did not have any precedent and so their significance is that much greater. Christian scholars tended to focus heavily on the similarities and differences between Christian and Muslim beliefs and doctrines, as well as points of history when the two religions interacted. Likewise, Takahashi, Togawa and Matsumura also focused on these sorts of comparisons, and Matsumura in particular concentrated on historical periods in which the two religions interacted.

Most of the descriptions of Islam and Muslims in these works are relatively neutral and betray little of the respective authors' thoughts. In the case of Nijima's journal, however, we can sense a positive disposition towards Muslims. In contrast, Yamaoka's work, although descriptive, tends to portray Christianity and Christians negatively. Terminological choices are similarly neutral, with Japanese and Chinese terminology generally being favoured as descriptors for Islam and Muslims. Nevertheless, the Japanese Christian preoccupation with Christian influences on Islam suggests that many of these texts had apologetic motives that sought to demark Islam as a religion derived from a more correct and perfect Christianity.

This characteristic is also evident in some earlier Japanese writings, such as Arai Hakuseki's (1657-1725) *Sairan igen* (1820), which claims that Islam is of the same origin as Christianity. Writing on Islamic scholarship and translations of the Qur'an in a later period, H.M. Krämer notes that it was Christianity and Islam's monotheistic links that were 'the most important point of convergence' (Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', p. 635) for Japanese scholars. This theme is also present in the early works on Islam that strive to link it to Christianity and Judaism, in distinction to the works of missionaries such as Verbeck, who strove to link Christianity to other Eastern religions. It is not improbable that scholarly approaches to Islam and the Qur'an in later periods had some of their origins in the late Meiji period of Christian scholarship.

PUBLICATIONS

Many of the works listed here have been issued in a number of editions: only the earliest of each is listed.

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Takahashi Gorō, *Shokyō benran*, Tokyo, 1881; ndljp/pid/814918 (digitised version available through National Diet Library)

A.S. Hardy (ed.), *Life and letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, Boston MA, 1891; 100137662 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Togawa Zanka, *Sekai sandai shūkyō*, Tokyo, 1895; ndljp/pid/814951 (digitised version available through National Diet Library)

G. Verbeck, *Kirisutokyō ni kansuru gokai o henzu*, Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1896

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- J.M. Hommes, 'Verbeck of Japan. Guido F. Verbeck as pioneer missionary, Oyatoi Gaikokujin, and "foreign hero"', Pittsburgh, 2014 (PhD Diss. University of Pittsburgh)
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- Kirisuto Kyōdan Nihon (ed.), *Kirisutokyō jinmei jiten*, Tokyo, 1986

James Harry Morris

Kanzō Uchimura

DATE OF BIRTH 26 March 1861
PLACE OF BIRTH Koshikawa, Edo (Tokyo)
DATE OF DEATH 28 March 1930
PLACE OF DEATH Kashiwagi, Yodobashi-chō, Tokyo

BIOGRAPHY

Kanzō Uchimura was born on 26 March 1861 in Edo, to a Samurai family. In 1877, he entered Sapporo Agricultural College (*Sapporo nōgakkō*), a school established by the missionary William S. Clark (1826-86). In 1877, he signed the 'Covenant of believers in Jesus' (a document that Christian converts at the school were required to sign). The following year, he received a Methodist baptism. In 1884, he travelled to the United States, where he was employed as a caregiver in Pennsylvania. He forged friendships with local Quakers. After eight months, he moved to New England, matriculating at Amherst College in 1885, where he completed his second bachelor's degree. He enrolled at Hartford Theological Seminary, but soon dropped out and returned to Japan in 1888.

Back in Japan, Uchimura became a teacher, but he repeatedly lost employment because of a series of incidents. The most famous of these, and the one that led him to abandon a career in teaching, was the 1891 *Fukei jiken* ('the incident of the *lèse majesté*') when he refused to bow deeply to the portrait of Emperor Meiji (1852-1912) and to acknowledge the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo*). Shortly after this, Uchimura's second wife died (an early marriage ended in divorce before he went to America) and he turned to writing. Later that year, he remarried and began work on some of his major Christian treatises, including *Kirisuto shinto no nagusame* ('Consultations of a Christian'), *Kyūanroku* ('Search for peace'), and the autobiographical English language *How I became a Christian*.

His employment as a writer of English language articles at *Yorozu Chōhō* ('Comprehensive morning news') from 1897 brought him journalistic fame, especially through his coverage of the Ashio mining disasters (*Ashio kōdoku jiken*). Nevertheless, he left *Yorozu Chōhō* in 1898 and created his own independent magazine, the *Tōkyō Dokuritsu Zasshi* ('The Tokyo Independent') and, following its discontinuation, began publishing

Seisho no Kenkyū ('Bible study') in 1900. In 1901, Uchimura made an important achievement through his publications in *Seisho no Kenkyū* and his launching of the *Mukyōkai* ('Non-church') movement, with the associated *Kyōyūkai* ('Meeting of friends in faith') in 1905. This was the pinnacle of Uchimura's theological work, and his movement became the first indigenous Japanese church, although it lacked any liturgy, sacraments or clergy. The early 20th century saw Uchimura become the subject of further scandals as he opposed the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5.

Progress with the *Mukyōkai* movement continued and in 1908 Uchimura moved to Kashiwagi, where he built his movement's headquarters, the *Imaikan*. Following the death of his daughter in 1912 at the age of 19, his theology began to change as he gravitated towards millenarianism. Consequently, in 1918 he and others began the interdenominational *Sairin Undō* ('Second Coming movement'), but this closed the following year. The last decade of his life was much quieter than previous ones. He continued to publish *Seisho no Kenkyū* and established and



生先三鑑村内の年晩

Illustration 19. Kanzo Uchimura, before 1930

sponsored a number of projects. However, he felt himself divorced from his own *Mukyōkai* movement, and did not describe himself as a member.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Kanzo Uchimura, *How I became a Christian. Out of my diary*, Tokyo, 1922 (this version is also available from Internet Archive, and has been reprinted regularly since its first publication)

Secondary

Biographical studies on Uchimura are numerous. Those listed here are important, accessible, or particularly unique.

Kiminori Ebata, *Uchimura Kanzō to sono keifu*, Tokyo, 2006

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Kenkyūkai Mukyōkaishi (ed.), *Mukyōkaishi*, vol. 1. *Seisei no Jidai*, Tokyo, 1991

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Masao Sekine, *Uchimura Kanzō*, Tokyo, 1967

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

References to Islam and Muslims in the works of Kanzō Uchimura

DATE 1885-1914

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various

DESCRIPTION

References to Islam and Muslims are scattered throughout much of Uchimura's massive corpus of work. His complete original published and unpublished material are entitled *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū* published by Iwanami Shoten (Tokyo), first printed between 1932 and 1933, reprinted between 1980 and 1984, and with a final reprinting in 2001. The 2001 edition is used in this entry.

'Propagandistic nuisance'

There appears to be only one text resulting from direct Christian-Muslim interactions, a combination of an article and a letter, in English, published in *The Japan Chronicle* on 6 August, 1908, written under the pen-name 'A native Christian'. The article, entitled 'Propagandistic nuisance', begins with a description of Uchimura's interaction with a Muslim missionary who sought to persuade him to abandon the 'three gods' of Christianity for the one of Islam. This is followed by Uchimura's letter to the missionary, which he notes is being printed in *The Japan Chronicle* in order to aid others in preventing themselves from being disturbed by such missionaries.

Uchimura begins by describing his disdain for proselytism of all kinds, and proceeds to present the reasons behind his conversion to Christianity. He then turns to the topic of Islam specifically. First, he argues that the Japanese will never accept the religion in its present state, but will seek to change it, transmogrifying it so that it becomes 'Japanese Mohammedanism'. He notes that this is how the Japanese have treated both Christianity and Buddhism. He then prophesies that the Muslim missionary, like contemporary Western Christian missionaries, will not view these changes favourably. Uchimura ends his letter by extending a hand of friendship to the Muslim, noting that friendship is not based on religious affiliation, and that he may be friends with Christians, Buddhists, Muslims or agnostics, so long as they put man (*sic*) rather than religion first.

A Japanese version of the text entitled *Fuifuikyō shinja ni okuru bun* ('An essay for a Muslim') was published anonymously four days after the English version, on 10 August, in the 101st instalment of *Seisho no Kenkyū*. This text reveals a nuance absent from the English version, namely that Uchimura's Muslim counterpart is his equal, as illustrated by the use of the respectful second person pronoun, *sokka*, which is used in reference to people of a similar rank. The text also identifies the Muslim, noting that he was a Captain in the Egyptian Army named A. Fuwadori.

Unpublished Islam lecture notes

References to Muslims and Islam appear in Uchimura's earliest work, in notes taken during the lectures of Anson D. Morse (1846-1916), when Uchimura was studying in America (*Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 40,

pp. 97-181). Within his almost 100-page set the topic of Islam covers a total of only eight pages, yet they form one of the most extensive treatments of Islam within Uchimura's corpus, even though they do not represent his own thinking. Here, he focuses on topics including Muslim doctrine, the spread of Islam, the Arab military conquests, the presence of the Moors in Spain, and the Crusades.

Early letters

During the same period of study, in 1885 Uchimura penned two letters to Nijijima Jō (1843-90). The first discusses the lives of great men, including Muḥammad (here rendered Mahomet), whom he describes as honest and sincere. Writing a somewhat fanciful potential alternative to world history, he continues to note that if Muḥammad had continued his mission in the same manner as its first seven years, many would have been prepared for Christian heaven. He asserts that such a mission historically failed due to confusion and the increasing focus that Muḥammad placed on expediency. In the second letter, he lists Muḥammad (among others) as one of history's great men. These early references reflect the beginning of Uchimura's scholarly interactions with Islam. Moreover, his passing references to the religion in his letters to Nijijima Jō foreshadow his later explorations, which usually do not stretch beyond cursory references to Islam or its followers.

1892 articles

The first reference to Islam in Uchimura's published work appears in an 1892 article entitled *Risōteki dendōshi* ('The ideal evangelist'), which was published in the *Kirisutokyō Shinbun* ('The Christian newspaper'). He refers to Muḥammad twice. Listing examples of evangelists, he describes Muḥammad as a person of strength who came into the world at a time when there was an opportunity to wield control over the Semitic peoples, and later he refers to Muḥammad in his comparison of the ages of famous religious figures at the genesis of their respective missions. Similar brief historical notes also exist in some of his early texts, for example his 1892 *Koromubusu no kōseki* ('Columbus's achievements'), which notes that the Byzantine Empire fell to Muslims.

Four works published in 1894

The first two of these are closely related: one entitled *Nichiren Shōnin o ronzu* ('Discussion on Nichiren') was written in Japanese and printed in *Kokumin no Tomo* ('The people's friend'); the other was part of a collection in English entitled *Japan and the Japanese*, an essay entitled *Saint Nichiren. A Buddhist priest*, which appears to be a translation of *Nichiren Shōnin o ronzu*. In this article, Uchimura devotes one paragraph to comparing the lives of Nichiren and Muḥammad. He argues that the two men led similar lives, but notes that Nichiren's life lacked the sexual lust that marked Muḥammad's. He writes that both had 'the same intensity, the same fanaticism, yet with all the same sincerity of purpose and much inward pity and tenderness' (*Japan and the Japanese*, 1894, p. 292). Nevertheless, he argues that Nichiren was greater than Muḥammad, because the former had greater confidence in his *sutra* than Muḥammad did in the Qur'an, as is indicated by the fact that Nichiren did not use force to spread his message. Illustrating a continuity in thought, his 1914 *Shinja to gensei. Mataiden goshō jūsan-jūroku setsu no kenkyū* ('Believers and the present world. Research on the Gospel of Matthew 5:13-16') similarly notes that Nichiren surpassed Muḥammad.

The third 1894 work was a monograph entitled *Dendō no seishin* ('The spirit of evangelism') in which Uchimura makes three references to Muḥammad. First, he describes Islam as being an example of a religion with a weak evangelical spirit, which resulted in a reliance on military conquest for religious expansion. He juxtaposes a description of Muḥammad's dealings in Medina with a description of the crucifixion of Christ in order to illustrate the thirst for blood present in the religious world. His final reference is a quotation from the Qur'an regarding the necessity of praising and adoring God. Uchimura then argues that the form of evangelisation used by Muḥammad should not apply in the modern period. He also refers to Islam more generally, noting in a discussion of Christian Unitarianism that associated churches may choose to interact with Buddhism and Islam.

The fourth article, *Chirigaku kō* ('A report on geographical studies'), provides a short introduction to the Middle East, which refers to Mecca and the presence of Islam there, and also contains references to the presence of Islam in Montenegro and Spain.

Although Uchimura viewed Muḥammad and his means of spreading Islam as inferior to Christ and Christianity, and also to Nichiren and

Buddhism, he did not take an uncompromisingly negative view of Islam or its founder within his early work.

How I became a Christian

In this seminal autobiographical work, Uchimura refers to Islam on just one occasion. He quotes from 'Webster' (presumably the dictionary) defining Christendom in contradistinction to heathen and Islamic lands. Outside this quotation, he does not refer to Islam, and the remainder of the paragraph focuses on further defining the term 'Christendom'. Elsewhere in the text he makes a passing reference to Turkish Christian converts, or would-be converts (and those of several other races), noting that they often feign interest or conversion in order to satisfy material desires that the missionaries can fulfil. Whilst it may be assumed that some of these converts or would-be converts were originally Muslims (due to the high number of Muslims in Turkey), the passage itself does not make this explicit.

Articles published in 1896-8

Further references to Islam appear in articles written for *Kokumin no Tomo* and *Yorozu Chōhō* between 1896 and 1898. The first, *Jisei no kansatsu* ('Surveying the spirit of the age'), devotes a short passage to Islam. Here Uchimura describes the geographical spread of the religion and, although he claims that it is in error, he also argues that the religion once divided the Western world and that Muḥammad was a great prophet. The second is an anonymous article entitled *Notes* published on 8 July 1897. It explores the abolition of slavery under Hamoud bin Mohammed of Zanzibar. Uchimura argues that the sultan (a Muslim) is more advanced in ideas on human freedom than the British because the British have been critical of the Sultan's position, arguing that slavery is good for oriental countries. The third, also published anonymously, is entitled *Note and comment* and appeared on 7 October 1897. Here, Uchimura explores the 'wonderful stability and vitality of the Mohammedan states' (p. 83), arguing with an unsourced quotation that the equality of all Muslims is the central doctrine of Islam (usually referred to as 'Mohammedanism') and the most wonderful aspect of the religion. In November 1897, he published an *Editorial comment* in the *Yorozu Chōhō*, which decries 'Heathen Christians' (Christians whose spirit and actions are heathen) as worse than Buddhists, Muslims and other heathens. The following year (1898),

he published the article *Hungary and Turkey. Marquis Ito on education, etc.* This is attributed to Uchimura only by the initials K.U. and is just three pages long. It addresses a comment made by the Prime Minister, Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), who challenged his listeners to name any Asian nation that was following the same path of modernisation as Japan.

Uchimura offers the example of Hungary, whose people he understands to be of Mongolian origin. He argues that the history of Hungary must be studied alongside the history of Turkey; both are European nations of Asian origin that are taking radically different courses. Hungary adopted the law and (perhaps more importantly) the religions of Europe, becoming completely European and, in Uchimura's assessment, a great nation. Despite being part of Europe, Turkey, on the other hand, although militarily capable has become a 'sick man', precisely because (as Uchimura writes) the Turks have adhered 'to their Altaic instinct and Mohamedan [*sic*] institutions' (p. 288). He notes that although problems are also present in Christian areas of Europe, Turkey has fallen behind because it has a social system that is not tailored to development. He makes similar comments about Turkey elsewhere, for instance in his *What it is to know Europe* (1898), in which he writes that, whilst Turks have adopted some European customs, their practice of polygamy means that they cannot rightly be called Europeans. These works provide positive, negative and neutral descriptions of Islam, illustrating the complexity of Uchimura's thought.

Writings 1899-1900

The *fin de siècle* period marked an increase in the number of Uchimura's references to Islam. His article of March 1899, *Kinji roku* ('Record of recent events'), addresses its readers with a literary device that lists criticisms in a question and response format. One is that the readers are beyond the reach of Christ, due to their frequent praise of the Arabian Prophet Muḥammad. Several months later, in June, writing anonymously for the *Tōkyō Dokuritu Zasshi*, Uchimura penned *Seiyō no busshitsu shugi to Tōyō no genjitsu shugi (hoka)* ('Western materialism and Eastern realism, etc.'), in which he attributes a quotation about charity to Muḥammad. The quotation notes that all good deeds are charitable deeds, implores the reader to serve their neighbour in various ways, and notes that the recommendation of good conduct also constitutes a charitable deed. Critical of the passage, Uchimura then argues that those who confine

their deeds to the supply of food and clothing, and to monetary offerings do not understand the meaning of charity. He quotes Muḥammad again a month later in an article entitled *Me no zenaku (hoka)* ('Viewpoint of good and evil, etc.'). The quotation claims that God's greatest gift is compassion, although Uchimura notes that this gift has been forgotten by many people.

He also composed descriptive texts during this period. His 1899 *Ika-nishite natsu o sugosan ka* ('How shall I spend the summer?'), for example, describes the use of precious stones around the world. One passage refers to the existence of a palace in India where the walls are set with precious stones engraved with the Muslim scriptures.

In his extensive essay, *Kōkoku shidan* ('History of prosperous nations'), serialised in *Tōkyō Dokuritsu Zasshi* from 15 September 1899 to 25 June 1890, there are several passages relating to Islam and Muslims. In descriptions of the history of Israel, Arabia and Persia, there are references to Islam and its geographical spread both historically and contemporaneously. Uchimura also describes Assyria and Baghdad, and the founding of Islam as a 'religious revolution', and he discusses Judaism, which he views more positively than Islam. Elsewhere, he writes that without Islam the Arabs would not have become a people who could have an impact on the whole European continent. On the same theme, he writes that, in the name of the god Allah, Muslims have for 800 years shaken the whole of Europe; in the East they assaulted India and China; in the West they suppressed Arabia, attacked and entered Spain and Serbia, drew near to Vienna, and drove back Hungary. He argues this is not a form of piety based on bringing fear to the world, but one that emerged from the Assyrian context. He refers to the passionate propagation of Islam.

In *Mōse no jikkai to sono chūkai* ('Moses's Ten Commandments with explanatory notes'), published in *Tōkyō Dokuritsu Zasshi* in 1889, Uchimura suggests that Muḥammad was responsible for bringing monotheism to a polytheistic Middle East and describes Islam as challenging European civilisation through the creation of its own flourishing culture based on the Qur'an. In his 1900 monograph, *Shūkyō zadan* ('A discussion on religion'), which explores Christianity, Uchimura discusses the existence of miracles in Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. He refers to a qur'anic story in which Christ makes birds from clay and brings them to life, although he incorrectly attributes this miracle to Muḥammad. The passage probably seeks to illustrate that miracles in Christianity are not an oddity, but something common to other religions also. Later,

exploring ideas surrounding heaven, he notes that the Christian vision of heaven is dissimilar to the sumptuous feasts and hospitality of beautiful women promised by Islam.

A paper entitled *Setsuri no koto* ('Divine providence') was also published in 1900 and, like *Shūkyō zadan*, it explores Islam through comparison with Christianity and Buddhism. Uchimura links the location and time of the birth of these religions' heroes to their missions. For Uchimura, because Muḥammad was born in Arabia, his religion became popular among those who dwelt in those areas. He argues that religious heroes had to be born in certain locations for the purpose of their work. Moreover, he states that it was God who sent the Buddha to India, and Muḥammad to the people of Arabia.

Uchimura's compositions between 1895 and 1900 illustrate that his assessment of Islam, Muslims and Muḥammad was complex. On the one hand, Islam had negative aspects but, on the other, it also had strengths even in comparison to Christianity. It is also apparent from these writings that Uchimura was familiar with the Qur'an.

Writings of comparative theological interest

Following the beginning of his monthly publication of *Seisho no Kenkyū* from 1901, Uchimura began to use aspects of Islam as theological tools and points of comparison. This theological use of the religion had appeared earlier in his 1892 *Mirai kannen no gensei ni okeru jigyō ni oyobosu seiryoku* ('The influences exerted on modern-day enterprises – a perspective from the future'), for example. The text contains several references to Islam, including descriptions of the presence of Islam in Spain. However, more important than these descriptions of the mundane world are Uchimura's theological comments. He writes that he cannot fathom the belief of some Christians who associate the Christian hope of heaven with a hope of carnal pleasure as found in Islam and other religions. His *Yotei no koto* ('On predestination') of 1900 also uses Islam for the purposes of theological comparison. Here he likens the Christian doctrine of predestination to the fatalism of Islam. In his 1901 *Pōro no Kirisutokan. Rōmasho to sono chūkai* ('Paul's views on Christ. The Epistle to the Romans and explanatory notes'), he writes that Islam, like Christianity, Buddhism and Shinto, is a human religion. It was created by the Arab peoples and is principally believed in by Arabs. In comparison, Christianity, he asserts, is a religion for the whole of humanity. In his 1903 *Kirisutokyō to sekai rekishi* ('Christianity and world history'), published in *Seisho no Kenkyū*, Uchimura

provides a brief description of Islam (as part of a list describing various religions), noting that the advancement of the religion is based on belief in a single God, and a single prophet, Muḥammad ('Mohametto'). He also refers to the Turks as 'Muslim' in his discussion of their recent conflicts. In his *Kirisutokyō mondō. Kirisuto no shinsei* ('Dialogue on Christianity. Christ's divinity'), published in the same year, he describes Muḥammad (alongside Socrates, Plato and Zoroaster) as standing next to Christ (as a teacher of humankind) like the moon or a star alongside the sun. This reflects other passages on inter-faith relations in his works, such as his descriptions of Buddha as the moon and Christ as the sun.

In the 1904 *Jinrui no daraku* ('Humankind's corruption'), he writes that Muḥammad told his disciples to be grateful to God since God had given them hearts capable of understanding and sympathising with the suffering of their compatriots. Uchimura continues in reflection on the passage to note that if one has humanity, and an understanding and sympathetic heart, then this world becomes easier to endure.

Writing on salvation in *Mui no goshūkan* ('Five weeks of idleness'), published in 1906, Uchimura records that, according to Christianity, those who believe in Muḥammad, a man who drew his sword and slaughtered his enemies for the sake of his faith, ought to be destroyed. In *Fukuin towa nanzo (hoka)* ('What is the good news? etc.'), published in the same year, Muḥammad is listed alongside the Buddhist deities Acala ('Fudō Myō-ō') and Shōten, with the note that there are many passionate believers in these figures. However, Uchimura also writes that it is only those who believe in God (*Ehoba*) who are saved. In *Iesu no mujun* ('The contradiction of Jesus'), also published in 1906, Uchimura explores the world's great men (*ijin*), including Martin Luther, Oliver Cromwell, Nichiren and others. Within the passage, he writes that, like Luther and Cromwell, Muḥammad was not as contradictory a person as is commonly assumed. His 1906 *Baputesuma no mokuteki* ('The purpose of baptism') argues that the Christian God, Trinitarian in nature, is not the God worshipped by Muslims. Published in the same year, *Atarashiki imashi* ('A new caution') claims that long ago there were many Muslims with much stronger faith than Christians. Many of these Muslims placed religion before their own lives.

In his 1907 *Ichiban erai hito. Nazare no Iesu* ('The most remarkable person. Jesus of Nazareth'), Uchimura describes all holy men as sinners in comparison to Christ. Using Muḥammad as one example, he marks out Muḥammad's sin as that of spreading his religion by the sword. Uchimura again comments on this in his 1907 *Yohanesho no kenkyū* ('Research on

the Epistles of John'). A short letter to the editor of *The Japan Chronicle* entitled 'Tired of Christians', published in April 1907 under the pen name 'A native Christian of 30 years standing', explores Uchimura's disdain for some Christians. He lists types of Christian conduct he views as contradictory, such as hiding one's faith when the world views it with hostility and proclaiming it when the world views it favourably. He proceeds to beg the editor, or any of the *Chronicle's* readers, to direct him to a group of any religious or non-religious nature, including any of an Islamic nature, whose people are heroic and unafraid in the same way as the Prophet Jeremiah, since it is to such a group he would like to apply for membership. This is a common trope in Uchimura's work. In his 1899 *Rōdō, hoka* ('Manual labour, etc.'), for instance, he describes belief in a form of Christianity with which he disagrees as less favourable than atheism, Buddhism, Confucianism or Islam.

Muḥammad is referred to as a literary example in Uchimura's 1908 *Mokushiroku wa ikanaru sho de aru ka* ('What sort of document is the Book of Revelation?'), where, expanding upon his thesis that the Book of Revelation was concerned with events within the immediate context in which it was written and not with predicting the future, he notes that there are no predictions of future events such as the coming of Muḥammad. In *Yogensha Eriya* ('The Prophet Elijah'), written in 1908, Uchimura offers notes on 1 Kings 18:28, which refers to the followers of Baal injuring themselves. He writes that even now Muslim clergy do the same to try to evoke the compassion or pity of their God. And in his 1908 *Kirisutokyō no seishitsu* ('The nature of Christianity'), Uchimura describes the nature of different religions, noting that it is said that Islam is a religion of valour or bravery. He continues to state that the nature of Christianity differs from that of Islam and Shinto.

In *Mōseden no kenkyū* ('Research on the life of Moses'), written in 1909, Uchimura notes that Judaism, Christianity and Islam are all linked through Moses. And in *Yo no shinkō no shinsui. Jinrui no fuhenteki kyūsai* ('The essence of a surplus of faith. Humanity's universal salvation'), also published in 1909, he notes that Christ carried all people upon his shoulders, including Buddhists, Muslims and atheists. In 1912, Uchimura penned *Mirai no saiban* ('Trial of the future'), in which he notes in the opening passage that all religions, including Islam, predict trials or judgement in the future. *Raise kakutoku no hitsuyō* ('The necessity of acquiring life after death'), written in 1913, notes that many in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism fail to teach clearly about the afterlife. In his 1913 *Hinpu no sabetsu, hoka* ('Disparity of wealth, etc'). Uchimura seeks to establish

that the religions of the world (Europe) are more correctly understood as the religions of Asians. To establish this point, he notes that Christ, Muḥammad and Buddha appeared among Asian peoples and took the form of Asian persons. Thus, while Europeans may hold dominion over the world of inanimate things, it is Asians who rule the spiritual world, and an Asian (Christ) who will rule and change the world when this world ends.

In the 1914, *Kirisuto shōgai towa nanzo* ('What was Christ's life?'), Uchimura writes that, following one's death, the reality of Christ's life becomes clear. Exploring the work of unnamed American missionaries, he develops their arguments to the furthest possible conclusion by reasoning that many great people, including Muḥammad, will have become Christians following their deaths.

Uchimura's increasingly theological use of aspects of Islam, its history and founder during the early 1900s reflects and intensifies his early treatment of the religion and its key figures. While Muḥammad is a lesser person than Christ, nonetheless things may be learnt from Islam and its founder. Moreover, Uchimura's treatment of Islam illustrates that aspects of the religion, or stories linked to it, were used to further his own theological agenda.

Literary and political comparisons

Uchimura also employed discussion of Islam for literary and political purposes. Using aspects of Islam as a literary device, he is able to reaffirm points made in the texts mentioned above and make statements about the nature of Christianity. In his *Nemuke-Zamashi, or something that prevents sleep* (1899), published in *Yorozu Chōhō*, speaking on the topic of Christian apostasy, Uchimura compares the mountain scaled by Muḥammad (itself greater than the Prophet), to Mt Fuji (itself greater than its climbers) in order to illustrate that Christianity is greater than its members, whilst in his comparison of the British and the Japanese (*Eikoku ni taisuru Nipponjin no dōjō, hoka*) he contrasts Muḥammad's use of physical force with the rejection of force by Christ. And in his 1899 article *Benmei* ('Explanation'), he compares Thomas Carlyle to Muḥammad and the Buddha, arguing that they are men whose intentions should be respected. His work contains lengthy political discussion on the Ottomans and other Muslim nations without direct reference to religion, such as in his 1897 *A nation that will rise* and *From Greece*, and his 1898 *Spanish rule in America*. Despite lacking direct references to Islam, these

works appear to capture one side of Uchimura's opinions on the religion of Islam and its members. In his 1897 *Hail to Greece!*, which explores Greek-Ottoman conflict, Uchimura argues that the Japanese might be drawn to support the Turks on the basis of their common ancestry and skin colour, but that they must take the side of the Greeks. A month later, in March 1897, he again refers to the conflict in *Peace, peace!*, lamenting that Christian nations are supporting the Turks (described as consistent murderers of Christians) out of fear of war among themselves – and falling stock prices. He also refers to the conflict in *Mr. Gladstone on Graeco-Turkish complication*, published the following month. In the early 1900s, Uchimura was also critical of Turkey, noting in his 1902 *Yo no jōtai to gojin no kibō* ('The condition of the world and our hopes') that at the end of the previous century Armenian Christians suffered under Turkish Muslims. His 1903 *Kirisutokyō to sekai rekishi* ('Christianity and world history') also links the Turks to their Muslim status when referring to their conflicts.

Elsewhere, in *The fatherland* of May 1897, Uchimura explores the hope that acceptance of Christianity may bring pro-foreign sentiment to Japan. In reinforcing this acceptance motif, he writes that, if Japan accepts the path of the Turks, becoming thus the enemies of civilisation, Japan is doomed. In June 1897, he published *Sympathy for Greece*, in which he criticises Europe for being sinful, and the Turks (described as 'Mohamedan') for creating a state in which many suffer. Both the Turks and the Europeans are understood to be tests sent by God to challenge the faithful of Greece. In his August 1897 *Thoughts and reflections*, Uchimura likens the Japanese to the Turks, Moors and Saracens because Christian nations unite against them. Furthermore, in his 1892 article *Japan's future as conceived by a Japanese* he predicts that Japan will become the centre of the Oriental world once European greed drives the European nations to encroach on the Mohamedan Empire (Turkey). However, perhaps rethinking his thoughts, his 1898 article *Notes*, published under the penname Benkei, focuses on fears that Japan will be used by the West, just like Turkey. Later articles also reflect this concern, such as in 1902, writing on the recently formed Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Uchimura warns, in his *Nichiei Dōmei ni kan suru shokan* ('Impressions regarding the Anglo-Japanese alliance'), that the United Kingdom, a country that seeks to educate foreign countries through the use of missionaries, has exposed its hypocritical political system by aiding Turkish Muslims in the persecution of Christians. Uchimura's political position

encapsulates a belief that Islamic nations are inferior to Christian ones, but simultaneously illustrates a hope, and points to fears, that Japan will replace Turkey on the world scene.

Miscellaneous references to Islam

Numerous works contain miscellaneous references to Islam, many of which lack expansion or any particular value judgement. These include, in his 1899 *Diogenes' hope*, reference to the Qur'an as a text holding much power, and in his 1900 *Umi no tōzai, hoka* ('The East and West of the ocean, etc?') his note that the Buddha, Christ and Muḥammad are linked through their hope of attaining pure body and mind. Writing on marriage in his 1893 treatise on the Book of Ruth, entitled *Rutsuki* ('The Book of Ruth'), he notes that a marriage based on lies and falsehood, regardless of whether one is Buddhist, Muslim, Christian or atheist, is nothing other than sadness. In his *Yo no manabi shi seijisho* ('The political writings I have learned'), he lists Muḥammad among other religious leaders, artists and famous figures, noting that, while they were not political scholars, they had a political message. Such lists are not uncommon in Uchimura's works; some have already been noted. Another example of an absence of judgement or any attempt at expansion is the listing of Muḥammad and other prominent religious figures in his 1901 *Kurisumasu zakkan* ('Miscellaneous impressions on Christmas'), published in *Seisho no Kenkyū*. He also occasionally references the Qur'an or Muḥammad in order to provide examples for his arguments, as in his 1893 *Kyūanroku* or his *Getsuyō kōen* ('Monday lectures'), in which he refers to Muḥammad's enthusiastic praise of heaven.

There are also articles on language, such as his 1899 *Gaikokugo no kenkyū* ('Research on foreign languages'), which explores Arabic, Persian and Middle Eastern languages that Uchimura believes were shaped by religion. And in his 1896 *Seiyō bunmei no shinzui* ('The essence of Western civilisation'), he notes the religious foundations of civilisations, including the use of the Qur'an as the basis for the governance of Arab peoples. He records the historical strength of Muslims in the fields of medicine and mathematics, while in his 1898 *Christianity and righteousness*, written under the pen name 'Diogenes', he speaks about Protestant, Catholic and Muslim missions that focus on the building of infrastructure (such as schools), though these are not in themselves signs of enduring faith.

In his 1903 *Nihonkoku no daikonnann* ('Japan's major difficulties'), Uchimura questions why at the height of Muslim prosperity, countries

such as Turkey, Egypt, Morocco and Spain were able to cultivate science but have since been unable to bring their science into full fruition. By contrast, following their acceptance of Christianity, European powers have been able to advance. There are also references to Muslim civilisation in his 1905 *Kirisuto ni itaru no michi, hoka* ('The path to Christ, etc.'). His 1908 *Kuni wa Kirisutokyō nakushite tatsu o eru ka* ('Without Christianity can a country keep going?') provides a lengthy explanation of the historical presence of Muslim Moors in Europe. He concludes that, whilst the Moors had an extensive empire and made advances in the sciences, they were unable to maintain their independence. Less relevant perhaps are his 1902 account of visiting two zoos, *Niko no dōbutsuen* ('Two zoos'), which refers to Muḥammad in its exploration of Bactrian camels, and his 1902 *Kurisumasu ensetsu. Heiwa to ronsō* ('Christmas speech. Peace and strife'), which refers to the British conflict with Muslims in Somaliland. Further descriptive texts include the 1905 *Jinrui no shūkyō wake* ('The division of mankind's religions'), which provides figures for the followers of the world religions, and his 1906 *Kirisutosha wa nani yue ni zen o nasubeki ka* ('Why should Christians perform virtue?'), which notes that many Muslims do not drink alcohol, whereas many Christians do not abstain.

These miscellaneous references to Islam also illustrate the importance that Uchimura placed on the religion, its thought, history and place in the modern world, in spite of his limited interaction with it. Throughout his corpus, he uses standardised terms such as Mahomet, Mohammedan or Mohamedan, Mohammedanism, their transliterated Japanese equivalents, or more traditional Japanese terms such as *fuifuikyō*. None of these terminological choices betrays any particular position vis-à-vis Islam and Muslims as such.

Uchimura's exploration and descriptions of Islam historically, politically and theologically, as well his use of aspects of Islam to aid in his theologising, illustrate a complex evaluation of the religion. Within this evaluation, he makes both positive, negative and neutral assessments. At his most positive, Islam and Muslims may trump Christians in certain qualities; they have historically had stronger faith and, if there were an Islamic group whose people were heroic and unafraid, he would readily join it. Muḥammad was sent by God, and is one of history's great figures, who is perhaps even saved through a potential post-death conversion to Christianity. Some Muslim figures have also made socio-political advances, such as those who banned slavery. Such positive assessments often appear to be used for apologetic purposes, with the goal of strengthening Christian faith or reforming the practice of it.

Negative assessments generally focus on the violence with which Islam spread, contemporaneous conflicts, European conflicts involving Turkey, and the inability of Islamic nations to foster lasting civilisation. Moreover, whilst Muḥammad was a great historical figure, he was a sinner in comparison with Christ and inferior to Nichiren, and had numerous unredeemable features and erroneous ideas. Passages with no clear positive or negative alignment neutrally describe aspects of Islam or related features of the mundane world. Despite offering both endorsements and condemnations of Islam, there is a general position that becomes clear when reading his work.

Whilst Uchimura views Christianity as the only true and efficacious religion, Islam and indeed other religions are not without their place in the world. Their figures are historically important; they are like the moon or the stars alongside the sun. Many of the positive qualities of these religions and their followers can be used to improve the practice and faith of Christians. Indeed, the Japanese version of *Propagandistic nuisance, Fui fuikyō shinja ni okuru bun*, which is the only reference to direct interaction with a Muslim in Uchimura's corpus, illustrates that Uchimura viewed Muslims as his equals. Holding Christians and Muslims to the same standard, he states that so long as they did not try to convert him (something that he would not seek to do to them), he was more than happy to associate and form friendships with them.

SIGNIFICANCE

Uchimura's exploration of Islam is highly significant for understanding Christian-Muslim relations, and Christian thought on Islam, in East Asia during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although most of his references are relatively cursory and do not point to much in the way of direct interactions with Muslims, his corpus of work nevertheless appears to contain the most extensive Japanese Christian treatment of Islam during the period. Since few Muslims were present in Japan during Uchimura's lifetime, and even completely absent during the composition of his earlier texts, it is unlikely that his thought influenced Christian-Muslim relations while he was alive. Nevertheless, Uchimura was a popular writer whose work influenced not only theologians and academics, including political theorists Tadao Yanaihara (1893-1961) and Nanbara Shigeru (1889-1974), novelists Shiga Naoya (1883-1971) and Masamune Hakuchō (1879-1962), and the theologian Kurosaki Kōkichi (1886-1970), but also the general public and future generations of the Japanese elite. Thus, his work probably had a lasting influence on the ways in which Japanese Christians, and especially those in Uchimura's own church,

the *Mukyōkai*, interacted with the religious other of Islam. Despite all this, virtually no research has been carried out on Uchimura's thought vis-à-vis Islam, in Japanese or any other language.

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Since 2009, Uchimura's complete works have been made available in digital DVD format: *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū* edited by Shinichi Ōtsuka, is accessible in libraries world-wide. For original versions of the texts, collections at the International Christian University (Tokyo), the archives of the *Mukyōkai* at the Imaikan (Tokyo), and Waseda University (Tokyo) should be consulted.

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Australasia

The Coolgardie Miner and other Western Australian mining newspapers, 1894-1914

DATE 1894-1914

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Coolgardie Miner was a weekly newspaper with a local readership around the mining area of Coolgardie. Before 1850, Western Australia had been relatively starved economically, but once alluvial gold was struck fields were opened in Kimberly, Yilgarn, Pilbara, Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie, attracting Anglo-Christian prospectors in great numbers. To connect those centres, animals more effective than bullocks were needed, and so camels – hardier and better suited to desert conditions – were imported (see Illustration 10, on p. 469). With them, approximately 3,000 Afghans settled in Australia to labour as cameleers, so that transportation to and between Western Australian mining camps was governed almost entirely by Afghans. Driving their camels, they supplied much-needed water and foodstuffs to remote settlements such as Coolgardie. Although they had diverse tribal affiliations, most were Pashtun, and virtually all were devout Muslims. Several primary accounts note that they carried prayer mats with them and raised makeshift mosques, often from corrugated iron sheets, wherever they went. Their faith practices were conspicuous in the outback.

In the newspaper, conflation of faith and race was commonplace. An April 1897 entry titled ‘The Afghan trouble’ (*The Coolgardie Miner*, Thursday 15 April, 1897, p. 4) refers to Muslims as fanatics, describing ‘awful horrors that follow even the temporary triumphs of the black man over the white, or the Moslem over the Christian’. The writer claims that such horrors – ‘defilement and debasement of the living’ and ‘outraging of women and children’ – have been proved by history and are thus unavoidable in Australia all the while that Muslims and Anglo-Christians coexist too closely and compete for jobs. Coolgardie Afghans are perceived to be ‘more or less hateful of whites’ and prone to violence. Then a religious element is introduced again as the author predicts that, were any skirmish to occur, Muslims would ‘carry it on to the bitter finish in the sure and certain hope of a high seat in the Paradise of Islam’.

According to him, Muslims believe that they will be rewarded for crippling 'the white-faced unbeliever'.

Race and religion are often treated interchangeably. References to 'Afghan troubles' and 'Afghan scares' and 'the Afghan menace' were informed by international reportage. Mining papers asserted belief in a global interreligious conflict between Muslims and Christians, or crescent and cross. *The Coolgardie Miner* was no exception. Readers were regularly updated with editorials regarding actions in Crete for independence from the Ottoman empire. Titles such as 'Islamism v. Christianity' and 'Christian v. Moslem' frame war between Crete and Turkey as an interfaith struggle. Contributions to *The Coolgardie Miner* were also concerned with forced conversions and the persecution of Armenian Christians within Ottoman lands. One 5 March 1897 article describes 'Mahomet and his followers' thus: 'By grouping the faithful the mosque multiplies the forces of Islam, and men, otherwise fierce and untameable, find in its ritual a coherence for their aims and a direction for their most dangerous instincts' (p. 7). The writer explains a few Islamic doctrines, from the geographical and spiritual centrality of Mecca to the absolute nature of qur'anic revelation. Militarism is given as a defining characteristic. Elsewhere in Australian newspapers are titles such as 'Horrible massacre of Christians', 'Priest burned alive', and 'Thirty Christians slaughtered'. While this content does not relate to personal encounters in Coolgardie, it must have influenced how Christians there viewed their Muslim neighbours. Other entries reinforce the notion that mullahs use mosques to galvanise Muslims, to lead them 'into their warfare in their religious frenzy' ('India and Afghanistan', Tuesday 17 August, 1897, p. 5). An April 1899 submission to *The Coolgardie Miner*, for example, states that 'we comfortable newspaper-reading Christians' would be shocked by the way 'subtle Mahometan missionaries' spread Islam 'all over the world' through congregational worship ('A pan-Islam propagandist', Friday 5 April, 1899, p. 6). Muslims in Western Australia raised makeshift mosques to congregate and pray, which evidently stirred anxiety among the non-Muslim population.

For Muslims, the ability to worship communally was crucial. As early as 1895, according to Mohamed Hasan Musakhan, Muslims in Perth campaigned – although without success – to raise government subscription for a mosque-building programme, 'as other communities had attained for their respective Churches and Synagogues' (Kabir, *Muslims in Australia*, p. 70). Despite being denied any land grants, every Afghan

community in Western Australia had a mosque at its centre, from Coolgardie to Mount Malcolm, Leonora and Mount Magnet. They were raised in what were called 'ghantowns'.

Contemporary sources suggest life in Coolgardie was sharply segregated between the general Christian population and the ghtantown. An anonymous contributor to *The Coolgardie Miner* notes that the 'better class of whites' would usually avoid the Bayley Street area and the mosque altogether ('A railway for Coolgardie', Saturday 28 April, 1894, p. 2). A marked exception to the rule came upon the death of Tagh Mahomet, who was killed by a fellow Muslim while at prayer. With the violence happening during *ṣalāt*, Anglo-Christian contributors to *The Coolgardie Miner* were prompted to explain Islamic prayer and funerary procedure to their readership. Proceedings from the inquest were published in the paper a week later ('The murder of Tagh Mahomet', Saturday, 18 January 1896, p. 2). The man accused, Goulam Mahomet, and his interpreter and Afghan witnesses, including a mullah named Majeet (*sic*), were all asked to swear upon the Qur'an before testifying. Early reports had to explain why so many Muslims were present at mosque before sunrise: 'Good Mahommedans go five times a day to pray.' Tagh was reported to have died in a kneeling posture, facing west, 'because Mohammedans when praying face the west'. Another noteworthy detail: Goulam wore shoes when he committed the crime, even though 'Mohammedans have no right to enter the mosque with their boots at any time'. While these descriptions tend to be illustrative, there does seem to be genuine interest in the means by which Muslims pray.

The incident at the Coolgardie mosque was reported in *The Kalgoorlie Miner* on 11 January and again on 13 January 1896 ('The murder of Tagh Mahomet. An Afghan funeral. Strange scenes at the grave', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, Monday, 13 January 1896, p. 2). What the article makes abundantly clear is that local authorities extended to Muslims purview over their own dead, and that post-mortem was waived. The examiner determined cause of death without touching the body because for 'an unbeliever to do so' would be 'against the principles of the Koran'. Another report elaborates that 'under the Moslem law no Christian is permitted to touch a Musselman after death' as it would 'remove all chance of the deceased ever reaching paradise' ('The murder of Tagh Mohamet', *The Murchison Times and Day Dawn Gazette*, Saturday, January 18 1896, p. 2). Tagh had had a white cloth laid over his face. For the funeral, his body was 'carried on the shoulders of several Afghans' without a covered coffin, to a gravesite described as 'different to those' used in Christian burial.

Ultimately, Faiz Mahomet ordered a stay on interment so Tagh could be sent back to his Karachi home. An earlier *Kalgoorlie Miner* article describes Tagh as a 'good Mussulman' who was 'accustomed to devote prayers to Allah every morning' ('Graphic description of the dastardly deed', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, Saturday, 11 January 1896, p. 2). Despite hesitancy from the Christian population about mosque-building in Western Australia, Tagh Mahomet had been well-regarded by the Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie communities. Mining papers reporting his death and the funeral to follow show quite a keen interest in how Islamic rites were respected throughout the process.

Coolgardie was the third largest town in Western Australia by the turn of the 20th century. Roughly 300 Afghans had settled there permanently. Kalgoorlie lies less than 40 kilometres north-east of Coolgardie. *The Kalgoorlie Miner*, usually abbreviated to *The Miner*, expresses similar themes regarding religious activity among the Afghan population. Their dietary customs and prayer habits were most conspicuous to Christian miners. Race and religion were conflated more often than not, though some social encounters between Christians and Muslims in Western Australia were positive. Two Afghans called Yesop and Ameer, who were by all accounts well-liked by Coolgardie residents, joined Sunday evening festivities, for example, playing their instruments with the Salvation Army band – though their indigenous music was perceived to mix 'somewhat incongruously with the music of the Salvation Army' ('A railway for Coolgardie', *Coolgardie Miner*, Saturday, 28 April 1894, p. 2). There are also primary records that attest to personal friendships developing between mullahs and Salvation Army officers.

SIGNIFICANCE

In 1932, Mohamed Hasan Musakhan (b. 1836) published *The history of Islamism in Australia* in 'remembrance of the things done and work and services rendered by camel-men to establish Islam in Australia' (p. 1932-b). There is no doubt that relations between Afghans and local Anglo-Australian miners had a religious component to them. Mining camps set a stage for ongoing exchange between Christians and Muslims, though many encounters might be classed under a race-relations category.

Both *The Coolgardie Miner* and *The Kalgoorlie Miner* were established in the context of a broader immigration discourse. The 1895 Western Australian Goldfields Act had a stipulation designed to limit Afghan trade participation. Section 14 denied 'Miners' rights' to Afghans but not to Indians who, whether Muslim or not, could be deemed British

subjects. Policies drafted between then and 1901 targeted Afghan immigration, based upon the belief that ‘alien races’ would be ‘incapable of being assimilated’ (J.A. La Nauze, *Alfred Deakin*, Melbourne, 1965, p. 280) into Australian society. Submissions to *The Coolgardie Miner* frequently deploy race-based stereotyping that either reduces the individual to skin colour (‘bronze skins’) or a dress item (‘beturbaned and baggy-panted’) or subsumes individuals within an imagined collective. Loaded metaphors portray immigration as an overwhelming irreversible force. English-speaking residents addressed Afghan immigration as an ‘Asiatic Question’ which they consciously related to the imperial ‘Eastern Question’ paradigm. Writers to *The Coolgardie Miner* readily conflated faith and race when appraising their Afghan neighbours. Religion was a contributing factor, not a defining one. Increasingly, however, Islam came to be associated with militarism and fanaticism and was considered incompatible with Christianity. Thus, the Christian population viewed the mosque with increasing suspicion as the 20th century approached.

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Katherine Jennings

Publications from Australian port towns

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The first Muslims to land in Australia traded along the northern coastline. They were Macassan, native to south Sulawesi. They sailed southwest to northern Australia and stayed for four months at a time to hunt and trade in sea cucumbers (trepang) collected, dried and smoked for sale. Their encounters with Anglo-Australians were mostly confined to the trading sphere. During the later 19th century, the maritime industry, supported by state and later by federal governments, started to legislate against this trading activity. Official sources from the time suggest that, although job competition and cultural resentment drove policy, religion was a contributing factor.

An entry in the *Hobart Town Daily Mercury* on 20 December 1858 ('Conversion of the world to Christianity', p. 2) indicates that stories about Macassan Muslims had spread south. The author sees little room for co-operation because the 'Mahomedan Malay has already his book' and will meet 'the Christian with a revelation of his own', as 'book confronts book'. Another article sent to *The Age* around the same time (Monday, 5 December 1859, p. 4) calls Macassans 'the Arabs of the ocean' and 'missionaries of the religion of Mahomet'. Islam is defined as 'receding with broken wing where in contact with Christianity' but as spreading to Australasia, introduced by the 'bold seaman, sharp trader, keen fanatic', who 'brings the Koran' with him and has 'propagated Mahomedanism even among our roving aboriginals!'

Many indigenous Australians did indeed convert to Islam as more Macassans settled among them. Despite prejudices, trade between Muslims and Christians had prospered during the mid-19th century. As many as 40 ships were sailing annually from the Indonesian archipelago to Australia, manned by up to a thousand men. Trading posts and meat factories dotted the Northern Territory coastline. As many as 1,800 Muslim pearl divers were also active along the coast. However, all contact ceased in 1906 with a government-issued ban on Macassan trade. To examine the deterioration in relations, religion must be considered.

An article submitted to the *Gympie Times and Mary River Mining Gazette* one year after the ban grapples uneasily with interfaith affairs ('Pan-Islamism', Saturday, 16 February 1907). The writer states at the outset that, although 'the religious movement amongst the Mahomedans' may have a 'remote bearing on things Australian', the 'question of Pan-Islamism is not so remote as at first sight appears', and reference is made to Muslims from the 'Malay Archipelago'. Evidently some moved to the coast of Western Australia to settle permanently. In 1886, Abdulla Saheb, Ahsan Ali, Suliman Ali and John Thomas are registered as Fremantle residents; despite one anglicised name, all are identified as being of 'Malay and Mahomedan extractions'. At least a few individual Muslims lived in Bendigo in Victoria. A civil case recorded in the *Bendigo Advertiser* ('The swearing of witnesses', Thursday, 10 June 1858, p. 2) was filed in 1858 by a Malay 'Mahomedan' against 'his countryman'. They were both 'sworn on the Koran', which was considered notable. Another article, titled 'Justice in want of the Koran' and issued in the same newspaper (Thursday, 30 December 1858, p. 2), criticises the way the magistrate conducted the case from a faith-based position. The two men involved are assumed to be co-religionists, but what the author questions is whether they are orthodox Muslims. He calls their religion a matter of 'superstitions' and so varied that had they been 'sworn on the Christian Bible'; the oath should have been equally binding. In the event, because no Qur'an was available, the hearing was delayed for eight days. Here, the writer suggests that the defendant, who was detained for the duration, was 'no doubt speculating on the marvels of the Christian mode of administering justice!' Despite contending that 'many professing Christians' sworn upon the Bible are 'in reality Infidels' and that swearing witnesses according to their national customs or 'religious belief' is 'supremely absurd', the article concludes with a call to any local Muslims willing to provide a Qur'an in order to hasten proceedings.

Macassans have been described as the 'historical anchors' of Muslim presence in Australia (Clark and May (eds), *Macassan history and heritage*, p. 55). Another major origin of Muslim migration was the Indian subcontinent. The first Indian Muslims to reach Australian shores did so in 1791 and 1795: Zimram Wriam and Mahomet Cassan (*sic*) respectively. Indian and Ceylonese workers were then dispatched to Port Jackson and Norfolk Island to work as lascars. (Derived from the Arabic *al-askar*, 'guard' or 'soldier', lascar was commonly used to describe sailors of South Asian or Arab descent but also referred specifically to Indian 'servants'.)

By the late 19th century, lascars were being organised within the maritime industry along racial and religious lines. *The Sydney Herald* registers on 31 January 1889 ('Lascar crews', p. 9) that over the preceding decade some 22,000 lascars had sailed to Australian ports from Bombay, the majority of whom 'are Mahometans' and therefore 'are subject to no caste prejudices', unlike the Hindu minority. It is noted that their faith prohibits alcohol consumption, therefore 'drunkenness is exceedingly rare among them'. Muslims were considered to be 'clannish' and prone to working 'in gangs' aboard vessels, while Hindus and Sikh lascars were generally thought to be more peaceable.

Encounters between Muslims and Christians often happened at sea and were reported later in the local press. An entry made in May 1886 in a paper based in New South Wales, the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* ('Waifs and strays: Islam', *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Saturday, 15 May 1886, p. 7), recounts the time the author spent aboard the mail steamer *Indus* with a Nubian Muslim he calls Edouard Ramadan. The writer, Mr Postlethwaite, expresses surprise that Ramadan never referred to those whose faith differed from his as infidels and, indeed, he showed willingness to 'hear all that could be advanced in favour of the Christian creed'. Ramadan was known to leave the company to perform his prayers, where he would make his 'wishes to Allah and invoke the assistance of the Prophet' with 'semi-closed eyes and reverent bowing' of his head. Postlethwaite further remarks upon Ramadan's strict observance of 'rules laid down by the Prophet' and his 'championism [*sic*] of the Koran', and suggests his piety would 'put to the blush many professing Christians'.

Despite his admiration for Ramadan, Postlethwaite expresses hostile views towards other Muslim crewmen, complaining that 'bigoted lascars' conducting their 'pattern of faithfulness' made 'day and night hideous with their voluble gibberish'. But ultimately Postlethwaite concludes that he and his fellow Christians 'are too quick to denominate Mohammedanism'. Regarding morality, Islam, to his mind, is admirable, if 'inferior to Christianity itself'. Before travelling back to New South Wales, Ramadan bade him farewell thus: 'May Allah my God, and your God, bless you'. Postlethwaite regarded his relationship with Ramadan as friendly and, from a religious perspective, mutually respectful.

Records suggest that at least a few lascars stayed permanently in Australia, and some converted to Christianity in order to enjoy protections extended to British seafarers. A Muslim man named Saib Sultan and his unnamed wife settled in Hobart Town in 1809 and, by 1818, Saib

had anglicised his name to Jacob and received a land grant from the newly-founded Tasmanian government. Immigration from the Indian subcontinent continued throughout the 19th century and into the 20th for Muslims seeking work in Queensland and New South Wales.

Muslims were on some occasions free to hold public festivals. In Brisbane in April 1903, *The Telegraph* ('Mahometan festival: Celebrated in Brisbane: Novel scene at the wharf, Wednesday, 8 April 1903, p. 2) reported that 'where the Islamite congregates' Muslims celebrated the 'anniversary of Mohammed, or Mahomet, himself'. At Mary Street Wharf, 50 lascars from the crew of the *Umballa*, accompanied by Christian officers, set off in two boats from the offshore steamer, one carrying to the dock a 'model of a Mahometan tomb' around which sword-bearers sat on guard, who then processed onshore. Locals had gathered to witness the festival that celebrates descendants of the Prophet, 'Hassin and Assin [*sic*]', evidently a Shi'ī commemoration of the death of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn. Similar accounts were recorded in Western Australia, where Afghan Muslims mounted communal observances for significant occasions.

SIGNIFICANCE

Reports such as these and other records confirm that Islam reached Australia before Christianity. Indigenous tribes were receptive to visiting Muslims and had been so since at least the 18th century, which resulted in sustained cross-exchange, even intermarriage and conversion.

Relations between Anglo-Christian traders and Muslim hunters of sea cucumbers across the Northern Territory coastline were comparatively much more strained, existing primarily in the commercial sphere and deteriorating before the 20th century. Trade ended officially with policies that restricted commercial activity based upon ethnicity, when Macassan hunters of sea cucumbers and Malay pearl divers were known to be Muslim and some anxieties were expressed about their perceived success in bringing Islam to the indigenous population.

Indian Muslims were employed at south-eastern ports to work as lascars during the 19th century and were known among coastal populations to be practising Muslims. Christian employers organised them according to religion rather than race, distinguishing between Sikh, Hindu and Muslim groups – Hindu Indians were perceived to have a closer affinity with Britain and to be compatible with the colonial project. Muslims from the lascar set would later be recruited to fight for the Allies,

believed by military leaders to possess a military character unlike their Hindu countrymen.

From a Muslim perspective, Islamic circulars were being distributed throughout India and South-East Asia at the time, raising concerns about racism and faith-based hostility in the British colonies. Such material would have informed Indian and Indonesian Muslims before they landed along the Australian coast.

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Katherine Jennings

Accounts by British travellers in Western Australia

Ernest Giles

William Ernest Powell Giles, born in Bristol on 20 July 1835 and educated in London, spent most of his working life in Australia. He emigrated to South Australia with his parents as a 15 year-old, found employment in Victoria as a miner and then as a clerk before he retired from town life. He gained experience as a bushman and had been exploring and surveying for several years before he led his first organised expedition in 1872, arranged by Ferdinand Mueller (1825-96). After five expeditions, he worked as a land classifier and again as a clerk, and wrote accounts of his journeys. Although the five expeditions found little in the way of viable agricultural land, they yielded a wealth of new information about central Australian geography. Giles was awarded a fellowship and gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society. He died in Coolgardie, Western Australia, in 1897.

David Lindsay

David Lindsay was born in Goolwa, a river port in South Australia, on 20 June 1856, and was educated by the Reverend John Hotham in Port Elliot. He worked as an apprentice for the South Australian state government survey department, then as a junior surveyor and clerk in the Northern Territory. In 1883, he led his first expedition in the north, under South Australian sponsorship. Later, he was given charge of the Elder Scientific Exploring Expedition, named after Sir Thomas Elder, who commissioned and equipped the entire journey. The expedition set out to explore unmapped land between South Australia and the western coast but they encountered an unusually intense dry season and abandoned their work without achieving much success. Lindsay continued to conduct topographical surveys for a living, finding workable land for farmers. He died in Darwin in 1922.

Albert Calvert

Albert Frederick Calvert was born in Kentish Town, Middlesex, on 20 July 1872, and was raised in the principal care of his grandfather, John Calvert, a mineralogist. Calvert was 18 years old when he first travelled

to Western Australia to join an expedition to the upper Murchison River. During the course of his career, he made several discoveries of scientific significance, studying minerals and animal and plant life, and surveying the land. He was sponsored by the Royal Geographical Society to map a supply route from the Northern Territory to the western goldfields. He directed a mining company and worked as a mining consultant until 1898, when he turned his attention to art history and history. Calvert was a prolific author who wrote in several modes on many subjects. After several years of travelling and publishing, he died in Islington, London, on 27 June 1946.

Accounts by British travellers

DATE c. 1870-c. 1900

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The three Englishmen, Ernest Giles, David Lindsay and Albert Frederick Calvert, who surveyed Western Australia during the 19th century, assisted by Afghan Muslims, left accounts in their journals of their travels. Their published journals are distinct from local sources because they were there expressly to charter the land rather than to settle it. Western Australia, formerly a wool and wheat economy, attracted explorers and researchers after the first gold rushes. Giles, Lindsay and Calvert each employed practising Muslims from resident Afghan communities. Encounters between these Muslims and Afghan camel-drivers, which unfolded over months or years, were transcribed by the English-speaking parties.

William Ernest Powell Giles (1835-97) wrote journals for each expedition he made through South and Western Australia. There were five altogether, between 1872 and 1876, all recounted in *Australia twice traversed. The romance of travel* – the title implies a romantic interest in the outback. For the fourth journey, Giles hired an Afghani named Saleh Mahomet to drive the caravan. Their party was six men strong, with four Englishmen, as well as Saleh and a temporary hire, Coogee Mahomet. Giles calls Saleh and Coogee ‘countrymen’ and ‘coreligionists’. They departed from Beltana on 6 May 1875, bearing westward, and travelled for three months until they reached Fremantle. Giles regarded his work as having a Christian mandate, to pioneer and to honour ‘the great Designer

of the universe'. His intended audience was 'both English and Colonial readers'.

During one evening's dialogue, Giles and Saleh and their companions had a disagreement over the direction in which the moon tracks through the sky (east to west or west to east). Giles complains that it 'would have been far easier to have converted [Saleh] to Christianity' than to get him to change his opinion. After siding against him, Giles comments that Saleh was 'scandalised' and 'all his religious ideas seemed upset'. Only once elsewhere does Giles mention in much detail the manner in which Saleh prayed. Here, Giles describes the way every evening he enjoyed pointing Saleh south rather than east in order to disorient each prayer that Saleh offered. In his eyes, Muslim prayer involved Saleh '[abasing] himself in the sand'.

Giles recounts another conversation where he tells Saleh that *ṣalāt* and praying for reward or return from Allāh, 'your God', is futile and would only disappoint Saleh, to which Saleh replies, 'Ah, Mr. Gile, you not religious'. Later Giles clarifies his own faith position, stating that, apart from treating Sunday as a day for devotion, a 'continual state of prayer' is unnecessary. It is better, writes Giles, to worship God through His 'handywork'. Giles carried with him a belief that 'the Designer and Creator' must have intended 'intelligent beings of a future time to traverse those areas of the desert that it had pleased Him in wisdom to permit to remain secluded from the more lovely places' where 'civilised man' had, until then, been confined.

Throughout his commentary, Giles shows little interest in Islam theologically. He expresses some concern about the differences between himself and Saleh and Coogee, though many of these are cultural as well as religious. His appraisals of faith are nonetheless revealing. Giles recognises that Saleh, who carried his own preserved *ḥalāl* meats from a butchery at Beltana, was 'a good Mussulman'. Saleh refused on religious grounds to eat swine flesh and could, Giles notices, only consume wallaby or emu meat *en route* if they were correctly slaughtered, otherwise 'his religious scruples would have prevented him from eating any of it'. Saleh evidently tried to adhere to the requirements of *dhabīḥa*, orienting animals towards Mecca and invoking Allāh prior to slaughter, though Giles suggests that Saleh was not always quick enough to do so and the party did not always wait. Aside from live kills, Saleh preferred smoked beef slaughtered in butcheries 'in the orthodox Mohammedan style'. Many British observers had a particular fascination with Islamic dietary customs.

David Lindsay (1856-1922) developed a partnership with Mahmoud Azim during his Elder Expedition. *Journal of the Elder Expedition 1891-2* sketches encounters between Lindsay and several Muslims as well as Mahmoud, that is, Hadji Shah Mahomet, whom Lindsay calls 'jimador' or leader of the camel train, Abdul, Mahyedin, and Alumgool (*sic*). Their services had all been arranged through Faiz and Tagh Mahomet. Lindsay lays out a Christian basis for their exploratory mission stating that, every Sunday, time will be set aside for Bible reading and prayer, 'for which religious service all members of the party should be called together'. While Giles showed curiosity about Saleh's private faith positions, Lindsay registers less interest in interfaith dialogue between Christian and Muslim party-members. His concern is with food preservation. Halfway through their journey, Mahmoud tells him how the *ḥalāl* meat supply 'is getting short', and the response from Lindsay is one of irritation: 'This is one of the troubles with Afghans: you cannot control their meat.' An early May entry suggests Lindsay killed a bullock for his Afghan employees to eat, portioned it and preserved it, though he is unclear as to whether he attempted to follow *ḥalāl* rules.

The Muslims in the party prepared and carried their own cured flesh foods. Lindsay describes how Hadji 'cut the throats of the sheep', and that otherwise 'Afghans would not have eaten any of it'. In general, he shows little interest in religion and is also less preoccupied with racial or



Illustration 20. David Lindsay, as a young man

cultural divides, so these passages which outline *ḥalāl* protocols seem to have been mentioned because he found them to be 'extremely annoying' and a hindrance to quicker progress towards the Murchison River.

Albert Frederick Calvert (1872-1946) went to Western Australia to study minerals and was employed there as a mining consultant. The Calvert Scientific Exploring Expedition (1896-7) was funded to carry on work begun by the Lindsay-led Elder Expedition. Calvert refers to Christianity as 'the most potent engine of civilization', and to the 'Western Australian natives' as barbaric because they abide by laws that are 'as binding of those of the Bible or the Koran' but steeped in superstition. His travel log, *My fourth tour in Western Australia*, details his daily encounters with Muslims along the way.

Calvert refers to Afghan cameleers more often by race than by religion: the 'white man, strong in the superiority of his race, of the glory of the British Empire, regards the Afghan camel-driver as an effete alien'. Nonetheless, he acknowledges that divides between the two groups were sharpened by religious difference. At one stage he comments that however 'honest and industrious' the 'Oriental' may or may not be, he is 'above all a total abstainer [from alcohol] on religious grounds'.

Calvert had a long-standing acquaintance with the brothers Faiz and Tagh Mahomet, two Muslim businessmen with a substantial shared stake in Western Australian transportation. Faiz, the elder brother, had 500 men working for him by 1890 and was active in Anglo-Afghan civic affairs. The younger brother was killed by a fellow Muslim named Goulam (or Goulam) while praying at Coolgardie mosque on 10 January 1896. Calvert, who was in Coolgardie at the time, recounts the 'tragic occurrence' for his readers, paying particular attention to the Islamic funeral rites performed by Goulam prior to his execution at Fremantle Prison. Goulam Mahomet was accompanied by a priest (imam) who 'passed the Koran across the bosom of the culprit' and traced the first part of the *shahāda* across his forehead: *Lā ilāha illā llāh*, recorded here as 'La ilaha ilullah'. Calvert writes sensitively about Goulam, how he showed 'stoicism' and 'fortitude' as he approached the gallows, attired in 'spotless white vestments, barefooted, and wearing a red fez'. Calvert estimates that, as a devout Muslim 'in the last moments of his life', Goulam was bound to be telling the truth in his final statements. Goulam had a white cloth laid across his face while he 'fervently' professed 'the Mahomedan prayer: La ilaha ilullah Mahammadur Rasullullah', which Calvert understands to mean, 'There is no god but the One God, and Mahomet is His Prophet'. Calvert concludes by describing the way the coffin, which was covered

with flowers, was interred, beyond the prison walls and 'borne to the grave on the shoulders of Afghans'. The January incident, both the murder and the subsequent capital punishment, was addressed by Australian newspapers but generally with less emphasis on the 'Mahommedan rites' that Calvert recalls. However hostile interfaith relations may have been in Western Australia, Muslims were granted faith-appropriate funerals, as were Hindus and Sikhs.

Other encounters between British-born Christian explorers and Afghan-born Muslims in Western Australia are also on record. For example, Peter Egerton-Warburton (b. 1813) travelled with two Muslims who are referenced repeatedly in his *Journey across the western interior of Australia*. Many more such accounts have been archived. On the whole, remarks in them about Islam are peripheral.

SIGNIFICANCE

Calvert and his peers did not travel to Western Australia to meet Muslims. Their priorities were first and foremost commercial – they were there under public subscription to charter the land. However, they were believing Christians. They stated their faith openly and carried with them a sense that their faith, allied to cultural superiority and civility, set them apart from any Muslims with whom they travelled. Thus, their encounters with Muslims were shaped by their own faith positions.

Lindsay has the least to say about Islam, mentioning *ḥalāl* standards only briefly and as a hindrance to forward progress; he is correspondingly less preoccupied with cultural difference. Daily faith-acts such as performing *ṣalāt* are viewed with relative curiosity. Although Giles offers some evaluative insights, their commentaries are largely descriptive and are often dismissive. Saleh is accepted as an 'other' both religiously and culturally. Similar 'othering' is applied to all non-Europeans encountered *en route*, which suggests religion was a secondary factor. The Elder Expedition and other charters would surely have been impossible without the Afghan cameleers whose skills were an essential commodity, so Muslim drivers and English Christians were compelled to travel together for months at a time in total isolation. Encounters between Giles, Lindsay, Calvert and their Muslim employees tell us how interfaith dynamics coloured a major expeditionary era in Western Australian history.

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Katherine Jennings

New Zealand regional newspapers, 1854-1900

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Direct encounters between Christians and Muslims in New Zealand were few and far between in the 19th century, certainly compared with Australia, where commercial prospects attracted Muslims in much greater numbers than New Zealand. Census data from 19th-century New Zealand are limited. A further complication is that sources often identified Indian settlers as Hindu even if they were practising Muslims.

Most of the explicit references to Islam in regional newspapers in New Zealand are set within foreign affairs commentary. Readers evidently took a keen interest in Christian-Muslim events in British colonial regions – Egypt and India – and in Ottoman politics. An entry in the *Wellington Independent* ('Departure of Vice-Admiral Dundas and the squadron', 8 October 1853, p. 4), written just before the Crimean War (1853-6), describes swelling conflict between Russia and Turkey in religious terms as the Crescent was 'once more opposed to the Cross'. Muslims are described as taking up arms against those whom 'on religious grounds' they have been 'taught to consider their enemies from infancy'. Another reference published in the *Daily Southern Cross* ('Advance of the Turkish army (from The Times)', 21 February 1854, p. 4) during the Crimean War describes Muslims as 'borne away by the fanaticism of Islam', while many sources emphasise their 'martial spirit'. One writer calls them 'quick, fiery, vindictive, unscrupulous in revenge, and sustained by the belief that they are doing 'a good service to God and the Prophet' ('Mahomedan influence (from the *Saturday Review*, August 8)', *The Colonist*, 4 December 1857, p. 1). An earlier passage from the *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser* ('Some particulars respecting the Christians of European Turkey (from the French Protestant Paper, *L'Esperance*)', 16 June 1853, p. 3) asserts that the Qur'an is the 'true source of all iniquities', as the author considers polygamy and war to be central to Islamic teaching and Muḥammad to be a false prophet. An article entitled 'The followers of the Prophet', published in the South Island Milton-based *Bruce Herald* on 19 November 1889 (p. 4), informs readers that Islam has some

200 million followers, many of whom are 'fanatical' and 'make as good fighting material as ever they did in the most glorious days of Islam'. Muslims are therefore likely to 'keep Christian armies busy for years to come'. The *New Zealand Herald* quoted a passage from an American literary magazine ('General telegraphic news', 2 May 1902, p. 6), warning readers that 'Islam cannot be crushed' and 'cannot be Christianised', and it blamed Muslim factions for unresolved struggles in colonial India and elsewhere. One 1890 entry in the *Press* ('Lord Clive', 13 November 1890, p. 6) concludes that nations that adopt 'the religion of Mahomet' have never shown the 'permanent vitality of the nations of Christendom'. Far-off conflict was the main lens through which New Zealanders engaged with Islam.

Newspapers also advertised public lectures relating to Islam. One, titled 'Mohamet and Mohametanism', to be delivered by the Reverend Cameron in August 1875, was advertised in the rather remote *Tuapeka Times* (18 August 1875, p. 2). A year earlier Captain Skeet had given a lecture to Hawera locals called 'Civilisation and its progress' (*Bay of Plenty Times*, 28 February 1874), in which he states that 'Mohomet had forbidden wine to his followers', a prohibition he looks upon favourably. The lecture circuit appears to have been widely advertised in the South Island, suggesting southern communities with Muslim settlers took some interest in Islam as a subject.

The first Muslims to land in New Zealand around the mid-century clustered in the lower South Island. The earliest known contact was made by Mahomet Wuzerah, who had landed at Lyttelton Port aboard the *Akbar* in 1854, and was joined either then or later by his wife, Mindia, and children. They were practising Muslims – though in 1886 the *Press* (11 December, 1886, p. 5) referred to Wuzerah and another man named Mero as 'Hindoos' due to their Kashmiri provenance. His family lived on a homestead called Cashmere Estate.

Wuzerah brought a lawsuit for theft against a fellow Muslim named Goorden (*sic*), reported in the *Lyttelton Times* on 13 March, 1858 (p. 4). It was considered notable that at the hearing Wuzerah and Mindia were 'sworn upon the Koran' rather than the Bible and had offered the 'Mahometan formula and genuflexions of a solemn oath' before proceedings. Wuzerah filed several civil suits between 1858 and 1902 and seems to have been a well-known figure in the area. His death was registered in nine separate newspapers, including the *New Zealand Herald*.

Other Muslims came from India during the last quarter of the 19th century, usually individually or in family groups. Most were Punjabi or Gujarati. They laboured in stone quarries and goldmines or were hawkers. There is no evidence they raised mosques for congregational worship. Some married Pākehā (European) women and their burials were usually in public, and notionally Christian, cemeteries, such as Sydenham Cemetery, where Mahomet Wuzerah was buried. Fifteen Chinese 'Mahometans' found work in Dunstan, Central Otago, in 1874; gold had been struck in the Otago region of the South Island in 1866. There were also Muslims working in the North Island. A July 1873 entry to the Catholic *New Zealand Tablet* ('Auckland college boarding and day school', 16 July 1873, p. 10), written by an anonymous 'layman', mentions Chinese settlers recently arrived in Auckland: 'Hindoos or Moslems also for anything I know'. The writer asks, apparently rhetorically: if Muslims were to 'send their sons' to grammar school, would they 'sedulously attend to their own religious culture?' No opinion is expressed either way.

SIGNIFICANCE

English-speaking submissions to New-Zealand newspapers regarding Islam had little bearing upon personal Christian-Muslim encounters. Muslims who emigrated to the South Island during the 19th century formed a small minority and seem to have conducted faith observances in private without meeting any discernible resistance from other settlers. Chinese miners laboured in goldfields and were registered officially as 'Mahometans'; other Muslims arrived from the subcontinent to work as miners or hawkers. Their religious affiliation is mentioned only in passing, if at all.

By contrast, foreign affairs commentary treats Islam as an existential threat to Christianity. Writers often posit a global struggle between Christian and Islamic civilisations. Their views are launched from an imperialist position that casts Muslims as fanatical 'others', set in opposition to Christianity. Muslim militarism is blamed for causing unrest across British colonies and for the persecution of Christians within the Ottoman empire. Polygamy and the pursuit of war are believed to be rampant among the Muslim diaspora and to be sanctioned – or even encouraged – by the Qur'an. Yet there is no evidence to suggest that the few Muslims living in the South Island at the time were judged by such attitudes or received negative treatment due to their faith. Nineteenth-century relations between Christians and Muslims appear to have been religiously neutral.

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Digitised copies of all the newspapers, apart from *Forum* are available through Papers Past National Library of New Zealand: <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>

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Forum
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New Zealand Herald (1863-1945)
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Australian local and state newspapers, 1836-1914

DATE 19th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Some Australian Muslim communities, namely Syrian, Lebanese and Indian hawkers in Victoria and New South Wales, received considerable attention in Australian newspapers through the 19th century. Each group settled inland to pursue a particular commercial enterprise, living apart from local populations. Encounters between them and Anglo-Christian communities were often hostile.

There is evidence that individual Muslims settled before hawker communities were established (the term 'hawker' referred to mobile traders selling mainly handicrafts and foodstuffs). The *Mount Alexander Mail*, a Victoria-based local paper, reported that a Muslim man named Jan Mohr Ison (*sic*) had been charged with public drunkenness late in 1858 ('Castlemaine police court', *Mount Alexander Mail*, Friday 14 December, 1855, p. 3). Although he is referred to as a 'Mussulman' and a 'follower of Mahomet', the reporter notes that he 'did not seem so rigid an observer of the Moslem law' regarding *khamr* (wine). Prohibition of alcohol was met with curiosity among Anglo-Christians. A writer to the Sydney-based *Colonist* in 1836 – before having encountered any Muslims locally – wrote that 'the law of Mahomet' prohibiting wine was a 'law of the climate of Arabia' and was both pragmatic and necessary ('The vine and vineyards (from the Penny Magazine)', *Colonist*, 3 November 1836, p. 7). Some information regarding Islamic dietary laws had evidently been received before first contact between Christians and Muslims was made in south-eastern Australia. During the mid- to late century period, more Indians settled in Upper Hunter Valley. Although some were identified as Sikhs, most were in fact Muslims.

From 1880, Syrian and Lebanese Muslims emigrated in considerable numbers to New South Wales to work as hawkers. They formed a close-knit community in Redfern, Sydney, the majority being second sons seeking new livelihoods. Although there was no permanent mosque in Sydney, they did have a room set aside on Alderson Street for daily prayers. They faced mounting hostility and by 1900 were under near-constant surveillance. Some writers to the *Colonist* register faith-based tension between themselves and the Muslim population. One contributor who

calls himself a 'simple layman' characterises the Prophet Muḥammad as the 'bitterest enemy' to the Christian faith (Christian, 'Letter V', *Colonist*, Thursday, 13 August 1835, p. 3).

Muslim progress in trade was frustrated by these deep-set faith biases. Early in 1896, 116 immigrants applied in the Redfern police court for licences to sell goods. Sixteen were granted to Indian hawkers because they were deemed to be 'British subjects', while the remaining hundred, submitted by Muslims from other parts of the world, were refused. An editorial published by *The Age* and several other outlets employs racialised terms to justify the decision, calling Syrians 'the lowest type of humanity' ('The Asiatic hawker pest', *The Age*, Friday, 3 January 1896, p. 6). The writer goes on to give his 'heartly co-operation' to Redfern lawmakers in their efforts to '[crush] out the evil'. References to 'evil' and base humanity probably had a religious as well as a racial dimension. News about these licences spread to colonies as far away as Western Australia, which had a much larger Muslim population at the time. Sources agreed that Syrian hawkers were pests and an evil, or at the very least a nuisance.

Sometimes, Muslims mobilised and were protected by interfaith cooperation. Sayyid Mahomet Shah Banuri petitioned against the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act, for example, earning signatures from fellow Muslims in Redfern, one Jewish merchant, and 14 Christian businessmen. There were also communal events held by the Muslim community that drew attendance from the Christian populace. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Muslims gathered *en masse* each year at Moore Park for 'their annual religious festival' (evidently ʿĪd al-aḍḥā). As many as 400 Muslims attended in 1887, led in their worship by a man named 'Fuzzledene'. After the *dhabīḥa* – the slaughter of a bullock, sheep, goats, and 'some poultry' – the meat was offered and accepted by non-Muslims, 'who were desirous of doing so' ('News of the day', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 1 September, 1887, p. 7). The *Queensland Times* published the same account ('Local and general news', *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, Tuesday, 6 September 1887, p. 5).

Besides encounters that could be defined as positive or outright negative, daily life made room for religious expression that was neutral or practical. Muslim hawkers in Redfern had standing arrangements with local butchers for halal flesh foods, as did Afghan cameleers in Western Australia. On 5 January 1903, an article headed 'Syrians in Melbourne. Habits and customs' was published in the *Ballarat Star*, p. 3. The writer recalls from memory the arrival of a Muslim man to Sydney: 'the pioneer of the community of Syrians in Victoria', though very little is made of his faith.

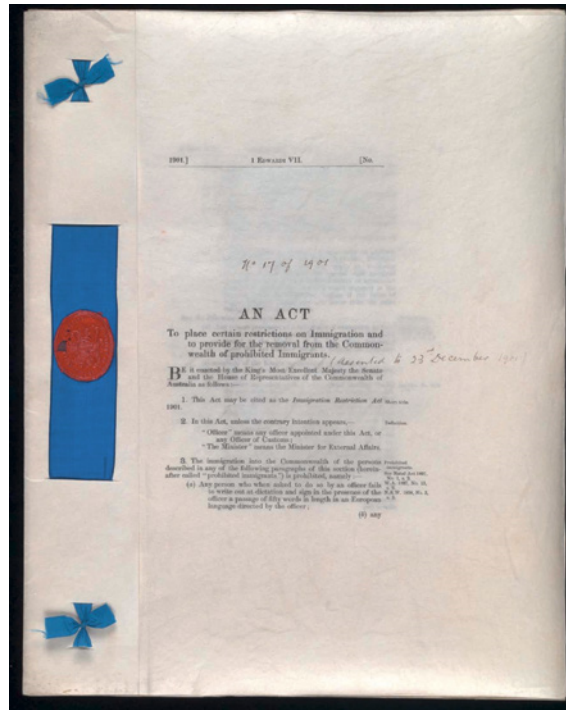


Illustration 21. The Immigration Restriction Act 1901, first page

There are hundreds of court notices in Australian newspapers reporting intra-Muslim skirmishes and, occasionally, hostile acts by Anglo-Christians towards Muslims. The Muslims involved are referred to as 'Mahommedans' or 'Moslems', or simply according to their profession. The first occurrence of mass violence perpetrated by Muslims against non-Muslims happened over the New Year 1914-15 at Broken Hill, which by then had a well-established Afghan community and a permanent mosque. On 1 January, two Muslims killed four residents, wounded seven, and were themselves killed by police. Badsha Mahommed Gool (b. 1874) and Mullah Abdullah (b. 1854), both former camel-drivers, were considered to be religiously as well as politically motivated. They flew an Ottoman flag and were thus misidentified as 'Turks' in initial police reports. They both left notes citing hostilities between the Ottoman and British Empires as motivation for their actions – a conflict that had been escalating since the Sublime Porte sided with the Central Powers the year before. Authorities translated the note left by

Abdullah as, 'I must kill you and give my life for my faith, Allāhu Akbar' ('Wild scenes at Broken Hill', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday, 4 January 1915, p. 10). He had lived for 16 years in Broken Hill and was an imam and halal butcher. The *Sydney Herald* reported that his 'priest rights' prompted Abdullah to 'kill according to the Mohammedan religion'. The incident was reported beyond New South Wales in national newspapers.

Nineteenth-century newspaper editorials register widespread belief in a global interfaith conflict between Muslims and Christians, East and West, crescent and cross. Many writers to Australian papers state their Christianity explicitly. Often, their professions are coupled with references to civility and morality, suggesting that faith-based biases mixed with existing cultural attitudes. Syrian, Lebanese and Indian Muslim communities settled in south-eastern Australia and were met with stiff resistance by locals, arguably more so than their Afghan counterparts in Western Australia, whose camel-handling expertise gave them greater currency in the commercial sphere.

Altogether, Muslim presence was less visible in Victoria and New South Wales. Muslims in Redfern had no mosque for communal worship, though they did have access to halal butcheries, and 'religious festivals' were occasionally held publicly without incident or persecution. Their contact with Christian residents was largely confined to trade. By denying licences to hawkers, keeping them under surveillance, and supporting immigration restrictions, state officials could limit their ability to integrate.

SIGNIFICANCE

The popular press in 19th-century Australia yields much concerning the state of Christian-Muslim relations. Attitudes and images, tropes of prejudice and negative expectation vie with intimations of openness and examples of enlightened acceptance. It may seem that, in this way, the 19th century set the scene for the 20th and beyond. For then, as now, immigrant Muslims were perceived as cultural 'others' and as foreign competitors for jobs, and their faith was by and large a matter of no more than secondary concern for Christians. Nonetheless, their 'otherness' – including in part their 'Muslimness', their religious sensibility and identity – fed anxieties about coexistence in Victoria and New South Wales. The documentation that is included in this entry offers an introduction to a rich textual resource of which only examples have been given here.

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Digitised copies of all the newspapers are available through Trove at the National Library of Australia: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/about>

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Sydney Herald (1831-42)

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Index of Names

Numbers in *italics* indicate a main entry.

- Abangan* 553
 'Abbasid caliphate 369, 406, 704, 732
 'Abd al-Haqq 275
 'Abd al-Masīh, *see also* Kamil 'Aitany 396-7, 399
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, grandfather of Muḥammad 177
 'Abd al-Raḥmān 6, 46
 'Abduh, Muḥammad 446
 Abdul Hafiz Mohammed Barakatullah 493-5
 Abdul Hamid II, Ottoman sultan 3, 37, 39, 492, 588, 717-18
 Abdul Karim, *see also* Dokarim 596, 599
 Abdul Qādir ibn Shāh Walī Ullāh 372, 375
 Abdūlaziz I, Ottoman sultan 207, 584
 Abdullah Abdul Kadir, *see also* Abdullah Munshi 462, 465, 530-6, 538
 Abdullah Athim 374, 382
 Abdullah Munshi, *see also* Abdullah Abdul Kadir 462, 465, 530-6, 538
 Abdūlmecid I, Ottoman sultan 206, 246, 581, 582-3, 584
 Abdurresid Ibrahim 493-4, 495
 abolition of slavery 4, 71, 75, 76, 109, 111, 250, 251, 288, 302, 306, 308, 502, 744
 Aborigines, Australian 468, 770
 Abraham, patriarch 59, 290, 293, 340, 377, 732
 Abraham Lincoln, US president 81, 203, 204
 Abrahamic religion 13, 307, 650, 662, 683
 Abū Bakr, first caliph 168-9, 291
 Abū l-Fidā' 170
 Aceh *and* Acehnese 460-1, 511, 568, 573, 577, 581-3, 584, 585, 586-7, 588-90, 592-600, 604
 Aceh War 460, 592-600, 610
 Adam, first human 341, 661
 Adams, Hannah 13, 159, 297, 300-1, 302
 Adams, John 6, 44, 46
 Aden 396, 433
 al-Afghānī, Jamāl al-Dīn 279
 Afghanistan *and* Afghans 195-6, 311-12, 394, 468-70, 492, 667, 669, 763-7, 773, 777, 779-81, 789-91
 Agra 154, 294-5
 Aḥmad al-Rifa'i, *see also* Ripangi 555-6
 Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Dahllān 460, 464, 548, 564-6
 Aḥmad 'Urābī 504-5, 730
 Aintab, Turkey 36, 38-9
 Alauddin Mahmud Syah, Sultan of Aceh 585, 592
 Alawis, Alawites, *see also* Alevis, Nusayris 242, 389, 392
 Alauddin Muhammad Daud Syah, Sultan of Aceh 588-9, 592
 Albert Calvert 776-7, 777, 780-1
 Albert Fytche 674, 684
 Albert Leighton Rawson 161-3, 237, 279
 Alcoran, *see* Qur'an 21, 29, 59, 64, 182, 519
 Aleksij Vinogradov 674
 Alevis, *see also* Alawis 425
 Alexander Duff 288, 441
 Alexander Russell Webb 13, 34, 161, 329-31, 332-3, 334-6
 Alexander Wylie 661-2
 Alexander, Archibald 93-7, 103, 104-5
 Alexandria 63, 64, 84, 125, 169, 202, 204, 622
 Alhambra 167, 169-70
 'Alī, fourth caliph 177-8, 425
 Ali Alauddin Mansur Syah, Sultan of Aceh 581, 582-3, 584-5, 592
 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Junayd Ba-'Alawī 585
 Allahabad Mission Press 190-1
 Alvan Bond 8, 101, 420, 422
 Álvaro Semedo, Jesuit priest 662
 Ambon Island 556, 570, 589
 Ameer Ali, Syed 278, 314, 315
 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) 8, 84, 98, 105, 130, 150, 174, 185, 243, 364, 385, 419, 537, 619, 651
 American Civil War 4, 10, 181
 'American Mahomet' (Joseph Smith) 15
 American Mission 202, 206, 208, 211
 American Mission Press 125, 126, 130, 132, 386
 American Oriental Society 11, 175, 179, 272-3, 274, 276

- American Syria Mission 385-6, 395, 398, 399, 400
 American Tract Society 371, 442
 Amiot, Jean Joseph Marie 478-99, 615
 Amir, Prince of Banjar 602, 603
 Amiril Mamini Camsa, *see also*
 Muhammad Khayr al-Din *and* Pakir
 Maulana Kamsa 511, 513
 Anderson, Rufus 125, 175, 243-8, 322, 395
 Anderson, John 655, 674-5, 676, 682, 684, 701, 702
 Andrew Jackson Davis 120, 226-35, 239
 Anglicans *and* Anglicanism 26, 43, 101, 106, 122, 134, 265, 403, 724, 729
 Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca 533-4
 Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London 524, 592
 Ansaireh, *see also* Alawis 242
 Ansei treaties 488-90
 Anselmo de Turmeda 415
 Anson Atterbury 357-63
 Anson D. Morse 500, 501, 741
 Antasari, Prince of Banjar 603-4, 609
 apostasy 68, 208, 323, 325, 394, 421, 485, 576, 750
 Arabian Mission 9, 396, 433
 Arabic Mission Press, Beirut 126
 Arai Hakuseki 486, 736
 Archibald Alexander 93-7, 103, 104-5
 Arian Christians *and* Christology 58, 298
 Ariga Amado 720, 729
 Armenians 7, 15, 28, 34, 35, 125, 144, 246, 321, 322, 325, 365, 388, 423, 424, 426, 427, 751, 764
 Armenian Mission 245, 321
 Arnold, John Muehleisen 460
 Arnold, Thomas 367-8, 446-7, 480
 Arthur Evans Moule 672-3
 Asyut 203, 204-5, 206-8
 Atterbury, Anson 357-63
 Atterbury, Boudinot Currie 357
 August Müller 343
- Baal 378, 749
 Baber, Edward Colborne 700-1
 Bābism 405
 Badsha Mahommed Gool 790-1
 Baghdad 141, 145, 394, 607, 717, 746
 Bahirā the monk 177
 Balkan wars 284
 Banjar War 461, 464, 602, 605, 607, 608, 610
 Banjar, Sultanate of 461, 602, 604, 610
 Banjarese 461, 464, 602-5, 608
 Banjarmasin 603-5, 607-9
- Baquaqua, Mahommah Gardo 249, 250-2, 256
 Benkei, *see* Kanzō Uchimura 500-3, 505, 719, 726, 738-59
 Baptists 8, 24, 30, 71, 93, 251, 337
 Bar Hebraeus, Gregory 170, 367, 368
 Barbary captives *and* captivity narratives 51, 63, 65, 68, 71
 Barbary corsairs 4, 47
 Barbary states 6, 46, 74
 Barbary wars 6, 105
 Barnabas, Gospel of 415
 Barrantes, Vicente 459, 544-7
 Barthélemy d'Herbelot 121, 170, 177
 Barton, James 372, 422, 426-7
 Batavia 537, 548, 568, 573, 575, 577, 588, 569, 609
 al-Bayḍāwī, Naṣir al-Dīn 443, 449
 Bedouin Arabs 113, 217, 219-20, 264, 267, 389, 396, 438
 Beijing 357, 473, 474, 479, 620, 628
 Beirut 98, 100, 105, 108, 111, 125-7, 128, 132, 385-6, 396, 433, 449
 Bencoolen, Sumatra 524-5, 527-8, 567
 Benedict, David 158
 Benjamin Keasberry 462, 531, 534, 537-43
 Bentley, William 11, 13, 297, 298-300, 301
 Bento de Góis 669-71, 681, 705
 Berg, L.W.C. van den 463, 573-80
 Bird, Howard 696-7
 Bird, Isaac 9, 101, 111, 422
 al-Birūnī, Abū Rayḥān 407, 415
 Black cap Chinese Muslims (the Salar) 660, 711
 Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna 14, 120, 226, 279-87, 327-8
 Bliss, Edwin Munsell 427
 Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen 630
 Blyden, Edward 13, 358, 360
 Board of Mission (of the Episcopal Church) 134, 137, 139-40, 205
 Bombay 186-7, 188, 334, 734, 722
 Bombay Tract and Book Society 188
 Booth, Joseph 35-6
 Borneo 514, 527, 561, 562, 588
 Boston Female Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews 108, 110, 112
 Boulainvilliers, Henri de 59
 Bowen, George 185-9
 Boxer Rebellion 646, 694, 695-6, 707
 Brazil 250-1
 Brethren Mission 632
 Bretschneider, Emil 479, 673, 681

- Brewer, Josiah 108-12, 422
 Bridgman, Elijah Coleman 478, 615, 619
 Brigham Young 33, 38, 182
 British and Foreign Bible Society 130, 352, 666
 British East India Company 154, 193, 194, 485, 515, 522, 523, 609
 Broomhall, Marshall 480-1, 694-712
 Brotherhood of Eulis 239
 Brown, John Newton 157
 Brown, John Porter 170, 213-14, 237
 Buck, Charles 157-8
 Buddhism *and* Buddhists 266, 273, 281, 285, 329, 353, 480, 483, 487, 498, 500-1, 628, 630, 635, 636, 654, 661, 656, 658, 661, 668, 670, 678, 683, 700, 719, 721, 730-1, 734, 741, 743-4, 746-7, 748, 749, 750, 752
 Budruddin Abdullah Kur 334
 Bukhara 665-7
 al-Bukhārī 274, 342
 Bulgaria *and* Bulgarians 277, 425
 Burckhardt, Johann (John Lewis) 121-2, 169, 170
 Burton, Richard Francis 26
 Bush, George 12, 118-24, 171, 181
 Buṭrus al-Bustānī 126-7, 132, 390
 Byzantine Empire 368, 502, 732-3, 742
- Caillié, René 358
 Cairo 10, 126, 171, 202, 204, 208, 210, 216, 279-80, 386, 394, 402-3, 413, 417, 433-4, 445, 447, 451, 622, 644
 Calcutta 150, 190, 288, 311, 515, 523
 Calverly, Edwin 452, 454
 Calvert, Albert 776-7, 777, 780-1
 Calvinism 98, 123
 camels *and* camel riders 58, 77, 162, 177, 265, 470, 724, 766, 777, 779, 780, 790, 791
 Canaanites 32, 339
 Canada 3, 12, 17, 250, 254, 625
 Canton, *see also* Guǎngzhōu 476, 617, 619, 621, 626, 634, 654, 657, 673, 680, 705
 Carel Poensen 462-3, 551-4
 Carl Eduard Sachau 401, 405
 Carlyle, Thomas 500, 750
 Cathcart, James Leander 69, 345-50
 Ceylon (Sri Lanka) *and* Ceylonese 504, 602, 661, 729, 771
 Chapman Whitcomb, *see* John Vandike 63, 65
 Charles Forster 121, 144
 Charles Frederick Hogg 205, 480, 629, 632-7
 Charles Mackay 15, 25-6, 180-4
- Charles William Forman 288-96, 382
 Chau-kia-k'eo (Zhōukōu) 482, 696
 Child, Lydia Maria 297, 301-3, 306, 308
 China Inland Mission (CIM) 480, 481, 625, 632, 638, 639, 642, 646, 673, 694, 695-8
 Chinese Turkestan 668-71, 683
 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 19, 343, 403, 405, 461, 463, 465, 548, 553, 556, 574, 579, 593, 596
 Christian Missionary Society for India 452
 Christopher Columbus 165, 167, 171, 742
 Church Missionary Society (CMS) 311, 312, 313, 315, 424, 433, 497, 672
 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 183
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre 265-7, 312
 Clarke, George William 480, 481, 625-7
 Clarke, James Freeman 13, 297, 305-7
 Claudius Henry Thomsen 531, 534-5
 Companions of Muḥammad 168-9, 473, 658
 Confucian Muslims (*Huiru*) 622, 640
 Confucianism 487, 501, 629-30, 636, 639, 678-9, 707, 730, 731, 749
 Congregationalists *and* Congregational Church 8, 22, 84, 86, 100, 108, 109, 125, 135, 175, 243, 272, 303, 320, 337, 419, 420, 527
 Constantinople, *see also* Istanbul 108, 111, 134, 141-3, 148, 218, 244, 245, 253, 279, 284, 320, 394, 402, 440
 conversion to Christianity 36, 93, 129, 174, 193, 251-2, 255, 288, 323, 393, 396-7, 399, 413, 423, 434, 490, 534, 540, 542, 546, 632, 673, 684, 700, 702-3, 707-8, 711, 741, 744, 753
 conversion to Islam 65, 90, 154, 178, 329, 359, 361, 368, 394, 415, 427, 494, 503, 656, 657, 725, 764
 converts to Christianity 3, 4, 9, 26, 34, 110, 111, 138, 147, 148, 197, 239, 243, 246-7, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 288, 292, 373-4, 381, 386, 388, 392, 396-7, 399, 414, 419, 424, 427, 449, 465, 467, 469-70, 476, 479, 480, 485, 488, 490-1, 495-6, 498, 506, 517, 521, 532, 540, 542, 603, 650, 651-2, 664, 666, 672, 673, 708, 724-6, 729, 732, 738, 744, 772, 778
 converts to Islam 13, 34, 51, 57, 68, 206, 307, 329-30, 333, 334, 336, 342, 348, 365, 467, 477, 494, 505, 506, 520, 527-8, 598,

- 634, 656, 657-8, 662, 670, 702, 708,
719-20, 734, 754, 770, 773
Coogee Mahomet 777
Coolgardie 763-6, 776, 780
Cordier, Henri 653
Cornelius Van Dyck 126, 433
corsairs 46-7, 52, 67, 72, 345
Crimean war 286, 325, 784
cross 286, 441, 444, 482, 640, 662, 764,
784, 791
Cut Mutia (Tjoet), *see also* Tjoet Nja
Din 598, 599
Cyrus Hamlin 9, 320-6, 422, 427
- Dabry de Thiersant, Philibert 479-80,
630-1
Dahomey 249, 250
Dali, Dālī ('Tali') 622, 625, 701
Daniel, Book of 96, 121-3, 176, 232
Dàoguāng Emperor 656, 660
Daud Syah, Sultan of Aceh, *see* Alauddin
Muhammad Daud Syah 588-9, 592
David Hume 94, 96
David Lindsay 776, 777, 779-81
David Livingstone 358, 360
David Offley 5-6
David Porter 6-7, 213
Davis, Andrew Jackson 120, 226-35, 239
Dayaks of Borneo 527, 602, 603
Deism *and* Deists 43, 94, 95-6, 101, 157,
300
Demang Wangkang 608-9
Devéria, Gabriel 481, 679-80
dervishes 110, 284-5, 670
Diogenes, *see* Kanzō Uchimura 500-3,
505, 719, 726, 738-59
divinity of Christ 59, 146, 291, 293, 450,
499, 616, 623, 640, 733
Dokarim, *see also* Abdul Karīm 596, 599
Đồng Phúxiáng 707
Doren, Jan Baptist van 605, 610
Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne 343
Druzes 129, 161, 219, 265, 266, 273, 389,
392
Du Wenxiu, Panthay sultan 622, 653, 677,
701, 702
Duncan Black Macdonald 12, 13, 343,
401-18, 454
Dungans *and* Dungan Revolt 653-4, 663,
667, 669, 672, 680, 702, 706, 711
Dutch East India Company (VOC) 485,
602
Dutch East Indies 460, 463, 465, 551, 553,
573, 576, 578, 605
- Dutch Missionary Society 462, 551, 553
Dutch Reformed Church 262, 433, 501,
537, 731, 732
Dwight, Harrison Gray Otis 125, 422, 424,
427
- East India Company 154, 193, 194, 485,
515, 522, 523, 609
Eber D. Howe 21
Echoing Tomb 476, 617, 620-1
Edgar Allan Poe 11, 113-17
Edinburgh World Missionary
Conference 10, 434, 447, 451, 453, 481,
694, 703, 710
Edith Lucas 481, 482
Edkins, Joseph 480, 628, 629, 631
Edward Blyden 13, 358, 360
Edward E. Salisbury 11, 272-8
Edward Gibbon 96, 121, 170, 177, 185, 188,
342
Edward Henry Palmer 449
Egbert Kielstra 568-9, 607
Egerton-Warburton, Peter 781
Egypt *and* Egyptians 7, 10, 11, 16, 111, 122,
126, 130, 138, 185, 202, 203, 204-6, 208-9,
210-11, 217, 219-20, 302, 402-3, 414, 416-17,
433-4, 441, 446, 452, 492-3, 497, 504, 505,
548, 576, 638, 704, 710, 730, 741, 753, 784
Eichelberger, Lewis 103-7
Elder Scientific Exploring
Expedition 776, 779-81
Eli Smith 125-33, 139, 147, 422
Elijah Muhammad 4
Ellinwood, Frank F. 358, 361, 396, 397
Elwood Morris Wherry 9, 355, 371-84, 386,
452, 459, 461
Emerson, Ralph Waldo 13, 297, 303-5, 308,
320
Enlightenment 19, 43, 94, 234, 298
enslavement *and* the enslaved 3, 46, 57,
59, 72, 73, 76, 249-50, 252-3, 254-5, 256,
288, 527, 528
Erh Sa, *see* Jesus 636
Ernest Giles 776, 777-9, 781
evangelisation 35-6, 37, 108, 127, 135, 140,
246, 306, 444, 445, 447, 451-3, 498, 527,
528, 561, 644, 650, 682, 706-7, 743
Eve 341
Everett, Edward 303-4
Exodus, Book of 119
- Fadorē 504, 733
Fāris al-Ḥākīm 204, 206, 208, 210
Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad 177-8

- Ferdinand Verbiest 677
 Fiji 472
 Fiji Muslim League 472
 First War of Indian Independence, *see also*
 Sepoy Mutiny 190, 193, 194
 First World War 365, 427, 434, 452
 Fisk, Pliny 8, 84, 86, 87, 98-102, 420-1, 422
 Forman, Charles William 288-96, 382
 Forsyth, Thomas Douglas 653-4
 Forrest, Thomas 515-22
 Foss, John 5, 67-70
 Freemasons, *see also* Masons 14, 89, 161,
 213, 214, 236, 237
 Fremantle 771, 777, 780
 French, Thomas Valpy, bishop 294, 295
 Fukuda Keigyō 496, 725
 Furukawa Nobuyoshi 718

 Gabriel, *see also* Jibrīl 105, 232, 176, 177,
 728
 Gagnier, Jean 170
 Gairdner, William Temple 403, 452
 Galen 226, 227
 Gansu, Kansu 642, 643, 644, 646, 648,
 652, 653, 655, 699, 700, 707
 General Conference of the Protestant
 Missionaries in China 480
 Genesis, Book of 119, 177, 291, 620
 George Bowen 185-9
 George Bush 12, 118-24, 171, 181
 George W. Bush, US president 123
 George Washington, US president 167,
 171
 George William Clarke 480, 481, 625-7
 Geraldine Guinness Taylor 642, 644
 al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid 115, 401, 407-8,
 409-10, 414-15, 417, 438, 443
 Gibbon, Edward 96, 121, 170, 177, 185, 188,
 342
 Giles, Ernest 776, 777-9, 781
 Gilmour, James 653, 673
 Goethe, Johann von 304, 729
 Goldziher, Ignaz 12, 275, 343, 401, 403,
 405, 408
 Goodell, William 422, 424
 Gospel of Barnabas 415
 Gospels 8, 33, 111, 128-30, 138, 144, 147, 154,
 158, 178, 186, 196, 197, 199, 200, 243, 246,
 252, 292, 293, 301, 342, 375, 378, 394-5,
 396, 401, 419, 425, 445, 451, 468, 477, 482,
 532, 537, 539-40, 542, 616, 620, 638, 639,
 643, 644, 647, 648, 663, 665, 694, 699,
 710, 743
 Goulam (Goulah) Mahomet 765, 780

 Greek language 43, 98, 108, 185, 198, 199,
 303
 Greek War of Independence 7, 108, 125,
 421
 Gregory Bar Hebraeus 170, 367-8
 Guangdong (Kwangtung) 473-4, 475, 619,
 621, 628, 701
 Guangzhou, *see also* Canton 474-5, 615,
 651, 657, 705-6
 Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck 501,
 731-2, 736
 Guizhou 625
 the Gulf, *see also* Arabian Gulf 9-10, 11, 16,
 434, 436, 438
 Gülhane, Edict of 246, 423
 Gulian Lansing 202-12
 Gulick, Luther Halsey 628, 630-1
 Gullah community 4
 Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich 654-61

 Habib Abd ar-Rahman az-Zahir 593
 Habib bin Achmad bin Moehammad
 Sagaf 593
 Hadith 95, 176, 274-5, 276, 292, 299,
 314-15, 317, 342-3, 406, 442-3, 548, 576,
 579
 Hadji Erinn, *see also* William Q.
 Judge 283, 327-33
 Hadji Khan 410
 Hadji Shah Mahomet 779
 Ḥāfīz, Shams al-Dīn 304-5
 Hajee Abdulla Arab 334
 Haji Sulaiman 609
 al-Ḥākim, Fāṭimid caliph 267
 Hamlin, Cyrus 9, 320-6, 422, 427
 Hangzhou 478, 617
 Hannah Adams 13, 159, 297, 300-1, 302
 Haraforas 517, 520
 Hārisah 178
 al-Ḥasan, grandson of Muḥammad 177,
 607
 Hatt-ī Humayūn, Ottoman Edict of
 Reform 206, 246, 423
 Hawaii, *see also* Sandwich Islands 8, 84,
 244, 628
 Hawes, Joel 147, 422
 Haykal, Muḥammad Ḥusayn 171
 Hayward, John 156-60
 Hebrew 57, 108, 118-19, 158, 199, 253,
 298-9, 337, 401-2, 409
 Helena Petrovna Blavatsky 14, 120, 226,
 279-87, 327-8
 Henan province, *see also* Honan,
 Hunan 474, 482, 636, 646, 648, 696

- Henderson, Ebenezer 157
 Henri Carel Zentgraaff 598-9
 Henry Jessup 9, 111, 355, 358, 385-400, 422, 424, 425
 Henry Martyn 144, 151, 278, 446
 Henry Mayhew (Charles Mackay) 15, 25-6, 180-4
 Henry Preserved Smith 337-44
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor 146, 178
 Herman Adriaan Steijn Parvé 463, 569-70
 Herman Melville 11, 262-71
 Hia Sieh (Xià Xiè) 676
 Hindi 197, 351-2, 530
 Hindu, Hindus 13, 153-4, 186, 189, 192-3, 194, 266, 291, 293, 471-2, 527, 665, 671, 772, 773-4, 781, 784
 Hinduism 194, 353, 656, 721, 730, 748
 Hindustani (lang.) 187, 197, 272
 Hintze, Ferdinand 36, 38
 Hogg, Charles Frederick 205, 480, 629, 632-7
 Holle, Karel Frederik 465, 577
 Holy Land 10-11, 31, 84, 99, 113, 119, 132, 175, 220, 263, 265, 266, 267
 Honan province, *see also* Henan, Honan 474, 482, 636, 646, 648, 696
 Hong Kong 673, 729
 Horatio Southgate 134-49
 house for watching the moon 474
 Huaisheng mosque 474-5
 Hubert Ridder de Stuers 568, 570
 Hudson Taylor 625, 673, 694
 Hughes, Thomas Patrick 311-19, 343, 372, 443
 Hui people 43, 325, 433, 473, 477, 482, 622, 711
Hui (Chinese name for Muslims) 480, 629
 Humphrey Prideaux 59, 96, 101, 121-2, 139, 167, 170, 339, 496, 722
 Hunan province, *see also* Henan, Honan 479
 Hunter, George 701-2
 al-Ḥusayn, grandson of Muḥammad 177, 773
 Hyde, Orson 29, 31, 34
 Ṭbādīs 405, 406
 Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad 407
 Ibn Khaldūn 409-10, 416-17
 Ibn Wahb al-Qurashī 699, 701, 704
 Idrīs (Enoch) 177
 Idris, Book of 178
 Ignatius of Loyola 441
 Imad ud-Din Lahiz 294, 374, 382
 Imam Bondjol 570
 Immanuel Shinsaku Kodera 500
 Imperial Reform Edict, *see also* Hatt-i Humayūn 206, 246, 423
 Impostor, the great (*for* Muḥammad) 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 34, 95, 105, 158, 168, 188, 339, 343, 368, 377, 413
 Incarnation 120, 145, 298, 523
 Indonesia *and* Indonesians 383, 463-4, 469, 515, 569, 570, 573-4, 575-6, 577-8, 579, 587, 588, 598-9, 604-5, 770, 774
 Iran *and* Iranians 14, 16, 422, 452
 Iraq *and* Iraqis 123, 145, 366, 433
 Irving, Washington 12, 123, 164-73, 188
 'Isā & 'Tsa, *see* Jesus 177-8, 196, 199, 292, 449-50
 Isaac, patriarch 377
 Ishmael Tuan Hadjee 517, 519
 Isidore Loewenthal 195-201
 Iskandar Dhū l-Qarnayn, *see* Muḥammad Anwār al-Dīn 464, 511-14
 Islamism 138-9, 142, 143, 146, 247, 284-5, 307, 321, 329-32, 406, 704, 764, 771
 Israel 16, 220, 324, 502, 756
 Issa ben Yussuf, *see* Jesus 282
 Istanbul, *see also* Constantinople 6-7, 34, 37-9, 130, 132, 134, 174, 185, 208, 213, 320, 322, 423-4, 492, 494, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588-9, 622, 717
 Jacob, patriarch 377
 Jahriyya revolt 652, 655, 711
 Jahriyya Sufism 652, 711
 James Freeman Clarke 13, 297, 305-7
 James Leander Cathcart 69, 345-50
 James Lyman Merrick 140, 174-9, 422-3
 James Owens 252-3
 James Riley 77-83
 Jan Prosper Schoemaker 596-8
 Jane Söderström, *see also* L.V. Söderström 646-9
 Java *and* Javanese 462, 464, 523, 524, 527-8, 537, 551, 553-4, 555, 569-70, 573, 577, 581, 593, 595, 597, 602, 604, 605, 608, 610
 Jefferson, Thomas 6, 43-9
 Jerusalem 84, 86, 98, 101, 108, 111, 126, 169, 264-5, 266, 284, 377, 402, 622, 733
 Jessup, Henry 9, 111, 355, 358, 385-400, 422, 424, 425
 Jesuits 165, 170, 396, 467, 476, 478, 486-7, 497, 513, 546, 561, 615, 656-7, 661, 662, 669, 672, 679, 705

- Jesus Christ, *see also* Erh Sa, ʿĪsā, Issa ben Yussuf, Yisu 31, 36, 59, 95, 96, 105, 118-19, 131, 144, 145, 146, 163, 169, 175, 178, 185-6, 188, 196, 197-200, 282, 285, 286, 290-4, 298, 301, 307, 314-15, 318, 340, 354-5, 374, 376, 379, 389, 394, 396, 399, 417, 419, 438, 444, 445, 446, 449-50, 451, 464, 482, 499, 501, 526, 534, 540-1, 607, 616, 623, 635, 636, 640, 666, 672, 678, 708, 722, 728, 732, 733, 738, 743, 745, 746-50, 752, 754
- Jews 13, 31-2, 34, 45, 58, 59, 84, 87, 96, 108, 110, 111, 131, 175, 186, 195, 200, 245, 264, 265, 293-4, 300, 321, 322, 339-41, 343, 377-8, 394, 415, 420-1, 437, 616, 654, 662-3, 665, 671, 705, 731
- Jibril, *see also* Gabriel 105, 232, 176, 177, 728
- Johann Adam Schall von Bell 677
- John Adams 6, 44, 46
- John Bunyan 440, 539
- John C. Lowrie 150-5
- John Foss 5, 67-70
- John Hayward 156-60
- John Johnston Walsh 190-4
- John Locke 43, 45
- John McCarthy 700-2
- John of Damascus 446
- John Porter Brown 170, 213-14, 237
- John the Baptist 198
- John Vandike 63-6
- Jonathan Edwards 8, 96, 98, 419-20, 421
- José Montero y Vidal 463, 559-63
- Joseph Smith 15, 19-25, 27-30, 33, 182
- Joshua, Israelite leader *and* Book of 119, 339
- Josiah Brewer 108-12, 422
- Judaism 110, 138, 157, 176, 285, 302, 306, 340-2, 353, 392, 436-7, 449, 487, 499, 661, 673, 722, 731, 732, 736, 746, 749
- Judas 291
- Judge, William Q., *see also* Hadji Erinn 283, 327-33
- Ka'ba 14, 121, 284-5, 340, 410, 437, 595
- Kalgoorlie 763, 766
- Kamil Abdul Messiah 396-7, 399
- Kanzō Uchimura 500-3, 505, 719, 726, 738-59
- Kara-Kyrghyz 664, 667
- Karl (Charles) Friedrich Gützlaff 654-61
- Karl Pfander 278, 293, 294, 295, 381, 382, 424
- Kashgar 652, 660-1, 667, 671
- Keasberry, Benjamin 462, 531, 534, 537-43
- Kellogg, Samuel Henry 351-6
- Khadija, wife of Muḥammad 168, 177, 449
- Kielstra, Egbert 568-9, 607
- Kinney, Bruce 24
- Knapp, Samuel Lorenzo 89-92
- Koelle Sigismund 437, 444, 449
- Komatsu Akihito 492, 718
- Konishi Mancio 485
- Koran, *see* Qur'an 47, 59, 95, 138, 146, 158, 218, 232, 233, 234, 282, 301, 302, 303, 305, 324, 331, 339-40, 446, 449, 519, 540, 664, 666, 765, 770-2, 780, 785
- Kremer, Alfred von 405, 410
- Kurds 7, 246, 364-5
- Kyrgyz 652, 664, 667-9, 702
- L.V. Söderström, *see also* Jane Söderström 646-9
- L.W.C. van den Berg 463, 573-80
- Lane, Edward William 11, 170, 314, 342, 405, 410
- Lahore 154, 288-9, 315
- Lansdell, Henry 653, 662-71, 682
- Lansing, Gulian 202-12
- Levi Parsons 84-8, 98-9, 100-1, 420-2
- Leviticus, Book of 119, 352
- Lewis Eichelberger 103-7
- Lindsay, David 776, 777, 779-81
- Liu Chī (Liú Zhī or Zhih) 622, 680
- Lo Pao-chī 677-8
- Lodewijk Willem van den Berg 463, 573-80
- Loewenthal, Isidore 195-201
- London Missionary Society (LMS) 462, 480, 530, 534, 537, 538, 540, 651, 654, 655, 661, 673
- London, Treaty of 524, 592
- Lowrie, John C. 150-5
- Lucknow Mission Conference 434
- Ludhiana, Ludhiana Mission *and* Press 197, 288, 290, 295, 371, 373, 375, 381
- Luis Fróis 486
- Lutheran Christians 3, 103-4, 106, 654
- Lydia Maria Child 297, 301-3, 306, 308
- Ma Dexin 622-4, 638
- Ma Lianyuan 622, 638-41
- Mǎ Lìxùn, *see* Robert Morrison 475, 534, 619, 651, 653, 654, 682
- Ma Zhu 622

- Macdonald, Duncan Black 12, 13, 343,
401-18, 454
- Mackay, Charles 15, 25-6, 180-4
- Maguindanao 511, 512-13, 515, 516, 519-20,
546, 559, 561
- Maguindanao Civil War 513
- Mahdī, Sudanese 359, 564, 593
- Mahmud II, Ottoman sultan 110
- Alauddin Mahmud Syah, Sultan of Aceh,
see Alauddin Mahmud Syah 585, 592
- Mahomet, *see* Muḥammad 21, 22, 25, 29,
30, 32, 58, 157, 182, 234, 255, 284-5, 301,
517, 518, 626, 680, 742, 753, 764, 770, 773,
780, 785, 788
- Mahomet Cassan 771
- Mahomet Wuzerah 785-6
- Mahometanism (Islam) 23, 157, 284-5,
521, 626
- Mahometans (Muslims) 45, 46, 158, 183,
300, 470, 518, 519-20, 526-7, 772, 786
- Mahometto, *see* Muḥammad 730
- Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua 249, 250-2,
256
- Mahommedans (Muslims) 471, 633, 636,
676, 765, 780, 781, 790
- Mahommedanism (Islam) 630, 633
- Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir 176-8
- Malacca 511, 523-4, 526, 527, 530, 533, 534,
538, 540, 602, 673
- Malay Archipelago 528, 602, 771
- Malay Teachers' Training College 538
- Malays 517, 519, 527, 528, 530, 532, 534-5,
537, 540-1, 542, 659
- Manichaeism *and* Manichaeans 483,
679
- Mansur Syah, Sultan of Aceh, *see* Ali
Alauddin Mansur Syah 581, 582-3,
584-5, 592
- Maratha Mission 186
- Marathi language 186-7, 188
- Marco Polo 656, 705
- Margoliouth, David Samuel 26-7, 452
- Marigny, François Augier de 170
- Mark Twain 11, 215-25
- Markoe, Peter 5, 91
- Marshall Broomhall 480-1, 694-712
- Martin Luther 279, 748
- Martyrs *and* martyrdom 95, 132, 193, 440,
485, 490, 593, 598, 671
- Masons, *see also* Freemasons 14, 89, 161,
213, 214, 236, 237
- Matsumura Kaiseki 498, 499-500, 501-2,
732-4
- Matteo Ricci 673
- Matthew, Gospel of 199, 301, 620, 661, 743
- Maulavi Ahmad of Tangi 312, 314
- Maycock, Philip 35-7
- Meiji, Emperor of Japan 718, 738
- Meiji period 491, 490, 492, 495, 715, 719,
724, 726, 735-6
- Melville, Herman 11, 262-71
- Merrick, James Lyman 140, 174-9, 422-3
- Mesmerism 119, 120, 226, 381, 327
- Methodists 9, 23, 106, 186-7, 526, 738
- Meyer, Eduard 27-8
- Miguel Cervantes 52
- Mikhā'il Mishāqa 132
- Milne, William C. 475, 478, 480, 534, 617
- Mirza Ghulam Ahmad 374, 384
- Mirzā Sayyid Ali 174
- Mission to the Jews 245
- missionaries (Christian) 10, 31-2, 35, 198,
205, 262, 375, 383, 384, 394, 436, 447, 459,
465, 473, 475, 477, 482, 490, 497, 506,
534, 535, 542, 615, 628, 654, 694, 717, 724,
734, 741
- Mitsukuri Genpo 496, 725
- Mohamed, *see* Muḥammad 36, 526
- Mohamed Hasan Musakhan 764, 766
- Mohamedans 135, 138-9, 145, 470, 745, 751,
753
- Mohamedism 138
- Mohamet, *see* Muḥammad 20, 59, 785
- Mohametans 481, 482, 519
- Mohametanism 527, 785
- Mohametto, *see* Muḥammad 748
- Mohammad, *see* Muḥammad 188, 232,
378
- Mohammadans 206, 330
- Mohammadism 188
- Mohammed, *see* Muḥammad 21, 23, 29,
122, 142, 146, 232, 282, 284, 301, 303, 306,
321, 330, 341, 337-9, 437, 444, 446, 449-50,
540, 626, 654, 773
- Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb, *see*
Alexander Russell Webb 13, 34, 161,
329-31, 332-3, 334-6
- Mohammed Ali ben Sa'id, *see* Nicholas
Sa'id 249, 253-4, 256
- Mohammedanism 19, 24, 122, 129, 130,
142, 143, 146, 230, 302, 306-7, 329, 331,
353, 355, 359-62, 399, 341, 542, 616, 741,
744, 753, 772
- Mohammedans 34, 95, 121, 129, 141, 144,
145, 146, 147, 218-19, 230, 232, 234, 245,
302, 303, 322, 323, 360-2, 386, 389-90,
392, 396, 399, 425, 441, 444, 451, 461, 462,
481, 538, 540-1, 542, 569, 593, 615, 616-17,

- 647, 654-5, 659-60, 662, 673, 683, 696,
697, 698, 702, 706, 744, 753, 765, 778, 791
- Mohometan 75
- Moluccas 519, 520
- Momien (Téngchōng) 674-5, 676
- Mongol Empire 661, 733
- Mongolia *and* Mongolians 652, 673, 702,
745
- Mongols 368, 405, 483, 622, 655, 657, 660,
673, 678, 681-705
- Montero y Vidal, José 463, 559-63
- Moors (Muslims) 57, 217, 219, 416, 520,
658, 742, 751, 753
- Moravians 157, 255
- Morgan, Joseph 121
- Mori Arinori 495, 502, 715-18
- Mormons *and* Mormonism 15, 19-27,
26-39, 31-2, 35-6, 37, 39, 180, 181-3, 183,
219, 332
- Moros 463, 546, 559, 561, 562
- Moro wars 546, 562
- Morocco 6, 81, 441, 753
- Morris, Robert 236-8
- Morrison, Robert 475, 534, 619, 651, 653,
654, 682
- Morse, Jedidiah 420
- Morton, Daniel 86, 422
- Mosaic law 80
- Moses 59, 146, 200, 232, 282, 293, 377, 732,
746, 749
- Moslems 26, 32, 35, 145, 219, 232, 247, 284,
286, 342, 343, 389, 393, 397, 399, 436,
440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 446, 450, 451, 453,
460, 470, 673, 708, 763, 764, 765, 786, 788,
790
- Moslim 19
- Mosque of Omar 267
- Mosul 141, 145
- Moule, Arthur Evans 672-3
- Moulvi Hasan Ali 334
- Mount Lebanon 34, 391, 423
- Mountain Meadows massacre 28
- Mughals 154, 155, 193
- Muhammad, *see also* impostor, Mahomet,
Mahometto, Mohamed, Mahamet,
Mohametto, Mohammad, Mohammed,
the Prophet 11-12, 14, 15, 19-21, 24,
27-30, 32-3, 36, 57-9, 60, 73, 75, 91, 94, 95,
101, 103, 105, 110, 118, 120, 121-2, 123, 130,
143-4, 158, 163, 167-70, 171, 176-8, 179, 182,
188, 189, 199, 205, 206, 210, 230, 231-2,
233, 234, 260, 261, 278, 282, 285, 286,
291-4, 304, 314-16, 317-18, 321, 323-4, 331,
339-43, 348, 358-9, 367-9, 372, 376-9, 380,
406, 409, 411, 413-15, 418, 419-20, 425,
437-8, 443-4, 446, 449-50, 462, 464, 473,
494, 496, 498-502, 526, 528, 542, 555, 560,
564, 582, 589, 595, 605-8, 616, 621, 626,
635, 638, 640, 659, 671, 672, 681, 721, 722,
728-9, 730-1, 732, 742, 743, 744, 745-7,
748-50, 752-4, 784, 789
- Muhammad 'Abduh 446
- Muhammad 'Ali 10
- Muhammad Anwār al-Dīn, *see also*
Iskandar Dhū l-Qarnayn 464, 511-14
- Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī 176-8
- Muhammad Ghauth 581, 583-4
- Muhammad Husayn Haykal 171
- Muhammad ibn Ḥasan Babahīr 574,
576
- Muhammad Kabā Saghanughu 249,
255-6
- Muhammad Khayr al-Dīn, *see also* Amiril
Mamini Camsa *and* Pakir Maulana
Kamsa 511, 513
- Muhammad Sa'īd Pasha, Viceroy of
Egypt 205
- Muhammadanism (Islam) 314, 402, 418
- Muhammadans (Muslims) 219, 403, 415,
663, 664, 667-8, 672
- Muir, William 11, 144, 274, 275, 314, 355,
381, 397, 630
- Mullah Abdullah 790-1
- Müller, August 343
- Murray Mitchell 382
- Muslim controversy 371, 376, 381
- Mussulmen (Muslims) 46, 111, 138, 142,
143, 146, 147, 284, 470, 616, 664, 672, 677,
680, 681, 683, 766, 778, 788
- Napoleon Bonaparte Wolfe 260-1
- Napoleonic wars 523-4, 537
- Nāṣif al-Yāzījī 126, 132
- Nation of Islam 4, 16
- al-Nawawī, Muḥyī l-Dīn 573, 576
- Nebuchadnezzar 176
- Nestorian Christians 7, 125, 144, 244, 284,
322, 365, 367, 369, 475, 476, 483, 616, 656,
665
- Nestorian Mission 364
- Nestorian Stele 632, 662
- Netherlands East Indies 461, 463, 548,
564, 565
- Netherlands Missionary Society 654
- New Divinity movement 419, 421
- New Guinea 515, 516
- New Jerusalem Church 118, 119-20, 123
- New South Wales 469, 772-3, 788, 791

- New Testament 130, 144, 195, 354-5, 378,
396-7, 443, 449, 539, 664, 699, 704,
719-20
- Nichiren 743, 748, 754
- Nicholas Sa'id 249, 253-4, 256
- Nicolas Trigault 662
- Night Journey of Muḥammad 105, 122,
158
- Nijjima Jō 504, 729-30, 742
- Nile Mission Press 452
- Ningbo (Ningbō) 441, 475, 478, 617, 659
- Ningsia (Ning-hsia) (Ningxia)
(Ningxià) 482, 642, 653, 699
- Niujie mosque 474
- Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, *see also*
Shriners 14, 237
- Noda Shōtarō 494
- Nöldeke, Theodor 12, 403, 405
- Northern Territory of Australia 770, 773,
776, 777
- Noyes, Henry V. 480, 628, 630, 631
- Numbers, Book of 119
- Nusayris, *see also* 'Alawis 389, 392
- Odoric of Pordenone 705
- Ōhara Takeyoshi 494
- d'Ohsson, Constantine Mouradgea 681
- Ōkawa Shūmei 500
- Old Testament 49, 119, 146, 324, 337, 338,
340-2, 352, 359, 378, 397, 402, 433, 437,
443, 634, 662, 699, 704
- Omar ibn Saïd 249, 252-3
- Opium Wars, First and Second 622, 651,
652
- Order of the Eastern Star 14, 236
- Orientalists and Orientalism 11, 13, 19, 26,
87, 96, 101, 106, 111, 168, 170, 214, 273, 299,
301, 304, 312, 315, 317, 343, 351, 372, 381,
386, 408, 416, 417, 437, 438, 443, 444, 446,
452, 497, 575, 576, 593, 684
- Orthodox Churches 34, 132, 202, 206, 210,
246, 284, 321, 322, 389, 390, 392, 393, 478,
479, 483, 490, 491, 651-2, 666, 673-4, 681,
724
- Osman Bai Yusup Ali 667
- Paddock, Judah 80-1
- Paderi, Padri, Padari movement *and*
War 463, 528, 567-70, 610
- Palestine 11, 31-2, 34, 84, 87, 122, 126, 132,
185, 217, 264, 266, 416-17, 420-1
- Palestine Mission 245
- Palgrave, William Gifford 437, 443
- Palladius, Archimandrite, *see also* Pyotr
Ivanovich Kafarov 479, 673, 674, 681
- Palmer, Edward Henry 449
- Pan-Islamism 406, 704, 771
- Panthays *and* Panthay rebellion 622, 653,
672, 674, 675, 676-7, 682, 684, 700, 701
- Parker, Edward Harper 676-7, 679-81,
683
- Parliament of World Religions 13, 329,
335, 385, 444
- Parsons, Levi 84-8, 98-9, 100-1, 420-2
- Paschal Beverly Randolph 239-42
- Paul Rycaut 121
- Paul, Apostle 130, 186, 279
- Persia and Persians 125, 137-8, 141, 142,
143, 144, 145, 148, 151, 174-5, 279, 364, 365,
367, 369, 385, 394, 406, 441, 502, 582, 659,
698, 704, 710, 721, 746
- Persian language 11, 141, 142, 174-5, 179,
197, 272-3, 299-300, 311, 374, 413, 622, 629,
631, 638, 664, 671, 700, 752
- Peter, Apostle 130
- Peter Markoe 5, 91
- Pfander, Karl 278, 293, 294, 295, 381, 382,
424
- Philibert Dabry de Thiersant 479-80,
630-1
- Philip V, King of Spain 512, 513, 514, 520
- Philippines *and* Philipinos 7, 329, 334,
427, 453, 459, 463, 464, 511, 513, 515, 544,
545, 546, 559, 560-1
- Pingnánguó 653, 674, 684
- piracy 3, 4, 6, 32, 57, 63, 459, 526, 546, 561,
562, 599
- Pliny Fisk 8, 84, 86, 87, 98-102, 420-1, 422
- Pococke, Edward 170
- Poe, Edgar Allan 11, 113-17
- Poensen, Carel 462-3, 551-4
- Polhill, Cecil 702
- polygamy 22, 23, 24, 26, 31, 23, 51, 64, 105,
182-3, 218, 252, 330, 333, 355, 360, 378,
645, 648, 657, 669, 722, 728, 732, 745, 784,
786
- Pourias, Émile René 673
- Presbyterians *and* Presbyterian
Church 8, 9, 12, 13, 80, 93, 96, 106, 109,
118-20, 150-1, 154, 164, 189, 190-1, 192,
195-6, 197, 200, 202, 205, 216, 252, 288,
315, 334, 337, 351-2, 357-8, 364, 369, 371,
373, 381, 385, 390, 393, 396, 401, 433, 459,
471, 480, 538, 619, 628, 654, 730
- Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign
Missions 150, 288

- Presbyterian Western Missionary Society 109
 Prester John 661
 Prideaux, Humphrey 59, 96, 101, 121-2, 138, 139, 167, 170, 339, 496, 722
 the Prophet, *see* Muḥammad 12, 19, 46, 57, 58, 60, 73, 95, 101, 122, 123, 130, 138, 146, 159, 168, 171, 176, 178, 182, 189, 210, 255, 278, 284, 285, 301, 303, 314, 318, 330, 331, 332, 339, 341, 343, 358, 368, 377-8, 379, 394, 405, 406, 409, 411, 413-15, 417, 419, 420, 425, 437, 438, 450, 452, 461, 464, 473, 474, 480, 517, 528, 542, 555, 564, 588, 594, 595, 605, 607-8, 626, 635, 638, 658, 671, 744, 745, 748, 750, 772-3, 780, 789
 Protestant Episcopal Church 134, 137, 139
 Prudential Committee of the ABCFM 125, 131, 243, 320, 420
 Psalms, Book of 80, 158
 Punjab *and* Punjabis 191, 197, 288-9, 290, 295, 311, 373, 364 786
Putihan (Santri) 553
 Pyotr Ivanovich Kafarov, *see also* Palladius, archimandrite 479, 673, 674, 681
- Qāḍī Abū Shujā' 576
 Qādiriyya Sufi order 256, 610
 Qiánlóng Emperor 655
 Qīng dynasty 483, 622, 624, 638, 642, 651-3, 655, 678, 679, 697, 701, 704, 711
 Quilliam, William 161
 Qur'an, *see also* Alcoran, Koran 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 24, 27, 43, 45-7, 49, 57, 59, 72, 75, 93, 95, 105, 116-17, 121, 138, 141, 153-4, 158, 159, 163, 167-8, 170, 177, 188-9, 197, 198, 200, 210, 230, 232, 237, 245-6, 252, 256-7, 276, 277-8, 281-2, 290-1, 292-3, 295, 299, 303, 304, 314-16, 317, 320, 324, 330-1, 340-3, 348, 353-5, 359, 367-8, 372, 375-80, 389, 394, 396-7, 399, 413-14, 415, 417-18, 437-8, 442-3, 449-50, 495, 499, 505, 511, 526, 527, 530, 535, 541, 548, 595, 598, 606, 621, 622, 626, 629, 638, 655, 657, 659, 662-3, 667, 679, 719-20, 721-2, 728-9, 730-1, 732, 735-6, 743, 746, 747, 752, 764-5, 771, 784, 786
- al-Rāfi'ī 576
 Raden Habib Muhammad 607
 Raden Haji Moehamad Moesa 465
 Raffles, Stamford 464, 523-9, 530, 537, 567-8
 Ralph Waldo Emerson 13, 297, 303-5, 308, 320
- Ramaḍān 46, 110, 143, 210, 263, 267, 331, 348, 417, 541, 731, 772
 Randolph, Paschal Beverly 239-42
 Rashid al-Dīn Ṭabīb 681
 Ratip Beamal 604, 606, 608
 Rawson, Albert Leighton 161-3, 237, 279
 Raymund Lull 440-1, 446
 Red-cap sect (Shī'ī Muslims) 655, 679
 Rees, Willem Adriaan van 605-7
 Reginald Bosworth Smith 358
 Renaudot, Eusèbe 478, 479, 656, 699, 701, 704-5
 resurrection 26, 59, 119, 158, 169, 234, 354, 721
 resurrection of Christ 119, 185, 290
 Revelation, Book of 96, 118, 120, 121-2, 123, 419, 749
 Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft 602
 Rhodes, Herbert 638, 639, 640
 Ridder de Stuers, Hubert 568, 570
 Ridley, Harry French 642, 711
 Ridley, Sarah Querry 642-5, 711
 Riley, James 77-83
 Ripangi, *see* Aḥmad al-Rifa'i 555-6
 rites controversy 476
 Rizzolati, Joseph 479, 616
 Robert College, Istanbul 320, 322, 325
 Robert Morris 236-8
 Rodwell, John Medows 499, 720, 722
 Robinson, Edward 125-6, 132
 Roman Catholics *and* Roman Catholic Church 19, 246, 251, 282, 284, 286, 471, 487, 491, 631, 632, 654, 657, 671
 Rowson, Susanna Haswell 5, 50-4
 Royall Tyler 5, 55-62, 71
 Rufus Anderson 125, 175, 243-8, 322, 395
 Russian Orthodox Church 478-9, 490-1, 651-2, 666, 673-4, 681, 724
 Russo-Japanese War 492-3, 498, 739
 Ruth, Book of 752
 Rycaut, Paul 121
- Sabians *and* 'Sabaenism' 378, 436
 Sa'dī 299, 303, 305
 Sadorotei 485-6
 Safdar Ali 374
 Saghanughu, Muḥammad Kabā 249, 255-6
 Saib Sultan 772-3
 Sale, George 11, 45-6, 47, 59, 121, 142, 163, 167, 170, 177, 188, 189, 301, 302, 355, 375-6
 Saleh Mahomet 777-9, 781
 Salip Saliganya Bunsú 512
 Salisbury, Edward E. 11, 272-8

- Samarkand 663-4
 Samuel Crowther 358
 Samuel Henry Kellogg 357-6
 Samuel Langhorne Clemens, *see* Mark Twain 11, 215-25
 Samuel Lorenzo Knapp 89-92
 Samuel Wells Williams 476, 478, 615, 619-21
 Samuel Zwemer 9-10, 343, 372, 385, 396-7, 433-54, 504, 643, 644, 647, 710
 Samuel, Book of 338
 Sandwich Islands, *see also* Hawaii 8, 84, 244, 628
 Sanskrit 272-3, 531
 al-Saqqāf, Aḥmad ibn Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir 299
 Saracens 440, 593, 597, 705, 751
 Sarah Querry Ridley 642-5, 711
 Sarfaraz Husayn 494
 Sayud Abdulla Athim 374, 382
 Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Zāhir Ba-'Alawī 586
 Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *see also* Syed Ahmed Khan 278, 294, 314, 315, 355, 373, 374, 384, 446
 Sayyid 'Uthmān ibn 'Aqīl ibn Yahyā l-'Alawī 465, 548-50, 577
 Scales, Jacob 420
 Schliemann, Heinrich 491, 492, 727, 729
 Schoemaker, Jan Prosper 596-8
 Second Great Awakening 8, 20, 21, 103, 105, 125, 419
 Segawa Asashi 497, 725
 Sell, Edward 382
 Sepoy Mutiny 190, 193, 194
 Shaanxi, *see also* Shǎnxī (Shanxi) province 473, 479, 481, 483, 615, 625, 632, 646, 648, 653, 694, 699, 700, 702
 al-Shāfi'ī, Abū Idrīs 406, 548, 564, 573, 576
 al-Shahraṣṭānī, Abū l-Faṭḥ 276, 443
 Shandong (Shantong) province 625, 632, 706
 Shang Ti (Shàngdì) *for* God and Allāh 672
 Shanghai 480, 619, 625, 628, 672, 727
 Shǎnxī (Shanxi), *see also* Shaanxi province 473, 479, 481, 483, 615, 625, 632, 646, 648, 653, 694, 699, 700, 702
 Shedd, William Ambrose 364-70
 Shenxi 479, 615
 Shī'a Muslims 129, 138, 169, 174, 176, 177-9, 423, 575, 666
 Shinto 353, 500, 716, 717, 718, 719, 721, 730, 747, 749
 Shriner, *see also* Nobles of the Mystic Shrine 14, 237
 Sidotti, Giovanni Battista 487
 Sikhs 153, 154, 193, 293, 772-3, 781, 788
 Silvestre de Sacy 272, 274
 Simon Ockley 121, 170, 443
 Singapore 462, 464, 524-5, 530-1, 534, 537-8, 539-40, 541, 542, 592, 607, 655
 Sining (Xining, Xining) 642-3, 644, 711
 Sino-French Treaty of Tientsin 651
 Sino-Japanese War 493
 Sladen, Captain Edward Bosc 674-6, 682, 684
 slave trade 3, 73, 211, 250, 360, 362
 slaves *and* slavery 4, 5, 26, 43, 46, 51, 52, 56, 58, 71, 73-5, 76, 78, 80-1, 116, 211, 218-19, 230, 232, 249, 250, 251, 252-3, 255, 256, 288, 341, 342, 355, 358, 360, 379, 394, 460, 483, 486, 502, 526, 528, 561, 562, 575, 578, 602-3, 637, 666, 744, 753
 Smith, Eli 125-33, 139, 147, 422
 Smith, George A. 33
 Smith, Henry Preserved 337-44
 Smith, Reginald Bosworth 358
 Smyrna (Izmir) 5, 8, 84, 105, 108, 111, 253, 421
 Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan 19, 343, 403, 405, 461, 463, 465, 548, 553, 556, 574, 579, 593, 596
 Söderström, Jane 646-9
 Söderström, L.V. 646-9
 Southgate, Horatio 134-49
 Sprenger, Aloys 12, 274, 341, 343, 381, 443
 Sri Lanka (Ceylon) 504, 602, 661, 729, 771
 Stamford Raffles 464, 523-9, 530, 537, 567-8
 Steijn Parvé, Herman Adriaan 463, 569-70
 Strong, Josiah 426-7
 Sublime Porte 37, 213, 423, 790
 Sūch'uan (Sichuān) 672
 Sudanese Mahdī 564, 593
 Sufis and Sufism 115, 138, 154, 161, 174, 214, 279, 284-5, 286, 287, 290, 303, 304, 305, 308, 315, 318, 330, 332, 333, 365, 401, 405, 406, 407, 410, 412, 414, 415, 446, 461, 610, 652, 711
 Süleyman the Magnificent, Ottoman sultan 323-4
 Sultanate of Aceh 461, 581, 592-3
 Sulu 513, 514, 546, 559, 561, 562

- Sumatra *and* Sumatrans 460, 463, 527-8, 567-8, 569, 581, 583-4, 585, 586, 592, 595, 607, 655
- Sunni Muslims 16, 129, 138, 142, 169, 174, 179, 315, 406, 665, 666-7, 679
- Surapati, Prince of Banjar 603-4, 609
- Susanna Haswell Rowson 5, 50-4
- al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 314, 449
- Swedenborg, Emanuel 118-20, 123, 226, 227, 285, 715
- Syed Ahmed Khan, *see also* Sayyid Aḥmad Khān 278, 294, 314, 315, 355, 373, 374, 384, 446
- Syed Ameer Ali, *see* Ameer Ali 278, 314, 315
- Syria *and* Syrians 9, 11, 16, 34, 98, 111, 126-7, 130, 132, 138, 145, 170, 185, 202, 206, 217, 219-20, 244, 245, 365, 368-9, 385-7, 388-90, 391-2, 394, 397, 398-400, 417, 427, 433, 469, 497, 576, 656, 662, 670, 671, 672, 679, 699, 705, 788-9, 790-1
- Syria Mission 245, 385-6, 390, 391-2, 395, 396, 397, 398-9, 400, 425
- Syriac language 11, 299, 337, 367, 369, 401, 476
- Syrian Evangelical Church 364, 386, 398
- Syrian Protestant College 385, 425
- al-Tabrizi, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh 314
- Tagh Mahomet 765, 766, 779, 780
- Takahashi Gorō 498-9, 719-23, 728-9, 731, 735
- Tamerlane 367, 368
- Tamjidullah II, Sultan of Banjar 603-4, 606-7
- Tamontaca 464, 511, 513
- Tāng dynasty 616, 629, 655, 680
- Tanzimat reforms 127, 132, 245, 246, 323, 325, 423
- Taylor, Isaac 358, 360
- Temple Jr, Daniel H. 125, 422, 423
- Theosophical Society 14, 161, 280-1, 285, 327, 330, 332-3
- Theosophists *and* Theosophy 14, 120, 226, 239, 281, 330-1, 332
- Thiersant, Philibert Dabry de 479-80, 630-1
- Thomas Arnold 367-8, 446-7, 480
- Thomas Carlyle 500, 750
- Thomas Forrest 515-22
- Thomas Jefferson 6, 43-9
- Thomas of Margā 367
- Thomas Patrick Hughes 311-19, 343, 372, 443
- Thomas Stamford Raffles 464, 523-9, 530, 537, 567-8
- Thomas Watters 628, 629-30, 631
- Timbuktu 77, 79, 81, 255
- Tisdall, William St Clair 382, 443, 449, 452
- Tjoet Nja Dinm, *see also* Cut Mutia (Tjoet) 598, 599
- Togawa Zanka 498, 499, 730-1
- Treaty of Kiakhṭa 651
- Treaty of Nanking 651
- Treaty of Peace with Tripoli 46
- Treaty of Sumatra 460
- Trinity 119-20, 145, 291, 293, 306, 307, 336, 339, 378-9, 443, 640
- Turkey 9, 35-6, 98, 130, 134-5, 137-8, 141, 143, 148, 213, 214, 217, 277, 286, 365, 416-17, 421, 428, 441, 468, 581, 586, 718, 721, 744-5, 751-2, 753-4, 764, 784
- Turkish language 34, 38, 108, 130, 141-2, 174, 213, 247, 413, 424, 663, 700, 702
- Turkish Mission 34
- Turkomans, Turkmen 657, 659, 666
- Turks 7, 95, 110, 129-30, 132, 142-3, 219, 246, 284, 343, 365, 368, 427, 437, 460, 582, 655, 671, 733, 745, 748, 751, 790
- Twain, Mark 11, 215-25
- Tyler, Royall 5, 55-62, 71
- Uighurs, Uigurs, Uyghurs 473, 477, 482, 629, 631, 677, 681
- ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, second caliph 146, 168, 267
- Unitarians *and* Unitarianism 11, 13, 43, 159, 262, 297, 298-9, 300-1, 303-6, 307, 308, 337-8, 471, 743
- United States-Ottoman Treaty 6
- Urdu language 190-1, 197-8, 290, 292, 295, 311, 315, 372, 373-4, 375, 381-2
- Urumia 174, 175, 364-6
- Van den Berg, L.W.C. 463, 573-80
- Van Dyck Bible 126
- Vandike, John 63-6
- Vasily Pavlovich Vasilyev 479-80, 674
- Verbeck, Guido Herman Fridolin 501, 731-2, 736
- Vicente Barrantes 459, 544-7
- Victoria, Australia 771, 776, 789, 791
- Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom 46
- Voltaire 47, 234

- al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd 407
 Wahhabis *and* Wahhabism 318, 406, 437, 438, 442, 443-463, 564
 Wallace D. Fard 4
 Walsh, John Johnston 190-4
 Walter Medhurst 615, 619
 Wang Daiyu 622
 Waraqa ibn Nawfal 449
 Washington Irving 12, 123, 164-73, 188
 Watanabe Kazan 487
 Watters, Thomas 628, 629-30, 631
 Way, Richard Quarterman 496, 725
 Webb, Alexander Russell 13, 34, 161, 329-31, 332-3, 334-6
 Weil, Gustav 11, 170, 274, 343
 Wellby, Montague 644
 West Africa 3, 8-9, 16, 81, 249, 251
 Western Australia 469, 471, 763-6, 771, 773, 776, 777, 780-1, 789, 791
 Western Foreign Missionary Society 150
 Wherry, Elwood Morris 9, 355, 371-84, 386, 452, 459, 461
 White-Cap sect (Sunnī Muslims, the Hui) 655, 660, 679, 711
 William of Rubruck 705
 William Bentley 11, 13, 297, 298-300, 301
 William Milne 475, 478, 480, 534, 617
 William Q. Judge, *see also* Hadji Erinn 283, 327-33
 Williams, Samuel Wells 476, 478, 615, 619-21
 Willing, Jennie Fowler 23-4
 Wolfe, Napoleon Bonaparte 260-1
 Woodbridge, Samuel Merrill 497, 725
 Woodside, John S. 197-8
 Word of God (Bible) 147, 292
 Word of God (Qur’an) 27, 290, 295
 World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 10, 434, 447, 451, 453, 481, 694, 703, 710
 Xavier, Francis 485
 Xavier, Jerome 278
 Xian, Great mosque of 475
 Xīníng, Xining (Sining) 642-3, 644, 711
 Xinjiang (Sinkiang) 473, 483, 493, 652-3, 701-3
 Xúnhuà (Sunhwa) 711
 Yakoob (Suleiman Yakooboof) 664-5
 Yamaoka Kōtarō 494
 Yamaoka Mitsutarō 503, 734, 735
 Yáng Guāngxian (Yang Kwang-sien) 661, 677
 Yisu, *see* Jesus 197, 200
 Yoshida Masaharu 491, 717, 725
 Yuán dynasty 485, 622, 655, 705
 Yule, Henry 653
 Yunnan province 474, 622, 623, 624, 625, 638, 653, 673, 674, 675, 676, 699, 700, 702, 706
 Yusif ‘Atiya 387
 Yūsuf al-Asīr 126
 al-Zamakhsharī 443, 449
 Zamboanga 464, 511, 512-13, 514, 561
 Zayd ibn Thābit 168
 Zaynab, wife of Muḥammad 105, 122
 Zentgraaff, Henri Carel 598-9
 Zhou dynasty 475
 Zimram Wriam 771
 Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von 441
 Zoroaster, Zoroastrians, Zoroastrianism 169, 231, 367, 721, 748
 Zwemer, Samuel 9-10, 343, 372, 385, 396-7, 433-54, 504, 643, 644, 647, 710

Index of Titles

Numbers in *italics* indicate a main entry.

- Abḥās-i zurūrī* (Walī Ullāh Lāhorī) 290
Adab al-insān 550
adat segala raja-raja Melayu dalam segala negeri, Kitab 531
Address to Andover College missionary society (Levi Parsons) 86
The adventures of Huckleberry Finn 215, 220
The adventures of Tom Sawyer 215, 220
‘The Afghan trouble’ 763-4
After thirty years. Three decades of the China Inland Mission 673
Afwijkingen van het Mohammedaansche familierecht 578-9
The Age 770, 789
Aḥwāl-i Khalīl-ullāh 290
Al Aaraaf 114, 116-17
Alcoran (Ross) 91
Alf layla wa-layla, see *Thousand and one nights* 12, 26, 218, 116, 342-3, 401, 402, 403, 410
The Algerine captive 5, 55, 56-62, 71
The Algerine spy 5, 91
The Alhambra 165, 167
An alphabetical compendium of the various sects which have appeared 13, 159, 300-1
Alta California 215
A’māl al-jam’iyya al-Sūriyya 127
American geography 420
On American soil. Or, Mormonism the Mohammedanism of the West 24
Among the Mongols 673
Among the Turks 320, 323-4, 325, 427
Anastasis, or the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, rationally and spiritually considered 119
Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine 616, 656, 699, 701, 704
Ancient account of India and China by two Mohammedan travellers 616, 656, 699, 701, 704
Andover Review 312, 316
‘The apologetic interpretation of scripture in Islam and in Christianity’ 338
An appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans 302
An appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 140, 175, 423
The Ansairitic mystery 240, 241-2
Arabia. The cradle of Islam 436-9, 444
Arabian nights, see *Thousand and one nights* 12, 26, 218, 116, 342-3, 401, 402, 403, 410
‘*Arā’is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*’ 449
El archipiélago filipino y las Islas Marianas, Carolinas y Palaos 559
Are pre-millennialists right? 352
Argus 180
The Armenian crisis in Turkey 426
Asia and Europe 725
The Asiatic mystery 240-1, 241
Aspects of Islam 413-18
Aspirations of the world. A chain of opals 303
The Athenæum 148, 411
Atjeh (Zentgraaf) 598-9
De Atjehers 579, 593, 596
Atlantic Monthly 254, 306
Australia twice traversed. The romance of travel 777-8
Authentic narrative of the loss of the American brig Commerce 77, 79-83
Autobiography (Jefferson) 46
Autobiography (Schauffler) 422
The autobiography of Abdullah, see *Hikayat Abdullah* 530, 532, 533-6
The autobiography of Nicholas Said: A native of Bornou, Eastern Sudan, Central Africa 254
De Bandjarmasinsche Krijg van 1859-1863 605-7

- Ballarat Star* 789-90
Bankoku kōbōshi 498, 499, 501-2, 732-3
Baputesuma no mokuteki 748
Barnabas, Gospel of 415
Bayān-i fāraqlīt 290
Beacon of truth 387
De beginselen van het Mohammedaansche recht, volgens de imāms Aboe Hanīfat en asj-Sjāfe'ī 575-6
Bendigo Advertiser 771
Benjing 638
Benmei 501, 750
Beyond the valley 226
Bian li mingzheng yulu 639-41
The Bible and Islam. The influence of the Old and New Testaments on the religion of Mohammed 338, 339-44
Bible work in Bible lands; or, events in the history of Syria mission 422
Biblical researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea 126
Bibliothèque orientale 121, 170
Bij wien ligt de schuld 605
Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Geschiedenis van het Bandjermasinsche Rijk, 1863-1866 607
Billy Budd 262
Biography of George Washington 165, 167, 171
Blanquerna 440
Bombay Guardian 186, 187
Bonbeishi zakkān oyobi Fufuikyō to Fufuikyōto 734
Book of governors 367
The Book of Mormon 15, 20, 21, 24, 31
The book of religions 156, 157-60
The books of Ser Marco Polo 653
Bracebridge Hall 164
A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion 94-7, 103, 104, 105
Brieven over den Islam uit de binnenlanden van Java 551, 552-4
Brieven van een desaman 551, 552-4
Bruce Herald 784
By what arguments can we best convince the Mohammedan of the falsity of his religion 104-7
The captives. Eleven years a prisoner in Algiers, see also The diplomatic journal and letter book of James Leander Cathcart, 1788-1796 69, 347-50
'Castlemaine police court' 788
Cathay and the way thither 653
Chambers's encyclopedia 725
Chaojīn tuji 622
Charlotte 50
Chashma i zindagī 191
Chikyū setsuryaku 496-7, 725
China and religion 677, 678-9, 680, 681
China opened 656-8
China, past and present 678
The China Review 629
China's intercourse with Europe 676-7
China's Millions 481, 482, 643, 648, 673
La Chine et le Japon au temps présent 491, 496, 727-8
La Chine. Huit ans au Yun-nan 673
Chinese Central Asia 662-3, 666-72
Chinese chrestomathy in the Canton dialect 619
The Chinese Empire. A general and missionary survey 694, 698-703
'Chinese Mohammedans' 676, 701, 702
The Chinese people 672-3
The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal 479, 616, 628, 629, 630, 632, 633, 647
The Chinese Repository 475, 476, 478, 479, 615-18, 619-20
Chinese researches 661-2
Chirigaku kō 502, 743
Christian Examiner 148
Christian researches in the Mediterranean 147
Christianity and righteousness 752
Christianity, Islam, and the Negro race 13
The Churchman 312
Clarel: A poem and pilgrimage in the Holy Land 262, 263, 264-71
A clear and correct discrimination of principles, see Bian li mingzheng yulu 639-41
The Colonist (Sydney) 784, 788, 789
Columbian Centinel 55
A comparison of Mahometism and Christianity in their history, their evidence and their effects 159
A comprehensive commentary on the Quran: comprising Sale's translation and preliminary discourse 372, 375-80
Confrontation on truth, see Juli Zhizheng 623-4
Constantinople and its problems 424
The conquest of Granada 165, 167
De contractu, do ut des' jure Mohammedano 573
Contrast (Tyler) 55

- Contributions from original sources to our knowledge of the science of Muslim tradition* 274-6
- Conversion by the million in China* 504
- 'Conversion of the world to Christianity' 770
- The Coolgardie Miner* 763-9
- The Coran, its composition and teaching and the testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures* 630
- The cross above the crescent. A romance of Constantinople* 135
- Cuentos filipinos* 559
- Daily Southern Cross* 784
- Dawā'u l-kulūb* 531
- Daybreak in Turkey* 422
- Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* 96, 121, 170, 185, 188, 342
- Demonstración histórica de cuantas depredaciones llevan cometidas los moros* 545
- Dendō no seishin* 502, 743
- 'Departure of Vice-Admiral Dundas and the squadron' 784
- The dereliction and restoration of the Jews* 420
- The dervishes; or, Oriental spiritualism* 213, 214, 237
- The development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory* 12, 405-9, 409, 416-17
- Deviations from Islamic family law, see Afwijkingen van het Mohammedaansche familierecht* 578-9
- A dictionary of all religions and religious denominations, see An alphabetical compendium of the various sects* 13, 159, 300-1
- Dictionary of Islam* (Hughes) 312, 313-19, 343, 443
- Diogenes' hope* 752
- The diplomatic journal and letter book of James Leander Cathcart, 1788-1796, see also The captives. Eleven years a prisoner in Algiers* 69, 347-50
- Directory of Protestant missionaries in China, Japan and Corea, for the year* 1910 695
- Durr al-mukhtār* 314
- The 1849 letter from Sultan Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülmecid 581-2
- The 1850 letter from Sultan Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülmecid 582-3
- The 1869 letter from Sultan Mansur Syah to Sultan Abdülaziz I 584-5
- The 1872 petition from Sultan Alaaddin Mahmud Syah to the Ottoman Governorship of Hijāz 585-6
- The 1885 petition from the people of Aceh to the Ottoman Governor of Hijāz 587
- Echoes of the Orient* 328
- Eclectic Review* 148
- Egypt's princes. A narrative of missionary labor in the valley of the Nile* 209-12
- Eikoku ni tai suru Nipponjin no Dōjō* (hoka) 502, 750
- Encouragement to missionary effort among Mohamedans* 134, 137-40
- Encyclopædia Britannica* 331-2, 403
- Encyclopaedia of Islam* 317, 403
- The encyclopaedia of religion and ethics* 403
- Encyclopedia Americana* 157
- Encyclopedia of religious knowledge* 157
- English and Chinese vocabulary in the court dialect* 619
- English-Chinese dictionary* 619
- Essai sur l'histoire de l'islam* 343
- Evangelical Lutheran Preacher* 104
- Evangelical Magazine* 540
- Evening Mirror* 114
- Evidence of prophecy* 175
- Evidences of Christianity* 186
- Evidences of the authenticity, inspiration, and canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures, see A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion* 94-7, 103, 104, 105
- Evidences of the truth and divine origin of the Christian revelation* 162-3
- An expedition to the valley of the great Salt Lake of Utah* 183
- Extracts from a journal of travels in North America* 90-2
- Extracts from the journal of Marshal Soult* 91
- Extraordinary popular delusions and the madness of crowds* 180
- Faith and facts as illustrated in the history of the China Inland Mission* 711
- Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète* 234
- Fatawā yi Alamgīrī* 314
- 'The fatherland' 751

- Fifty-three years in Syria* 387, 397,
 398-400, 422
 'The followers of the Prophet' 784-5
The Foreign Missionary 151
The Foreign Missionary Chronicle 151
Forty years in the Turkish Empire 422, 424
*Forty years' recollections of life, literature,
 and public affairs, from 1830 to 1870* 180
Forum 427
*The fountain, with jets of new
 meanings* 228, 233-5
Four hundred millions 672
Freemasonry in the Holy Land 236, 237-8
A friendly tract (Merrick) 422
 'From Greece' 750
*From the caves and jungles of
 Hindustan* 281
Fuifuikyō shinja ni okuru bun, see also
Propagandistic nuisance 505, 741, 754
Fukuin towa nanzo, hoka 748
The future of Islam 630

Gaikokugo no kenkyū 752
A gazetteer of the United States 156
*Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen d.
 Islam bis zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* 440
Genesis and the growth of religion 352
Geschichte der chalifen 274
Getsuyō kōen 752
The gilded age 215
The Gnostics and their remains 285
Gospel of Barnabas 415
Goulburn Evening Penny Post 772
governors, Book of 367
A grammar of the Hindi language 352
The great events of history 725
The great harmonia 228, 231-3
*Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra
 mindanaos y joloanos* 545-7
Guide for inquirers, see *Minhāj
 al-ṭālibīn* 573, 576-7
A guide to Japan 498
Guide to religions, see *Shokyō
 benran* 498-9, 719, 721-3, 728-9, 731
Gulistān 299, 305
*Gympie Times and Mary River Mining
 Gazette* 771

*The Hadramaut and the Arabs of
 Indonesia* 573, 577-8
*Le Hadramout et les colonies arabes dans
 l'archipel indien* 577-8
Hai-i-tetsugaku ron 720
Hail to Greece! 751

Half a century in China 672
A handbook of comparative religions 352,
 353-6
*Handbook of Muslim law according to the
 Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī schools*, see *De
 beginselen van het Mohammedaansche
 recht, volgens de imāms Aboe Hanīfat en
 asj-Sjāfe'ī* 575-6
The Hartford Seminary Record 403
Ḥayāt al-qulūb 176, 177
Hayāt-o ṣaud-i Masiḥ 290
Heaven, earth and man see *Tenchijin* 498,
 499, 500, 505, 733-4
Hedāya 314
Heiropphant 119
Herald of Progress 228
The heretic's defense 338, 343
Hero worship 500
*Herinneringen uit de loopbaan van een
 Indisch Officier* 605
The Hiáng Fan or Echoing Tomb 617, 620-1
Hikayat Abdullah 530, 532, 533-6
Hikayat dunia 531
Hikayat panca Tanderan 531
Hikayat prang Gōmpeuni 596
Hikayat prang sabi (sabil) 460, 594-6, 599
Hinpu no sabetsu, hoka 501, 749-50
*Histoire des arabes sous le gouvernement
 des califes* 170
Histoire des Mongols 681
*Historia general de Filipinas desde el
 descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta
 nuestros días* 559
*Historia de la piratería malayo-
 mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y
 Borneo* 559, 560-3
A history of all religions 158
*The history of the condition of women, in
 various ages and nations* 302
The history of Islamism in Australia 766
The history of Java 524, 526
*A history of the life and voyages of
 Christopher Columbus* 165
*History of Malay-Mahometan piracy in
 Mindanao, Jolo and Borneo*, see *Historia
 de la piratería malayo-mahometana en
 Mindanao, Joló y Borneo* 559, 560-3
*History of the missions of the American
 Board of Commissioners for Foreign
 Missions to the Oriental Churches* 245-8
*History of the Mormons. Or, Latter-day
 Saints, with memoirs of the life and death
 of Joseph Smith, the American
 Mahomet* 25

- A history of New York* 164
History of Persia 177
The history of the rise and fall of nations,
 see *Bankoku kōbōshi* 498, 499, 501-2,
 732-3
History of the Saracens 121, 170, 443
A history of the work of redemption 419
Hobart Town Daily Mercury 770
Hobomok, a tale of early times 302
The Holy Land. An interesting field of
missionary enterprise 420
The Home and Foreign Record of the
Presbyterian Church in the United States
of America 151
How I became a Christian 738, 744
 'How can we best reach Mohammedan
women?', see also 'The Mohammedan
women of China' 646-7, 647-9
Hsian the capital of Shenxi, past and
present 632
Humanity in Algiers 71-6
Hungary and Turkey. Marquis Ito on
education, etc. 502, 745
Hwei-hwei Yuan-lai, see also The origin of
the Mussulmans 679
- Ichiban erai hito. Nazare no Iesu* 502, 748
Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn 407, 410
Ikanishite natsu o sugosan ka 746
Illustrated London News 180
Ilyās kā qīṣṣah 290
Incidents of travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea,
and the Holy Lands 113
The Independent 424
Independent Chronicle 55
 'India and Afghanistan' 764
Indian Christian Intelligencer 312
Indian Evangelical Review 376
The Indian Musalmans 566
 'In far off Cathay' 644-5
The innocents abroad 215-16, 217-25
An inquiry into matters of general interest
or Shī-wu T'ung-k'ao 680
An inquiry of human understanding 94
Inspiration and inerrancy 337
An interesting narrative. Biography of
Mahommah G. Baquaqua 251-2
The International Review of Missions 403
The introduction of Mahometanism into
China 626-7
Isis unveiled 281, 283-7
El Islam 494
Islam and Christianity in India and the Far
East 371, 383-4
- Islam and its founder* 630
Islam and missions: being papers read at
the Second Missionary Conference on
behalf of the Mohammedan world at
Lucknow 372
Islam and the Oriental Churches 364,
 367-70
Der Islam im Morgen-und
Abendlande 343
Islam in Africa. Its effects – religious, ethical
and social – upon the people of the
country 357, 358-63
Islam in America 13, 334, 336
Islam in China (Vasilyev) 479-80
Islam in China (Palladius), see also
Musul'mastvo v Kitae 673-4
Islam in China, a neglected problem
 480-1, 694, 703-11
Der Islam in seinem Einfluss auf das Leben
seiner Bekenner 443
Islam refuted on its own grounds 371
Islam, or the religion of the Turk 371
Islam. A challenge to faith 445-8
The Islamic Fraternity 494, 503-4
- Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* 681
Japan and the Japanese 501, 743
The Japan Chronicle 505, 741, 749
Japan's future as conceived by a
Japanese 751
The Jewish encyclopedia 403
The Jews, prediction or fulfilment 352
Jinrui no daraku 748
Jinrui no shūkyō wake 753
Jisei no kansatsu 502, 744
John Chinaman and a few others 677-8
The Journal of the Anthropological Institute
of Great Britain and Ireland 701
A journal, of the captivity and sufferings of
John Foss 68-70
Journal of the Elder Expedition
 1891-2 779-80
Journal of three voyages 658-60
Journey across the western interior of
Australia 781
The Jubilee story of the China Inland
Mission 711
Judaism and Islam 443
Juli Zhizheng 623-4
- The Kalgoorlie Miner* 765-6
Kashif-i jurum-i Adam 290
Kashshāf iṣtilāḥāt al-funūn 275
The key to Theosophy 281

- Kind words and loving counsel to the Malays* 460
- Kinji roku* 745
- Kirisuto ni itaru no michi, hoka* 753
- Kirisuto Shinto no Nagusame* 738
- Kirisuto shōgai towa nanzo?* 750
- Kirisutokyō mondō. Kirisuto no shinsei* 501, 748
- Kirisutokyō ni kansuru gokai o henzu* 731-2
- Kirisutokyō no seishitsu* 749
- Kirisutokyō Shinbun* 742
- Kirisutokyō to sekai rekishi* 747, 751
- Kirisutosha wa nani yue ni zen o nasu beki ka?* 753
- Kitab adat segala raja-raja Melayu dalam segala negeri* 531
- Kitāb al-milal wa-l-nihāl* 276
- Kitāb al-ṣalāt* 255-6
- Kitāishkaia literatura Magometan* 674
- On the knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian colonies* 479
- Kōkoku shidan* 502, 746
- Kokumin no Tomo* 743, 744
- The Koran (Sale)* 11, 45, 46-7, 48, 121, 142, 163, 167, 170, 177, 188, 189, 301, 302, 355, 375, 376
- Koromubusu no kōseki* 502, 742
- Kuni wa Kirisutokyō nakushite tatsu o eru ka?* 502, 753
- Kurisumasu ensetsu. Heiwa to ronsō* 753
- Kurisumasu zakkān* 752
- Kwiechow and Yünnan provinces* 481
- Kyōkai rekishi* 497, 725
- Kyūanroku* 738, 752
- The land and the book* 10, 422
- Laotze. A study in Chinese philosophy* 628
- Later biblical researches in Palestine and the adjacent regions* 126
- Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* 343, 443
- Das Leben Mohammeds nach Mohammed ibn Ishak* 343
- A letter concerning toleration* 45
- Letter of instructions of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions to the Rev. Horatio Southgate* 137, 140
- The letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.* 164
- The letters of Shahcoolen, a Hindu philosopher* 91
- A letter to a friend, in reply to a recent pamphlet* 135
- Letters (Keasberry)* 539-43
- Letters and books of Sir Stamford Raffles and Lady Raffles* 526-9
- Letters from a villager, see Brieven over den Islam uit de binnenlanden van Java* 551, 552-4
- Letters from New-York* 302
- Letters from the last sultan of Aceh* 588-9
- Letters of 1868 and 1869 from Sultan Mansur Syah to the Ottoman Governorship of Hijāz* 585
- Letters on Islam from the interior of Java, see Brieven over den Islam uit de binnenlanden van Java* 551, 552-4
- Letters on the Gospels* 301
- Letters that have helped me* 327, 328
- Life and letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima* 504, 505, 729
- Life and letters of Rev. Daniel Temple* 147, 422-3
- The life and religion of Mohammed* 175, 176-9
- Life in China. Many years a missionary among the Chinese* 478
- Life of Mahomet (Prideaux), see The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet* 96, 121, 139, 167, 170, 496, 722
- Life of Mahomet and history of Islam to the era of the Hegira (Muir)* 274, 275
- The life of Mahomet. Mahomet and his successors (Irving)* 165, 166-73, 188
- Life of Mohammad (Bowen)* 188-9
- Life of Mohammad (Sprenger)* 274
- Life of Mohammed (Bush)* 121-4, 188
- The Life of Omar ben saeed, called Morro, a Fullah Slave, in Fayetteville, N.C.* 252-3
- The life of Sir Stamford Raffles* 526
- The life of Taou-Kwang* 660-1
- The light of Asia and the light of the world* 352
- Lives of Mahomet and his successors (Irving)* 165, 166-72, 188
- Lucifer* 281
- Lyttelton Times* 785
- The magic staff* 226, 227
- Mahoma, su vida, el Corán (Montero y Vidal)* 560
- Mahomet and his successors, see The life of Mahomet (Irving)* 165, 166-73, 188
- 'Mahometan festival: Celebrated in Brisbane'* 773
- Mahometanism unveiled (Forster)* 121, 144
- Mahometism explained (Morgan)* 121

- Le mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental* 479, 630
Mahommedanism (a review) I 629, 633-4
Mahommedanism (a review) II and III 634-5
Mahommedanism (laws and ceremonies) a review IV 635-6
Mahommedanism. Note – recollections of a conversation, V 636-7
 'Mahommedanism: Remarks on Hwei Hwei Shuo' 629
Makhzan i Masihi 190
Al-Manār 548
Mandalay to Momien 676
A manual of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America 151
The martyr of Lebanon 9
Martyred missionaries of the China Inland Mission 695-8
Marvels of the creation 410
Al-Mashriq 497
Masiḥ kā aḥwāl 290
Masiḥ kī paidāish 290
 'Materials for the history of the Muhammadan doctrine of predestination and free will' 276-7
The measure of a man 364, 365
Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap 551
Mediaeval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources 681
Mekka (Snouck Hurgronje) 343
Memoir of Commodore David Porter of the United States Navy 7
Memoir of the life and public services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles 568
A memoir of Miss Hannah Adams 300
Memoir of Mrs. Sarah L. Huntington Smith 147
Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons 86, 422
Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk 8, 101, 422
Memoirs of Hon. Walter Lowrie 151
Memoirs of the life and labours of Robert Morrison 654
Memoirs and reminiscences of the late Prof. George Bush 119, 120
 'Memorial address in honor of Professor Salisbury' 275, 276, 278
A memorial of the Futtehghurh Mission and her martyred missionaries 190, 192-4
Memorial volume of the first years of the American Board of Commissioners 244
Michi 500
Miftah-ul-asrar 424
al-milal wa-l-niḥal, Kitāb 276
Minhāj al-tālibīn 573, 576-7
Mirai kannen no gensei ni okeru jigyō ni oyobosu seir 747
Mirai no saiban 749
A mirror of the world's mysteries. A record of crossing Arabia, see Sekai no shinpikyō.
Arabiya jūdanki 503, 505, 734
Mishkāṭ al-masābiḥ 314, 342, 443
Missionary Herald, see Panoplist and Missionary Herald 100, 244-5, 420-1, 423-6
Missionary papers (John Lowrie) 151
Missionary researches in Armenia, see Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia 147, 422
Missionary sermons and addresses 126, 128-33, 139, 422
Missionary tracts of the American Board 244
Mizan ul haqq 293, 424
Moby-Dick 262, 265
Mohammed and Mohammedanism 437, 444, 449
Mohammed der Prophet 170, 274
The Mohammedan controversy and other Indian articles 144
 'Mohammedan converts at Singapore' 540
The Mohammedan missionary problem 393-5, 399, 425
 'The Mohammedan women of China', see also 'How can we best reach Mohammedan women?' 646-7, 647-9
The Mohammedan world of to-day 372
 'Mohammedanism in China' 630
Mokushiroku wa ikanaru sho de aru ka 749
The Mormons: or Latter-day Saints (Mackay) 15, 25, 180, 181-4
Mormon, The Book of 15, 20, 21, 24, 31
The Mormons (Gunnison) 183
Mormonism. The Islam of America 15, 24
Morning Call 215
The Morning Chronicle 25, 180
Mōseden no kenkyū 749
Mōse no jikkai to sono chūkai 502, 746
Das moslemische Recht 575
The Moslem Christ 438, 448-51
The Moslem doctrine of God 442-5
The Moslem World 196, 200, 403, 433, 434, 451-4, 647, 706, 710
The Moslems of China 707
Mount Alexander Mail 788

- Mr. Gladstone on Graeco-Turkish complication* 751
Mr. Southgate and the missionaries at Constantinople 135
Muhammad Ghauth's letter of March-April 1850 583-4
Muhammedanische studien 275, 343
Muḥarrar (al-Rāfi'ī) 576
Muḥimmāt al-naḥā'is fī bayān as'īlat al-ḥādith 460, 565-6
Mui no goshūkan 502, 748
Mukhtaṣar (Qāḍi Abū Shujā') 576
Muqāḍh min al-ḍalāl (al-Ghazālī) 407
Muqaddima (Ibn Khaldūn) 409, 410, 416
Al-Muqtaṭaf 497
'The murder of Tagh Mahomet' 765-6
The Muslim controversy 371, 381-3
Musnad (Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj) 275
Musul'mastvo v Kitae, see also Islam in China (Palladius) 673-4
My fourth tour in Western Australia 780-1
My life and times (Hamlin) 325-6, 422

Najāt al-azimān 290
The name T'sa 196-201
On the Naqshbandiyya order in the Indian Archipelago, see Over de devotie der Naqsjibendijah in den Indischen Archipel 577
The narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket 114
Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia 134, 141-9
Narrative of a visit to the Syrian [Jacobite] Church of Mesopotamia 136
Narrative of a year's journey through central and eastern Arabia 443
Narrative of the captivity of John Vandike, who was taken by the Algerines, in 1791 64-6
Al-nashra l-usbū'yya 386
Naskah Tuanku Imam Bondjol 570
The Nation 403
A nation that will rise 750
The nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet 96, 121, 138, 167, 170, 496, 722
Nemuke-Zamashi, or something that prevents sleep 750
A new and general biographical dictionary 158
New China and old 672-3
New Church Repository 119
The New England gazetteer 156

New Englander 148, 277, 278
New York Daily Graphic 327
New York Observer 424
New York Times 424
New Zealand Herald 785
New Zealand Tablet 786
Nichiei Dōmei ni kan suru shokan 751
Nichiren shōnin o ronzu 743
Nightmare tales 281
Nihonkoku no daikonnann 752
Niko no dōbutsuen 753
North China Herald 647
Note and comment (Uchimura) 503, 744
Notes (Uchimura) 502, 744, 751
Notes on Chinese literature 661
'Notes on Chinese Mahometan literature' 629-30
'Notes on Mahommedanism in Peking' 629
Notes on Muhammadanism 312, 314, 315
Notes on Virginia 44
'Notice of recent publications' 630
Nur-i-afshan 371, 373-5

O dvizhenii magometanstva v Kitae 674
O magometanakh v Kitae 673
Ocean of Theosophy 328
Official narrative of and papers connected with the expedition to explore the trade routes to China via Bharno 674-5
The old and the new, or, the changes of thirty years in the East 422
De ondergang van het Bandjermasinsche Rijk 607
De onpartijdigheid van den schrijver van 'De Bandjermasinsche Krijg' 606
Orient and Occident 497
The Oriental churches and Mohammedans 321-3
The origin of the Mussulmans, see also Hwei-hwei Yuan-lai 679
The original sources of the Quran 449
Origine de l'islamisme en Chine 680
Ottoman-Dutch correspondence 586-7
Our country. Its possible future and its present crisis 426
Our Moslem sisters 643, 644
Over de devotie der Naqsjibendijah in den Indischen Archipel 577

The Path 328, 330
'Pan-Islamism' 771
Panoplist and Missionary Herald, see Missionary Herald 100, 244-5, 420-1, 423-6

- Paradise lost* 74
Peace, peace! 751
The pilgrim's harp 175
The pilgrim's progress 440, 539
The pink apples from the gardens of the Muḥammadan sharī'a, see *Al-tuffāḥa l-wardiyya min riyaḍ al-sharī'a l-muḥammadiyya* 465, 549-50
A plea in behalf of Swedenborg's claim to intercourse with the spiritual world 119-20
Pirate wars in the Philippines against the Mindanao and Sulu communities, see *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos* 545-7
Poems (Emerson) 304-5
Poems (Poe) 114
Pōro no Kirisutokan. Rōmasho to sono chūkai 747
The preaching of Islam 367, 368, 446, 480
The precious gems dealing with the explanation of current topics, see *Muhimmāt al-naḥā'is fī bayān as'īlat al-ḥādīth* 460, 565-6
Presbyterian missions 151
The present state of the Ottoman Empire 121-2
The Press 785
The principles of nature, her divine relations, and a voice to mankind 227, 228, 229-31
Proceedings of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan held in Tokyo 491, 724
The progress of religious ideas, through successive ages 302-3
Propagandistic nuisance, see also *Fuifuikyō shinja ni okuru bun* 505, 741, 754
Providence Evening Press 424

Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' 449
Qīṣṣah-i Patras 290
Qīṣṣah-i tufān 290
Queensland Times 789
Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes 449
Quotations on clear explanation and evidence, see *Bian li mingzheng yulu* 639-41

Radiant light, see *Nur-i-aḡshan* 371, 373-5
Raḥat-i darmandgān 290
Rah-i salāmat 290
'A railway for Coolgardie' 765, 766
Raise kakutoku no hitsuyō 749

Raymund Lull und die Anfäng d. Catalonischen Literature 440
Raymund Lull. First missionary to the Moslems 440-2
Record of Chinese and Western relations, see *China's intercourse with Europe* 676-7
Redburn 262
Reflections on the four principal religions, which have obtained in the world 158
Regarding Islamism 329-33
Regarding the misunderstandings of Christianity, see *Kirisutokyō ni kansuru gokai o henzu* 731-2
The relation of the developments of mesmerism to the doctrines and disclosures of Swedenborg 120
The religion of the crescent 443
The religion of the East: with impressions of foreign travel 422
religions, The book of 156, 157-60
The religions of China 673
The religious attitude and life in Islam 409-12, 413, 417
Religious creeds of the United States and of the British provinces 156
Religious freedom in Japan 716, 717-18
Religious toleration in Egypt 203-9, 211
Remarks on the nature of Muhammedanism 424
Repen Ripangi 464, 555-8
A report dated 1869 585
Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia, see *Missionary researches in Armenia* 147, 422
Researches through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia 126
A residence at Constantinople, in the year 1827 108, 110-12, 422
The religious, social and political history of the Mormons, see *The Mormons: or Latter-day Saints* (Mackay) 15, 25, 180, 181-4
The Ripangi poem 464, 555-8
Risāla fī fann uṣūl al-ḥādīth 275
Risāla-i qurbānī 290
Risāla-i taḥrīf, see *Rutba-i shafā'at* 289-96
Risōteki dendōshi 501, 742
Robert Morrison, the pioneer of Chinese mission 475
Rōdō, hoka 749
Russian Central Asia 662, 663-6, 668

- Rutba-i shafā'at* 289-96
Rutsuki 752
- The sacred calendar of prophecy* 122
Sairan igen 486, 486, 736
al-ṣalāt, Kitāb 255-6
Saturday Press 215
Sawāl-o jawāb 290
Schetsen uit den Atjeh-oorlog 596-8
De secte 569-70
The secret doctrine 280, 281
Seisho no Kenkyū 738-9, 741, 747, 752
Seiyō bunmei no shinzui 752
Seiyō kibun 486, 487
Sejarah Melayu 531
Sekai no shinpiyō. Arabiya jūdanki 503, 505, 734
Sekai sandai shūkyō 498, 499, 730-1
Selections from the Kuran 170
Setsuri no koto 501, 747
The setting of the Crescent and the rising of the Cross 9, 396-8, 425
Shinja to gensei. Matai den goshō jūsan-jūroku setsu no kenkyū 743
Shokyō benran 498-9, 719, 721-3, 728-9, 731
Shūkū-i kaffārah 290
Shūkyō zadan 746, 747
Si-Chung Ki-shī, see China's intercourse with Europe 676-7
The sketch book 164
Sketch of Chinese history 655-6, 658
Slaves in Algiers; or, a struggle for freedom 5, 50, 51-4
Smeekschrift, ten behoeve der Heidenen en Mahomedanen 655
Soerabajasche Handelsblad 552
,On some of the relations between Islam and Christianity' 277-78
Soul! The soul world 240
Spanish rule in America 750
Specimen historiae Arabum 170
Spirit Messenger, Univercoelum 228
The spirit of evangelism, see Dendō no seishin 502, 743
The spread of Islam among the people of China 480
Startling facts in modern Spiritualism 260-1
Statement of reason for embracing the doctrines and disclosures of Swedenborg 119
Status as heavenly intercessor, see Rutba-i shafā'at 289-96
A story of life 357
- The story of the war of [God's] way, see Hikayat prang sabi (sabil)* 460, 594-6, 599
Studies in Chinese religion 679-80
Sumatra's Westkust van 1819-1849 568-9
The Sun 180
Sunday at Home 312
'The swearing of witnesses' 771
Sweet first-fruits 387
Syair Perang Banjarmasin 607-9
Syair Perang Wangkang 609
Syair Singapura terbakar 531
Sydney Herald 772, 791
Sydney Morning Herald 789, 791
Sympathy for Greece 751
Syriac chronicle 367
Syrian home-life 391-3
'Syrians in Melbourne. Habits and customs' 789-90
- Et-Tabary's conquest of Persia by the Arabs* 170
Tabyin al-kalām 294, 374
Tahāfut al-falāsifa 407
Tales of the grotesque and arabesque 114
Tamerlane and other poems 114
Tamsil-i Lazar 290
Tanbih (al-Shirāzi) 576
Társila zamboangueña 512-14
Tatabiq-i shara-o Injil 290
The teachings of the religion from the West, see also Xilazongpu 626
Tegh-o sipar-i 'Isawi, see also Rutba-i shafā'at 289-96
The Telegraph (Brisbane) 773
Ten great religions 13, 306-7
Tenchijin 498, 499, 500, 505, 733-4
Theological dictionary (Buck and Henderson) 157-8
Theosophical glossary 282
The Theosophist 281
Thoughts and reflections 751
Thousand and one nights, see Arabian nights 12, 26, 218, 116, 342-3, 401, 402, 403, 410
A thousand years of the Tartars 677
The three great religions of the world, see Sekai sandai shūkyō 498, 499, 730-1
Through Siberia 663
Through unknown Tibet 644
T'ien-fang Shih-luh, see also The true history of Arabia 680
'Tired of Christians' 749
Tōkyō Dokuritsu Zasshi 738, 745, 746

- Tom Sawyer abroad* 215
Topical notebooks 305
A tramp abroad 215
Travels in Arabia 169, 170
Travels in Eastern Arabia 437
Travels in North India, see also *Two years in Upper India* 151, 153-5
Travels in the East, the religion of the East, with impressions of foreign travel 147
Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey 91
Treatise on the millennium 120, 122
The true history of Arabia, see also *T'ien-fang Shih-luh* 680
The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet 96, 121, 139, 167, 170, 496, 722
Tuapeka Times 785
Al-tuffāḥa l-wardiyya min riyāḍ al-sharī'a l-muḥammadiyya 465, 549-50
Tuhfat al-nasiyah 290
Turkey and the Armenian atrocities 427
Two years in Upper India, see also *Travels in North India* 151, 153-5
Typee 262
- Uchimura Kanzō zenshū* 501-3, 505, 726, 740-59
Umi no Tōzai, hoka 752
Ummid-i jannat 290
- De vestiging en uitbreiding der Nederlanders ter westkust van Sumatra* 568, 570
A view of China for philological purposes 654
A view of religions, see *An alphabetical compendium of the various sects* 13, 159, 300-1
A view of the internal evidence of the Christian religion 96
Vindication of the Rev. Horatio Southgate 135
- The Virginian* 104
Visit to Istanbul of Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir Ba-'Alawī Efendi 1872-3 586
De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis 170
Vocabulary of the English and Malay languages 531
The voice of the silence 281
Vostochnye Magometane i Kitajskie v osobennosti 674
A voyage to New Guinea 516-22
The voyages and discoveries of the companions of Columbus 165
- Wafāt-i Masih* 290
'Waifs and strays: Islam' 772
Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? 343
Wellington Independent 784
West-östlicher Divan 304
The Western Messenger 306
What it is to know Europe 745
What think ye of Christ: demented or divine, which? 352
White Jacket 262
'Wild scenes at Broken Hill' 790-1
With the Tibetans in tent and temple 643
The women of the Arabs 388-91, 392
The wonderful story of Ravalette 240
- Xilaizongpu*, see also *The teachings of the religion from the West* 626
- Yo no jōtai to gojin no kibō* 751
Yo no manabi shi seijisho 752
Yo no shinkō no shinsui 749
Yogensha Eriya 749
Yohanesho no kenkyū 748
Yorozu Chōhō 738, 744, 750
Yotei no koto 747
Yūan shi 681
- Zamboangan genealogy*, see *Társila zamboangueña* 512-14
Zikr-i Istifān 290