

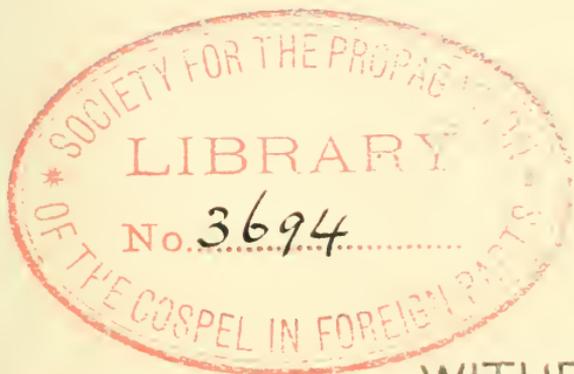
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THE PROGRESS AND ARREST OF
ISLAM IN SUMATRA



WOMEN OF SUMATRA.

THE PROGRESS AND
ARREST OF ISLAM
IN SUMATRA

By
GOTTFRIED SIMON

With an Introductory Note
by
SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D., F.R.G.S

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS book marks a new epoch in the scientific study of missions to Moslems. Following so closely on Johann Warneck's *The Living Christ and Dying Heathenism*, it is in one sense a complementary study to that important work, yet in no wise subsidiary. For while Warneck has given us the philosophy and psychology of Animistic paganism in its conflict with the forces of Christianity, this volume deals with the far more important religion of Islam from a similar standpoint.

Lowell, in his *Study Windows*, tells us that translations are often "only an imitation of natural flowers in cambric or wax"; but this is not the case in the book before us. Miss E. I. M. Boyd has done her work well. By careful interpretation, rather than by slavish literalism, in all difficult passages she has put the German work before English readers in usable and attractive form.

The author has had eleven years' experience as a missionary on the Island of Sumatra, where the Moslem propaganda has indeed accomplished its masterpiece. Among a population of four million, over three and a half million profess the faith of Islam, although this religion entered Sumatra at the beginning of the fourteenth century; and it is in this very island world of Malaysia that Christian Missions to Moslems have had the largest direct results. Not only has his life and environment fitted the author for his task, but he has made a thorough study of all important authorities, especially the masterly works of such scholars as Snouck Hurgronje, Niemann and Poensen. Islam shows its

real strength to-day not so much in the ancient seats of its power in Western Asia, as in the border marches of Central Africa and the island world of Malaysia. It was not without reason that the needs of the Animistic tribes and depressed classes were emphasized at the Lucknow Missionary Conference by the following resolution, which in itself might well be considered a call for a prayerful perusal of the volume before us :—

“ This Conference is persuaded that, in order to stem the tide of Moslem advance, it is important to strengthen the work among Animistic tribes, pagan communities and depressed classes affected by this advance ; for we are clearly of opinion that adoption of the faith of Islam by the pagan people is in no sense whatever a stepping stone towards, or a preparation for Christianity, but exactly the reverse.”

It was with reason, therefore, that the Conference expressed the hope of a complete investigation regarding the conditions of the Moslem advance not only in Africa but in Malaysia “ between now and the next Conference to be held in 1915.” The fact that in Malaysia there are now well-nigh forty thousand converts to Christianity from Islam shows that here, if anywhere, we may look for a scientific presentation of right methods of successful evangelization.

The book consists of three parts, dealing first with the co-operative factors and the religious motives that have led so many pagans to accept Islam. Among the former the author mentions active Mohammedan propagandism, the neutrality of Colonial Governments—often baneful to Christian missions—and the general influence of European culture. Among the latter, the Moslem conception of God, Moslem magic and saint worship, together with the Koran, its eschatology and its doctrine of absolute surrender to God are specially important.

The second part of the book deals with the social and religious conditions of pagans who have become Moham-

medan, and the author raises the question whether there has been social and religious progress and to what extent, leaving no doubt that, for example, the position of womanhood in Malaysia and Africa is not elevated by the advent of Islam.

The third part deals with the conversion of these Mohammedans to Christianity. Islam is not a schoolmaster to lead the pagan races to Christ. The pagan who becomes a Moslem also becomes a fanatic in his opposition to Christianity, and shows at once the strength and weakness of Islam over against the Gospel when Christian missions begin their work. The author leaves no doubt as regards his attitude toward Islam. It is one of uncompromising adherence to the vital truths of Christianity which make the impact of these two religions necessarily a death struggle. He shows the urgency and the possibility of winning over the pagan races in Malaysia and Africa before the advent of Islam, but makes clear no less that the struggle against Islam itself is not hopeless, but if carried on in the spirit of the Gospel is sure to bring results.

But the spirit of the Gospel, according to Gottfried Simon, is not the spirit of compromise, or that of dealing in superficialities. The impact of Christianity on Islam, especially in the Animistic world, means a death struggle. If any feel disposed to let the idea of a strenuous fight drop out of our Christian life and vocabulary, let them read this volume. There seems to be a unanimity in the testimony of all missionaries in Java and Sumatra that "Islam can never be a bridge over the gulf that separates the heathen from Christianity, nor bring them nearer to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

This was the statement of two Dutch missionaries at the Cairo Conference, and they went on to say, "On the contrary, it is an organized power under the direct influence of Satan, to enable him to destroy the souls of men, turning them away from the Light of the World, Jesus

Christ, the Son of God." This, I believe, will also be the conclusion concerning the character of Islam and its propaganda on the part of every candid reader of the arguments here presented.

The book does not minimize the baffling problem, but points out the way to its solution. It is optimistic without being superficial and the more interesting because it is scholarly.

S. M. ZWEMER.

BAHREIN, ARABIA,
March 2, 1912.

PREFACE

“OUR chief enemy, says Dr. Mirbt, as can be proved from the present state of the world-religions, is Islam. We must therefore meet it with altogether new strategy, we must hurl ourselves against it and take up the battle all along the line.” No non-Christian religion is carrying on propaganda to-day to equal that of Islam. Moreover, does not the measure of a religion’s propaganda indicate its living force? How absurd it is, therefore, to regard Islam as already one of the dead religions of the world, and how important it is to study Moslem propaganda.

In many respects the Islam of the Near East may come nearer to the Moslem ideal than that of Eastern Asia, of which we shall chiefly speak in the following pages. The Koran is more widely known there, the knowledge of God is clearer, Mohammedan law and Mohammedan custom are perhaps better established there, but one thing is certain : Islam is displaying its real living power to-day not in the old Mohammedan lands, but among those peoples which have but recently fallen its prey. This has a natural explanation. The strength of Islam lies in propaganda. This has been the case in every age.

Islam has aggressive energy ; but it lacks the power to maintain and build up. The same Islam which carries on such propaganda at its outskirts, fails in the Near East, where much is rotten.

We should not under-estimate Islam’s irresistible power ; but neither should we over-estimate it. Its strength, and also its weakness, lies in one-sided propaganda, as is proved by a survey of Islam in the Dutch East Indies,

We are, fortunately, well able to make such a study. In the first place from the researches of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje. In his two great works, *The Achehnese* and *Mekka*, he has established the fact that this Islam of the Far East has a significance of its own, from the closeness of its contact with the spiritual centre of the Moslem world, and I have naturally taken this famous scholar as my first authority for the description of the pilgrimage to Mecca. In my copious use of his observations, I would have the reader find a token of gratitude on my own behalf as also on behalf of Christian Missions in general, for he has rendered them also very great service.

But missionary literature on the Dutch East Indies also contains a mass of individual observations. Among many others at a later period we may here mention G. R. K. Niemann and Poensen, a missionary who afterwards became Professor. So that it was not without hesitation that I undertook the compilation of this work. My eleven years' service as a missionary in Sumatra from 1896 to 1907 left me no time for scientific work. I laboured at four Mission stations, to some extent under very difficult conditions; extended itinerary tours obliged me to spend many a day in the saddle, or my narrow rowing boat, and many a night in Batak villages; and long tramps through swampy virgin forests and across burning, grassy steppes do not brace the intellect.

However, this very coming and going brought me constantly into intimate contact with the different tribes of the Batak people and I was obliged to be always on the defensive against Moslem propaganda. This unsettled life was forced upon me. What I have set down in my book is, therefore, what I myself have observed, although I have supported my own experience from a wide range of other people's observations, as far as possible in their original form.

The actual results of Missions to the Mohammedans of Sumatra can lay claim to special interest. To a large extent they are based upon the fact that the work is con-

nected with the strong flourishing church of the Heathen-Christian Bataks, which numbers some 117,000 members. The dormant Churches of the Near East have failed in the fight against Islam ; but the new pulsating life of the young Heathen-Christian Church is becoming more and more a menace to Islam. This is a hopeful outlook for the future. The death of the Church in the Near East brought new life to Islam. The Moslem community rose out of its crumbling ruins. The living power of our Heathen-Christian Church will, however, deal Islam a mortal blow. If God but grant us out there Christian communities filled with His Spirit and inspired by a living faith, then Moslem propoganda, rage and storm as it may to-day, must break into foam against this breakwater.

G. SIMON.

THEOLOGISCHE SCHULE,
BETHEL BEI BIELEFELD,
May, 1912.



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INTRODUCTION

ANY one who has tried to fathom the psychology of the Nature peoples knows how difficult it is for a European to grasp their mode of thought. The day is completely past when man in a state of Nature was pronounced barren of mind and his soul as deplete of content as his body is devoid of clothing. For the inner life of man in the state of Nature is saturated with religion : to understand the native, one must understand his religion, Animism. How strange this cult of souls and spirits seems to us. Moreover, the difficulties are increased twofold when the seeds of Islam have found their way into the soul of a heathen people. For Islam too is a strange world to us ; it is only with difficulty that we understand the Moslem Psyche even of the Near East, with which the age-long intercourse between the Near East and the West has brought us into contact and which is so much more akin to us than the Far Eastern type of mind. The new world of ideas introduced by Islam into heathendom is at first as incomprehensible to us as the old Animism ; and together they give rise to that new creation I have called " the Heathen Mohammedan."

This peculiar blending of two conceptions of God and the Universe is what I wish to describe, because that type of Islamized native was the objective of my missionary work for eleven years among the Bataks of Sumatra, from 1896 to 1907, and such is the objective of all my fellow-missionaries' work among the Nature peoples which are either on the point of accepting, or have but recently accepted Islam.

I can well understand that one's first impression of these people is that they are only heathen with a veneer of Mohammedanism, that their inner life is unaffected by Islam. The Heathen-Mohammedan meets the same fate as has long befallen the Nature peoples : his inner self is disposed of by simply pronouncing him in no way remarkable.

The mistake is easily explained. It requires more than superficial knowledge of uncivilized man to appreciate the changes wrought within him by Islam ; they are in part microscopic, but for that reason none the less worthy of the attention of the missionary and, as I believe, of the student of Colonial politics. Mortal diseases often begin with invisible changes in the human body, only to be diagnosed under the microscope.

Moreover, the Nature peoples under the influence of Islam receive but little sympathy. I personally understand this very well. My life-long desire has been to work among a people as nearly in the state of Nature as possible, but God has sent me again and again into the fight against Islam. In my last field, Eastern Sumatra, I did come into contact with heathen from the interior of Sumatra, with the inhabitants of North Samosir. How refreshing it was, after a long ride across the hot coast plain, at last to get up into the mountains and meet the fresh mountain breeze on the shores of the Toba Lake, 2,700 feet above the sea. And equally invigorating were the people themselves.

A missionary is certainly not likely to be accused of idealizing the heathen ; we generally meet the opposite reproach ; and yet, I found those heathen very attractive.

Of course, they are dirty, both outwardly and inwardly. But they are men cast in one mould. Their Animistic outlook and their life are uniform. Their religion is an unbroken whole. Just as their single tree trunk carries them quickly across the lake with amazing seamanship, just as their tiny, hollowed-out craft suits

them so picturesquely and is so handy for them, just as their handwoven garment clothes them so simply and is so practical, so it is also with their religious usage. Nothing is made a mystery. The heathen is an Animist and wants to be one. He deceives his spirits, and does not deny the fact.

How altogether different is it with the Mohammedan ! The whole man is rent asunder. His soul now nibbles at the old forbidden pap of Animism, now it boldly snatches at the sublimest problems of human thought which Islam has digested and of which it offers an extract to the Animist of the distant islands of the East. With his lips he emphatically renounces heathenism and inwardly his soul still dallies with heathen conceptions, hopes and fears.

There is a continual wavering between the old and new in the soul of the distracted man. This life seems pleasant, and yet it is to be despised because of the vision of the Hereafter. His religious zeal blazons itself abroad and he is consumed with acts of piety, but all the time he suffers from the old languor of fatalism, which does not satisfy the soul, and from an icy coldness which will not melt in the presence of the imperturbable Lord of Heaven, the new, distant, terrible God. Cringing flattery on the one hand, which, however, only serves to conceal the most outrageous arrogance. Smooth words full of respect for the gifted European, but carefully concealed behind them, the deepest contempt on the other hand for the unclean, accursed unbeliever. All this rends the Heathen-Mohammedan soul asunder. Just as, after the death of Mohammed, his teaching was preserved on rags, scraps of leather and fragments of camel shoulder-blades and all mixed up together, the present Koran emerging from the medley, so also is it with the soul of the Heathen-Mohammedan : it is confused, disordered, torn in pieces and replete with irreconcilable contradictions.

Hence the difference of opinion : " They are simply

heathen," say some ; " They are hopeless," say others, " they are really Mohammedans."

The difficulty lies in the fact that it is a case of conversion from one religion to another, both of which are strange to us. One has only to try and grasp the mental outlook of the heathen Animist and the Moslem conception of God to realize the difficulty of the problem. I can therefore only undertake to try and solve the problem ; but it is perhaps well that it should at least once be tackled.

We shall really get clear upon this matter only when there are converts from Mohammedanism who can describe their own conversion. Such are to be found in the Near East, e.g., B. John Awetarianian ; and in India, e.g., B. Imad ed Din ; but as yet there are none in the Indian Archipelago. And such as might describe from personal experience what happened within their inner self when they passed from Animism to Islam, we shall perhaps never find. For even among our Christian converts from Animism, we notice that they no longer understand their old religion, nor really ever have understood it. They may still preserve many remnants of Animism—and here lies the main work of all missions to Animistic peoples—but they have lost any understanding for Animism. For Animists who have gone over to Islam the experience is too immediate for them to be able to give us an insight into their development. Therefore, however difficult it may be for us to understand the Heathen-Mohammedan, we must endeavour to probe his secret for ourselves ; for the Heathen-Mohammedan is the most important objective of Missions to the Animistic peoples in the future.

Since Islam conquered the Sudan, it has pressed perpetually onwards in Africa. Missions in West and East Africa and also on the Congo have come into contact with it. Whether or not we are to carry on Missions among Mohammedans is an idle question nowadays.

It is we who are attacked. Already the flood-tide of

Mohammedanism is swirling round the dam of many a Heathen-Christian community ; and Islam will write no tracts as to whether it shall attack us or not ; it will turn the battle against us wherever we seek to arrest its triumphal progress among the uncivilized peoples of Africa.

God has granted present-day Missions great success among uncivilized peoples. Among the Waganda, the Kols, the Alfuros in Celebes and the Bataks in Sumatra, great national native Churches have arisen during the last century. Islam is questioning our right of possession.

But not only that. We distinctly see the first signs of a great, new missionary epoch among the peoples at this level of civilization. Great conquests lie here before the missionary enterprise, movements of a religious, political and social character are preparing the way for Christianity. There is appearing however beside the Gospel its hideous counterpart, the Koran ; beside the missionary, the clever Moslem propagandist. Again we are realizing the terrible truth in modern Missions that Islam closes the door to Christianity in the very heathen hearts which have already opened gladly to receive it.

The conquest of the uncivilized races is a question we must inevitably settle with this mighty rival of Christianity. Let anyone who doubts the fact consider the Dutch East Indies. This flourishing Island Empire has fallen a prey to Islam simply and solely because Missions arrived too late. Last century showed what mighty kingdoms our Lord Jesus Christ might have conquered there, if Christians had come at the right time, namely, before Islam. In so far as the heathen were untouched by Islam, they flocked into the fold of Christianity.

And yet another reassuring experience justifies our basing a discussion of this problem upon missionary observation in the Dutch East Indies. In no other

mission field have Evangelical Missions met with such success among Moslems.¹ This fact utterly disposes of the anxious fear even in missionary circles that Mohammedans are lost to the Gospel. The Gospel has enough for all; even the soul of the Heathen-Mohammedan yields at last, if it is only brought into actual contact with the Gospel.

This fact should encourage and reassure us in face of the Moslem peril. Do not let us speak of the hopelessness of work among Mohammedans until we have seriously tried it. We need confidence. More than is desirable, Islam is beginning to prescribe the line of march for Evangelical Missions. Doubtless, we must succour first the peoples in immediate danger. But missionary work is also possible among those who have been already overtaken. May this prevent our undue haste. A people that has gone over to Islam is not on that account lost to the Gospel.

And further. The political revolution in the Near East has aroused enthusiasm in Christian Europe in a way that has warmed our hearts. We on the outskirts of Islam watch with anxious expectation what goes on at its centre. We would, however, emphatically impress upon Christendom that God long since set Missions at war against Islam, long before there were any Young Turks or New Persians. God, we know not why, introduced us into the Moslem world by this byepath, as it seems to us, and has pressed into our hand the battle-axe against this the most formidable enemy of His Kingdom. Come and see.

¹ In the Dutch East Indies we may reckon 35,000 Christian converts from Mohammedanism. It is impossible to give an exact figure; the statistics of Christian converts from Heathenism and Mohammedanism in any mission field are seldom given separately.

PART I

The Turning of the Heathen to Islam

CHAPTER I

MOSLEM PROPAGANDA IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

ISLAM has had the missionary instinct from its cradle. The Koran is an admonition to all mankind (cf. Koran xxxvii. 87). Even the Prophet himself endeavoured to spread his teaching by peaceable methods beyond the confines of Arabia. The amazing expansion of Islam at the present time, extending as it does from Morocco to New Guinea, the growth of the Moslem missionary orders, its apparently irresistible advance in East, West and Central Africa, all go to prove that this mighty impulse has lost none of its original force down through the centuries.

Political conditions have doubtless obliged Islam to abandon its old missionary method of fire and sword. That it has nevertheless become a world religion shows that the message must have found a hearing among the nations. The present state of the Mohammedan world therefore raises this question: "Why does the heathen turn Mohammedan, and in particular, why and how does the heathen turn Mohammedan with no further incentive than his own desire?" Let the Mohammedan propaganda as already closed and as still going forward in Indonesia to-day furnish the answer.

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Indonesia did not receive Islam direct from Arabia, but by way of an intermediate people, the Hindus. Islam had reached India at the beginning of the eighth century. Its method of conversion was the sword. For five centuries the governing influence in India was in the hands of Mohammedan rulers; at almost every court it was advantageous to turn Mohammedan. That nevertheless only one-fifth of the population went over to Islam testifies to the power of resistance in the Hindu religion. Long before Mohammed's time there had been active commercial intercourse between the Archipelago and India. The result of this intercourse was the founding of the Hindu kingdoms in Java. Later on Mohammedan Hindus also came and their doctrine met with peculiar success.

In 1345, a certain Arab from Morocco, called Ibn Batutah, was sent by an Indian prince to China and travelled from Bengal by way of Sumatra. He found a Mohammedan kingdom already established at the northern extremity of the island, at the modern Achin. He was welcomed as a guest, because he was a fellow-believer, and was astonished at the zeal of the reigning prince for Moslem learning. He ascertained that the people were even then beginning to propagate the faith; for when he visited his fellow-believers on his return journey, he found that they had just returned from a Holy War laden with spoil. He was even presented with four slaves, part of the booty from this war. Thus Islam had already reached Sumatra by the fourteenth century. The Mohammedanism of the Dutch East Indies is therefore of no recent date.

Even such a far-travelled man as Ibn Batutah was impressed by what he saw of it in Sumatra, and subsequent history has shown that the Mohammedanism of Indonesia is a living force. From those small beginnings, there has grown up a body of the faithful which to-day numbers thirty-five million adherents, that is to say, five-sixths of the whole population (forty-two

millions). Islam has thus gloriously completed its work of converting this Archipelago within six centuries, and achieved "its masterpiece" (J. Richter). Moreover, Islam came into conflict in the Dutch East Indies with its two strongest rivals, Hinduism and Buddhism, and later Christianity. Hinduism it completely overcame. Christian Missions have not been able to arrest it entirely, although of course the conflict with Christianity is not yet ended.

Nor should we underestimate the Animism of the Nature peoples, Islam's third great opponent in the Dutch East Indies. The warfare carried on by the heathen Batak population of Sumatra, for example, against their Moslem neighbours makes it probable that in former centuries Animism possessed more vitality there than it does to-day, since the various peoples could then maintain an independent existence. Otherwise it could not possibly have withstood for six centuries Islam's not always peaceful efforts to propagate itself nor the terrible Holy Wars which were carried on during the nineteenth century against the Bataks.

It is in fact a question whether, for example, the corrupt Byzantine Empire was really a more powerful opponent than those forces in the Dutch East Indies.

Political conditions were not favourable to Islam. In Java, it found strong Hindu kingdoms which it had to conquer. From the sixteenth century, Christian conquerors came across its path and from the seventeenth century it had to carry on its propaganda under the eyes of a Christian Colonial power. Hence the old missionary method of fire and sword hardly came into use at all in the Dutch East Indies. The conversion of the Archipelago to Mohammedanism was for the most part accomplished peaceably. This makes the closer examination of Mohammedan propaganda so especially interesting. It not only carries us back to the past, but even to-day we can still observe the process of the heathen of the Dutch East Indies being Islamized.

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As we have seen, it was Indian merchants who carried the first tidings of the new religion to the Dutch East Indies. They made no Holy War; but they were filled with holy zeal for the conversion of souls, and the conversion of the heathen was to their commercial interest. They gradually took possession of the coast of the islands by means of small trade settlements. The resident merchants had of course to find wives; they received them from the heathen. They had sufficient money to bring the heathen to terms. They of course made these wives become Mohammedans and their relatives in the neighbourhood very soon followed suit. They also bought slaves, probably for the most part prisoners of war, and these slaves became Mohammedans. Islam still spreads spontaneously in Celebes among the Toradja by traders taking native wives to gain native protection. In Eastern Sumatra, for instance, there was a flourishing slave-trade down to the time of the Dutch occupation in the nineteenth century. The small settlements thus grew into Mohammedan communities and eventually into states. These endeavoured to extend their dominion by subduing the surrounding country. Such wars may be even called Holy Wars, because the people that were conquered became Mohammedans. Even to-day the Sultanates on the coast serve as the base for propaganda in the interior of the islands.

In the seventeenth century the Indian trade had more and more to give way to European rivals. At the same period a new element appeared in the Archipelago, which has been of the utmost importance ever since in the conversion of the islands to Islam, namely, the Arabs. They continued the work of the Indian Mohammedans. They also founded trade settlements, for example, at Siak, in Sumatra, and at Pontianak, in Borneo.¹ They

¹ The trade settlements of the Mohammedans in East Africa exercise a similar influence. There also the teacher follows upon the trader.

made themselves thoroughly conversant with the language and customs of the natives. They substituted the wisdom of Mecca for Indian mysticism. Improved means of transit made pilgrimage to Mecca possible. Pilgrims used to go in sailing ships from Achin to Mecca ; they are still the teachers of the people. Thus the Dutch East Indies came into direct contact with Western Islam. The disadvantage of the apparent isolation of Indonesian Islam, owing to its distance from the Holy City and the heart of Mohammedan life, has been gradually removed by its intercourse with Arabia.

Islam spread to Java about 1400, probably from Achin. Arabs, according to Malik Ibrahim, also had a share in the matter. Islam made but slow progress at first. When the Portuguese landed in the sixteenth century, suttee was the universal custom in Western Java. With the increase of the Arab population, however, Islam spread more and more widely. The Arabs were the religious teachers of the people. They gave the Mohammedanism of the island more and more of an Arabian colouring.

The people seem to have been seized with great religious fervour, and even women engaged in propaganda. By 1478 there was serious warfare in the neighbourhood of Mandjapahit. On the whole, however, the conversion of the people was accomplished peaceably. They were won by preaching and persuasion. The training and sending out of native helpers spread the religion. Connections by marriage into princely families were sought after, and then the common people willingly followed, for the most part, in the train of their princes. The will of their princes was the will of God for them. Much of the old religion was allowed to remain, and conversion was thus rendered easier for the common people. An independent religious kingdom arose in the Dutch East Indies, although even there the Sultan of "Rum" (Rome-Constantinople) was recognized as the supreme lord of Islam.

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When the Portuguese appeared in the sixteenth century, they came into conflict with both Mohammedans and heathen. In many cases the heathen allied themselves with the Portuguese to gain protection from their Mohammedan oppressors. Thus Islam had often to face a double front, and yet it gained ever firmer footing in Java.

The arrival of the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies in 1596 did not therefore coincide with the appearance there of Islam. But neither were they able to stop its expansion. Hinduism retreated further and further, and when the Dutch acquired their trade monopoly from the Sultan of Bantam in 1684, and thereby became virtually rulers of the country, it was to all intents and purposes Islamized.

There are still a few thousand heathen to be found in Java, only in the interior however, in the Tenger mountains. Their religion is reminiscent of the Hindu period. They are gradually being converted by Mecca pilgrims. Java has about thirty million inhabitants. In 1800, there were said to be only two and a half millions; in 1824, six millions. The expansion of Islam is therefore to be accounted for not only by propaganda but also by an enormous increase in the population.

As early as the sixteenth century Islam was the headquarters base of Islam for the Eastern Islands of the Archipelago. The Javanese carried on considerable trade in those days in the Archipelago. On many of the islands there were Javanese settlers.

As early as 1510 a certain Pati Puteh went to Java from Hitu to learn "the Javanese religion." With the help of the armies of King Hair of Ternate, who introduced Islam by force, he converted the inhabitants of Ambon to Islam. At all events Xavier found Mohammedans there as early as 1460, although they were very ignorant and knew nothing of their "pernicious" doctrine.

About 1500 Islam spread to Ternate from Java.

How the Mohammedan missionaries carried on their work is seen from the following story. A merchant, Datu Mula Hussein by name, came to Ternate, took his seat in a public place and began to read the Koran aloud. The people of Ternate listened and became curious, probably thinking there was some new kind of magic in the book. They then tried to imitate the writing in the book but found they could not read it. Thereupon they asked the merchant how it was they could not read it, when he could. He told them they must first believe in God and the Prophet. So they learnt the creed. He then continued to teach the people and among them a prince's son from Marhum. He in his turn went to Java and attended a school for Moslem teachers; he took a Javanese priest home with him and installed him as teacher to his family. He then carried Islam to the neighbouring islands.

Other influences, however, were also at work. When the Malay kingdom on the Island of Malacca was destroyed in 1510, the Malays, who had previously gone over to Islam, were dispersed. Many settled in the south-east of Borneo, where the Sultan of Banjermassin went over to Islam in 1520 with a great part of his subjects.

As yet not one third of the population of Borneo (one-half million) is Mohammedan and the Mohammedans are on the whole confined to the coast regions. The Arabs, who are numerous, make their influence especially felt there; in Banjermassin alone, the capital of South Borneo, there are some 1,000 Arabs. Active trade with Singapore brings them to the island.

Islam was also very successful in Celebes. About 1580 it reached Macassar in Southern Celebes from Ternate, although the Portuguese had been in power there since 1537, and from Macassar it passed to Boni. The northern extremity of Celebes was once also strongly under Mohammedan influence, but in 1679 the chiefs of the region allied themselves with the Dutch Government, which had been in possession since 1667, to free

themselves from the oppression of the Mohammedans of Macassar, who were trying to convert them. As is well known this region of Minahassa came over to Christianity in the course of last century.

The Islamizing of Sumatra was really begun earlier than that of Java. But it has progressed more slowly. In Sumatra, as in Java, Islam met indigenous Animistic religions suffused with elements of Hinduism. That the Malays on the coast, a seafaring people, were easily converted to Islam may be attributed to their intercourse with Indian and Arab traders. It was only in the seventeenth century that Islam gained a firm footing in the interior. The stronghold of Islam was the Malay region of Menangkabau in Central Sumatra, which had been Moslem since the fifteenth century. Southern Sumatra, known as Lampong, was Islamized from Java. It is remarkable that the Batak country between Central and Northern Sumatra remained untouched by Islam till the nineteenth century.¹ This is not due to Indian influence being stronger there than elsewhere. At first glance it seems mysterious that a people such as the Bataks should have been able to withstand the age-long pressure of the Mohammedans. The very strongest Mohammedan states in Sumatra: Achin in the north, by its close relations with India and later with Arabia, the bulwark of Islam in the Dutch East Indies and Menangkabau in the south, bordered on this region, and they would not fail to propagate Islam.

The mystery is partly solved by a popular tradition that I have often heard, especially in Eastern Sumatra, namely, that the Batak country is to-day only a fraction of the old region of that name. Mohammedan propaganda has not been as fruitless as is generally supposed; on the contrary in the course of the centuries

¹ The total number of Mohammedans in Sumatra may be put at about four millions, of whom one-eighth million live in the Batak country as we know it to-day, together with some 300,000 heathen and 100,000 Christian Bataks.

it has absorbed and made Malay large tracts of the original Batak country.

The idea of Holy War is too deeply-rooted in the Moslem for the Bataks to have altogether escaped molestation from their Mohammedan neighbours. The growing influence of Arabia, especially upon the Moslems of Sumatra, gave the impulse at the opening of the nineteenth century to a great final effort to subdue the unbelieving heathen.

About that time a zealous Mecca pilgrim returned home to Sumatra, and perhaps inspired with reformation ideas by the Arabian sect of the Wahabis, he realized with secret wrath the gross errors of the Moslems of Sumatra, their tobacco and opium smoking, and their use of the betel nut. His call to repentance gradually found a hearing; the powerful tuangku Nan Rintji, a Malay prince, killed one of his own relations for smoking.

This was the origin of the fanatical Padri sect in the highlands of Padang on the west coast of Sumatra. They were not content with the reformation of the old Mohammedan regions, their attention also fell upon the great heathen people of the Bataks. The fierce Padri War ravaged the country almost as far as the Toba Lake. Everyone who would not bend the knee to the Crescent was murdered, villages were burnt, women outraged, children sold as slaves. But even this attempt to subdue an obstinate people of scarcely half a million souls to the all-conquering banner of the Prophet seemed in vain. After a long struggle the Dutch had scarcely annihilated the Padri sect in 1837, when the Batak chiefs, who had only bowed before their terrible oppressors under compulsion, threw off the religion of the Prophet once more. A small remnant in the south had however learnt the joy of murder and plunder in the name of religion, and thus the poison of Islam did find entrance into the body of the Batak people. By about the middle of last century the southern districts, some one-fifth of the whole country, had been completely Islamized.

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What centuries of contact with Islam had failed to do had been spontaneously accomplished in less than a decade under the protection of the Colonial Government. Conscious of its power and victory, Mohammedan propaganda flourished. In four or five decades it was evident that the entire Batak country, the last bulwark of heathenism in the island, would be overwhelmed by the all-conquering flood-tide of Islam.

But now let us look at the opening of the twentieth century. The marvellous, the unheard-of, has happened. The enemy has made no appreciable advance during the last fifty years. In the West and East, coast regions have, it is true, been conquered, but in the populous southern regions the movement has come to a stand still. Another power entered the field during the second half of the nineteenth century, namely, Christian Missions.

These two, Moslem propaganda, which carried all before it, and Christian Missions, which advanced to meet it, we shall now proceed to examine carefully in the following pages, in order to determine if possible in both the secret of their power.

The great success of Mohammedan propaganda is not to be explained by the heathen being in favour of Islam. The heathen does not like novelty. He is extremely suspicious. He clings to the customs of his fathers. The idea of adopting any one else's religion is in point of fact as remote from his mind as the thought of giving up any of his old cherished national customs.

Thus we find a strong antipathy for the Mohammedans among the heathen in the interior of the island of Sumatra. They are feared and hated. They are looked upon as the oppressors of the people, because it is well known how the Mohammedans treat the natives whenever they have sufficient power.

The Malays on the coast of Borneo have fleeced the Dajaks for centuries. When the Rhenish Mission was

opened in Borneo (1836), the missionaries found that many of the Dajaks were in debt to Malay traders and were in prison for debt. Formerly a great many slaves were carried away from the island of Nias on the west coast of Sumatra to the Mohammedan town of Achin, where they were held in great contempt as a people. They were said to be descended from a dog or to be incestuous.

The Mohammedans have themselves to thank for being so disliked. The people of the interior, who come across Mohammedans on their travels or trade with them on the coast, suffer from their arrogance. They are the sport of the children. "See, there go the stupid, ignorant, dirty heathen, who only bathe once a week!" (The Koran even says (ix. 28): "Oh ye believers, the heathen are filth!") Moreover, the keen coast trader overreaches the heathen in every possible way in business. With good reason do the coast Mohammedans bear the name of swindlers. It is no wonder that the heathen have as little to do with Mohammedans as possible.

The Mohammedan does not think of currying favour with the heathen. On the contrary he wants as wide a gulf as possible between them and himself. His laws about food and purification serve him in good stead. Throughout entire heathen districts people have a positive fear of Mohammedan mockery.

The heathen can conceive no greater folly than not to eat swine's flesh. They also have their fun out of it. On the other hand Mohammedans consider it unspeakably low to eat swine, dogs and monkeys. Washing the dead is repugnant to the heathen. The Mohammedans, not without reason, declare the Batak custom of leaving the dead often for years unburied to be offensive. It is also revolting to the heathen that Mohammedans often bury their dead without coffins, because the better class Batak loves to be buried in a coffin.

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The ceremonial law is thus a hindrance to intercourse between Mohammedans and heathen. To refuse an invitation to a meal, for instance, offends the host. And in other ways also the Mohammedan ruthlessly tramples on sacred national customs. He does not think of showing the customary courtesies to the hereditary Batak chiefs on the coast. Many Mohammedan customs are also offensive to the heathen. The Mohammedan Bataks marry wives who according to Batak ideas are their sisters, namely, women of their own tribe. Moreover, the facility of divorce in Islam is repulsive to many of the Bataks.

This brings us to the most fundamental reason for their antipathy. Ancient custom made divorce difficult. It was a case of a decree from the chiefs. Divorce implies an insult to the tribe to which the wife belongs. The political side of the matter when many marriages have been contracted between one tribe and another has tended to make chiefs permit divorce only as an exception. There is, therefore, the fear that Islam will annul Batak marriage law. The chiefs know quite well what will be the inevitable result. With the Batak marriage law the tribal system stands or falls, and it alone maintains the power of the chiefs. Hence their opposition to the laxity of Moslem marriage laws does not proceed from moral motives. The chief is fighting for his own power when he fights for the old marriage law.

This is the essential reason why the chief is against any change in the religion of his fathers. Owing to the close bond between civil and religious life, a change of religion would endanger his position. Especially at great sacrificial feasts the power of the chief makes itself evident; the Animistic religion has taught the people to look upon the chief as a being especially endowed with "soul stuff" (tondi). He therefore receives many Divine honours. Who knows whether the new religion will also give him this position? Thus the instinct of self-preservation makes the chiefs suspi-

cious of the new religion. They are afraid Islam will cost them their following. Conversion to Islam means to them renouncing their nationality. That Batak Mohammedans no longer call themselves Batak but Malay is regarded as a sad but inevitable result of conversion. (The same holds good among the Dajaks of Borneo; when they become Mohammedan they call themselves olo malaju, Malays; and likewise in Celebes.)

The ancient origin of this antipathy is evident from Xavier's remark¹ that in Ambon the heathen would rather be slaves than allow themselves to be Mohammedans.² How then does it come about that these peoples have gone over in such multitudes to Islam?—

If Islam really intends to win the heathen, it is surely remarkable that it makes such mock of them. It would seem by no means to desire closer intercourse, to rather make every effort to repel the heathen.

However, in reality the Mohammedan never loses sight of his goal, namely the conversion of the heathen; he merely sets about attaining it in a different way from Christian Missions, for instance. It is a mark of great condescension to allow a heathen to become a Mohammedan in this life. Recent converts to Islam often used to tell me in Bandar that the Mohammedans had a doctrine which forbids any one to prevent a heathen from becoming Mohammedan as long as he is ready to comply with the terms of admission. This doctrine and this doctrine alone had induced the Mohammedan teachers to make them Mohammedans. These people therefore considered it a mark of special favour that they were received into Islam.

According to Moslem ideas heathendom is accursed, and Moslems are ordained either to extirpate or conquer it. It is a pure act of mercy to allow a heathen to pur-

¹ Cf. Letter of May 10, 1546.

² According to Dr. Walter Miller the aversion is still very strong here and there also among the heathen tribes of West Africa. Cf. *Reich Christi*, 1908, p. 152.

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chase redemption from Mohammedan supremacy by conversion to Islam. The thought of the ultimate Holy War against unbelievers enters into the question.

The heathen is to be won not by love but by fear. He must be impressed; uncivilized peoples are known to be attracted most by what impresses them. The ruthless person makes a strong impression because the heathen think that he would not make so bold without power to correspond at his command. So the Mohammedan does not care if the immediate effect of his behaviour towards the heathen is repellent. In the long run the desire will be kindled in the heathen one day to be able to behave in like manner, in other words himself to become a Mohammedan. Thus Islam does accomplish its end. Fire and sword are spent! Therefore as ruthless an attitude towards unbelievers as possible to inspire them with respect.

This is yielding to a natural impulse. The simple, pork-eating heathen is uncongenial to the Mohammedan. Why should he not give undisguised expression to the fact? It does not ultimately hinder propaganda. On the contrary,¹ the dam once burst and a few high class heathen once converted to Islam, there is then generally no further delay. The chiefs see to it that the heathen go to the wall in every possible way.

If Mohammedans and heathen meet at feasts, the Mohammedans receive the meat, the heathen the hide of the bullock. The distribution of the meat is however made in strict order of precedence; it is quite systematic, those of highest rank receiving the hind steaks and the juiciest roasts. A more drastic way there could hardly be of showing the heathen their contempt than by this distribution of meat. The non-Mohammedan is simply placed on the same footing as slaves.

¹ The contrast between this and the method of Christian missionaries is obvious. Young native Christians have even advised their missionaries to adopt a very lordly manner, it being the best way of winning over the heathen.

In every possible way the heathen's position is made intolerable. Many heathen become Mohammedan for the sake of being buried. For Mohammedans do not bury their heathen relations, or at least threaten not to do so, and not to be properly buried is a disgrace and renders entrance into the other world more difficult. For the spirits of the ancestors will think the dead man was of little account on the earth if it was not even thought necessary to give him proper burial. The dead man who is not buried with funeral rites may be driven into ceaseless wandering. Buried with Mohammedan rites, however, there is the prospect of being received into the Mohammedan world of the dead.

Further, it is to the advantage of young people of marriageable age to become Mohammedans. Non-Mohammedan young men have difficulty in finding wives. Also heathen girls show preference for Mohammedan and therefore higher class youths. The Mohammedan suitor is acceptable to Mohammedan and heathen girls alike, whereas the heathen can at best hope to win the hand of a heathen maiden. Thus in semi-Mohammedan districts the state of things so promising for Islam soon arises: the young people go over to Islam.

Moreover, forcible measures are by no means lacking. Any Mohammedan will tell you that the Bataks and Dayaks in Borneo must actually have been forced to accept Islam. As long as the chiefs have not made up their minds, there is no question of conversion to Islam. But in time their distrust vanishes. They realize that it is by no means so preposterous to bring the great might, obviously denoted by the arrogance of Islam, to bear upon their selfish ends, that Islam is really an excellent undergirding for their always tottering sovereignty. They realize what valuable counsellors they will gain by having some of the higher teachers at their courts.¹ It all, however, absolutely depends

¹ Similar considerations weigh with African chiefs, e.g. in Togo Land.

upon their own conversion. It is greatly to the chiefs' advantage, when once they are converted, to have their people behind them. It is better to have only one religion in their territory. For their influence even in heathendom rests essentially upon the religious opinions of their subjects. No wonder that they even use force in Islamizing the country.

Any one wishing to curry favour with his chief turns Mohammedan. The chief shares in the religious emoluments, because the Moslem teacher shares the religious taxes with him. So it is to the chief's immediate detriment to stand aloof from Islam. At this stage, therefore, of the Islamizing process, conversion is only to the advantage of the ordinary person. Of a change of conviction there is no question.

Work of a certain sort for the conversion of souls does exist. Islam does not, however, maintain any missionaries in our sense of the word in the Dutch East Indies; nor does one hear of any institutions aiming at the conversion of the heathen. The saying that every Moslem is a missionary is an exaggeration.

I have never heard of traders or teachers giving their lives for the conversion of the heathen. On the contrary, dangerous regions are avoided.¹ Traders seek primarily their own advantage; their work of conversion is only done by the way, but it does altogether pertain to their material interest. It is painful to have to eat with unclean heathen on their journeys, to stop at villages where pigs run about under the sleeping place in the hostelry. Also there is a warmer welcome from one's fellow-believers and if necessary also protection. Converts are not so ready to complain of high prices.

¹ Mohammedan agitators do however often find their way into independent territories. People with scores against them and frequently dangerous criminals like to take refuge there. They hire themselves out as sorcerers, champions, or even as paid assassins. Doubtless their demand that people should become Mohammedan for the most part meets with no response, but they do at least disseminate Moslem charms.

A debtor who is behindhand can even be threatened in the last resort with punishment in the Hereafter, and a couple of lusty curses from the Koran overawe the newly converted Mohammedan more quickly than who knows what other threats the besotted heathen. The recent convert has boundless respect for the man who has kissed the sacred stone. The clothes-dealer disposes more easily of his wares to Mohammedans.¹ He soon impresses upon the convert that a true Moslem should wear Malay, that is to say, Mohammedan dress. How can a Moslem go on wearing his old handwoven garments when the Batak women sometimes use hog's lard in wearing! A red fez and a white skull cap, such as the teachers wear, are much more fitting for one's young fellow-believer than the dirty head-cloth of the heathen. Every one will salute him as a Malay when he travels in a Mohammedan district. Hence the trader has good reason for so dilating upon Islam and is quite willing to sacrifice a couple of hours in instructing this or that heathen in the elements of the new doctrine. But this kind of evangelistic work cannot possibly be called missionary work.²

Nevertheless, the religious motives of those who convert the heathen must not be overlooked. They come into the Mohammedan's salvation by works. Arabs, usually so greedy for gold, have given chiefs money to win them over to Islam. The conversion of the heathen is a work of merit.

A Borneo Christian, called Suta Ono, tells the following: "When I was in Banjermassin during the Wakong

¹ The Arabs rate the Mohammedans if they buy nothing from them "for their lack of religious feeling." They combine with the religious teachers in fleecing the population and also with the reigning princes. In Amboina these latter pay their debts by making their subjects work for wages for the Arabs, and these wages are often at less than a third of the ordinary rate (de Vries).

² Theological teachers have certainly gone from India, Egypt, Mecca and Hadramaut to the Dutch East Indies, but only when they had financial prospects for their journey.

War, I lodged with a Djaksa (inland judge). He and others with him implored me to become a Mohammedan. They said : ‘ If you will become a Mohammedan, God will forgive us all our sins, because we have made you a Mohammedan. So do it for our sakes ! ’ ”

Another kind of missionary work is also carried on here and there. Well-known teachers sometimes make expeditions into the districts bordering upon Mohammedan regions. These districts have already been won over to Islam by intercourse with traders. Itinerant teachers have now to effect their complete conversion and obtain as rich presents for themselves as occasion permits.

The higher teachers send some of their subordinates a little in advance of their own coming. These men are most adept in preparing everything for the arrival of their superiors.

Here is a missionary address such as the above-mentioned Malim are in the habit of giving :—“ We have long been pupils of the Baleo and Kulipa (higher teachers). We know exactly what kind of men they are. They are blessed ; they are the favoured of the Lord. Moreover, whatsoever they ask of God is immediately granted. Hence they are called Ulama, that is to say, they are not far from God. They do not work like you do. Nevertheless, they have no lack of meat and drink. Day and night food comes to them of its own accord, brought by people whose name is unknown, whose form has never been seen. Besides that many princes and noble lords bring them gifts, some giving them hundreds, even thousands of florins, buffalos, horses, cows, sheep, fowls, bales of cloth, etc. These things are presented to them because God has knocked at the door of men’s hearts to make them willing to give gifts (sidoka) to the Baleo and Kulipa. They are men who truly believe in God ; men of good heart, who do not strive after riches or earthly possessions, and yet God grants them long life and wealth. Day and night their heart departs not

from God, hence God is never far from their side. They are, therefore, the representatives of the Prophet Mohammed, appointed to instruct Mohammedans and to protect them from all misfortune and from all evil both here on the earth and at the Last Day. So whoever shall accept the teaching of the Baleo and the Kulipa at the mouth of us teachers shall enter into life in this present world and obtain peace for all eternity.

“And further, quite an especial blessing and quite especial wisdom has God granted these teachers, the Baleo and the Kulipa ; no thought of man is at any time sealed to them. Hence it behoves us to revere and to be utterly sincere towards the Baleo. Because every unkind word we utter about them is at once known to them. Not a thought or desire of our hearts but they know it. Hence, wherever we go, we must always keep the Baleo and Kulipa in mind that no evil or misfortune attend us. We must make a vow in our heart and say : ‘ If I accomplish my journey in good health, I will visit the Malim and Lobe and ask them to take me to the Baleo and Kulipa. Then I will make them a present : a little money, or a few silver coins, or a buffalo, or a goat, or a fowl, or needles with eyes.’ Remember, my friends, everything we have vowed to give, we must also pay ; if we do not, future punishment awaits us.

“The greatest joy, however, that you can give the Baleo and Kulipa is to hearken to the teaching of the Malim and Lobe. Rest assured, it will bring you life indeed. And the Kulipa and Baleo know beforehand that you have the desire to obey them. For that very reason we have come here amongst you ; it is not of our own will ; we have not come of our own accord, the Kulipa and Baleo have sent us. Because they knew quite well before we arrived here that there are some in your midst who are also to become Kulipa some day, and Malim and Lobe. We need not tell you now, however, who those people are. You will soon see once you begin to study.

“When we started to come here amongst you, we received a blessing from our teachers; they said to us: ‘He that receiveth you, receiveth us; and he that revileth you, revileth us. Set your hearts upon preaching Islam and now depart!’ Therefore, you, my friends, treat us not despitefully. For it is written in the Book of the Koran: ‘The earthly teachers of the Moslems, such as the Baleo, Kulipa and Malim are to lead them to Paradise, and they can help men to enter Heaven. So be attentive and full of respect for us four. Rest assured that if you give heed to our doctrine, you will receive life in this present world and at that day, and that your fellow-men will treat you with respect.’”

Then follow further particular laudations of the Kulipa and Baleo. All manner of miracles are ascribed to them.

This address is typical of Mohammedan propaganda. There is a great deal about the teachers themselves, but little mention of God. The Christian missionary has to fight against the heathen's inclination to cling to the preacher of the Gospel; he seeks to loosen his hold upon his own person and to bring him into union with God. Islam does the reverse. That the teachers' own covetousness plays a great part in the matter does not strike the heathen. The propagandist proceeds with great assurance and makes great demands; but the appeal to the terrors of Hell and the bliss of Eternity breaks down all opposition, nor is there any lack of earthly happiness held out to their hearers.

Eschatological allusions recur over and over again; this seems to us extraordinary, because the heathen has really no idea of what is meant by the Hereafter. But Islam does not concern itself as to whether its message is understood or not. This is evident from the wording of its sermons. The great problem of Christian Missions in their presentation of the Gospel, their struggle after an expression of truth adequate to the content of the Gospel and such as will at the same time be intelligible to the people, does not exist for Islam. Without two

thoughts on the subject Malay and Arabic turns of speech, incomprehensible to the audience, are used in preaching. The very effect desired from the preaching is simply to overawe the people! They love to hear a speech embellished with foreign words. They feel flattered that they are considered capable of understanding this erudition! The mysterious attracts them. They think there must be something more behind these expressions. They are accustomed from the very first to hear things in religious discourse which they do not understand. Thus from the beginning Mohammedan missionary instruction by its form and content has a stupefying influence upon the religious perceptions of the heathen. How incorrect it is to say that Christian missionary preaching is disregarded because not understood. Just because it is understood, it is rejected; whereas they prize Moslem preaching because they do not understand it.

If the visit is successful, if the people are willing to become Mohammedans, the chief looks round for a suitable teacher for his village. Frequently the chief himself sends a young relative to some teacher in the neighbourhood, so that he may in this way secure the post, so lucrative, especially at first, for a member of his own family. The elementary instruction of the new converts now begins. The outward step is made easy for the heathen. No proof is required of the sincerity of his faith, of his knowledge of the law or of his faithfulness in religious observance. The repetition of the creed in Arabic makes a man a member of Islam.

The people do not generally learn the meaning of the Arabic formulas at all; they must not be divulged, say the teachers. Only when the people have duly committed the words to memory and have shown that they have become possessed of them, "as the body is possessed of the blood," and, above all, when they are ready to pay a proper fee, do they receive a certain measure of enlightenment.

The Bataks therefore say : "The Mohammedans are like the snake, which first swallows and then tastes its food." The snake greedily swallows the frog it has caught and then rolls its tongue as though it were tasting what it has eaten. In some districts the people are sprinkled beside running water with lemon juice and from that time onwards called Mohammedans. For this initiation some payment must be made, either in money (4s. or 5s.) or in cloth with some head of cattle. The teacher is invited to a sacred meal.

There is no hurry in stopping heathen practices. Only the laws about food are insisted upon as far as possible and in particular the keeping of pigs ceases at once. Mohammedan dress is preferred, but as regards these external demands Islam forgoes at first any hard and fast rules.

Is it possible that such a superficial conversion of the heathen to Islam implies an inner change of heart such as will grip whole peoples ?

All great religious movements are only to be explained by the conjunction of various factors ; the question is what factors come to the aid of Islam in its triumphal march across the world ?

CHAPTER II

THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

OF the 230–250 million Mohammedans in the world, some 161 million live under Christian rule. The uncivilized peoples in special danger from Mohammedan propaganda are either already under the rule of some Colonial Power or lie within the sphere of some European State's influence.

One might think that this diffusion of the Christian Powers would have arrested Mohammedan propaganda. We have already seen, however, that the coming of Islam to the Dutch East Indies largely coincided with the coming of the Colonial Government. European rule seems, therefore, to have furthered Moslem propaganda. Now and then this has been actually the case under Dutch rule. For instance, Dr. Schreiber, who was a missionary in Sumatra from 1867–73, says that the treatment of Mohammedans at the hands of the Government was such that they complacently declared: "Allah has brought these islands under Dutch rule that they may become Mohammedan."

This is an especially noteworthy fact for those who think that Islam knows nothing of missions except at the point of the sword. For, of course, every Colonial Government has proclaimed religious liberty and put an end to Mohammedan forcible methods of conversion. The Fulbe, who propagated Islam in West Africa, founding various states and carrying on a notorious slave-trade, are forbidden that trade nowadays, and yet the peaceable

absorption of West Africa by Islam only makes the greater progress. In East Africa too, the supremacy of the Arabs is broken—but there also we find Islam quietly on the increase.

To lay the entire blame for the expansion of Islam upon the Colonial Government is superficial. The position of any Colonial Government with regard to the religion of a subject people is extraordinarily difficult. To say that the Government is neutral in all religious matters is saying really nothing. For strict neutrality is not feasible. To begin with, because the Government must put an end to all cruel and unjust practices. [When the Government forbids human sacrifices, head-hunting and cannibalism, it thereby prohibits heathen cults.] When it substitutes a regular system of law for the so-called “judgment of God,” it does violence to sacred memorial custom. No Colonial Government can be accused of not sufficiently sparing the feelings of the natives when it abolishes these abuses. Even when the Government makes a direct attack upon some heathen rite in order to stop cruelty to animals, for instance, we cannot but approve. [When in the interests of the people it curtails the number of days which used to be wasted upon festivals and makes roads right through sacred groves where every tree was taboo, we cannot but rejoice.] It is thus that the country is opened up.

But we must realize the effect of these measures upon the native. [They strike him to the heart, his most hallowed feelings are wounded, the sacred tradition of his fathers is transgressed with impunity.] I repeat it is unavoidable, even with the utmost conciliation; only we must not expect the native to believe that the European Government is neutral in religious matters. Nor does the native in the least expect it should be. Because the idea of neutrality in questions of faith is really so altogether foreign to him, that he considers it only natural for the white man, his conqueror, to lay hands also upon his religion. He has the power to do so, why should he

not exercise his prerogative? He is glad to be left otherwise unmolested, to be allowed to offer sacrifices and observe feasts. That the purpose of the Colonial Government is simply to suppress horrors, the native does not instinctively understand.

The fact that the State is not and cannot be neutral towards the religion of the natives has two far-reaching consequences for Moslem propaganda. To begin with, the heathen misunderstands the neutrality which is exercised towards Islam. Whilst the Colonial Government makes bold to attack several points in connexion with the old religion of the country, the religious feelings of the Mohammedans are spared in every possible way. It strikes the heathen as favouritism, and he comes to the conclusion, and Mohammedan merchants do what they can, as they travel, to foster the impression, that the Colonial Government is afraid of Islam, or even is itself Mohammedan at heart. For only those enjoy favour, thinks the heathen, of whom one is afraid or with whom one has some bond of kinship.

In the Dutch East Indies it has repeatedly happened that heathen have questioned Government officials as to the attitude of the Government towards Islam. The official has answered, without always weighing the import of his words, and perhaps even through the medium of a Mohammedan interpreter, that it is a matter of indifference to the Government, whether a man is heathen, Mohammedan or Christian. Such a thing is incredible to the heathen. If he knows that the Government is Christian, he does not understand why it should not at least commend its faith. That nevertheless the Government should of course maintain a neutral position in matters of religion goes without saying, but may it be with due regard for the want of comprehension on the part of the heathen, otherwise it will work into the hands of Islam!

The heathen, therefore, thinks that the Government does not feel strong enough to fly in the face of Islam.

And always being inclined to ally himself with the stronger of two sides because the stronger will give him better protection, he says to himself: "the European attacks our religion because he is afraid of us, he spares the Mohammedan religion because he is afraid of it." That the Colonial Government itself is Mohammedan, and so to a certain degree 'akin' to the Mohammedan, however strange such an idea may seem to us, is an error widespread among the heathen."

I often met this idea in Eastern Sumatra. Even among the Sibalungun tribe I was at first continually obliged to assure them that I was not a Mohammedan. I also often had to contradict the statement of Mecca pilgrims that the Colonial Government desires the conversion of the people to Islam. Dr. Schreiber says the same. In the Padang bolak (Central Sumatra) the people used to tell me I was a disguised Mohammedan, and that a certain missionary called St. — had read the Koran on his deathbed. All the missionaries were said to possess the Koran, to know it, so that in case of accident they might die "resting upon it."

The position of the Colonial Government is rendered still more difficult by the fact that Islam itself is a political power and therefore knows really nothing of political or religious neutrality. As a matter of necessity one must, unfortunately, bear with the present state of things and submit to European rule. This is not normal; it is only a testing time which Allah in His inscrutable wisdom has brought upon the faithful.

The normal relation between the Moslem and the Christian even to-day is that of conqueror and conquered. As long as this is not established, Holy War is a sacred obligation. The ninth Sura of the Koran is a battle-cry against unbelievers, although many are of the opinion that such passages refer only to non-Mohammedan inhabitants of Arabia. Moreover, war is to be waged by no means against the heathen only, but also against Christians and Jews, these being implied by

“those to whom the Scriptures have been delivered.”—
“Fight against them who believe not in God nor in the last day, and forbid not that which God and His apostle have forbidden, and profess not the true religion of those unto whom the Scriptures have been delivered until they pay tribute by right of subjection and they be reduced low.” Whatever may have been the original meaning of the Koran does not matter, because even Mohammedan theologians understand this Sura as ordaining Holy War in all places and at all times without distinction.

Hatred of all non-Mohammedans is not only the inexorable attitude of the Koran, where non-Mohammedans are cursed with wearisome repetition, but also that of Islam as a whole and even in its initial stages. And it is but a short step from this to Holy War.

The frequent risings in the Colony make it evident that the idea of Holy War has struck deep root among the peoples of the Dutch East Indies. It has always been Mecca pilgrims who have roused the population.

The hope of plunder has always accompanied the religious motive in Islam. This is what makes Holy War so attractive to peoples accustomed to war and plunder.

A further obstacle in the maintenance of strict neutrality is the Pan-Moslem idea, that peculiar revival of political and religious hopes. Everywhere in the Dutch East Indies, the Sultan of Turkey is regarded as the lord of all the faithful, the Caliph, the representative of the Prophet. He therefore incarnates the Pan-Moslem hope of the union of all Moslems.

Whether or not the Sultan has a right to consider himself the lord of all the faithful is not a question of practical politics. He may actually have as little right to the title as several other princes in Morocco and India, who also call themselves Caliphs, i.e., successors to the Prophet. It is a case such as often occurs in Islam of

something having become possible which in theory is, strictly speaking, impossible.

Even heathen tribes know about a phantastic, glorious prince of Stamboul (Rajah Stambul). The secret hope that he will one day appear makes it easier for the Mohammedan to go on quietly bearing the rule of Christian Europeans in the meantime. There is also comfort in the prospect of Paradise. "The very oppression of your condition," says the Mecca pilgrim to the impatient believer, "is a token that it will one day fare better with you. Even if in this life white people are cleverer and more powerful than we, in eternity they are fuel of hell." But the Mecca pilgrim knows something better than such promises as to the Hereafter: even in this present time God has had mercy upon Islam and given it a mighty Head in the Sultan of Turkey. He is the very first prince in Europe; all the other Christian States are subject to him; they all, therefore, have ambassadors at his Court; even the Emperor of Germany pays him homage with presents. So the people say. The Sultan exports railways and telephones and telegraphs, because all these things are made in his Empire. He will one day destroy the Christian Government by a Holy War.

The Indonesian has nothing of the fanaticism of the Senusi order in the Sudan, which called the Sultan unclean by reason of his intercourse with unbelievers. On the contrary, that the Sultan promotes Western civilization and has dealings with the Great Powers shows that he has received the Divine vocation to be the protector of Islam.

The place of the Sultan in the Mohammedan mind is doubtless one result of active intercourse with Mecca. It does not, however, rest upon Arabian influence, because the Arabs have frankly no love for the Sultan and consider themselves the first nation in the world. The Porte probably fosters these ideas among the nations. In 1898 the Dutch press called attention to the fact;

but the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated in reply on December 6, 1898, that the Porte had always been irreproachable in this matter. Asbeek-Brusse makes the remarkable assertion that children have been carried from the Dutch East Indies to Constantinople to be educated at the expense of the Sultan ; this is forbidden in India. Through the Turkish consulate in Batavia, the Mohammedans have been urgently requested to send (?) their children without fail. Spat says that efforts are made to induce princes also to undertake the journey to the Turkish capital. At all events, the Censorship, otherwise so strict in Constantinople, was not exercised upon the press which advocated these ideas. Asbeek-Brusse says that in 1898 the Turkish paper *Malumat*, published an incendiary article on the oppression of Mohammedans by the Christian nations. The Malay peoples were openly incited to throw off the rule of the unbelievers, because very soon the Crescent would triumph over heathenism and Christianity. The paper was suppressed, but other publications of a like nature were circulated from Singapore.

At all events, the hopes set upon the Sultan undermine the sovereignty of the European Powers over their Mohammedan subjects. These political conditions within Islam account for the extraordinary caution of various Governments.

A wavering policy towards Islam is fraught with danger. There were times when the Dutch Colonial Government forbade conversion to Islam. During last century, however, there was a long period when all manner of friendliness was used to propitiate Islam. Holland founded the magnificent mosque of Kota Rajah in Sumatra. Not without reason has the sarcastic remark been made that the Mohammedans have only used it to conspire against the Dutch. On other occasions, also, the Dutch have given money towards the erection of mosques, e.g., in Borneo.

Many Europeans sympathize with Islam in their desire

to recognize all religions as equal and also in their ingenuous admiration for the Koran. They idealize this mysterious religion which they only know from a distance. They do not know that Islam in practice is quite different from the Islam of the Koran; they forget that the Koran is not the controlling force in Islam, but rather the traditions and commentaries of the schoolmen. Indifferent themselves about religion, they are impressed by Mohammedan piety, the superficiality of which they do not gauge at all.

We are continually told that the simple religion of the Mohammedan—we have yet to see how complicated it is—is more suited to the Nature peoples than dogmatic incomprehensible Christianity, although no more dogmatic religion can be conceived than Islam. The native is said not to be ready for Christianity, its ethical demands are too high; Islam is content with the attainable; and yet it is perfectly obvious that it is moral laxity which has enervated the Near East.)

These people have, in fact, no sort of desire for the conversion of the heathen to Christianity. Sentiment is a stronger factor here than is generally supposed. Many a European with his strong race prejudice does not like the native to have the same religion as the European.

Now if Government officials share these views, it is easily to be understood they will allow themselves to be influenced thereby in their official policy. The native soon notices what his master thinks upon these questions. He will know how to make the best of a favourable opportunity.

Even without any such intention on the part of the Colonial Government, many of its institutions promote Islam, for instance, the up-country Government staff, the official language, and lastly, the Government school. The Government staff is recruited from among Mohammedans who have attended the Government school. They often enjoy high esteem among the rest of the population. Hand in hand with the Moslem pedlers,

these subordinate Mohammedan officials and soldiers often carry on open propaganda. If that is forbidden, they give the heathen a strong impression of the power of Islam by the very superiority of their social standing. They make the heathen curious to know more about the Mohammedan form of worship, for of course, as officials and soldiers they cannot be prevented from performing their religious duties, e.g., their so-called daily prayer with its prescribed formulas and ceremonial is all performed in public.

“The policeman appears in a village ; he has a letter in his hand with ‘ the great lord’s ’ seal ; unopposed he carries away captive the powerful chief of the village upon whom no one has ever before dared to lay hands. The man who dares to do this is a Mohammedan. At the dreaded tribunal there stands beside the Government official the interpreter clad in white, in whom the official places every confidence, taking counsel from him, so the native hears, in all that concerns the land and its people. In the background sits the secretary writing the report of the case with flying pen, and reading aloud the judgment of the great lord in stentorian tones. And all these mighty folk are Mohammedan, as also is the Moslem public vaccinator who has power to indict every recalcitrant father that objects to the new-fangled theory being practised on his child ! Without opposition the offender is committed to the jailor, who receives good wages and has a good position. What a powerful religion it must be to make such powerful people of its adherents ! ”

Of far-reaching importance for Moslem propaganda has been the fact that the Colonial Government has used the Malay language, which ranks as the second sacred language in the Archipelago, as its means of communication with the native. It is written for the most part in Arabic character. Islam in the Dutch East Indies is thus bound up with a certain language, just as it is in East Africa with Suaheli, in India with Hindustani,

in the Sudan with Haussa. For the higher class native it has therefore become necessary to learn Malay ; it is the language of civilization and the new era, but it can only be acquired from Mohammedans. Mohammedan traders in Celebes arrange for language lessons for young heathen from a Malay teacher. In East Africa the young people go to the coast, learn Arabic and Suaheli, and then set up as teachers on their return.

Hence with the arrival of the Colonial Government, the Mohammedans have often become the teachers of the people. The language meant learning Malay, that is to say, Mohammedan customs. Of special moment is the learning of the Arabic character. Even in Xavier's time, the inhabitants of the Moluccas became Mohammedan in order to learn it—in the same way as recently the negroes of East Africa. One can thus at least read the Koran. It gives a great impulse to Arabian influence. For by this means Malay literature, which is printed in Arabic character and is at the same time Mohammedan, is made accessible to the people. Everything which pours in upon them from the outer world is suffused with the Arabian Mohammedan spirit, and the learning of Arabic is made the more easy for them. The Malay language and the Arabic character have strengthened the heathen's belief in the Dutch East Indies that he can only become civilized by means of Islam.

Like Suaheli in East Africa, Malay has established itself as the lingua franca of the Archipelago ; nothing can now be done in the matter. Only it is desirable that the use of Arabic character should be more and more curtailed in favour of Romanized, and the vernaculars assiduously cultivated ; in the Batak country this is already being done. Arabic character has also been abolished in East Africa and the result is decidedly unfavourable to Islam.

The non-religious Government school means the further strengthening of Islam, especially when the instruc-

tion is in the hands of Mohammedan native teachers. It is, of course, always superior to the Mohammedan Koran schools, which make the scholars mere machines without wills of their own in the hands of their Arab-souled teachers and hence a very hotbed for Pan-Moslem fanaticism.

The Government school does certainly bring enlightenment, it gives the scholar the European conception of the world ; the scholar hears about the States of Europe, about European industry and technical art. The present situation in politics might be thought to surely demonstrate the superiority of the Christian Powers sufficiently well to cure these young people of their Pan-Moslem Utopia. Natural science and mathematics are being taught. We may surely expect that this will deliver the young people from superstition and arm them against the foolery by which the Mohammedan higher teachers continue to ensnare the common people. Unfortunately, however, the influence of school is for the most part illusive. In the Dutch East Indies the people call these schools Malay, i.e., Mohammedan. Because the teachers are Mohammedan, the knowledge learned there, including all the technical instruction, arithmetic, etc., is regarded as Mohammedan wisdom. The heathen know nothing about the teachers having been trained in Normal Schools conducted by Europeans. Hence the non-religious school deepens the impression upon the heathen that Islam is the only herald of civilization.

The heathen pupils are laughed at. In the end the only thing left for them to do is to become Mohammedan. On leaving school the young people have no desire to plough their father's field by hand ; they consider themselves too well educated. Yet positions as officials and secretaries, in which they might exercise their gifts, are only for the few. There is, however, a prospect of a good career for loungers in the comfortable berth of a Mohammedan teacher. So after studying for a while

under accredited teachers, they turn the knowledge they have acquired in the Government school to the advantage of Mohammedan propaganda. Family relationships give them easy entrance into heathen districts ; as "scholars" they at once command great respect, and their orations on cleverly chosen subjects and skillfully adorned with tit-bits of secular knowledge, duly impress their hearers. Thus the non-religious Government schools all unconsciously educate our Moslem agitators.

Such men also frequent Mecca. They gain more from the instruction received there than the average pilgrim ; they sometimes even stay there a considerable time as students. On their return home these young people then form the mainstay of the learned profession among their own people, and it is surely a very ominous fact that the foundation of their whole influence consists in education they receive at the non-religious Government school.

Finally, the very road making of the Colonial Government opens up the country to these men. In Sumatra, for instance, it was simply the trackless forests of the western mountains and the marshy jungles of the East that for centuries prevented the Mohammedan traders and in their train Mohammedan propaganda from making their way into the interior. Nowadays the Moslem merchant with his packhorse penetrates into the interior by a broad road in the East, and in the West by wonderful narrow pathways cut in the side of the mountains. No battlecry strikes him with terror, no fierce robber, but merely a chief, always to be pacified with a ransom, covers him from the brushwood. Indeed, in case of necessity the Government forces the laggard debtor to pay his debts. The Colonial Government must open up the country to civilization. It is not to blame if the agents of civilization also for the most part wear the white turban, the badge of the worldly-wise Mecca pilgrim. Modern civilization, in fact, not only

opens up the way for the messenger of the Gospel to the hearts of the nations, it likewise serves the anti-Christian religions of the world. Modern technical knowledge and discovery, Colonial protection and Colonial civilization have not only opened up the globe for the missionary enterprise ; these things also turn to the advantage of our mighty rivals in the conquest of the heathen soul. Comfortably, on European steamships, the pilgrim journeys to the Holy City on well-kept Government roads, propagandists and dervishes take their way from Mecca. Egyptian reciters of the Koran instruct eager boys in Northern Sumatra in the lofty art of reciting the Koran ; the peaceable vendor of amulets, the transcriber of the Koran, the astute teacher of rhetoric and magic, protected as they travel by the strong hand of the Colonial Government, are carrying the Arab spirit and Arabic wisdom to the ends of the earth.

CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

THE breaking in of a European power upon the seclusion of an uncivilized people causes a revolution in every department of that life which we can scarcely exaggerate.

Moreover, the native sees that a new age is upon him, that his old quiet life is gone beyond recall. The Colonial Government, with wise conservatism may spare national characteristics, withholding for a time every trenchant regulation for the betterment of the people; but the appearance of the Government always means a new era, the opening up on all hands of new perspectives for the heathen. His political life, the autonomy of the tribe, as also the tyranny of the chiefs come under European control. Is that to the advantage of the coloured man or not? None can tell.

Economically, life undergoes complete remodelling. The modest home trade of village markets becomes international commerce. At one stroke money and produce receive entirely new values. Worthless things such as the sap of certain trees become very valuable, e.g., indiarubber. Objects hitherto valuable, such as homespun thread or garments or handmade weapons depreciate enormously. The native faces the new age like an infant just beginning to see. He finds himself in a wide unknown world; but he has not even the power to focus individual objects. Intellectual achievements, technical wonders pass him by unheeded; world

points of view open up before him ; and on all hands the native, especially the intelligent better class native, says to himself : what is new, what is coming, concerns me. The dull mass of the people, it is true, is indifferent to the new age, as long as it brings them no heavier burden of manual labour. I am here referring to the intelligent leaders of the people, for they alone come into account in such movements as the conversion of a people to Islam. The native must therefore come to some decision in the light of his new impressions, otherwise they will overwhelm and annihilate him.

No wonder that uncivilized peoples welcome at such times any one from whom they may expect harbourage from the swelling tide of the new age. Islam is a protection of this kind.

Political independence is threatened, or rather lost in the European invasion. The native then learns, indeed often without entering the conflict at all, his complete powerlessness. What forces these Europeans have at their command ! He sees the long range of their rifles, he hears the thunder of their guns, he stands amazed before the iron colossus in the harbour, with a secret shudder he realizes the achievements of steam and electricity, the " fire-waggon " and the " wire-letter " strike him dumb ! The Government official can find his way about everywhere ; from his " pictures of the country " (maps) he knows names, roads and rivers better than the native himself, who is only acquainted with those within the confines of his own tribe and knows anything beyond only vaguely from hearsay. The searching eye of the European thus penetrates secrets which hitherto he alone knew.

His knowledge avails him nothing with the European. More and more he recognizes the latter's superior cleverness, coupled with mighty energy. " What will become of us ? We are powerless before these ' white eyes. ' "—Then the trader appears in the village. In the quiet evening hour the troubled native unburdens his heart

to the Mohammedan teacher, and the crafty Mecca pilgrim pours forth counsel. He tells him, as a brown man his fellow, of the other great power which binds the nations together and unites them in the brotherly bond of faith. He shows by many examples that even the white man trembles before this mysterious power. Why no European official would dare to interfere with their religious concerns. The chief sees the point; if he does not wish to become a blind tool in the hand of the European he has but one resource, refuge in Islam, the religion of the brown man. At least one thing, religion, is thus rescued from the irksome control of the white lord and at the same time a faint political hope is awakened! So the political pressure of the new age, the strong attraction of the brown man for his brown brother, his racial instinct, drive him into the camp of the Crescent.

The only possible way of preserving his nationality that presents itself is an alliance with Islam. This political nationalist motive, which so often serves as the forerunner of Moslem propaganda, calls all the more for attention because it eludes as far as possible the spying glance of the European and the Colonial official in particular. We are dealing now with the native's most intimate self, with his tenderest feelings, which he instinctively keeps hidden from the foreigner. Are they not utterly beyond his comprehension? For what is so strange to the native in the new age is of course the atmosphere in which the European has grown up, in which his soul lives and moves. The European laughs at him because he cannot understand new things. The heathen, however, knows no science which is not at the same time sorcery; everything he does not understand forthwith transcends the bounds of the natural; the incomprehensible is supernatural. He does not know whether he has to deal with natural or supernatural forces in the case of European civilization. The equilibrium of his inner self is disturbed by the new age.

In this uncertainty of soul Islam seems a very stronghold of peace, for conversion to Islam is primarily related to the vital concerns of the people. Islam offers salvation for one's innermost self, one's soul, under the very eyes of the unpleasant ruler. A domain is reserved into which European wisdom and modern technical knowledge do not penetrate, the national individuality in the shroud of a new religion.

And further: Islam parades before the people as the power which they can turn against the European. The Pan-Moslem ideal is an important method of Moslem propaganda; it embodies the hope of the brown race for freedom from European supremacy.

The extent to which Pan-Moslem ideas have gained footing in the Dutch East Indies is evident from the fact that every wave of political and religious agitation in Islam as a whole is felt there. Thus in 1895, at the time of the Armenian persecution, Mohammedans in North Mandeling declared that the Christians in the Batak country should be treated in exactly the same way. In 1904, when many Mohammedans set all manner of hopes upon the Russo-Japanese war, the speedy expulsion of the Dutch from Sumatra was the topic of eager conversation among the Mohammedan Bataks on the East coast of Sumatra. Indian newspapers had brought the news at that time that Mohammedans in India had addressed a petition to the Emperor of Japan that he would place himself at the head of the Mohammedans and drive all the Europeans out of Eastern Asia. At that time people otherwise quite ignorant of politics often asked questions about the state of things in Japan.

The strength of the Pan-Moslem hope of the union of all the faithful under one lord, who shall be a true believer, is not diminished by the many Mohammedans in the Dutch East Indies who not only submit of necessity to Dutch rule, but even recognize the blessing of a European Government; such in particular are the

officials in assured positions, who look forward to small pensions in their old age. Even among the common people there is many a one frankly grateful to the Government for having delivered him from the monstrous injustice of his Mohammedan oppressors. But it is well to be on one's guard against such assertions.

Islam takes every opportunity of making the European believe that the friendship of the Colonial power is its supreme concern. For instance, at the time of the Coronation of the Queen of Holland, on September 12, 1898, Seyd Othman, a famous descendant of the Prophet in Batavia, offered a prayer for the Queen. He was criticized for having done so, but defended on February 27, 1899, by the famous Seyd Salim Ibu Ahmed of Habban in Arabia. The latter closed his defence by saying that the prayer was to be interpreted as an attempt, for reasons of expediency from the Moslem point of view, to conciliate the unbelievers by overtures of friendship. "God, Who follows the stolen glance and the secrets of the mind, knows what is in the heart of His servants" (an allusion to Koran xl. 20). This whole prayer, evidently from these last words, only aimed at throwing dust in the eyes of the Europeans.

For the present the Europeans do certainly possess some kind of secret magic, but some day they will meet their fate. Meanwhile let a man prepare himself for the future turn of affairs by acquiring supernatural powers (*ilmu*). For God, so say the teachers of magic, has set at the disposal of the faithful certain magic powers by which they will one day shake off the rule of the whites. God will most surely one day end the unnatural state of things in which His faithful endure the rule of the Kafir (unbelievers). Only first there must be sufficient magic abroad among the people.

Besides political weakness, social inferiority! Contact with European civilization at once shows the heathen the low standing of his race. The native has no idea that our civilization has a history. That the European also

lived in the wilderness once upon a time like himself, that he carried on crude warfare and was quite illiterate is incomprehensible to him. He considers himself neglected. Islam, so he thinks, will raise the despised races in the scale of civilization.

How attractive it seems to enter a community where there is room for the neglected. These social reasons of course play quite a different rôle again in India, the land of the caste system : the poor Hindu of Travancore, who must leave the path at the approach of a Brahmin lest the latter be defiled, welcomes Islam with joy with its Gospel of equality. The smart coast trader calls the heathen who accepts the Faith his brother. After his conversion he receives instead of cynical contempt a brotherly welcome. To be a Moslem recompenses the brown man for the contempt he has suffered in his intercourse with the whites.

Several powerful motives now come into play as incentives. Why does he apply to the Moslem teacher in whom he formerly placed little confidence ? It is the attraction of the brown man for his brown brother. He hopes to find more understanding in him than in the white man who at present stands so aloof from the brown man. The brown skin of the Moslem propagandist is his note of introduction which every brown man can read.

How well the Mohammedan trader knows how to impress the heathen. His up-to-date, clean attire does its part. What worldly wisdom he shows even in dealing with the redoubted chief. What all has he not seen—foreign countries, cities and peoples !

The astute merchant thus becomes the young people's ideal. He cuts a rather different figure from the old, timorous, long-winded village veterans. No doubt the trader is an arch-deceiver, who takes every opportunity of making the best of villagers, backwoodsmen and dull peasants. That enhances his attraction however, there is the hope of learning such artful devices from him.

A few keen, alert young men are glad to accompany the trader. They help him in selling his goods ; they are of incalculable value to him. He takes advantage of their extensive family connexions. His numerous following gives him great importance, for the greater his following the better his social standing ! The young men are receptive to everything new and imbibe worldly and heavenly wisdom from their new master.

This intercourse with the trader also satisfies other desires of the new age : the craving for money and education. In the old days money was of little use, hence the native lacked business capacity. It is different nowadays : business is coming into being. In the old days a man lived on the proceeds of his land, dressed in homespun of his own weaving or a modest loincloth of bark from his own trees. Nowadays there is a flutter of dainty, many-coloured, airy garments. Expensive as we may consider them, they are cheap to the natives in comparison to homespun and home-dyed cloths, the primitive production of which by home industry is costly and occupies much time. On the other hand the old-fashioned clothes were certainly more durable. Nowadays one requires a new coat every couple of months. Whereas the old-fashioned cloths were hard to wash, the new-fashioned ones are white as snow with a due application of soap. Every new necessity costs money !

The very first innocent match in the native's tobacco pouch is the herald of this new age ; it will ere long have ousted the stone and flint, and even if his more conservative wife still keeps up the old custom of running from house to house in the early morning to beg a burning chip somewhere to light her wood fire with much blowing and wiping of eyes, she also will soon be paying her tribute to the new age and take to using " fire-wood." But " fire-wood " costs money, the burning chip costs nothing. The new age has developed needs, it makes imperious demands upon the native to fill his empty

pockets with hard cash. The desire for money is not mere avarice, the earning of money is a law of the new age. "Why has the trader so much money, when he really only takes nice easy journeys from village to village, and why have we none? Is it perhaps because he is a Mohammedan? Well, we will become what he is, we will turn Mohammedan, so that we may be rich like he is!" And the trader takes good care not to betray the fact that the secret of his wealth is over-reaching the heathen in his simplicity. He assures them "It is the gift of Allah which brings us luck (rasoki), as it does to every true Moslem!"

The only way, they think, to make economic progress is to be converted to Islam. Hitherto the native has simply brought a little forest produce into market and exchanged it at a low price for necessities of life such as salt and iron, in fact he has been merely a porter and an always overcharged consumer. Now he can be at once salesman and buyer, importer and exporter, if only, as the new-world trader says, he has "good luck by the favour of Allah."

Since the coast trade is for the most part in the hands of Mohammedans, one must become a Mohammedan to enter trade. To be a Moslem means world citizenship. The Mohammedan Batak travels along the coast of Sumatra and lays in his stock at Mohammedan Malay stores in Padang. What heathen would have dared to do that! He goes to Achin in the north and crosses from Eastern Sumatra to Penang or Singapore. Everywhere Islam gives him open doors for business, as one of the faithful he is everywhere welcome! Of course he is often cheated, especially at first. He is as yet ignorant of the fact that not every sacred oath by the Name of Allah and the Prophet is a guarantee against trickery. But in time his wits are sharpened, he learns all the curses and oaths of his new fellow-believers, and later on uses them to good purpose among his own people where he is still their master in craftiness.

On the plane of economics, therefore, great world-wide perspectives open out before the astonished heathen, the moment he accepts the new religion with its universal bond between the nations. His entrance upon the field of economics, his part in international commerce, even within modest limits, makes education and knowledge imperative. The political situation has already shown this.

The European is educated, that is why he could conquer us, so thinks the heathen, for the European is less robust physically than we. It is not physical superiority which makes the European powerful. Nor his cunning. Every native considers himself craftier than the European, and not without reason. The European is too honest to be crafty, says the native.

The European has conquered by his education; the natives realize knowledge is power and ignorance is weakness. Education procured the policeman, the secretary and the Government official their positions of trust. Of course, the education within their reach. Any one who can read, write and count is educated. The native has no idea of aspiring to European education. The simple education of the Moslem he does, however, consider attainable. Hence the Moslem alone comes into his calculations as a medium of civilization.

Thus, in the transition to the new age Islam presents itself as a sympathetic counsellor to the illiterate heathen. It is to the heathen's advantage in every way to become a Mohammedan. The aim of the heathen is not only to deliver themselves from slavery, to gain favour with the faithful, obtain credit, in short to profit by all the individual betterment which Islam brings about in their economic condition. There is also an idea of far-reaching significance in the modern Moslem movement. The Islamizing of the Nature peoples means the organization of the uncivilized mass of humanity in face of the European nations overwrought

by their capital of civilization, the rallying of the oppressed proletariat among the nations in face of the ruling Christian powers. In Moslem propaganda mighty social, political and national impulses are at work.

CHAPTER IV

GOD

IN discussing the political, colonial, intellectual and social factors which are conducive to the conversion of the heathen to Islam, we have purposely passed over the religious element. In reality, however, religion enters into everything that the heathen undertakes, for the heathen is religious through and through. At every turn of his destiny he looks for a higher hand.

To isolate the religious factor is therefore one-sided. In reality religion is interwoven with the non-religious. Among the heathen peoples of Indonesia, religion is intimately connected with the practice of every-day life. Such a thing as a religion which has preserves of its own and may be so far removed from the affairs of every-day life as to permit of a man's living equally well with or without it does not exist for the heathen of Indonesia. (Dr. Adriani.)

The religious motive is often overlooked. We are constantly told that the heathen only becomes Moham-
medan for the sake of external advantages. The Koran is not a book to attract the negro, the empty-headed black only wishes to better himself. Our own actual experience in the Dutch East Indies renders such attempts to account for Mohammedan propaganda problematical. There, at least, the religious motive is fundamental. The realization of the misery of heathenism, its bondage and disgrace, together with its host of bodily and spiritual ills, causes religious lassitude which

the invasion of a Colonial Power makes especially palpable.

The following request to a missionary from Lumban Pinasa in Central Sumatra, a district as yet untouched by Christianity, illustrates the condition of the heathen soul: "Master, I must have a teacher, my old religion is no longer any use. It has outgrown itself, and for a long time now I have ceased to believe in it. I must have a new one. If you will give me a teacher, well and good, otherwise I must get hodjis (Mecca pilgrims), then I shall become a Mohammedan."

They expect Islam to help them. Its good standing guarantees the might of the religious powers which the Moslem worships. It is God Who gives the heathen the social position and wealth which he gains by becoming a Mohammedan. God will bestow education and worldly wisdom upon him. The fact that all this comes from God enhances Islam in the eyes of the heathen, not the gift as such. The heathen desires not the gift alone, but also the Giver. What his spirits and sorcery were powerless to do, this new God does effect.

Far be it from me to idealize the heathen. The heathen is not the restless seeker after God of the modern novel. He longs for God not because he is seeking inward peace or even forgiveness for his sins, but because he desires riches and posterity, honour and if possible magic powers; whoever will give him that is his God.

Mohammedan teachers make a good speculation when they dwell in the first instance in their propaganda upon this kind of search after God. They openly say, "You will be rich if you worship Allah and have an abundant posterity," but they add in the same breath, "And not only in this world, but also in the life which is to come." Such words are spoken to a people on the verge of religious bankruptcy. It has become conscious of its national and religious impotency actually as a result of the European invasion, or failing that the successful advance of Islam.

For as a tribal victory is sure proof of the power not only of those at present living but above all things, according to Animistic belief, a demonstration of the superior power of one's ancestors, whose spirits of course surround the Animist, and a judgment of God upon the tribe which has been defeated, so also a defeat is evidence of the unreliability of one's ancestors and a judgment of God upon one's own people. National decline demonstrates the weakness of the religious powers on whose help he has hitherto counted. Hence, every Colonial invasion only deepens a heathen people's despondency with regard to its old religion and strengthens its desire for another religion of living power. A man's confidence in the religious power of Islam grows in proportion to his loss of confidence in the power of the religion of his own people.

The heathen is suspicious and very chary of seductive plans for the future, and yet he forthwith believes the Mohammedan message about God and its promise of a world to come. These are the two focal points of Moslem propaganda: the conception of God and the Hereafter.

The leverage of these two ideas, in so far as there is any question of religious forces, has conquered the world for Islam since the days of Mohammed and the preaching he based upon the Koran and tradition. But why does the Animistic heathen of the uncivilized peoples accept these ideas with such enthusiasm when they are really so utterly beyond his horizon?

God.—The pioneer preaching of the Mohammedan idea of God finds a hearing all the more easily because it does not essentially rise above the level of Animistic ideas; for the Mohammedan does not bring the heathen something absolutely new with his doctrine of God, his idea of God correlates itself to existing conceptions.) Animism is really the cult of spirits and the souls of the departed. Yet spirit worship has not been able to entirely obliterate the idea of God. The belief in God

or the belief in a higher Being certainly does not stand in the foreground of Animistic religion. There is, however, a remnant conception of God in wide circles of heathenism.

Among the Bataks the supreme god is called ompu mula djadi na bolon. This name is pure Batak and means the lord, the great source of all creation. Only later did this one god become distinguished into three in the popular consciousness. Of the three names, Sori pada, Mangala bulan and Batara guru, the first and third are Sanscrit words, so they at all events are of later origin. Ompu mula djadi na bolon is said to have delegated his power to these three. On the island of Nias, to the west of Sumatra, we find the same conception of God. God is called Lowalangi. All is said to depend upon Lowalangi, whether one be well or die, for—

“Lowalangi makes alive and kills!”

“He sees when we are cheated!”

“He is only a hand breadth above us!”

“He avenges us, therefore avenge not yourselves.”

“Deride not your neighbour if he be unshapely, for Lowalangi creates all things!”

We find these ideas everywhere in Indonesia. In Buru the people call the supreme deity either Opo lahhatala or by the old Indonesian name Opo gebasnutat (the moulder of men). Both names are used simultaneously. (Kruyt, *Animisme*, 466.) The inhabitants of Siau believe in one supreme god whom they call duwata (= debata, a Sanscrit word, current in the Archipelago and sometimes used also for spirits). Among the Kols also there is the following conception of God: “the presence of the one good God is just as much a matter of course to them in every-day conversation as to us Europeans when we speak of God,” says Wurm (61); and Livingstone says of Africa: “even amongst the most degraded heathen one need never speak of the presence of God or of a future life, because these things are universally taken for granted.” (Cf. Wurm,

Religionsgeschichte, p. 35.) This remark of Livingstone's is continually being corroborated from Central Africa, the Congo, West Africa, the Ewe country. Even among the bushmen of Australia the worship of one supreme God has been traced, as also among the Melanesian tribes of Polynesia (whose supreme god is called Tangaloa) and in the primitive religions of America.

Islam finds a point of contact in this lingering conception of God. Even in their heathen state, many peoples have realized this agreement between Islam and heathenism. For that reason they have given the Mohammedan name of God to their supreme Being. The heathen Dayaks of Borneo call their god Hatalla, and many similar variations are to be found of the name Allah. Heathen mythology also bears traces of Mohammedanism in its conception of God; Batara guru, one of the highest Batak deities, may not eat swine's flesh, neither may the daughter of God, Boru ni Debata. Therefore, from the purely external point of view, the introduction of the Divine name could present no difficulty.

The inner connection between the heathen conception of God, emptied of content as it may be, and that of Islam has made conversion an easier matter still for the heathen. The Indonesian heathen's idea of God, anthropomorphic as it is, has never produced such idolatry as the Mohammedans so especially hate among Oriental Christians, for instance.

Images of God do not exist among the Animist Nature peoples. The images which are incorrectly called idols are either pictures to scare away evil spirits by their ugliness, or soul carriers, that is to say, pictures into which soul-stuff has been introduced by some kind of manipulation; they therefore either introduce soul-stuff into the house (soul-stuff = life power, life fluid, hence a material conception) and with it a blessing, or by an increase of soul-stuff they ensure protection against diseases and spirits. The first group might

perhaps best be called amulets, or when they are worshipped and given food, fetishes; and the second group talismans. But images are neither made of tribal ancestors nor of deities.

The heathen conception of God is a spiritual one. Islam, therefore, has not had to implant the idea of God anew in the heathen heart, or to spiritualize a material conception; it had simply to restore God to His rightful place from the background to which heathenism had relegated Him. This was all the easier because in heathenism, although almost forgotten and overlooked, God used to be fetched from His hiding-place at moments of crisis. In every-day life God is certainly little to the fore; in heathen mythology He is simply the Creator and Preserver of the world. But in many circumstances the deity is the final resort, when there is nothing more to be done with spirits. On the one hand in times of distress, because the spirits cannot, of course, know everything. For example, if every effort to combat an illness by the aid of spirits is in vain, the priestess of the Toradja in Celebes sends her own soul into the other world to ask God which evil spirit has caused the illness. Or in difficult cases of law. The earthly judge does not know everything, only God alone; He is therefore appealed to as witness to the truth.

Thus the heathen's lingering idea of God offers several points of contact for the Mohammedan doctrine of God. God knows more than men and spirits, says the heathen; Islam has drawn the conclusion: therefore, God is omniscient. God has created the world, according to heathen belief; the Mohammedan has drawn the inference: He is omnipresent. God's curse is upon the transgressor, no heathen doubts that; God avenges evil to all eternity, adds the Mohammedan.

But what induces the heathen to produce the lines of his heathen conception of God really so much further as to make the outline of the Mohammedan conception?

The exposition of Mohammedan theology plays but a small part in the matter. It is true theological definitions are not entirely unknown. In Mohammedan theology God has seven attributes, namely, life, knowledge, omnipotence, will, hearing, sight and speech. Our young people are taught out of a Malay catechism by the Mohammedan teacher in the Koran school "the twenty attributes of God." It says there, for instance, that God is endowed with existence, perfection, sublimity, unity, fulness, peace, life, wisdom, power, hearing, sight, omniscience and omnipotence. The seven fundamental attributes of God with their thirteen variations, i.e., the twenty attributes of God, make an Arabic rhyme, which is learnt off by heart mechanically. Little of this, however, penetrates into the heathen's thought world; the instruction he receives is too little aimed at the pupil's understanding.

Another consideration prepares the way for the Moslem idea of God in the heathen heart: the pre-eminence of Islam. Islam represents itself as an irresistible power, ever pressing invincibly onward. The religious deduction made by the heathen from this fact is that the God of Islam is invincible. What use was the heathen's old God to him? He buried Himself away in the background and did nothing! But in Islam there is energetic, valiant, world-encompassing activity. God is the One of action; this good news of Islam the heathen deduces from Islam's powerful position in the world.

The heathen, however, only knows power as coupled with arbitrariness. A powerful chief arbitrarily dispenses with every tribal usage. Peoples without written laws know only arbitrary rulers. Even if the chief does most cleverly explain that he makes all his decrees in accordance with ancient custom, every one is of course well aware that it is all an illusion: the wily chief really does as he likes, because he has the power to do so. The heathen knows nothing of the moral limitation which

the common weal lays upon power, or of the bounds which love decrees in the exercise of power. That God's power is at His own arbitrary command is a matter of no difficulty for the heathen.

In this way the Heathen-Mohammedan has acquired a grasp upon the kernel of the Mohammedan doctrine of God. God is the infinite Lord, to be feared, not to be counted upon, utterly arbitrary. The heathen is a realist in politics. If God is arbitrary *and* omnipotent, it is a dangerous combination. It calls for thought. If God, the omniscient, the omnipotent, also possesses will power, then the question of God is one for the individual and I must somehow come to terms with Him.

Nevertheless, earnestly as the heathen's gaze is now directed towards God, the Heathen-Mohammedan does not enter into any real communion with God! God, hitherto forgotten, certainly does gain His rightful place. He is lord of all, He ordains everything according to His will. If a man does himself an injury, it is the will of God; if a man gets a splinter in his finger, he shows no sign of pain, it is the will of God. That explains everything. But God's will is unfathomable and capricious, like that of a slaveholder, who to-day ill-treats a slave and to-morrow gives him his freedom, just as the whim takes him. This is a favourite symbol of God. People call themselves the slaves of Allah.

Everything that happens has a fatalistic explanation. That anything should have really happened shows in fact that it must have happened by the will of God. The will of God is man's fate. In the same way that as a heathen he was haunted by his "prenatal request."

The popular heathen idea of fate does actually differ a little from the Moslem idea. The Batak chooses his own destiny before he comes into the world, and according to this "prenatal request," as it is called, his life is irrevocably ordered. If a man is a slave in this life, the heathen idea is that the slave's soul desired this destiny before its birth. "That you have become a

missionary," a Batak once said to me, "is because your soul prayed for this destiny in its pre-existence."

Thus Moslem fatalism also found a soil well prepared in Animism. It appeals to the indolent nature of the heathen, he has been cradled in it.

That for the heathen it is the man himself, and for the Mohammedan it is God Who determines a man's fate makes no essential difference; in both cases fatalism deprives a man of freewill and leads to determinism. As it says in Sura lxxvi. 29: "Ye shall not will, unless God willeth!" the Moslem Batak says: "If God wills that I should become a Christian, then He will inspire me with the desire, that is to say, the will to be so; He can 'convert' my heart"—and he adds, in all likelihood hypocritically: "pray for me that God may convert my heart, so that I may become a Christian! If God convert my heart, who then can withstand Him?"

While responding with its idea of God to the fatalist inclinations of the Animist, Islam is itself drawn into the sphere of heathen conceptions of God; for fatalism is common property in heathendom. The consequences of this idea of God are patent. The gulf between God and man remains infinite: God, the almighty lord; man, the slave of God, without protection, at the mercy of His humour and caprice.

To a God Who determines the life of men with such arbitrary and despotic severity one may submit oneself slavishly, but love is impossible; when a Christian joyfully declared to a Mohammedan in Java: "God is my Father in heaven!" and the latter said: "That is impious presumption!" he was only consistent. God is as unapproachable in Islam as in heathenism. For "God does not care about us" is the cry not only of the negroes on the Congo (Warneck) but also of the whole heathen world. "Singbonga is omnipotent, but He is too far away," say the Kols. God is too far removed from men to have intercourse with them. This feeling is expressed here and there in heathenism with intense earnestness,

even though the people who say so are generally entirely given over to spirit worship. But this cry is silenced in Islam. In slavish resignation the soul has found rest.

In Animism we find traces of the presence of God. "Where we sit, God is present," says the Batak proverb; Islam makes this no longer possible. The gulf between God and man becomes more profound in Islam. The last slender thread still binding the heathen to God, the longing after God—to be distinguished from the material hope set upon God, described above, which sees in Him no more than the instrument of self-seeking desires—is broken. Man learns to accommodate himself to his present condition. It is fixed once and for all, there is no way to God. Islam may offer a man means for protecting himself against this dangerous God. It has relinquished the hope of establishing communion with God.

This also disposes of the objection that Islam is the very religion which calls God merciful. "In the name of the most merciful God" is the well-known beginning of every Sura in the Koran; "by the mercy of Allah" is an expression on the lips of the Moslem who knows how many times a day. But by the mercy of God the Mohammedan does not understand the purposeful, compassionate love which condescends to the sinner, but rather the pompous, arbitrary magnanimity of the Oriental tyrant, who distributes his gifts when in good humour and otherwise withholds them. Mercy in Islam means a master's caprice, which to-day raises his slave from the dust and to-morrow in a rage tramples him under foot. It is as unbridled as the omnipotence of God, it lacks the firm helm of the moral motive of love. For that reason it is not in a position to bridge the gulf between an unapproachable Lord on His throne and man.

God remains coldly apathetic to the world. The kindly deity of heathenism thinks of man in more friendly fashion than does the God of Islam. This certainly had

the evil consequence among the heathen that they stood in no awe of God. The supreme God of the Animist is a kindly being, who does man no evil ; hence in heathenism there is only the fear of spirits, no fear of God. For just as no one troubles about a kindly soul of whom nothing is to be feared, so also the heathen pays no heed to God, He never does an ill turn to any one. This is now altered in Islam. God is no longer a kindly supine being but rather an unapproachable Almighty Lord Whom none can evade. The heathen had no fear of God, because he expected nothing at His hand, hence no evil ; the Mohammedan trembles before God, because he believes Him capable of anything, even all that is terrible and evil.

Thus the Moslem idea of God cannot deliver the Animist from the gloomy dungeon of heathen fear. Not because it has not yet fully supplanted heathenism, for on the contrary, the more complete the success of Moslem preaching, the less to be bridged over is the distance from God.

The essence of heathenism is fear, it passes over into Islam, only it is no longer spirits who refuse man life, but an arbitrary mighty God who can, like the spirits, fall upon man at any moment.¹ Among the heathen the fear of spirits stands between God and man. It is now transferred to God Himself. The object of fear changes. In the religious attitude of the subject there is no change.

In face of the great problem as to how the heathen in bondage to fear is to get deliverance from his fear, Islam is utterly powerless. But why then has the Mohammedan conception of God such an attraction for the heathen ? The heathen does not in the least want to be delivered from fear. Fear has become the heathen's second nature. It is the element in which his entire religious activity has hitherto moved. Christian Missionary experience bears this no contradiction ; Christian preaching and the life of heathen converts to Christianity show the astonished heathen what it means to be deliv-

ered from fear. It awakens for the first time within the heathen heart the longing for deliverance from fear. He has no idea until then that it lies at the root of his misery ; he lays the blame for his oppressed condition upon his social and intellectual inferiority, he therefore makes no sort of demand of Islam that it deliver him from fear. And it is to Islam's interest to keep men more or less in bondage, for fear keeps together the flock it gathers with so much difficulty ; its wily shepherds know that only too well.

CHAPTER V

THE GIFTS OF GOD

GOD has reserved for true believers the precious privilege of His supernatural powers, His secret wisdom and knowledge. Magic communicates them.

Christians are accustomed to regard sorcery in a monotheistic religion as an untimely remnant of heathenism. Magic forms however a legitimate part of Mohammedan practice. Indeed, the possession of "ilmu," as sorcery is called,¹ is the goal of all religious striving. "Ilmu" is supernatural power, the supreme gift of God.

In many ways the old Animism was more useful than the new religion. It armed a man for his fight for existence against the spirit world. So it would be foolish for the recent convert to Mohammedanism to give up what has stood him in good stead in Animism and let the bird in his hand go for the sake of the two in the bush. "A double seam holds best," said the old Animist saw. There were always several spirits and several sorcerers available with whom to traffic in times of distress. In so far as it also is profitable, why should not Islam be simply added to the old rites. This juxtaposition of new Moslem hopes and old Animistic customs makes Islam especially attractive to the Nature peoples. The two are so interwoven that their strands can no longer be unravelled. Striking similes such as that of the garment of Islam in which the old Animist arrays him-

¹ Ilmu = ilm ar (knowledge), i.e. knowledge which proceeds from God.

self being so full of holes that unfortunately his original heathen skin everywhere shines through, convey no meaning at all. All that is new is simply that God dispenses the new magic.

In a new religion what strikes people first is not the difference in doctrine but in ceremony. Islam's most obvious characteristics are its laws about food and its daily prayer; the characteristic mark of Christianity is the Sabbath and the Sunday service. In both cases the heathen makes a secondary matter the distinctive institution of the religion, because for him ceremonial is the chief thing.

Now Moslem propaganda has been favoured, the blending of Islam with the popular mode of thought into an indigenous religion has been decidedly furthered by the many points of contact between the new ceremonial of Islam and that of heathenism.

Heathen ceremonial also included ablutions. In dedicating a horse to one's own spirit, the horse must first be purified with lemons and water. Ablutions are also performed after burials, not as a matter of fact for ceremonial purification, but to scare away the spirit which has a dread of water. Ablutions to drive away demons are of course widespread. Mythological persons do not eat swine's flesh, nor from very ancient times spirit mediums. Possibly this is a result of contact with Mohammedan magicians.

Circumcision and laws about food do not seem strange to the people. The whole Animistic conception of eating and drinking explains how Moslem laws about food gain currency so quickly. The Animists also have prohibitions on food in health and sickness. These rest upon two fundamental ideas. The Animist in eating not only takes matter into his body. The matter has "soul-stuff" adhering to it; in eating, a man adds fresh "soul-stuff" to his own "soul-stuff." The "soul-stuff," not the matter, is what is really nourishing in food. With this is connected the other idea sometimes

held by the Animist, that in eating meat he may assimilate something of the character of the animal the flesh of which he is eating. Dog's flesh is eaten to acquire the speed of the dog; in Borneo, venison is avoided, for example, for fear of becoming cowardly like the stag.

So the Indonesian soon understands that it is defiling to eat swine's flesh; because swine have the habit of wallowing in the mud, one will acquire this habit if one eats swine's flesh, i.e., one will be defiled (Haram). Here, therefore, the Animistic conception comes to the help of the Moslem law. That eating certain kinds of food defiles a man, i.e., the inner self of a man, is a much more realistic conception to the Animist than to the Mohammedan; Other religious customs too have been no surprise to the heathen. He also has been accustomed to make vows to the spirit of his ancestors. "If thou wilt cure the sick, we will bring thee a tasty offering, such as thou art wont to receive." Even mystic practices are nothing new. The Dayaks sleep out on some high mountain to meet the Spirit. He then reveals supernatural power to them in a dream.

With his proneness to outward observance, this agreement in external things has made conversion easy for the heathen. The inner connection between truly Animistic and truly Moslem customs has been a further essential help. For instance, the Javanese think that the right use of talismans and amulets is to be acquired partly from the old spirits and partly from Allah.

The Alpha and Omega of the Animistic conception of life is the idea of "soul-stuff," the representative of the life power present in everything that lives. The accumulation of this "soul-stuff" is the main thing. Islam makes use of this conception for its own ends.

The Mohammedan drinks the water Mecca pilgrims have washed in and eats the scraps left on their plates. Both actions are only rendered intelligible by the Animistic conception that the "soul-stuff" of a holy man resides in the water in which his sweat has been washed off;

for with the excretions of the human body "soul-stuff" is also given off. In the same way the "soul-stuff" of a holy man clings to scraps of his food, because they have been in contact with his spittle. It is again a remnant of Animism when a superior person, such as a Mecca pilgrim, is attributed to have a great deal of "soul-stuff," just as in the old days it was said of the chiefs. For the same reason a pilgrim will be called into a house and asked to spit upon a sick child. The child really needs an increase of "soul-stuff." Formerly the sick were brought to the chiefs and spat upon by them. Thus Animism serves to win power and position for the apostles of the Moslem way of religion.

Moslem magic is practised in the following ways:—
 (1) By magic formulas (doa = prayer). Among the Bataks these charms are an obscure, almost unintelligible, jumble of Malay, Arabic and Batak words, generally prayers to Allah, Mohammed and the angels. To avert a blow, they say:—

ia Alla, tuhanku !	God, my Lord.
kabulkan djuo barang pin -taku (<i>Batak, Malay,</i> <i>Arabic</i>)	Hearken to this my prayer !
Washum aleikum ! (<i>Arabic</i>)	Peace be with you !
Usoman di adopangku (<i>Batak</i>)	Osman be before me !
Washum aleikum !	Peace be with you !
Ali di belangkanku ! (<i>Malay, Batak</i>)	Ali be behind me !
Kali (?) hei sahabatku jang berampat ! (<i>Malay</i>)	Hail . . . my 4 friends !
	etc., etc.

The end then runs:—

Forget me not !

Weapons that are sharp, may they be blest.

Near me are my 44 friends (the angels), etc.

(2) Magical gestures transmit magical power by contact ; to be able to resist blows a man rubs his own body, that of another person to bewitch him with disease ; to bewitch a man one points at him. A spell is cast upon a person in the form of food or betel ; three or seven lemons are buried in the village to bewitch its women ; extraordinary means are also employed ; e.g., to attach a maiden to oneself the umbilical cord of a newly-born female child which has died with its mother in child-birth must be grated down and presented to the maiden, mixed with certain other ingredients. The transmission of power by contact is Animistic.

(3) Visions. No magic medium or exorcising formula is required, the process is simply consummated in the imagination of the man who wishes to set the spell in operation. Yet this uncanny art is especially feared. It works like a charge of smokeless and noiseless powder.

“ Ilmu ” endows a man with supernatural powers of many kinds : it is the art of making a person invulnerable, proof against blows, sword slashes and bullets, of healing and causing disease, of getting the better of one’s adversary in a lawsuit without words, of wounding with a blunt knife, of protecting oneself from every kind of witchcraft.

By magic, people can be made blind so that one may steal their belongings without their noticing. Then magic also serves to gratify sexual desires. These “ powers ” are therefore much sought after by young men. Any one who can write tries to collect a number of such spells. A young man who is a master of such magic is feared by the girls ; they know how he may avenge himself upon any one who does not respond to his advances. A number of women’s diseases are attributed by the ignorant natives to the same magic influence. Young married women are very often ill, because they feel themselves “ struck ” by some spell which threatens their motherhood. These spells thus cause much family unhappiness. Many quarrels be-

tween married couples may be traced to the belief that one of the parties has been bewitched by a rejected rival. Also the disillusioned maiden avenges herself upon her former lover by these arts. The art is carried to great perfection of influencing women, of inclining their affections towards one, of assuring them against magic by magic. (The embryo can be killed in the womb; a pregnant woman can be so bewitched that either she or her child dies.) Vengeance can be taken by magic upon a recalcitrant maiden or upon her parents. By "ilmu," a maiden can be influenced to remain unmarried. A rejected suitor can by magic provoke his married rival to divorce his wife. By God's magic ("alemu Allah") a maiden can be bewitched into insanity. Hence it often happens that girls who think they are bewitched do actually become insane for a certain length of time.

Even while a people is still in heathenism, the strands of Moslem magic (ilmu) and the old Animistic sorcery (hadatuon) begin to be inextricably interwoven. In the old days Batak sorcerers also used to go down to the coast on occasion. They picked up Arabic-Malay charms, and probably they also took lessons from the Malays. Nowadays Mohammedan magic-mongers go up and down the country initiating the heathen.

They introduce new magic practices into the country. These are gratefully adopted. How the heathen is bound to welcome a doctrine which introduces new magic. For one can never have enough magic lore. If one spell does not act, another will. The more weird the magic, the more incomprehensible the words and names introduced into it, the better.

Spiritualistic ideas.—By spiritism we understand the worship of departed spirits. Islam professes to know exactly the condition of departed spirits. So no one need really be afraid of them, they have enough affairs of their own to attend to. But people are illogical in this respect; after, as before their conversion to Islam,

they are terrified of evil spirits. Allah must share His honour with spirits.

Hendrik writes from Madura, the western part of Java, which has been Mohammedan for three centuries : " All that happens to the Mohammedan is ascribed to the influence of spirits rather than to the influence of Allah. The latter is certainly the Spirit of spirits, conversion to Islam places Him at the head of the spirit host, but in comparison to the trouble to which they put themselves concerning the spirit host, He remains very much in the background.

The Javanese believe that every blessing comes down to men from Danjang desa (an under-god) ; hence this Danjang desa is worshipped alongside of and with Allah. Neither suffers in the matter of worship. Incense is burnt and this prayer is offered kneeling : " O Danjang, bless me and let me find buyers for my goods ! " Immediately afterwards comes : " Allah is great, and Mohammed is His Prophet ! " At sacred meals the father of the household first pronounces some heathen magic formulas, then the " modin " (village priest) an Arabic " doa " (lit. " prayer ") and then they begin to eat.

It is thus made easy for the heathen to adapt himself to the new way of things. He conscientiously followed the behests of the ancestors who used to hover round him as spirits. When he becomes a Mohammedan, he is one of a new people, whose ancestors also become his, alongside of his old tribal ancestors. The new ancestors are the prophets and saints of Islam. His feelings of pious veneration are transferred to the ancestors of the people of the Mohammedans. Some Mohammedan tribes, on being asked, " Who are the angels and prophets ? " say, " Our ancestors." They also concern themselves much more with the prophets than with Allah. The host of evil spirits is reinforced by the Moslem devils and demons (iblis).

The Moslem sorcerer is also continually invoking the

angels (malaikat) in order to obtain supernatural powers from these "fiends of mankind." It is meet that one should show them due ceremonial honour. Because the Mohammedans' ancestor has forbidden the eating of swine's flesh, therefore it is not touched.

Again, how the Mohammedan idea dovetails into the old Animistic spiritualistic conception. No wonder that the young convert feels quite at home under the wing of his new ancestors.

The veneration of graves also rests upon an Animistic foundation. The Animist belief was that the dead hovered round their graves for a long time. Food is therefore taken to them there; one can there hold parley with them. Beautiful grave houses are built for them in the hope of making the spirits of the dead propitious. This Animistic custom has been elaborated by Islam. In a manner wonderful enough! Mohammed himself forbade and laid a curse upon the veneration of graves, and yet sacrifices are offered at his own grave by pilgrims otherwise so obedient to the Prophet's commands. Thus in Java it is the custom to adorn the graves of the saints who according to tradition once upon a time brought Islam to Java. The graves are decorated after fasts; on the day the fast is broken, incense sticks are burnt and the blessing of the dead is invoked.

Ancestral spirits are also thought to reside in animals. For that reason Mohammedan tribes in Java do not eat certain kinds of food, because they think that the dead reside in them. In Achin departed princes appear in the form of tigers and crocodiles. This kind of totemism is found all over the Dutch East Indies. If a crocodile devours a woman, a Mohammedan at once appears to claim the crocodile because it was his grandfather.

Certainly in Islam there is no longer any question as to which ancestor inhabits this or that grove, this or that spring. The Animist often forgets that a particular object is not in itself sacred but only derives its special

merit from the spirit inhabiting it. The place becomes sacred, the object becomes venerable, as time passes the spirit is forgotten. But the Mohammedan in Indonesia knows as well as the Arab in Arabia which are his sacred stones and trees.

Even among the living the spirits of the departed reap considerable benefits. The Mecca pilgrim takes the place of spirits; offerings formerly made to spirits are now brought to him. Mohammedan Bataks make vows to a spirit, a grave, or a "terrible" mountain, but the teacher is asked to the meal that follows. He consumes the sacrifice. He thus takes the place of the spirits.

Exorcisms to drive away spirits are commonly practised. The creed and other pious formulas such as the Bismilla (in the Name of God), and in the Near East the Allah Akbar (God is great), and certain Suras of the Koran are used as exorcising spells.

The formulas for exorcising the Danjangs are called "doa." Mohammedan expressions are thus applied to purely heathen customs, and these receive the sanction of good Mohammedan practices.

It is therefore not only a case of Islam conniving at heathen proclivities, but of an inner connection being actually established between Animism and Islam. Islam itself is imbued with Animistic molecules which attract kindred elements in heathenism. Its inherent syncretism gives it the power of assimilating what is even apparently heterogeneous in other peoples. Its syncretic elasticity makes it possible for Islam to be a world religion.

Hence within Islam Animism does not play the part of a barely tolerated slave, rather it receives royal favour! The despised cult of Animistic magic receives in Islam the rank of a divine institution. It is the gift of God to His faithful believers. The old Animism rises to the same plane as Moslem magic. One might have been content to adopt Moslem magic and for the rest to

rely upon Moslem doctrine, in a word, upon dogma. But that was impossible. The sorcerer is right when he says to his young heathen pupils : " If you want to be really proficient in my magic, you must become Mohammedan." The Batak sorcerer was no less gifted than the Moslem one, but Islam teaches a new doctrine in saying that all magic comes from God. That is what makes the new kind of sorcery so attractive and forestalls ancient usage.

From Islam's bold front the heathen has received an impression of God's mighty power. It bespeaks the power of the new magic that the Almighty Himself has originated it ; for that very reason it is often called the wisdom of God (*ilmu Allah*).

The magic trumpery of Animism certainly does not seem to be in harmony with Mohammedan law. But such offences against Mohammedan ordinance are smoothed over by using names as Mohammedan as possible and so giving a Mohammedan colouring to all magic performances. But neither the sanction of magic as a divine gift nor the concealment of the heathen kernel under high-sounding names protect Islam from the evil consequences of this fusion with heathenism. The unity and purity of its conception of God are lost in this doctrine of God's gifts of magic. In that these magic gifts are dispensed not only by God but also by a multitude of spirits, the conflict with polytheism continues as before in Islam. Islam has not been able to preserve, if it ever possessed it, the unity of its conception of God. This unity in its conception of God is really the only thing which might arouse our sympathy in Islam. It alone would justify our preferring it to the polytheistic conceptions of God in heathenism. But the Islam of the propagandists, which is at the present time taking its triumphal way over the world, has forfeited this its prerogative in the very interests of its propaganda.

Islam's triumph, therefore, really implies a defeat for monotheism. The weighty texts of the Koran, the

constant repetition in popular parlance of phrases about the One God have not been able to maintain the unity of the idea of God. The process is peculiar. The unity of God had to be preserved at all costs, so God was rendered as remote as possible; but this very remoteness of God calls forth the necessity for intermediate beings and conjures up magic and polytheism in the form of a subsidiary realm of spirits. In this way magic and demonology temper the frigid unity of the idea of God.

Nor has the identification of God with fate been able to save the unity of the idea of God. For fatalism is at the antipodes from magic. Hence fatalism and magic run parallel in heathenism. This is, of course, illogical. Really the doctrine of magic powers implies practical dissent from every kind of fatalism. Conversely inexorable fatalism really renders magic superfluous. If everything really happens according to the immutable will of Allah, then of course there is no sense in exorcising spirits, for example. This inconsistency, however, is well founded. The Batak Animist is by no means so foolish as to suffer one misfortune after another without doing something. Man will not be condemned to defenselessness in the stress of life. The dread reality of human life again and again breaks through the brazen ring of fatalism.

The fatalism of Islam reacts in renewed self-assertion and therefore encourages the more zealous recourse to magic, i.e., to the supernatural powers of God. For God can only be opposed by God, the immutable will of God only by His invincible power, which is obtained by magic.

The Divine sanction upon trafficking in magic irrevocably destroys the purity of the idea of God. This is the darkest side of Islam: the unapproachable God, Who cannot be relegated far enough from this evil world, is dragged deep down into the mire of crime. God has become the arch magician. The pious pilgrim follows in the footprints of the criminal sorcerer only with his

shameless claim that his squalid wonderworking proceeds from God.

Nothing so prepares the way for Mohammedan propaganda as this "heavenly" magic; and yet it is a mark of Cain upon Islam's brow which, in its desire for proselytes, it allows to pollute the best thing it really possessed, its conception of God.

Even in its mother country, Arabia, the monotheism of Islam is not untarnished. The veneration of stones, especially meteoric stones, was characteristic of the religion of the Arabs before the dawn of Islam. Even nowadays devout Moslem pilgrims kiss the black stone. The ceremonies of the Mecca festival are of heathen origin; the pilgrimage had to be tolerated because Mohammed did not dare rob his followers of something which had been of such value to them all their lives.

This practice of its founder, this opportunism, has been kept up by Islam. Thus, remnants of the Zoroastrian religion shine through Islam in Persia, and in India certain indigenous doctrines and customs still persist. Only on condition that it tolerated this "religion of everyday life" did it meet with any reception. However great its triumph nowadays, we do not envy it. It has sacrificed the virgin purity of its monotheism and subjected its inviolable conception of God to the wild magic trafficking of the nations. Islam's triumph over the heathen is a Pyrrhic victory. Its laurels have been won at the cost of God's honour.

As a matter of fact this attitude towards Animism promotes the work of the Moslem agitator. The fight against the Animistic religion of the natives, which Christian Missionaries enter upon all along the line, Islam does not attempt. How it must help the heathen's conversion to discover his beloved spirit worship, for instance, in the new religion. No renunciation is required of him in this connection. One may be an out and out Moslem and yet continue a slave to Animistic customs undisturbed.

Polytheism, namely the plurality of gods, not the plurality of Divine beings (cf. the plurality of mediators with God), Islam has outwardly done away with, but that had little hold upon the heathen. Animism had to be allowed to remain ; it is the essential thing which the heathen will not give up at any cost.

If Islam had claimed to come among these peoples, which live and move in the belief in spirits, to abolish the worship of spirits as something sinful, the common people would have rejected the new religion. Among a people which has grown up in the rank, phantastic maze of Animism, the cold Islam of the Koran could take no root, much less dominate its spiritual life. For the heathen, for whom everything whatsoever is animate, around whom there flit night and day spirits and deities, nymphs, elves and ghosts, for the heathen to suddenly empty this world of its content and believe the teacher's word that somewhere there is a terrible God, far, far away in the upper world, far beyond the starry vault of heaven ! Such a thing is inconceivable !

Its Animistic elements have prepared Islam's way to the heart of the nations. That is the reason the wonder workers go on ahead ; they meet with an eager reception everywhere and penetrate far into the interior decades before any really systematic agitation is set on foot. They are Islam's skirmishers.

Instinctively the heathen realizes that Animism required Islam. The new age had torn many a shred from the texture of the old religion. The ancestral hall was found to be tumbling in. Islam appeared as a saviour of the situation, under its mighty pinions a good deal of the ancestral religion could live on unmolested.

To survive the new age, Animism has had to be remodelled, to even appear at all before the world. For contact with the Colonial Government means contact with the world. The old Animism was only serviceable within the bounds of one's own nationality. Moslem Animism has stripped off its local, national limitations,

it has gained world potentiality. In its new elegant dress it can take its place in society without fear of ridicule. Animism on the other hand has helped the Moslem convert to understand the difficult new doctrine and polished the rough edges which might have kept the heathen at a distance.

In the first instance the doctrine of God is only grasped by the common people in so far as it fits into the framework of their previous conceptions. And so it is in every other respect. In so far as Islam offers the heathen something essentially akin to Animism, the new doctrine becomes the spiritual possession of the heathen Mohammedan. Once safely entrenched, the new doctrine then gains ground step by step in his inner experience.

Thus the magic which fuses with Animism serves as the bridge between Islam and heathenism, between the old and the new age. It carries the heathen back on the track along which his thought and sentiment has glided from childhood. Much of the form of the new religion may certainly be strange to him, e.g., the numerous Arabic words, but the thing in itself is familiar. What is magic and wonderful is actually much more convincing to the native than a chain of reasoning. For the former corresponds to his usual manner of arguing, the latter demands a process of thought to which he is unaccustomed.

Let us make this point clear as regards the Koran. The heathen finds it difficult to understand the logical Moslem dogma that the Koran proceeds from God as an eternal, uncreated book. But it is at once obvious to him that the book should only be held wrapped in cloths, that the teacher should prophesy out of it, place it on his head when he takes an oath and use all kinds of formulas out of it as exorcism. Because from the Animistic point of view the book has great value, for that reason it carries weight with him. Thus the teacher, as one who knows Moslem doctrine, may be indifferent

to him, but as one possessed of supernatural powers he understands and appreciates him. Just as a child is gradually led on from what it knows to what it does not know, so also is it with the young Mohammedan.

CHAPTER VI

GOD'S REPRESENTATIVES

THE unapproachableness of God leaves the Animist unsatisfied, the crude reality breaks in upon his soul through the stern idea of fate : we understand how the Heathen-Mohammedan—strictly speaking illogically—comes to seek after mediators.

In heathenism there seem to be no mediators with God. The old Animist does concern himself with his soul's protection, he makes a cult of it, he seeks to appease his spirits ; but he is not concerned with establishing communion with God. Nevertheless the idea of mediation is not entirely absent. The priestess of the Toradja in Celebes makes her soul rise up to God to find out which spirit has taken the sick person's soul prisoner. The Singamangaradja also, the religious head of the Batak people, is another such mediator.

There are also mediators between the spirits and men in heathenism. Just as indeed one deals with a formidable prince if possible not directly, but through some third person, standing perhaps in blood relationship to the princely throne.

The idea of mediators thus proceeds from the ordinary man's disinclination to hold direct intercourse with higher powers. This dread is concentrated under the influence of Islam upon the one Supreme Being, God ; hence the search for mediators between God and man. Where, as in Java, God is conceived of as the leader of the spirit host, spirits are looked upon as mediators.

This was natural, from of old men have been on the most intimate terms with spirits. As the prophets are gradually replacing the spirits of the ancestors in the Moslem consciousness, the office of mediator is also being gradually transferred to them.

The belief in the prophets.—The most important step for Islam is to secure the position of the Prophet Mohammed. Among the Moslem common people, and indeed even among their heathen neighbours, Mohammed has really become a heroic figure. This would not have been the case if the people's mind had been focussed upon the historical figure of the Prophet Mohammed, for his historical career offers nothing attractive to the heathen. Hence the historical figure of the Prophet is of no account in Islam as we find it in the Dutch East Indies. This problem, so fascinating to European scholars, does not interest the Indonesians. The problem is therefore solved as to how a person such as Mohammed could inspire whole peoples through long centuries; it was not the figure of the historical prophet which attracted the people, but the image pictured by the scintillating, unbridled fancy of Moslem theologians down through the centuries.

Occasionally the question is raised as to whether Mohammed was a sinful man. To one's astonishment, Moslems will answer in the affirmative, without however being able to say wherein his sin consisted. This corresponds to Mohammed's own idea about himself, but not to the doctrine of the theologians. Mohammed did not consider himself infallible. He once said, when he had departed from the usual form of ritual: "I am only a man like yourselves, I may also err." But this was no longer granted in the subsequent system, his infallibility became a fixed dogma.

Mohammed's sinfulness may possibly be granted in order that they may not fall into the Christian error of introducing a second Divine figure side by side with God. For obviously it is an attempt to hide a glaring

contradiction in terms : the tendency on the one hand to set Mohammed in a place of authority at the right hand of God as a supramundane, semi-divine figure, and the fear on the other hand of falling into the errors of Christianity and becoming polytheistic. The common people know no such fear ; untroubled by their teachers' theological scruples, the popular imagination adorns the Prophet's image with the emblems of Divinity.

Tradition has embellished his life with more and more marvels, devising at last the doctrine of his pre-existence, or as Pfleiderer says " theories which border upon personal pre-existence." In the Indonesian consciousness Mohammed is a demi-god. This is evident from the very story of his birth which is in circulation.

Like Jesus he was conceived by the Spirit of God. According to the esoteric, secret doctrine, he was the son of Sitimariam (Mary) who lived in Mecca. Since, however, this doctrine might arouse the suspicion that God had a wife, the people are taught esoterically that he was not born but suddenly seen in Mecca. Of course this story is a clumsy imitation of the New Testament story of the Birth of Jesus.

The Indonesian and we understand something quite different by a " prophet." Prophets to him are men who have received not only a special revelation from God which they make known to the people, they are also mediators sent from God. They have been sent at different periods of human history ; they were to bring to God those who in their day were looking for the coming of the next prophet. There are six Prophets : Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed. With the coming of Jesus, the age of Moses passed away and similarly that of Jesus with the coming of Mohammed.

Mohammed is the greatest of all the prophets, he is the consummation, the last of the prophets. He was sent by God into the world to purify the teaching of the five other prophets. Every prophet received a revela-

tion of law, but because this had been debased, Mohammed came. He is greater than Jesus; Jesus, after him, is the greatest of the prophets. In so far as Mohammed is really superior to him, the sublimity of Mohammed is fully established.

They accept the miraculous Birth of Jesus. Isa was also born by the decree of God, which is the spirit of God, they say. Many also know that Sitimariam (Mary) was His mother, they even hold His Virgin Birth. For that reason nothing derogatory to Jesus may be uttered, no abusive remark may be passed on the story of His Birth. Although of course such may be heard among the common people.

Most of them know nothing about His life. Concerning His Death, the story goes that the Jews did not crucify Jesus Himself, but another Jew in His stead. At the moment when the Jews were about to crucify Jesus, He assumed the form of one of His disciples and let one of His disciples assume His form. The disciple was thereupon crucified in His stead. Jesus, however, flew away to the fourth heaven. Before His departure, He said, however, that a prophet should come in His stead, the last prophet who would really bring men to God, that is Mohammed. He Himself thereby announced that Mohammed would finish His unsuccessful work. The fact that this prophecy is not found in the New Testament is one of the proofs that the Christian New Testament is a corrupt text, say the Mohammedans. Strictly speaking, however, according to this legend, which has been built up from heretical Christian sources, Jesus is a coward, who Himself flies and leaves His disciples to suffer on His behalf.

Mohammed plays an important rôle at the Last Day, so it is taken for granted that he is still alive. He is a transcendental figure, a metaphysical being. Together with the angels, he is thought of as in the presence of God. All kinds of details are known about his supramundane existence. In heaven Mohammed reveals his

superiority to Jesus. He is the great wonder-worker, and Jesus is inferior to him. The Bataks have the following story : " One day Mohammed and Jesus presented themselves for trial before all the angels of God. The question was which of them could hide from the other. Jesus hid Himself in the Seventh Heaven, but Mohammed found Him ; then Jesus hid Himself in hell, but there also Mohammed found Him. Then it was Mohammed's turn ; he hid himself in the pupil of Jesus' eye. Seven days and nights did Jesus search without finding Mohammed. Then Jesus solemnly declared before God and the angels that Mohammed was really greater than He, and surrendered all His disciples to Mohammed."

Mohammed stands even now especially near to God. Every Friday he communes with God. He appears to the higher teachers. He lies buried, it is true, in Medina ; but every Friday he goes to Mecca to worship, and there the saints can see him. At other times also he manifests himself, e.g., for twelve nights during the fast ; the form of everything that exists is then changed seven times at the vision of his glory ; but only the teachers see this.

In this way Mohammed is given his due place among the people : he is the mediator of the other world. As such the individual believer also enters into communion with him ; primarily those who know the spells for occult powers. For Mohammed is the dispenser of Divine, supernatural powers of which he possesses an especial measure. He is, therefore, invoked by those who are " possessed of supernatural powers." The worship of Mohammed has reached its highest limit in the Dutch East Indies.

Mohammed is pre-existent. People say, for example, that Adam is the oldest, but he is to be reckoned as the youngest ; Mohammed is the youngest, but he is to be reckoned as the oldest. That means that Adam only proceeded from Mohammed, that is to say, his pre-existent luminous self, before the Creation of the world.

In Java the story goes that Gabriel and Mohammed's daughter, Fatima, once discussed their respective ages. The angel Gabriel said he was the elder, but Mohammed informed him that he was the star which Gabriel saw in the sky when he came into being. "I had not yet come down to earth."

The purpose of mystical exercises is also to bring one into communion with Mohammed. He appears to believers in the visions they conjure up in their imagination.

The angels are often confused with the prophets. Sorcerers are especially fond of claiming their intervention, although the Koran forbids it.

The Animist does not know what to make of these figures; but because "the five pillars" of the Moslem faith include the belief in angels, they have also been included among the mediators between God and men. The spirits which do evil to mankind have gained a hold upon the popular mind. Their chief is called Sibolis (iblis = devil). He was originally subject to God, Who offered him all kinds of principalities, but he refused them. In wrath God seized him and cast him down upon the earth. Iblis determined to make himself its lord. On his way through the world, he saw devout Mohammedans praying. This enraged him; he called them to account, destroyed their place of prayer and slew those men. The devil has also a companion. With him he has agreed to torment mankind, the one visiting them from without with bodily suffering, the other tormenting them from within in their souls. Other evil spirits, called "Satans," are dreaded as bringing disease. The "djin" appear to man in the forest as ghosts; they tower up to heaven from the earth. "Kramat" is the name given to the burial places of saintly Mohammedans, just as the burial places of great chiefs and sorcerers used to be called "Lombaon."

The belief in the saints is not one of the orthodox articles of the faith, and yet it is widely current in Islam.

Once the dam of the unity of God is broken, all control is gone. The more Mohammed has become deified, the greater has grown the need for other mediators. The craving for mediators arises from the desire to bring the Divine near to oneself in human form, to be visibly assured of its nearness. As the number of the prophets immeasurably rose to 124,000, the way was prepared for the worship of the saints. The threatened discontinuance of old-time heathen festivals has often been averted by calling them by the name of some saint. This is the beginning of the worship of the saints so universal in older Mohammedan lands.

In the Dutch East Indies, Moslem saints, like the old tribal ancestors, have a white buffalo sacrificed to them ; people also swear by them. This oath is more binding than swearing by Allah, the idea being that God can only punish a man after the Resurrection, whereas the curse of the saints takes effect even in this life. Many villages have their village saints, and indeed many families their family saints. Pilgrimages are made to the graves of ancient Javanese princes, who according to cunningly devised legends, are said to have introduced Islam into the country.

After their death saints intercede with Allah. But that does not suffice. What is the use of a dead saint ? Are not living ones better ? Animism has laid the trail : the sorcerers used to be initiated into the secrets of the spirit world. Their title, the Sanscrit word "guru," is also applied to the new Mohammedan teachers. So that when a heathen-Mohammedan hears of a "guru," he knows that he has to deal with a man who stands in a peculiar relation to the new deity about which he teaches men, namely Allah. The teacher is quick to foster the impression in the popular mind ; the teachers are accounted Allah's representatives.

Thus the long line of God's representatives at last brings us to the lowest, and yet most important class of living men,

On realizing how inferior is the education of the Moslem teachers in many Indonesian districts, how meagre are their moral qualifications, how great, for example, their avarice is, one might gain the impression that these men would have but little influence upon the people. But the people follow them blindly, the teachers are the unrivalled leaders of the people.

This is primarily due to their social position. For the most part they are members of well known noble families in the country. The Colonial Government introduced statute labour; chiefs, ministers of religion, and certain others, were exempt from it. This attracted young men of the best families to the teaching profession. They at once strengthened the party which was blindly devoted to the chief. For if they fell out with the chief, they easily lost their position as village priests, and therewith the above-mentioned privilege. So they took care to be always at the chief's command.

In earlier days such scions of the princely houses were the colonists of the country; they were separated from the head village with a couple of poor families and founded new communities. The Colonial Government forbade these divisions as far as possible, in order to consolidate the villages and to have as few chiefs as possible to deal with. What was to become of the better class young men? Must they turn to the low statute labour demanded by the Government upon the public roads? They would then lose their prestige as sons of the ruling families. Islam opened a glowing career to them, they could become teachers.

Clever chiefs were prudent in the choice of their teachers. They did not take much account of the manner of life or even of the religious character of the candidates; they only considered whether the future teachers would become willing tools, not only agreeable to all the chief's devious plans, but also likely to promote them by their priestly authority. If a teacher succeeds in securing an assured position among the

people, the tractable tool may further become a dangerous intriguer, who will gradually steal the heart of a chief's people away from him. There are chieftainships whose princes are only so in name ; in reality the teacher is ruler with his group of followers. The higher teachers know well how to serve their own interests in this game of intrigue. To-day they are on one side, to-morrow on the other. They keep their aim steadily in view, namely the maintenance of their own prestige, which is guaranteed only by the regular sum of their receipts. The teacher has not merely a good position from the outset, he not only enjoys the same rank as the chiefs, but there is also a powerful bond between the teaching order and the body of the chiefs which has been of importance to both parties. There has been mutual assistance ; they have been able to mutually protect themselves against the attempts of the people to have a say in the government of the country. Many teachers become the indispensable advisers of the princes.

In this way ideas hostile to the Europeans percolate to the hearts of the chiefs ; the Arabian and Pan-Moslem spirit very quietly and without arousing attention maintains its footing in the politics of the chiefs. Of course outwardly they are prudent and subservient ; it is all only instruction, but the teachers introduce an evil tyranny into the country. The ordinary man does not like to fall out with the teacher ; he would then have the prince also against him. Nor does he dare to resist the injustice of a weak prince, or he would have the whole body of teachers about his ears. Islam thus lays a new bondage politically upon the people.

Unmoved by the anger of his European fare, the drosky driver dismounts from his box when he meets these holy men ; because he knows that lack of reverence for a sheik ruins his temporal and eternal happiness. In Java they are worshipped as demi-gods. Many people look upon them as their god. For they are Allah's friends and work miracles before one's very

eyes : their curse brings misery, their blessing happiness. They are the protectors of the faithful and admit them to Paradise. They know the hearts of all men. Supernatural knowledge of the thoughts of others is the proof of their acceptance with God.

They are representatives of God. This is demonstrated to the heathen by the fact that everything comes to the teacher's hand without any labour on his part, simply, "in answer to his prayer to God." The teacher's wealth is made the test of the truth of the Mohammedan religion for the heathen. The heathen have the prospect of one day also receiving similar tokens of respect and similar gifts as do these teachers. The heathen say : "Once given the title of Baleo or Kulipa or Malim or Lobe, one has an upper seat at feasts and receives a present."

The teachers are given the position of the old sorcerers. From the Animistic point of view the chief or the sorcerer is so much feared because the supernatural powers with which he is endowed give him power over the souls of men ; indeed the chief is actually called God's representative. The functions of the old sorcerers pass to the Mohammedan teachers and the respect entertained by the common people for the old uncanny priests is transferred to their successors. The old time charms, the spells for disease, the exorcism of evil spirits, the discovery of what has been lost, the selection of lucky days—all this is taken over by the Mohammedan teachers. The people say that if only one can read the Koran aright, one acquires the magic powers (*ilmu*) which reside in the Koran. The power to make people ill by prayer is much sought after. Then no one will dare to treat one with presumption. The teacher gives everything a Mohammedan colouring. He says "Bismilla" (in the Name of God), a spell which the old sorcerer did not know. He sells amulets and Koran texts carved in stone to serve as protection against illness. He can interpret dreams and prophecies. A small

measure of success in this direction has a favourable effect upon the number of his disciples. The teachers foretell earthquakes and epidemics. If their prophecies are not fulfilled, they say: "Allah has had mercy upon the faithful and once more postponed the calamity that you may have time to repent."

They are the chief exponents of the magic arts among the people. They furnish them with excellent methods for imposing upon the common people, and duly fleecing the terrified faithful. On the other hand, little store is set by their instruction. They are more esteemed as sorcerers than as teachers. Their instruction is of a purely religious character.

In the Batak country the teacher gathers the young men around him to teach them the creed, the daily prayers and the appointed prostrations. Many youths rest content with that. Others, who wish to learn more, go to some higher teacher, in which case they generally find a lodging in his vicinity. During the daytime they till their teacher's fields, look after his shop, or help him at his tailoring; they also accompany him up and down the country when he goes peddling through the villages. In return they receive their food, sometimes also a little clothing and, above all, instruction of an evening. They learn the Arabic character and how to read the Koran. This instruction is extremely mechanical. Passages from the Koran are learnt by heart in Arabic, which they do not in the least understand, the point being not to understand but merely to correctly recite the Arabic sounds; hence hearing and memory alone are trained. Since the Batak tongue finds the Arabic words unpronounceable, the pronunciation is altered according to Batak sound laws (f becomes p; ch becomes h, etc.). How much the Mohammedans make of this reading of the Koran may be seen from the fact that Koran reciters journey from Egypt as far as Achin to give paid lessons in reading the Koran.

Education stops here for the most part. A few who

have enough money to learn more go to some other teacher with the reputation of knowing a great deal. He in no way welcomes them; rather he assures the would-be student over and over again that his wisdom is secret lore (*batin*); i.e., the student must pay him a heavy retaining fee.

The outcome of such teaching as this is naturally small. The pupils can repeat like parrots, without understanding a word of what they are saying, what was once revealed by the Prophet, and at best they can intone the stated prayers correctly.

The numerous schools and courses carried on by the Mohammedan teachers offer no secular instruction whatever. It is a fundamental Mohammedan idea that sacred learning alone is of value in the sight of God. Nevertheless, the influence of the teachers upon the life of the people should not be underestimated. Doubtless Batak Mohammedanism has as yet no native Mohammedan theologians; but neither has it needed them. It does, however, possess in plenty the spiritual leaders needed for the simple conditions of the country and scholars too who in time will promote Moslem learning, if not in their own land, at all events at Mecca; for all the pilgrims in the country have passed through the school of the Mecca professors, and they are the ones who in their turn communicate the lore and wisdom of Mecca to the common people, little as they themselves as yet understand it. Islam has the teaching order alone to thank for the maintenance of its religious life. The Mohammedan teachers are popular and respected; they do not live apart from the people. As rice farmers or merchants, they are part and parcel of the community. Hence they also know the people thoroughly. There is no hierarchy in the country, and yet the people takes directions from the teachers. They alone know at least a few Arabic prayers. At a minimum though it be, this knowledge of the sacred language, in which alone one may commune with God, makes the teachers in-

dispensable to the people. Without them no one can live out his religion. The teachers alone know the right hours for prayer, or how sanctuaries, mosques, etc., are to be built. They are perpetually a living reminder to the people of its religious obligations. Their mere existence reassures the people when they are afraid lest God should neglect them. It is something to have one even in the most remote village who bears the burden of responsibility towards God, and who sees that everything is ordered according to His will; the teacher knows enough prayers in case of need to get one's sins forgiven by God.

The teaching profession adapts itself to the needs of the people. This has at all events the merit of not laying burdens upon the people too heavy for them to bear. It is to Islam's advantage that the community need have no anxiety as to the finding of the teacher's salary. The teacher lives by the work of his own hands. He is no apparent burden to the community, because the contribution he requires does not strike the people as in any way remarkable. The teacher only receives what used to be given to the sorcerer. The latter had also to be given heavy fees for reading lessons; as a matter of course the Moslem teacher asks fees for his lessons in reading the Koran.

The teachers' position as mediators lowers the popular conception of God. God is approached as one would approach a dreaded ruler through mediators, and it is a matter of no surprise that God gives answer through mediators. In intercourse with God man employs the prophets, the saints and the teachers, and God does the same. The gift of magic is the credential of a mediator with God, without which he would not be believed.

Of course, this does not make the slavish relation in which man stands to God one whit better. On the contrary, having found a refuge other than God, man withdraws from God. He depends upon visible mediators. The indolent character of the native, who does not mind

being in leading strings, makes him more and more a prey to mediators and to the teachers in particular. Moreover, God panders to this tendency. A prince purposely employs go-betweens in order to keep his subjects in their proper place. God only defines the more clearly by means of mediators in holy things the gulf between Himself and the profanum vulgus. Hence neither on God's nor on man's part do mediators bring about a closer relationship ; on the contrary, they hinder it.

The two ideas which contorted the Animist's conception of God are thus reproduced in Islam. In the first place, the cloud of heathen spirits hovering before the throne of God, which prevented union with God, appears in another form in the person of mediators. In heathenism spirits, in Islam saints and prophets—the result is the same. God is overshadowed. But secondly, the heathen split up the unity of God into a plurality of functions and relegated each function to one special deity. That is the polytheistic tendency of heathenism which has disintegrated the conception of God in the Animist mind. In Islam, which we have regarded as so monotheistic, a multitude of mediators depreciates the unity of God and destroys the essence of the monotheistic belief in God. Islam has succumbed to the danger of man's remaining dependent on the mediator instead of being led by that mediator to God. Instead of the monotheistic formula, the polytheistic tendency so deeply embedded in the human heart comes out at every turn. Human beings are deified, the faithful know to whom, besides God, they can cling. That is polytheism. It appears in deceptive Moslem guise, it is true, but as the worship of human beings gains ground, the worship of God decreases. The more strenuous the faithful imagine the rivalry between God and His saints, the further does God withdraw into the background. The idea of God is influenced by the idea of mediators, belief in God receives its death blow in the belief in mediators.

God is driven further and further out of this life into the Hereafter. For in this life God gives place to His representatives.

Only in the life to come does one really have to deal with God. And in the meantime this world is still there. The desire to have more of God than Islam gives does not die. The desire for God, of which of course Islam has much to say, is for God in some visible form. This might have been attained by image worship, but Islam emphatically rejects the worship of images, and the heathen has no craving for it. Instead of dead images, Islam offers living men or the spiritual figures of departed prophets. They are intended to bring God to the people in tangible form. Their activity is the activity of God, their blessing the blessing of God, their curse the curse of God, in them one perceives God. They are the interpretation of inexplicable dogma, the exegesis of the dead Koran. What they speak, command, do and perform—that is the activity of God. The common people's belief in mediators is their protest against the dogma of the schools. For the common people are not in the position to produce other doctrines in rivalry to those of the schools. They protest by their usages, e.g., by magic and by their popular beliefs.

Even the heathen Batak is too intelligent to rest content with what he does not in the least understand. Islam's utter inability to bring God nearer to man in divine form, i.e., in such a way that His deity is not violated, drives the Animist to bring God near to himself in human form in some other way. Human beings, whom one can understand, and spirits, who correspond to the Animist's conception of things, are associated with God.

The worship of mediators rests upon the twofold endeavour to fly from the unapproachable God and to enter into communion with God. This is strange. Are not these two motives divergent? Under the sense of its guilt, the child is afraid to face its stern father;

but a secret longing for intercourse with the one to whom it owes its being urges it to seek his presence. Are there no other ways of entering into communion with God? Perhaps on God's side—has He not given that wonderful book? Or on man's side by some mysterious method? Of these two experiments we have yet to speak: the book of God, the Koran, and "the way of God," mysticism.

CHAPTER VII

THE BOOK OF GOD

NOTHING we have said thus far has made up for the deficiencies in the Heathen-Mohammedan's conception of God. After, as before his turning to Islam his relation to God is unsatisfying. We turn hopefully to the Koran. Many Europeans obtain their information and upon it frame their judgment concerning Islam from the Koran alone. Doubtless the thought world of the Koran plays a great rôle in the intellectual life of every Mohammedan people. Those who know assure us that the literature of every Mohammedan people is suffused with Koran thought. What part does the Koran play in the religious life of the Indonesian ?

We have just seen that the place occupied by Mohammed in the Koran is quite different from that which he occupies in the popular consciousness. The theology of the later Mohammedan theologians and tradition have always exercised a much stronger influence upon the religious conceptions of Mohammedans than the Koran, because its contents are unknown to the leaders of the people, to say nothing of the common people themselves. Only in the rarest cases do even those who study at Mecca attain to the study of the Koran. Hence there is no question of the Koran's revealing God to men or even of its establishing communion between God and men. The Koran is the Book of God, not the Word of God. Just as God created the heavens and the sun, so also He created the Koran. Or rather, according

to the orthodox dogma, the Koran is uncreated, it is eternal. Mohammed only received a copy of the heavenly original.

The Koran is certainly read. Going through the villages of an evening, we find people everywhere reading the Koran aloud in a loud, drawling voice. If we question one of these devout souls a little, we find that he understands nothing of what he is reading. We should not, however, especially blame the Batak for this, it is the same throughout Islam.

Even Mohammedans whose mother-tongue is Arabic only understand the contents of the Koran after prolonged persevering study. When we try and read a book in Old High German without having studied Germanic philology, we are as much puzzled as the Mohammedan trying to read his Koran. To nations which do not speak Arabic, it is an utterly closed book. But few attempt the study. Nor does the knowledge of the Koran serve any purpose without the study of its copious commentaries, by the aid of which alone the correct text is laboriously deciphered.

No wonder then that the Indonesian understands nothing of what he reads, nor the charms and prayers he learns by heart. Their wording is corrupt, the explanation the teacher has given him is inaccurate and becomes more and more distorted by oral transmission. It would be a simple matter to improve this bad condition of things by means of a translation, but all such translations are abhorrent to the Mohammedan.

Translations of the Koran do as a matter of fact, exist, some of them with an interlinear text, e.g., in Javanese; but they are much too costly for the common people. Nor are translations exactly forbidden. Dr. Matteo discovered a MS. copy of the Koran with an interlinear translation, or rather a paraphrase, in the Macassar dialect (Celebes).

Indifferent as the Mohammedan may be to the understanding of the Koran, the correct traditional recitation

of the text is extremely important in his eyes. This peculiar psalmody the Mohammedan loves above all things. Our musical Indonesians practise the art assiduously. The Koran is, therefore, only prized from the point of view of form. Not the understanding of the contents, but their delivery in perfect form is the great thing.

Nevertheless, the Koran is of great significance in the religious life of the Heathen-Mohammedan. The Koran claims to be God's revelation. That is a new idea to the heathen. This book and those who possess it can therefore lay claim to absolute authority. That there should be such a thing at all as divine authority is already in itself a step in advance of heathenism. Hence the Koran is treated with the same universal respect among our people as elsewhere in Islam. It is infallible. Every teacher takes his oath upon it. The Mohammedans believe that the Koran is a copy of a heavenly original, revealed by an angel in the sacred month Ramazan. Hence the Koran is unalterable ; not merely the words, but the very recitation of them rests upon inspiration. The doctors explain away contradictions by clever interpretation or by saying God's will has changed.

The Mohammedan propagandist knows his heathen fellow country-man. He will not be drawn into any sort of discussion about the faith ; taking his stand upon the Koran, he claims absolute authority for every word he utters. The heathen, devoid of support or stay, yearns for authority ; his authority hitherto has been the traditional dictum and custom of his forefathers. But he has never dared to enforce them with such assurance as the Mohammedan. Only the vague fear of every possible calamity has made him obey their authority for want of a better. Custom has controlled his action, not any conviction based upon personal experience ; his belief is that of his people, his authority the wavering opinion of the crowd, the purchasable word of the priest,

the self-seeking decision of the chief, accommodating tradition ever pliable in the hand of the clever sorcerer. Nowhere does heathenism offer settled points of view. How firm is the Mohammedan in comparison! He boldly attacks heathen tradition, holds it up to ridicule with impunity, transgresses unabashed all the sacred injunctions of the fathers. That raises the question of authority for the heathen. He has never thought of pressing his conviction upon another, the Mohammedan does so all the time. What gives him the right and power to do so? The Mohammedan answers without hesitation: "The Book of God, the Koran!"

The Mohammedan appears with the Koran in his hand, a Divine book. The heathen yields the book itself superstitious reverence, he lives under the delusion that what is written must be true. Because in contracts, for instance, the written word prevents the wording of an agreement being altered. The written word is above human caprice. Hence his faith in the book. It does not matter that he has perhaps never seen the book, or if he does see it, that he cannot read it. Even when explained to him, he does not understand its contents. On the contrary, it only increases the halo of sanctity attached to the book. Its mysteriousness attests its Divine origin; because for the heathen the essence of Divinity is the mysterious, that which is beyond human ken. The written record thus enforces the authority of the new teacher. Any one who appears with such power, with an appeal to such a mysterious book, must surely stand in some peculiarly close relationship to things supernatural.

The Koran contains the absolute rule not only for religion, but also for one's entire earthly life. So-called Mohammedan law is based upon the Koran. Everywhere in Islam the affairs of everyday life are, if possible, brought into harmony with the Koran—so great is its authority. This makes a profound impression upon the heathen. This one book is the sacred book for all

peoples. This book thus lifts Islam not merely out of the uncertainty of human tradition on to the firm ground of the written word, but also out of the narrow limits of national tradition into the world-wide expanse of a unity embracing all nations. The law of the Koran is valid *urbi et orbi*. A person may have but immature ideas concerning the nations and the world; but the Koran gives him the very first inkling at all of a unity of mankind and nations which must bow to one law and one Divine will. That *one* God rules the world, has created the whole world and is everywhere present are logical conclusions which the heathen has never deduced from his belief in God. Such ideas now break upon the heathen soul. The Koran, of which he is quite ignorant, whose religious contents, literary merit or demerit, historicity and chronology do not in the least interest the native, have called forth these ideas. One God, one book, one language for all nations, such are the mighty conceptions which gradually take shape in the Heathen-Mohammedan consciousness. The nationalism of his religion prepares to give way to universalism. An important spiritual and religious development seems at hand.

Nevertheless, the Koran again loses this place of eminence. Animism, still unconquered, reasserts itself and drags the Koran down into the sphere of heathenism. Once more Islam finds itself confronted with the same difficulties in which it is continually involved by its syncretism. The door can never be bolted against Animism, otherwise the common people cannot be expected to accept the Koran, the idea being too remote from the heathen mind that the Koran is the gift of God to the world, the revelation of Himself to the world. The unpalatable book must be smeared with the sweet honey of Animistic thought before the crowd will be tempted to touch it. To an extraordinary degree Islam has succeeded in popularizing its sacred book. Even the heathen talk of it. On the other hand, this popularity

is dearly bought : the sacred book becomes a book of magic. The recitation of it takes the place of heathen incantations. Even the mere volume is treated as a charm. Thus neither the Koran nor any religious tract written about it may be held in the bare hand, one's hand must be wrapped in a cloth.

Again, therefore, the Animist cleaves to the external gift. In the gift he forgets the Giver. The idea of revelation does make a certain impression upon him, but because he is not taught the contents of that revelation, even if the Koran contained one, and only appreciates revelation from the Animistic, magical point of view, the mere book does not draw his soul into any relationship with God. Otherwise, although not understood, the Koran might be said to have a certain significance for his conception of God : God comes forth from the dark background to which He is relegated by the heathen. In giving the Koran to the world, surely He has done something for humanity. On the contrary, the Koran destroys communion with God. Being itself dead and incomprehensible and at the same time God's word, it makes God also dead and incomprehensible. God comes no nearer to man, His book is to all intents and purposes dumb. And if He does speak, He only lets Himself be heard in all holy reserve in the one sublime, but foreign tongue, Arabic. God does not condescend to speak to man in his miserable language, his mother tongue though it be ; to understand His princely tongue one must take the trouble to learn it ! The gift of the Koran manifests neither love on God's part, nor interest in man. Despite the Koran, God remains as much a stranger to man as He ever was. Nor does man gain any intimacy with God by means of the Koran. He cleaves to the external. The Koran takes man by the arm and leads him back again away from God into gloomy sorcery. Every one who fails to cut the last thread of the net of Animism becomes more and more entangled in its meshes.

The Koran has one remaining virtue. It delivers man from uncertainty about God. It gives him the firm foundation of a fixed and written word. But that is a delusion. The Koran in reality only increases his uncertainty about God. It is true that it is cited at every turn. Allusions are made to chapter and verse of the Koran in support of one's every opinion. For such a quotation has the effect of "Roma locuta, causa finita!" These quotations do not really come from the Koran, at least only in the rarest cases; they come from the so-called Kita-books, i.e., certain Malay religious tracts on which many teachers base their instruction.

Hence fresh uncertainty arises, and when a native quotes the Koran, it is not clear what he means. He is often only citing some passage from a religious tract, which he remembers having heard some teacher mention.

The idea of God only becomes more and more confused by the use of the Koran and these Malay scriptures. The contents of many of these writings is immoral. They obscure the presentation of God; because the revelation of God is ascribed to them all without discrimination. The Koran is the plaything of the selfish teacher. Capital is made out of the native's very ignorance and his complete uncertainty concerning God. Many an one wants to be relieved of his vagueness about God by his teacher's Koran lessons. In the hands of the teachers, however, the charter of revelation is changed into a cloak with which he intentionally covers God's countenance. Only by express desire and for a large sum of money is the veil raised a little. God remains unknown and is apprehended, not in spite of, but actually because of the Koran.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HEREAFTER

NOT for the sake of God does the Animist give up his ancestral religion and become a Mohammedan. His question rather is, for he is grossly egotistical: "What will become of me if I turn Mohammedan?" The answer is not: "You will gain God, if you accept Islam," but: "You will gain Paradise." No heathen has any idea what that means. The word "surgo" (Paradise) is something quite new; but it is not long before this word completely possesses the soul of the erstwhile heathen. "Surgo" has become one of the most popular words.

The life hereafter passes through seven phases: death, burial, the intermediate state, resurrection, judgment, hell and paradise.

Death.—The term of man's existence is fixed once and for all. God makes a written covenant with the pre-existent soul. This exactly determines man's destiny and the hour of his death. When this covenant ceases an angel sends a messenger of death¹ to fetch the already sick man. He says to him: "You have received what you once asked, so now I take away your life." By way of the ear or the large fontanel, the death angel then takes away the life, but not the soul; the latter remains for the time being in the body. It is called "the inner man."

¹ "Marangkal maut," the two death angels Harut and Marut. (Cf. Koran II. 96.) These figures may perhaps be of Talmudic origin.

Burial.—No dead man can be buried before the teacher arrives. The corpse is washed twice. Then some white cloth is brought, the teacher cuts out and sews the shroud and says some prayers in Arabic. Then the body is carried to the grave. Any one who does not wash the body properly is arraigned in heaven by the angel (the death angel) and the dead man. If those left behind can by any means afford it, the shroud must be long enough to wrap the body round seven times. Even among the poor the garment must be wrapped round at least three times. The shroud is “his wings to the other world.” The garment is sprinkled with sweet-smelling oils. At the grave the teacher attaches a prayer of protection, written on a piece of paper, to the corpse and conducts a service. All who take part in it receive some money. In the evening there is a solemn funeral feast.

This funeral feast (kanduri) is often repeated seven evenings in succession, the poor are content with three evenings. As they leave the teachers receive gifts on behalf of the dead. The four things required by Mohammedan law are thus fulfilled: (1) the washing of the corpse; (2) the enswathing of the dead; (3) worship; (4) burial. Even in the Batak country these funeral customs are scrupulously observed. Coffins are not universal, only the upper classes are provided with beautiful coffins according to national custom.

Only when these ordinances have been duly observed does the dead man find rest in the grave and enter the other world. However carelessly other ritual may be performed, as soon as the eschatological motive comes into play, everything is thoroughly done. The eschatological hope takes first place in a man's interest.

The Intermediate State.—Troops of demons arrive as soon as the grave is closed, and to protect himself against them, the dead man must be ready with the creed and certain prayers. For this reason the name of Allah and the creed are repeated over and over again

round the dying man. The corpse is laid on its side in the grave facing west towards Mecca, in a cavity hollowed out of the side of the grave. As soon as the grave is closed, the dead man wants to rise and escape from it. The teachers sustain the dead in the ordeals that come upon them ; but as soon as they have returned to the village, the Satanic visitation is renewed. With the noise of thunder the death angel¹ approaches with his iron sceptre as large as a palm tree and shouts in a voice of thunder : “ Man, who is thy God ? ” The unbeliever, stricken dumb with terror, is then visited with terrible judgment ; but he cannot die however terrible his torment. The angel leaves him, but his torment continues until the Judgment Day ; a thousand years are as one day to him ; bitter remorse comes upon him when he sees devout Moslems upon the earth ; he is not yet actually in hell, but it awaits him. The believer on the other hand finds rest after the first seven days, and the teachers invited to his funeral feast succour him by their prayers. The wicked angel also attacks the believer, but he hurls prayer formulas against him and the Evil One flies in all haste. Then the dead man settles himself comfortably in the grave. He receives a lamp and everything else he requires, but at heart he is full of joy at the prospect of the heaven which awaits him. Every Friday all torment ceases ; because on that day believers and unbelievers meet together in a special place to keep Friday ; when Friday is past, they return once more to their graves.

The Resurrection.—Ordeals more and more terrible come upon the departed in the grave. Frightful experiences precede the Last Judgment. The conflict with the Antichrist, for instance. Then the earth passes away. The sea swallows up the mountains, the new earth is spread out evenly like a mat. Men grow out of the graves upon it like mushrooms with white heads.

¹ Mankar and Nakir, really two angels, are regarded as one person by the Bataks. They question the dead in the grave.

The Judgment.—Then God sends the angel Gabriel ; Raphael assembles the dead by trumpet blasts, and they group themselves round their teachers, for they are led by them to judgment. On the Resurrection plains the sinner has a very toilsome way ; seven years he goes uphill, seven years across a plateau and seven years down hill, but the believer flies across the plains like lightning. Gabriel begins to pray, every one follows. He sees, however, that some are only pretending to pray. Suddenly in a moment, as all are prostrating themselves, he casts a very fine chain over the multitude and all who cannot pray are horribly mutilated. Then comes the Judgment. Gabriel holds the scales ; the angel who has kept the record of man's good deeds and the angel who has recorded his bad ones each throw them into one of the scales. Mohammed does his utmost to help believers. He casts a spell over Gabriel and throws his ring or his turban into the scale with the good deeds. He often has a conflict with Gabriel who refers the matter to Allah for judgment. Those who can weigh down their evil deeds must then cross the bridge of heaven ("sirat"), no wider than a hair's breadth, beneath which hell fire seethes. It takes three thousand years to cross but Mohammed covers it at a stride ; believers take a longer or shorter time according to their holiness as measured by their good works. To fall means hell fire.

Hell.—("Api," the Batak for fire ; "na roko," from the Sanscrit word naraka). We may use the expression hell because it is the place of eternal torment for unbelievers.

Hell is like a man's belly with its seven skins, or like seven concentric hollow spheres, one inside the other. In the centre glows the fire ; the first hollow sphere is the first hell. The heat diminishes little by little to the seventh region of hell. All those who have not survived the ordeals of the Intermediate state go to hell, and all those who are condemned at the Last Judg-

ment. According to a man's measure of good works, he must stay a longer or shorter time in one of the regions. The time varies from one minute to a thousand years for believers; unbelievers are eternally damned. They are the fuel of hell. The alms of one's relations and Mohammed's continual intercession shorten the torment of believers. After a thousand years all Mohammedans go to heaven. "Mohammedans" also include those who have given up Islam in their lifetime and become Christians or heathen—even these backsliders gain entrance to heaven, even they are exalted by the nabi Mohammed. Other people go so far as to say that all men, even Christians, must become Mohammedans at the Last Day. Even Jesus Himself. Children who die before they know right from wrong go straight to heaven without passing through hell. Every transgression, even the smallest fault must be atoned for in hell. The worst criminal however, provided that he is a Mohammedan, will eventually pass from hell to Paradise.

Paradise.—Paradise is a sevenfold heaven. From the seventh hell one passes to the first heaven. The blessedness and affluence of the citizens of heaven increases from one heaven to another. Every imaginable delight is theirs. A bowl as large as the earth stands before the blessed, full of the most wonderful meats; any other food the soul may desire is there on the instant. Even man's sweat turns to sweet-smelling balsam. The new citizen of heaven at once receives seven wives, marvellously beautiful maidens, who satisfy their spouse's every desire while he is yet speaking. Fancy runs riot in the description of these women. Many of the blessed receive forty-four such wives, they grow in beauty from one heaven to the next. They provide meat and drink and sweet-smelling odours; they fulfil their heavenly lord's every wish; nor is there any more child-bearing to defile these heavenly maidens. Only the obedient wife, who treats her husband with

respect and faithfully worships God, can be her husband's favourite wife in Paradise. Even that depends on her husband's caprice. Hence the eternal welfare of his wife rests with her husband: he is her god.

The hope of the Hereafter.—Paradise is the hope in which the soul of the Indonesian lives and moves. This magic word is amazingly deeply rooted even in the heart of the heathen, long before any lemon has been squeezed over their heads as the sign of their engrafting into Islam. That an eschatological prospect should be the special magnet which attracts the Animist to Islam may seem scarcely credible to those who know Animistic heathenism. For the experience of Christian Missions is that the eschatological side of Christian doctrine is grasped only after a considerable length of time. Nevertheless, the Mohammedan outlook upon the Hereafter seems to have early made an impression upon the heathen mind.

Contact with Islam has not however brought forth the idea of the Hereafter as something absolutely freshly created; Islam has only given heathenism a few names and elaborations; the belief in a Hereafter, as well as the belief in God, shadowy as it may have grown, is universal in heathenism. Many heathen customs are only comprehensible in the light of a life after death. The very funeral feasts, at which cattle is slaughtered to follow the dead into the other world, and certain mourning customs point to a life hereafter. In the case of those who are killed by accident, something at least belonging to them is treasured, so that it may be buried and assure the soul entrance to the realm of the dead. Important fundamental ideas however of Moslem eschatological doctrine already enter into the heathen conception. The idea of judgment underlies the description of the many ordeals to which the souls of the departed are subjected. They are either tried by the guardians of the realm of the dead or questioned by

those who are already dead. The Supreme God himself sits in judgment.¹

The idea of retribution is also universal ; the sinner's passion is visited upon him. According to the Bataks, gamblers suffer the remorse of gambling. Thieves must make use in public of the objects they have stolen. Others, who are regarded as accursed because of the manner of their death, are chastised in the realm of the dead.

Finally, the idea of a state of blessedness after death is not altogether absent. Tradition has inklings of spirits who have had the special privilege of being transported to the other world. Indeed, among the Karo Bataks death is said to bring rich enjoyment. At all events in the Animist mind a better fate beyond the grave is secured by merit alone.

In saying this, it should be noted that the heathen conception of merit and virtue is often diametrically opposed to our system of ethics. The dead man is questioned by the guardian of souls as to whether he has taken many heads in head-hunting, that is, for some token of bravery. A proof of bravery, that is, some virtue is essential for entrance to the spirit world. It is a further virtue for a man to provide for posterity, i.e., for the continuance of his family ; a man who dies unmarried has therefore not fulfilled one of his obligations. In districts where sexual intercourse between unmarried persons is no disgrace, one is not surprised at the question as to whether the dead was lascivious, i.e., whether he practised sexual intercourse. Hence we have the twofold and apparently paradoxical point of view that the murderer finds entrance to the spirit world, whereas the man he murders does not, because he stands condemned by the judgment of God ; and the

¹ The Burus say that the Supreme God Opo geba snulat writes the deeds of men in a book that he may later judge the souls of the dead ; the virtuous will enjoy felicity and peace, the evil will be punished for their deeds in the pit of hell.

immoral person, because he has fulfilled his sexual obligations, is accepted, whereas the chaste person is rejected. In both cases acceptance rests on the Animistic conception of merit. It accounts for the fact that a man who falls in battle may not enter the realm of the dead, because he has met with Divine judgment, but the man who may have fled the field out of cowardice does gain an entrance because it is his right, otherwise he would have fallen in the fray.

Nevertheless, while life in the realm of the dead is better for the soul than dreadful, ceaseless wandering, the heathen conception of the Hereafter life is very inadequate; it contains no idea of "blessedness." It is otherwise in Islam. The Hereafter implies an advance upon this life. That is Islam's *good* news. Not the idea of the Hereafter in itself. Heathenism also raises the question of the Hereafter. It, however, has found no clear answer. The anxious query still persists: "Will the future life restore what I lose in death?" The constant terror of spirits under which the heathen labours—eventually of course he himself becomes such a spirit—shows that the soul is not happy in the Hereafter. The worship of spirits overshadows every bright thought concerning the future.

The parallel between the idea of God and the hope of the Hereafter is clearly manifest. The thought of the Hereafter has faded as the knowledge of God has become more obscure. By degrees all concern for the Hereafter has vanished. Men are lost in the cares of this life. Worship becomes mechanical, a search after "soul-stuff"; the worshipper sinks to the level of the anthropological. All interest in eschatology is lost. Islam, however, brings the idea of God to the forefront. It restores the old idea of a companion and presents it to heathendom as an old acquaintance. Just as in the case of Mohammedan magic, the Moslem conception of the Hereafter recovers its place of authority through God. For the heathen naturally asks: "Who is my

guarantee for your lauded Paradise ?” Islam points to the Great Companion and says : “ God, for God is the Giver of eternal life.” God gives the Mohammedan his success in the affairs of this life, his social and educational advantages ; this the heathen sees every day. God endows the Mohammedan sorcerer with his marvellous power ; that also the heathen firmly believes. God is man’s fate ; that is the inference from the Mohammedan’s fatalistic way of speaking. No wonder that God, who gives the Mohammedans such advantages in this life, should also provide for them in the life beyond and secure them the same favoured position which they have already had on the earth.

The life to come is a perfected present world, hence its attraction for the heathen. For the heathen looks upon this life entirely from the standpoint that it is the supreme good. He has no idea that there can be anything better than this earthly life. He looks out into the Hereafter in deadly fear because there is no more life there with its joys. The pleasures of this life are eating, drinking, sexual gratification and peaceful idleness. Islam holds out hope of all these after death. The heathen is assured that the life to come is no shadowy existence but fuller concrete enjoyment of life ; earthly joys are there held out to him in fulness and potency not known in this world. Sexual gratification has no early limit set upon it by age, the pleasures of eating are not hindered by the difficulty of obtaining food. The life hereafter certainly does not mean fellowship with God. The mystics may have that idea, but not the ordinary Mohammedan. Eternity is delight in living, not delight in God. It brings not deliverance from sensuality, that one may be more spiritual, but perfection of sensuality, that one may wholly lose oneself in sensual delights.

This eschatological hope logically connects itself at this point with the incompleteness of Animism. Animism leaves the souls of the departed to their fate.

Islam appoints them a beautiful, unspeakably blissful and eternal dwelling-place, replete with all that is dear to the heart of the natives. Islam's amplification of Animism in this way is bound to appeal to the Batak. Its eschatology takes possession of his inmost soul. The native, especially since he has come into contact with the world of civilization, feels that he is ignorant and down-trodden and imposed upon. His feelings may be imagined at the prospect of Moslem blessedness, when he will be lord of heaven and the unbelieving European the slave of hell. What prospect like it did his old Animism hold out to him? The Mohammedan Batak's religious life gives full play to eschatology. It becomes his strong religious motive; it partly accounts for his fanaticism and the rapid expansion of Islam. Its fear of the Last Judgment and its hope of a resurrection life give Islam significant religious power.

Thus the recent convert to Mohammedanism, who otherwise pays little heed to Mohammedan ordinances, sets great store by a Mohammedan burial, which alone assures him an entrance to the life beyond. Death makes Islam a matter of great moment. The fear of being a Dutchman for time and for eternity often drives the heathen into the arms of Islam. At all events in eternity he does not wish to have anything to do with the white people.

The prospect Islam holds out for the future brings into play the full power of attraction in the other factors which open the hearts of the heathen to Moslem propaganda. Islam stands by a man, not merely in the new age now upon him, but also more especially in the life which is to come. All that Islam can give a man here is but a faint reflection of what eternity holds out to him.

The Pan-Moslem hope in particular receives its true complexion from eschatology. Christian rule is at present tolerated solely because all authority will pass to Islam in the Hereafter. The last Judgment will be preceded by the final Holy War, in which Mohammed

will destroy all the unbelievers and then assume his supreme power. Forerunners of the Prophet are therefore always appearing in the Dutch East Indies and wishing to abolish Christian rule. These risings recall the expectations concerning the Mahdi in Africa. In 1882, people said in Borneo that the Imam Maladi was to come in that year and cut in pieces all the Christians and heathen. In preparation for his coming the English were to be conquered in Egypt, where they were said to have quarrelled amongst themselves, and to have risen against each other. As a result Queen Victoria was said to have married her daughter to Arabi Pasha. In 1904, certain Hadji came to Madura and announced the coming of the "King of righteousness" (ratu adil) in a few months' time; he would triumph over the unbelievers.

By thus infusing the life to come with earthly interests, it is certainly made attractive to the heathen; at the same time it loses all power to elevate. The prospect of the Hereafter does not draw a man any nearer God. On the contrary, God retires into the background at the Last Judgment in comparison to the angels and the Prophet. The latter is given the chief rôle. Islam's eschatological hope sets the seal upon Mohammed's glorification. He transcends every other prophet. The Bataks have it that at the Last Day men will pass from one prophet to another, from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Moses; but each will excuse himself and say his own burden is all he can carry. Even Jesus is afraid of Mohammed at the Last Day; he therefore says to the departed, who at last appeal to him: "I know you not. All the people who lived in my life-time do attain everlasting life by my mediation, but since you lived after my day, I can do nothing for you." But Mohammed will say to Allah: "Oh Lord, here are my people!" And God will answer him: "Lead in as many of your people as you like, without counting, through the door on the right hand side of Paradise into eternity!"

Thus a man has no choice, he must become a Moham-
medan ; even Christians have no other choice. Jesus
himself will one day be converted to Islam and become
the doorkeeper of the Mosque of heaven.

CHAPTER IX

MAN'S SURRENDER TO GOD

THE European is always tempted to see the worship of God in Mohammedan ritual. But therein we do Islam too much honour. The Mohammedan's fulfilment of his five religious duties, "the five pillars of the faith," i.e., the confession of the creed (sjahadat), the daily prayers (salat), the payment of the religious tax (cadakah), fasting and pilgrimage to Mecca, is simply his duty. We do not thereby lessen the import of his ceremonial observances; on the contrary, the worshipper may not be brought into any closer relationship with God, but he is reminded at every turn of his duty. This entirely corresponds to the religious habit of the Animist, who from the cradle to the grave is fast bound in the strait waistcoat of religious custom. From this point of view the native finds conversion in no sense irksome.

It is a mistake to say that the simplicity of the Mohammedan's religious duties attracts the native. Is his religious duty actually so simple? The elaborateness of the new ritual, its repetition day in day out, is just what appeals to the native. He would mistrust a religion which demanded less of him than what he was accustomed to. A religion which demands little, must also offer little. As a matter of fact but few fulfil their religious duty completely. Who has time to perform the stated ritual of prayer five times a day? But the very unattainableness of the ideal of religious obligation renders the new religion sublime in the eyes of the

native and makes its wondrous prospects the more credible. The elaborate ritual—for it is only to us Europeans that Mohammedan ritual seems simple—with its mosques, intercessors, ceremonies and rites, its sacred language and sacred formulas, captivates the heathen. What a poor figure in comparison the sorcerer used to cut with his magic wand and its horsetail, the old-time simple sacrifice of commonplace rice and fowl. A heathen ceremony with its appropriate musical dances, tasteful floral decorations, solemn acts of prayer, profound veneration of the spirit of the ancestors and remarkable funeral dances might seem to the European at least as elaborate as that of the Mohammedans. But at a period when the Animist is despairing of his own nationality and seeking new forms of life, he is attracted just by what is strange and incomprehensible. Mohammedan derision of his heathen ritual does its part, as also the gross misunderstanding among many blasé Europeans of the religious content of heathenism, which is often coupled with an amazing appreciation of Mohammedan ritual. The fact that the Moslem's religious duty goes to the very heart of every-day life impresses the heathen. In the most ordinary functions of every-day life, in eating, drinking and bathing, that is to say in the actions one always performs in public—bathing is always in public and at public bathing-places—the difference between the heathen and the Moslem religion is patent to all. There is nothing remarkable in every Mohammedan believer's being a missionary—the exaggeration in this phrase we have already pointed out—because Islam lays its hand upon these common and inevitable activities of life and the Moslem cannot deny his faith, even if he has no inclination towards missionary work of any sort; at a common meal with heathen neighbours, he cannot eat swine's flesh; he does not like it, either because he has not eaten it for so many years, or because he has never touched it. Daily purification is a necessity to him. Thus the fulfilment of the Mos-

lem's religious duty entangles him more and more as the years pass in the net of Islam. The sometime Animist is trained and disciplined. The five religious duties are the five thongs of the scourge with which the Mohammedan teacher reduces his intractable, but by no means unintelligent hearers to the condition of mere tools without wills of their own. The scourge is cunningly provided with the stinging lash of the perpetual reminder of eternal punishment. In this life a man has only to deal with the teachers, but in the Hereafter with God, and He is not to be trifled with. So the fulfilment of religious duty has two objects. Man learns to surrender himself to God and in especial to His representatives, the teachers, and to prepare himself for the life which is to come.)

1. *The creed*, the surrender of a man's ancestral religion. The reception of a new convert consists in nothing beyond ritual cleansing and the confession of the creed. Any one who has said the creed commits himself to keeping the whole law. In the Batak country a heathen is received without his even knowing the creed. A prospective convert is not expected to know anything about Islam. The believer—it need not necessarily be a teacher—only asks: “Dost thou desire to become a Mohammedan?” The novice answers: “Yes,” and then a lemon is squeezed over his head with the words: “That thou mayst be clean.” Lemons being used for cleansing the body, the act of squeezing a lemon is to be understood as an act of purification. There are many Mohammedans among the common people who have simply received this anointing with lemon juice, but who know nothing else about Islam; they are even called “djau anggir,” i.e., lemon-Mohammedans. Usually there is no change of name; only children are often given Arabic-Malay names.

The creed runs thus: “I declare that there is no God but God and Mohammed is the Apostle of God”—(La illaha ill Allah, wa Mohammed resul Allah).

Sometimes the teachers give translations ; but these are, to say the least, very free. They are rather explanations, as also : " I confess with my tongue and hold in my heart as true the unity of God the Almighty," etc. In Java the creed and certain other words are repeated first in Arabic and then in Javanese.

The repetition of these unintelligible words, which are laboriously learnt by heart as far as possible in Arabic recitative, seals the heathen's conversion to Islam.¹ Every day this creed echoes from the lips of the muezzin. It must be used before every act of worship. Nor does this exhaust the meaning of the words.

The heathen's going over to Islam is not sanctioned by circumcision ; this is not a distinctively Mohammedan rite, for it was practised by many Indonesian peoples even while yet heathen. It is purposely put into the background. It is not ordained in the Koran, it is not a work of merit. Even without circumcision one may be a true Mohammedan. Especially the poor prefer to postpone circumcision. The rich like to associate it with a great feast. Most Mohammedans are actually circumcised ; otherwise they may be laughed at. The uncircumcised are considered unclean.

2. *Prayer*, man's surrender of himself. Teachers in the Dutch East Indies set much store by the daily prayers, and this duty is, therefore, impressed upon the people in various ways. The Koran has it, say they, that one should pray fifty times a day ; but as that is impossible, the least one can do is to perform worship five times, according to the number of fingers on one's hand.

The five times for prayer in the Dutch East Indies are—(1) at dawn, (2) at midday, (3) in the afternoon, (4) at sunset, (5) in the evening after sunset. All these times have special names.

¹ Strange to say magic has also captured this formula which really declares war upon all magic. The sorcerer uses it to banish impending plague ; cut in stone these words preserve even heathen children from misfortune who wear them round their necks as amulets attached to little heathen lead medals.

As in other Mohammedan countries, the daily prayers are only said by the stricter Mohammedans, which means, in the Dutch East Indies, by the teachers. At special seasons, in time of war, or during epidemics, etc., there is, of course, a revival of religion. No more than the Egyptian fellahs can our rice farmers be expected to perform this stated ceremony five times a day. If a higher teacher happens to be staying in a village, the people will assemble in larger numbers for prayer ; they wish to make a good impression upon the " omniscient " teacher. But as a rule, the poor have no time and the rich no desire to attend worship. Every outward detail is of the utmost importance in this ceremony and, therefore, minutely regulated ; the worship of the heart is a secondary matter. Hence the expression " prayer " is misleading. E.g., the exact hour is important. The stipulations concerning it, of which the Batak by the bye is entirely ignorant, are very minute. The place of prayer is also of the greatest importance. Whenever possible, prayer is said in a mosque. Where no place of worship has yet been built, a little place of prayer is made on the bank of the village stream by plastering over a few flat field stones. More important still is the posture of the body, otherwise the whole office may be valueless.

First, one must be ceremonially clean. Before the ceremony the Batak generally makes a total immersion, or else bathes the upper part of his body and his feet in a stream of water from a hollow bamboo cane. The body must be covered ; at all events, those parts of it which Mohammedans reckon indecent, e.g., women must be covered from head to foot, with the exception of their heads and the palms of their hands. Batak women at prayer, therefore, generally wear large white sheets, which they also throw over the back of their heads. One's garments must be clean. The body must be turned towards the Holy City of Mecca, i.e., towards the West. Originally Mohammed prayed like the Jews, with his

face towards Jerusalem ; but it was important for him to break off all connection between the faithful and Judaism, so he ordained the Kiblah, the turning towards Mecca. His desire that the faithful should thereby have their attention directed to the new Holy City is to-day still being fulfilled. Again, even in the ritual of worship, the external is the chief consideration. For the whole ritual of worship consists in certain postures of the body.

(1) Standing still—one must hereby express the intention (Arabic : “nija” ; Batak : “ngiet”) of really desiring to perform the ceremony, otherwise the act of worship has no value. (2) The hands are raised shoulder high and the worshipper says in Arabic : “Allah is great !” (3) In the same position he repeats the opening verses of the Koran (Arabic : “fatiha ; Batak : “patiha”). (4) He bends his trunk forward. (5) He rises to his feet. (6) Kneeling down he touches the ground first with his hands and then with his forehead. (7) Still kneeling, he places his hands on his knees. (8) Is a repetition of (6). At each position he pauses and repeats the prescribed formulas. (3) to (8) can then be repeated and the last, (9), consists in kneeling and turning the head to the right and to the left. This is supposed to be a salutation to the faithful standing by. Or else to the two angels which accompany every man to record his deeds. The Bataks, however, take it as a salutation to God and the Devil, the latter accepting it as an insult and turning aside.

The third external of religion to be scrupulously observed consists in the Arabic formulas. They are not explained to Moslems in the Dutch East Indies. The sounds are simply learnt off by heart, often incorrectly, because the teacher himself knows no Arabic. The pronunciation does not matter.

According to Mohammedan law, common prayer is desirable.

Forty-four male persons are, however, required to

make a congregation, that is to say, common prayer can only be held in larger places. As in many other Mohammedan lands, women are not admitted to the mosques in the Batak country. The teacher steps forward and calls upon the assembly to rise. The faithful stand and the ceremonies we have just described then begin; the gathering intones aloud and in time. There is also a kind of sermon. It must consist of three parts; one is an exhortation, the other two consist of quotations from the Koran. It is often half in Malay, half in Arabic, and therefore not understood by most of the audience. Extracts from some religious catechism are often read aloud. These sermons have no spiritual or moral influence upon the people. In Java the teachers use Arabic texts with interlinear translations for their sermons (Arabic : Kotbah).

Extempore prayers are not forbidden in Islam. The ritual of worship is even meant to include a prayer for some special need, but Awetaranian, in looking back upon his Mohammedan life, says: "I had no idea of prayer in the Biblical sense, I thought I could not say a prayer in a language generally understood." When he said the Lord's Prayer in Turkish, which was his mother tongue, it seemed "half a prayer" to him. The Mohammedans and with them our Batak Mohammedans have always the feeling that God should only be addressed in the Arabic language. Islam has represented their own nationality and with it their mother tongue as unclean. It has taken all the expressions used in worship either from Arabic or from the second sacred language, Malay. Therefore the Mohammedan does not dare to address God in his own language.

Extempore prayers are to some extent replaced by vows, which, however, bear the stamp of heathenism. The Mohammedan considers them more efficacious than extempore prayer. Vows were a heathen practice. The Mohammedan also makes vows to the spirits of the dead. He promises them some gift, e.g., for their help

in a time of sickness or in other troubles. From that point of view his vow is the same as when he was a heathen. Or a vow is often made to one of the old shrines, which is then given the Arabic name "kramat," i.e., "the gift of God's grace"; or to the sea, which is regarded as the abode of spirits; or even to some honoured teacher still living; rarely, however, to God. In a bad illness a heathen and even a weak Christian convert may vow that he will accept Islam.

3. *The religious tax*, the surrender of one's possessions. The Prophet borrowed the idea from the Christianity of his time that the renunciation of all earthly possessions is the surest way to heaven. So the poverty-stricken community at Mecca gave what it could. The parallel between it and the Early Church at Jerusalem is a close one. In both cases the gifts were laid at the feet of the leaders of the community. With the Prophet's removal to Medina, however, the lines of the practice begin at once to diverge in a manner very characteristic of the two religions. The Apostolic community continue to care for the poor, and even a St. Paul trains his churches gathered out of heathenism to give to the poor saints at Jerusalem; whereas Mohammed already begins at Medina to pour the gifts of the faithful into a bloody war chest. In thus turning the nominally freewill offerings to political ends, the charity became a political tax. Complaints arose when the Prophet proceeded to pay his valiant armies with the "alms," but this, as so many other of his irregularities, was sanctioned by special revelations.

The religious duty called "Zakat" in the Koran has received manifold modifications in the course of time. According to the theologians the religious tax should be distributed among eight classes of people: (1) the poor, (2) the needy, (3) those who collect the tax, (4) those who are weak in the faith, (5) slaves, (6) debtors, (7) those engaged in Holy War against unbelievers, (8) travellers. The Bataks' appreciation of the religious

tax, for instance, accords remarkably well with the original intention of the Koran, that it should be a work of merit and a kind of atonement, or a substitute for the old time sacrifice to spirits. A man's entire harvest is accursed if he does not pay his dues. No teacher can take food in such a man's house. All the food in his house is unclean. And this may have evil consequences. Funeral rites, for instance, cannot be performed in such a house; hence the dead will be exposed to the worst possible torment in the grave. The religious tax is, therefore, a kind of atonement which delivers food from the curse attaching to it.

The gift is paid to the teachers that they may convey it to God. How they do so concerns nobody. The teacher ought to know. So for the most part the religious tax goes into the teacher's own pocket. No one thinks for a moment that it is given away. The kulipa (caliph), especially as they pass up and down the country, say of course that all the gifts will be given to the poor and to orphans, and the common people then give them sheep, fowls, horses and clothes; "but, writes one of our native helpers, although we have many poor folk and orphans here in Angkola, not one of them has ever been known to receive anything from a baleo" (one of the higher teachers). Nor do the teachers hide the fact that the religious tax is their perquisite. They share what they get with the chiefs. For that reason the ordinary man is not niggardly in the payment of his religious dues; who would be so bold as to incur the anger of the chiefs and teachers?

4. *Fasting*, the surrender of human desire. Fasting was probably borrowed by Mohammed from the Harranians, i.e., the Pseudo-Sabines. With them would also originate the peculiar custom of always breaking a fast at sunset. The Koran says that the Koran came down to earth in the month of Ramadan, which is therefore kept as a Fast. Fasting is to the glory of God. God reckons the trouble and sorrow of the one who fasts to

his credit. Fasting is the ground of his merit, and the commentaries on the Koran vie with one another in praising it. "Fasting is supreme among the good works well-pleasing to God."—"It is for my sake and I will reward it." Fasting atones for sins committed until the next fast month. During Ramadan sleep is worship and silence is praise.

The ninth month of the year is the Fast month Ramadan. As the Mohammedans do not reckon their year by the sun but by the moon, which, of course, makes it eleven days shorter than the solar year, the Fast of Ramadan falls each year at a different season. This makes the Fast more rigorous, especially if the month falls at the season when field work presses. It is all the more astonishing how universally the Fast is kept.

Violations of the law do occur, but breaking the Fast means abuse from all sides. People are ashamed of it and even put out their fires to avoid suspicion. The Fast is, of course, only kept from sunrise to sunset. A big drum then sounds as the sign to eat. So, strictly speaking, the Fast, as it is kept in the Dutch East Indies, is a farce, for at no other time does the Mohammedan eat so much or so well as during the Fast, of course, only at night. Even among the mountain tribes of the Padang Lawas, in Central Sumatra, which as yet are little instructed in Islam, I came across people who refused a mouthful of medicine, for instance, which would have certainly stopped a distressing pain, and who asked to be allowed to take it away with them and drink it in the evening. Some say that the whole year is accursed and that one really ought to fast all the year round; only because that is impossible is one content to fast a single month.

A number of other ceremonies are connected with the Fast. One must first solemnly announce one's intention of entering upon the Fast. The evening prayer (*ngisa*) is accompanied by longer pauses between the several prostrations. On some Fast days in Java, offerings are made

to Mohammed. On such occasions those present repeat their prayers together; sermons on fasting are also preached. Great evening collations are arranged, sacred meals, with all kinds of dainties, to which the whole male population of the village will often be invited. For during the Fast of Ramadan, all a man has laid by during the year must be spent on the evening meals. The close of the Fast consists of a great feast on the first day of the tenth month. Every one is astir. People don their best clothes and visit all their neighbours.

The Fast of Ramadan has extraordinary significance for the religious life. It is the clearest testimony to the hold that Islam has upon the faithful. Even among the Bataks Islam secures the cessation for a month of all trade and traffic, handicraft and labour. And all to the glory of Islam. In itself there is nothing particular in turning night into day, in sleeping away the day without eating, because one has taken out in revelry the abstinence of the daytime. And yet it is foolish to underestimate the significance of the Fast because of its travesties. Fasting has become the most popular of all religious duties; it is the *plumb-line* of Islam; it rivets chains once more upon the wavering. Hence the Fast of Ramadan as a matter of course brings most converts out of heathenism and causes most backsliding from Christianity. The feast that breaks the Fast has a special attraction for the heathen. It has become a high holiday, when one may give vent to every jollity and at the same time—perform a work of merit!

The fasting condition of the body tends to cause a certain fanatical tension; the whole great wide world of Islam is fasting *together* in that month. The feeling of personal safety, the consciousness that he is making a great sacrifice for God's sake, elates the believer. As at no other time the believer despises the unbeliever during the sacred month. A man's profession of religion is put to the test as in connection with no other exercise of worship.

5. *Pilgrimage*.—To visit certain holy places at Mecca was a very old custom of primitive heathen times. Mohammed and his faithful gained possession of these sanctuaries only after prolonged and strenuous warfare. The Prophet then made pilgrimage thither compulsory for his followers. The old Arab sanctuaries were endowed with special legendary significance, so that they came to be regarded as religious shrines.

The chief sanctuaries at Mecca are the Great Mosque, the Kaaba and the well Zamzam. Inside the Great Mosque, enclosed by spacious porticos, is the Kaaba, a small, cube-shaped temple; it is covered with a costly carpet presented annually by the Sultan of Turkey. On legendary authority the Mohammedans believe that Adam laid the foundations of this sanctuary with the help of the angels. After the flood, Abraham and Ishmael then built the Kaaba. The Angel Gabriel built the sacred black stone, which belonged to the time of Adam, into its one corner. In the corner of the Mosque there is the well Zamzam, which once gave water to the fugitive Hagar.

The pilgrim has to perform a multitude of ceremonies, which he cannot accomplish without a competent guide. He must first dedicate himself to the pilgrimage by putting on the Iram, i.e., he must abstain from various kinds of food and put on the appointed unsewn pilgrim habit. The chief ceremony is compassing the Kaaba seven times; if possible, the pilgrim should then try and kiss the sacred stone. Then follows a six days' fast on the plain of Arafa. Prayer at the Prophet's grave in Medina is also recommended, but is not absolutely obligatory. The pilgrimage takes place every year in the first half of the second month.

Those who remain some years at Mecca for purposes of study are specially important. Ever since the eighteenth century there have been whole groups of Indonesians residing at Mecca; they form the so-called Djawa Colony. Year by year young students come from

the East Indies inspired with the desire for knowledge. They either seek situations as servants in the house of some doctor of theology, or enter some pious institution. The Indonesian pilgrims who return become teachers of repute and earn handsome incomes ; but many stay on in Mecca as doctors, giving instruction in Moslem wisdom, sometimes in the Malay language, or else as idlers living on the alms of the middle classes. Pilgrims to Mecca also learn the more correct way of reciting the Koran. Many, it is true, in spite of daily instruction, only attain a more correct pronunciation of the Fatiha. Finally, many natives apply to some Sheik for admission to an order.

Few Mohammedan lands send such a high percentage of pilgrims to Mecca, or take so much money to Arabia as the Dutch East Indies.

On December 10, 1908, there were 10,729 pilgrims in Mecca from Java, which presumably means the whole Dutch East Indies, as against 10,891 from India, which has almost double the Mohammedan population. In 1895, there were in all 57,219 pilgrims at Mecca ; in 1907, a round 108,000. The average for the last twenty-nine years has been 70,000. Of these, 11,570 came from the Dutch East Indies (from Java alone 7,088, from Sumatra, 1,177). According to Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, the average for the last ten years has been 7,300, i.e. 10 per cent. of the total number. The slight increase does not correspond to the increase in the population. Of the pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies not 10 per cent. are women and not 5 per cent. children under sixteen years of age ; it is still the exception among the Bataks for women and children to go on pilgrimage.

Here we have, therefore, a really important contribution to Islam from the Dutch East Indies. To rightly appreciate these bold statistics, one must understand what it means for an Indonesian to go on pilgrimage.

To begin with, it entails considerable expense. The ordinary man, who has no ready money at his disposal,

must save up for years. The wives who are left behind often suffer the greatest hardships during their husbands' long absence. Cattle is sold and often everything else that can possibly be done without. Doubtless, it is unmarried people who go for the most part ; but then the duty falls upon the relations of finding the means to send the young pilgrim. Every pilgrim from the Dutch East Indies has been reckoned to start with an average of about £44. That implies that from the Dutch East Indies alone some £172,000 is spent annually upon pilgrimage. Over and above this the pilgrims also for the most part have presents and maintenance money sent after them from home, especially when it is a case of young men spending several years in Mecca for purposes of study. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that pilgrims, who started with £60, have run through this money and been obliged to apply to the Consulate to reach home again at all.

The pilgrims are terribly swindled at Mecca. On their arrival, "Sheiks" present themselves as their guides ; without them the holy places cannot be visited. These Sheiks are an organized body ; they are under the High Sheriff of Mecca, who is said to have an annual income of over £83,000. The High Sheriff of Mecca, Avni Ali Pasha, and his Wali, Ahmed Ratib Pasha, combined to fleece the pilgrims. They received annually 480,000 Turkish pounds (£432,000), of which the Emir High Sheriff had three-fifths and the Wali two-fifths. As a result the Wali amassed a fortune of nearly £1,500,000 sterling, together with a treasure horde of jewels. This Wali was taken captive in October, 1908, by the Young Turks and sent to Constantinople.

The agents of the shipping companies were also obliged to pay subsidies to the Sheriff. Every camel from Djedda to Mecca was charged £3. A large proportion of his income was spent in imposts to the people at Constantinople, to whom he owed his position and whose good-will was essential to his retaining it. He was the

absolute autocrat of Mecca. The Sheiks are his understrappers. They have to pay him from £50 to £65 for the privilege of being pilgrim guides, and of course they see to it that they make up this sum as soon as possible.

Every national group finds its own representative among the Sheiks. The Buginese of Celebes, the inhabitants of Lampong, Achin and Java, each find some one who knows their language and serves him as guide. In this way these people, many of whom have never been anywhere beyond their own forests and rice-fields, easily adapt themselves to their new surroundings. Besides every Indonesian knows a little Malay and the people of Mecca itself often speak the East Indian dialects with surprising fluency. Many of the islanders become themselves pilgrim guides in Mecca and join in fleecing their fellow-countrymen. The pilgrims are lambs in the Sheiks' hands. High-class Javanese kiss the hands of Arab servants in their utter reverence for everything in the Holy City. The Sheiks receive the money with which the pilgrims have been entrusted.

Many are the devices for swindling the people. They provide the strangers, who are quite at sea as to ways and means, with food at too high prices ; they exchange their money into Turkish currency, find them camels and tents and the prescribed pilgrim habit. The pilgrim is told that the more he gives, the more will God forgive ; but the price of the animals is too high and the pilgrims can often not keep count themselves of the number of animals actually sacrificed. They are taken to the sanctuaries, e.g., to the sacred well, which it is not at all necessary to visit. There are certain ceremonies which Indonesian pilgrims have only begun to perform of recent years. Again, the drawers of water are in secret league with the Sheik and sell the water from the sacred well for high sums to the pilgrims. Finally, when the time arrives for the pilgrims to prepare for their homeward journey, they detain on all kinds of false pretences those whom they think have still got money.

The pilgrims are told, for instance, that the cost of their voyage home will come down. Or their fare, which may run to about £3 10s., is taken from them in advance ; they receive tickets to Singapore, which cost about £1 15s., and are told that a fellow-passenger will pay their voyage to Java. At Singapore, the fellow-passenger has either suddenly vanished, or the pilgrim receives a ticket by a wretched Chinese ship which costs less than 10s. The crafty Sheik in Mecca has thus defrauded his pilgrim to the tune of perhaps twenty-five shillings. On their return the pilgrims are ashamed to tell these things even to their nearest relations. Hence it is no easy matter to circumvent the cunning of the Sheiks. The Consuls often complain that the pilgrims are actually afraid to advise them of these things. If a pilgrim dies, the Sheiks, if they possibly can, appropriate his money or pay it into chancery ; but even so they hold it in possession and look upon it as their property. Many a time the relations cannot get the money out of the greedy hands of the Sheik without Consular intervention.

A large proportion, it is said 38 per cent., of the pilgrims never return. From the Dutch East Indies alone 25 per cent. did not return in 1895. Of the 13,000 who went in the years 1853 and 1859 only 5,600 returned. The question arises : What becomes of these pilgrims ? The Turkish Government refused all information, when the attempt was made to trace them, and gave orders that the Consulates were also to be refused all information. A number of pilgrims do stay on for a certain length of time to study. A few even of the Bataks also pass on to Cairo to study at the University there. But this does not account for the huge percentage which never returns home. One reason is probably found in the terrible ravages of plague. Every year cholera breaks out and the sanitary regulations of the Turkish Government meet with great opposition from the population ; in 1895 they actually caused a rebellion. In 1895 alone, 2,000 of the Indonesian pilgrims are said to have died.

Then caravans are followed by marauding Bedouins, who fall upon any pilgrim straying from the caravan, and the Turkish escort in charge of the pilgrims does not dare to pursue the Bedouins. As recently as December 6, 1908, a caravan was attacked by Bedouins and many were killed. At the same time Dr. Snouck Hurgronje attributes the utter disappearance of so many pilgrims to misapprehension in the matter of statistics. The dangers of pilgrimage were often greater before steamers began to run. Intercourse between Mecca and the Dutch East Indies has been going on for nearly three hundred years. Pilgrims were known in Bantan in the seventeenth century. In Mataram one prince wishes to send an embassy to Mecca and another wishes to spend the rest of his life in Mecca. An embassy comes from Mecca to Achin, and there is already a Malay pilgrim doctor of the law established there. Even in the sailing ships of the nineteenth century a single visit to Mecca often occupied three years. The pilgrims sat closely herded together on deck without sufficient provisions; they often lost their lives by shipwreck and oftener still by fell diseases. They often lost their money and had to beg the money for the rest of their journey at the ports of call. The Dutch Government even tried to prevent pilgrimage for a time.

The motive for pilgrimage.—More than ordinary energy is surely required to make a native venture on such a journey. Yet pilgrimage always preserves its great attraction. Pilgrimage is a positive religious duty. Only it is surprising that this duty is fulfilled with so much zeal while others are not taken seriously. As a matter of fact, in Islam pilgrimage is only ordained under certain conditions and in many cases is even forbidden. Malay Scriptures point out that more merit can be gained by other means. It is more meritorious to secure justice for the oppressed. Van der Berg says that he sometimes pointed out to debtors, sick people and aged folk that Mohammedan law absolves them from the journey to

Mecca, but that he received the answer : "Allah calls me!" There we have the strong religious motive. Any one who sets foot in the Holy City and enters "the house of God" (the Kaaba) and kisses the black stone, has forgiveness of sins. Any one who offers a sacrifice at the Tomb of the Prophet in Medina is well-pleasing to the Prophet. Any one who dies on the way there goes straight to heaven. The glory of pilgrimage is unclouded in the eyes of the common people. Mecca is the pure, holy land. The hadji do their utmost to foster these ideas. They carefully do not tell how they have been treated. Their whole standing would be undermined if people knew how they had been led by the nose in Mecca. The Bataks know but little of the disorders at Mecca. One hadji who came back from Mecca did discard his pilgrim habit and reveal the terrible bloodsucking of the Sheiks in the Malay newspapers. But the common people do not talk much about it. Enlightened hadji who cease to have anything to do with pilgrimages are rare.

The great distance of the Holy City enhances its attraction. Its halo is still unclouded. The journey is undertaken with great enthusiasm. A man who has decided to go on pilgrimage comes under the spell of its experiences even before he starts. He becomes very much excited, his whole soul is possessed by the thought of the journey; he runs hither and thither asking the hadjis what he has to do. His keenness to learn and to recite the prescribed formulas increases. The Indonesians retain their religious zeal even at Mecca. They are conspicuous for it. They are beloved for it. They come without any ulterior object, do no trade and have a universal reputation for honesty. They come primarily for religious motives.

Nevertheless, there are also other expectations present to the mind of the pilgrim from the Archipelago. Mecca is the centre of civilization. This fact and a general desire to see the world impels many a gallant youth to leave home. The craving for education, which to-day

plays such a great rôle among the peoples of Eastern Asia, seeks satisfaction in Mecca. Disillusionment may sometimes follow conversion to Islam. The education it imparts is but meagre ; a man's national aspirations are still unsatisfied. He hopes to find in Mecca what he has in vain sought at home. Exquisite independence from all authority inimical to Islam beckons him thither. There he will be able to live for his faith unhindered and acquire endless wisdom. The old man weary of life sets out on pilgrimage in the expectation of being cured of his ennui in the Holy City. Away there in Mecca the brown man comes to his own and escapes from the oppressive feeling that he is one of a despised race. There he has hope of enjoying life. The carnal desire for life with a beautiful Mecca woman for a certain length of time, as is the universal custom in Mecca, also does its part. The religious motive is thus gradually superseded. Pilgrimage to Mecca is very lucrative. The pilgrims are given large sums for their journey to help the dead to make the pilgrimage. No one asks what becomes of these gifts. And when eventually the pilgrim returns safely home, what a glorious future awaits him !

In Northern Java, for instance, Mecca pilgrims take rank with the higher teachers whether they have studied or not ; they are teachers and missionaries, the influential leaders of the people. The common people's veneration, a good income and many presents are an enticing prospect. The journey to Mecca is not so much the penitential way of a poor sinner as the spring-board from which a venturesome youth may leap into a lucrative profession of good standing ; the sacred journey is not so much an offering in money on the part of a believer in distress of soul as a good, safe investment of capital for a clever speculator and man of the world.

The significance of the pilgrimage in the Moslem life of the Archipelago is quite apart from the motives for which the pilgrims undertake it. The pilgrimage, to-

gether with sundry other religious duties of the faithful, bears altogether different fruitage from what one might expect. Its centre of gravity lies in quite a different line from that which Mohammed and the doctors imagined. It inspires and promotes propaganda, deepens and fosters the religious life of the Indonesian Moslem, and as time goes on, infuses distant peoples with the Arabian Moslem spirit. Islam in the Archipelago owes an incalculable debt to Mecca, and not merely on account of the pilgrimage thither. Three groups of people are concerned in the matter: the pilgrims, the doctors of the law at Mecca, and the members of the mystic corporations. In Java there are hadji of sufficient literary education to read scientific works in two or three languages. The pilgrims and the "students" cannot be differentiated; any one who has been to Mecca, for whatever purpose, or whatever length of time, is called a "hadji."

In the first place, Mecca awakens the thought of the possible realization of the Pan-Moslem ideal, which otherwise seems unattainable. The pilgrim hears about the Holy Wars of the faithful against the Christians, those people who also possess Scriptures and yet are worse than infidels. For the present they are certainly in power, but Allah will one day take it from them.

Closer and closer intercourse is being established between the East Indian Archipelago and Mecca, the fount of Islam. The feeling of the solidarity of all the faithful has simply an overwhelming influence upon the isolated people of the Islands. At Mecca there may be no talk of politics, but the fact is the pilgrim imbibes a deep-rooted hatred of every Christian power. The High Sheriff of Mecca is in close touch with Turkey. The hadji thus come into contact with the Pan-Moslem movement. This explains how it is that many rebellious risings in the Dutch East Indies owe their origin to the hadji's sedition. The pilgrimage is the mortar in which the scattered peoples are welded together. Even small

independent peoples are thereby wrought into the one living whole.

Indeed, in a certain sense, the Pan-Moslem ideal is already realized at Mecca. United in one spirit, in one language, every one is independent and free. It is the world in miniature, a multitude of races are represented of whose very existence the simple rice-farmer had no inkling in his primaevial forests. Here he sees that the promise is really true that Islam is the one religion for all peoples. The pilgrimage is the review of Islam, a foretaste of the glorious time to come, and the pilgrims return home inspired by the firm resolve to live and die for the realization of that idea of unity.

Here lies the significance for Colonial politics of the pilgrim problem. As Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has emphatically shown, such generalizations as either stamp every hadji as a hypocrite or a saint are useless. Every hadji is the agent of Moslem propaganda, that is his significance. What Christian Churches strive to accomplish at the cost of great financial sacrifice, by such comprehensive institutions as organized Churches and missionary agencies, the pilgrimage to Mecca does for Islam; and the needs of a religious society, such as ministers and teachers, leaders and missionaries, doctors and higher learning, Mecca also supplies.

The Mecca pilgrim carries the great ideas of Islam to the most remote mountain villages.

Now the higher the esteem of the Indonesian pilgrim for the Arabist teachers, who are actually his own fellow-countrymen, the more he marvels at the literary output of their genius, the lower his own nationality falls in his estimation. This is another noteworthy consequence of the pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrims approach the Holy City in all humility, because they regard the old national traditions of their homeland as futile. The advent of Islam is, according to their ideas, the dawn of civilization. We can see why the pilgrims have no appreciation for what is national. The newly arrived

pilgrims regard their home as a dungheap, because its outward surroundings continually remind them of their heathen past, whereas in Mecca everything reminds them of the Moslem creed. They sacrifice every patriotic thought, all love for national custom, to the inspiring consciousness of their place in the Empire of Islam. They despise the unclean society to which they once belonged in the proud realization of their own progress. The hadji on their return are quite other men ; they have definitely renounced their national individuality ; they are now at last true Mohammedans.

In considering this lively intercourse with Mecca, one must be careful not to underestimate Indonesian Islam. The immediate tendency is to consider the Islam of the East Indies as almost without vitality ; it seems too little organized, too much suffused with heathen elements, too mechanical, too childishly naïve to be placed on a level with Islam as it really is. What we have studied up to this point does all seem very mechanical and lifeless, especially the ceremonial exercises of worship ; at best what is of living power is only of such a temporary nature, as, for example, the yearly Fast. Do not let us, however, forget the link with Mecca. It secures that what is naïve and primitive is always being wiped out and that the thought of the Indonesian peoples is being more and more cast into the Arabian mould.

Little as the people themselves may be conscious of the fact, two religious forces are clearly striving for the mastery in the Dutch East Indies : Indonesian Animism and the monotheism of Arabian Islam. Islam's power partly to assimilate, i.e., to absorb Animism, and partly to reject it, is only to be explained by the Arabian influences which stream into the Dutch East Indies as the result of their contact with Mecca.

For the Dutch East Indies in particular, these pilgrimages to Mecca are radii from the still fluid circumference of Islam to its more consolidated centre, the veins in which the life blood of Islam pulsates and by means of

which the organs as yet scarcely alive receive fresh strength. How a religious community such as Islam holds together at all, when entirely left to itself, without intelligible Scriptures and without a trained ministry, would be incomprehensible but for Mecca.

In this way Islam seeks to bring about man's surrender to God. Does it succeed? The Mohammedan makes sacrifices, we would not dispute that. But he makes them as the heathen does against his will. The sorcerer used to demand them. He helplessly conforms. What else can he do? The same fear which induced him to do the most foolish things as a heathen, if the sorcerer ordained them, has him still in its grip. Indeed, it grows upon him, because the terrible God has now taken His place among the spirits; with his fear his willingness to bring the appointed sacrifices also increases. An evil conscience makes the Mohammedan the abject slave of every ordinance laid upon him.

Religious activity is therefore not so much voluntary surrender to the deity as slavish terror-stricken submission to a yoke which no one can shake off without falling into the terrible hand of the unapproachable God. If, on the other hand, the ordinance is observed, salvation is assured. The fulfilment of his duties increases the Heathen-Mohammedan's security. Because he prays every day, gives a tithe of every harvest, fasts every year, he expects exact retribution from God. There is merit in his every action, and the more oppressive he feels a work of merit, the more irksome is his month of fasting, the more inconvenient his daily prayer, the greater will be the sum of his merit.

Surrender to God is thus misrepresented. Not God, but oneself receives the glory. There is no humble surrender of oneself to the Creator, only proud reliance upon one's own merits. The surrender consists not in the renunciation, but in the glorification of self; it lies at the root of the coercive, overbearing claim which the self-righteous make upon the favour of God.

Magic is associated with every religious activity. It follows everywhere in Islam's trail like a demon. The very creed, so expressly a battle-cry against heathenism, becomes a heathen charm. The daily prayer, "the petition for enlightenment from error," becomes even for the faithful an exorcism actually leading them astray into evil.

Teaching the common people unintelligible formulas has its bitter revenge. They put a magical interpretation upon them, because the incomprehensible is always magical to the Animist. Even the pilgrimage to Mecca has suffered the same fate : the pilgrims trade upon their fellow-countrymen's craving for magic and the miraculous and pretend to have learnt a great deal of magic in Mecca. The pilgrimage becomes an expedition into the immeasurable realm of magic.

These are ideas which have nothing to do with true surrender to God. A sincere desire to do the will of God does certainly exist, especially among those who have recently become Mohammedans. Its speedy cooling off, the mere blind performance before long, or non-performance, as the case may be, of what is ordained is to be ascribed to fatalism. Fatalism, the immutable will of God, robs surrender to God of all joy ; it sinks into mechanical ceremonialism. Of an inward surrender there has never been any question. Indeed, every effort is made to prevent the ritual from becoming heart worship.

They say, "Be a man never so circumcised in heart towards Allah and uncircumcised after the flesh, he is for all that a kafir and rejected by Allah ; and be a man never so godless and yet circumcised after the flesh, he is accepted of God as a believer." Of communion with the Deity there is never a word.

To come to a right understanding of Mohammedan daily prayer, it is important to set aside every Christian idea on the subject. Of the soul's aspiration after God there is here no question ; the inward attitude of the

worshipper to God, indeed his understanding of the content of his prayer is a matter of indifference. The value of prayer lies not in the worshipper's relation to God, nor even in the desire that his prayer be heard; for the idea that prayer should be a conscious movement of the soul of the human individual towards the Deity is utterly foreign to our Mohammedan. He does not understand either the need of it—is not a man's destiny predetermined once and for all?—or the possibility of it; God to him is an alien Being quite disinterested in the affairs of man.

In prayer the chief thing is the dead letter of the petition; in almsgiving, the mere payment; in fasting, the petty restraint for the appointed number of hours. In no case does surrender mean the submission of the inner self. "Every one who praises the word Mecca is looked upon as righteous!" declares the wandering preacher.

But have not the daily religious exercises a certain value in their constant reminder of God to men? Even civic functions are opened with prayer and the name of God and the creed are daily on every tongue. What a reminder of God there is also in the yearly fast, which stops all trade and commerce! Nevertheless, these reminders of God at best serve only to discipline the faithful, they accustom a man to a certain routine; but they bring him not one step nearer God. On the contrary, intercourse with the higher powers becomes mechanical, prayer becomes an art. It kills every instinctive religious feeling.

The Mohammedan is certainly often a tractable, devout adherent of the new religion, but he is devoted not to God but to his teacher. The intricacies of Mohammedan law, the many ordinances to be observed without being understood, enslave the believer from the outset to his teachers. Without their aid he cannot learn a single formula; only through their mediation do his alms reach Him to Whom they are due, namely

God ; they alone know the rules concerning fasting, and without them what would happen at Mecca ? The more difficult the complete fulfilment of Mohammedan duty, the more absolute is the believer's dependence upon his teacher. Mohammedan law in the hands of these crafty, tyrannical teachers is only a means whereby they fleece the faithful as best suits their purpose. The fault is, of course, not only on the teacher's side. The laity themselves relegate their duty towards God as much as possible to the teachers. They are afraid of coming into direct contact with God.

CHAPTER X

PREPARATION FOR THE HEREAFTER

WE have already seen what fascinating power the Moslem's ideal has over him : the prospect of Paradise. This does not prevent many materialistic Mohammedans from adopting the modern motto : " Make the best of this life, there is no Hereafter, no reunion." At the approach of death, however, in anguish of soul, they too clutch at the ceremonies which avail for the Hereafter. Fatalism is so strong in many of them that the future concerns them but little. In the end everything will surely turn out all right ; nothing can be detracted from nor added to the immutable decree of God. Onesided eudæmonism stimulates the religious impulse. For the eschatological idea proves as sure a bait for the unbeliever as it is a never-failing discipline for the backslider.

The very doctrine of the intermediate state appeals to the heathen ; for the grave was an uncanny thought to him even as a heathen. Rest and peace in the grave beckon to him from Islam. The Mohammedan Bataks have a saying : " Man has a religion because there is a Hereafter ; were there no Hereafter, there would be no need to worry about religious things." Many customs are in preparation for the future.

The Arabic language is indispensable because it alone is spoken in the Hereafter. No one who does not know Arabic will get to heaven. " How can the Christian missionary get to heaven, when he does not even know Arabic ? " say they. The teacher says that nothing

but the creed will get a man to heaven. In Achin the ordinary person is content to learn the formulas "which he needs on his journey to the other world." One must know the creed because those words alone drive away spirits from the grave, because they alone are the shibboleth of the true believer in the other world. A man must know them even in his sleep, because the terrible visions of the intermediate state may perhaps deprive him of the power to rack his brains for them. These words are, therefore, given to the dead for their last journey. No spirit can harm any one who knows them. Even magic has its value in the life to come, it secures many an indulgence in eternity. It can spirit a man safely through the Judgment at the Last Day and make him invulnerable to the pains of hell. The dead may not be sufficiently armed against the dangers which threaten him. In that case it is the duty of his survivor to support him on his way through the intermediate state by funeral feasts. After the decease of a near relative, if funds permit, one of the higher teachers, a Sheik or a Caliph, is invited on seven successive evenings with the lower teachers to a solemn meal of rice and fowl. Verses from the Koran are read aloud and prayers are said to Mohammed as well as to God that He would grant life to the departed.

Among the Bataks the malim is given presents, especially of such things as the dead requires on the Resurrection fields: a cooking-pot, a knife, a calabash, a bottle, a plate, cups and a lamp. At the funeral feast the hadji is also presented with a piece of cloth that the dead may receive a banner. If a little child dies, who can be borne in a carrying cloth, the teacher is given the carrying cloth; because if that is not done, the little one will have no carrying cloth in eternity. The teacher is given the dead man's trousers, or else the departed will have no trousers in eternity. All these presents and prayers are for the benefit of the dead man. They open the gates of Paradise.

These sacred meals have become customary all the more easily because the Animist used also to try and propitiate the dead by a sumptuous feast. The heathen's funeral feast is also in honour of the dead whose spirit may become dangerous for his survivors. Slaves used therefore to be sacrificed in the old days and at a later time buffaloes, so that the souls of these animals, or human beings, as the case might be, might follow the dead into the realm of the dead. They are intended to make a due impression upon the rest of the departed as to the respect in which the dead man was held; they are thus to assure him a good position in the other world. The hope is that the spirit of the dead will thereby be appeased. This Animistic conception predominates even in Mohammedan funeral feasts. It is not so much solicitous love which prompts the survivors to bring their many offerings as the truly Animistic hope that the dead will leave his survivors in peace if they make the intermediate state pleasant for him. Otherwise he might conceive the idea of escaping from the torment of the intermediate state and return amongst men.

The same Animistic ideas constrain survivors to atone as far as possible for duties the dead have neglected. Here is the best opportunity, for instance, for doing a work of supererogation for the dead: supplementary fees are paid for instruction, and then in the other world the teacher will bear witness that the dead was a diligent reader of the Koran, even although he never had a Koran in his hands.

These gifts for the benefit of the dead the Bataks call "the ransom of the soul." They are distinguished into six categories: (1) "The pilgrim fee" (upa hadji). A dead man's survivors pay the teachers £6 16s., and in return the teachers must testify at the Day of Judgment that the departed had been to Mecca. A substitute may also be engaged for the dead man, the expenses of his journey being paid out of the dead man's estate. Agents travel round collecting these gifts (badal hadji).

(2) Gifts for purification. These are to obtain the testimony that the dead man was a blameless Moham-
medan. The forgiveness of his sins is thereby ensured.

(3) "The mount fee" (korban or kibas) is to ensure that the dead has some animal to ride upon at the Last Day on the fields of the Resurrection.

(4) "The instruction fee" (upa kadji). The dead has not known the entire contents of the Koran; that he may not now appear to have shirked his fees for instruction, the teachers are paid a supplementary fee of 25s. Then the departed receives the testimony that he knows the entire Koran and is admitted to Paradise.

(5) "Redemption money" (padia fidjah). If any one dies a heathen, and his parents wish to have him received into Islam posthumously, the dead man can be redeemed from heathenism by a gift of 25s. At the Last Day the teachers will then testify that the dead man has been converted by his parents to Islam.

(6) "Atonement" (makola hasilomon). All the sins committed by the departed from the hour of his birth till his death can be washed away by the payment of about 45s.

Every one, therefore, that can possibly afford it pays this total sum of about £15 10s. to the teachers to make sure that every possible duty is fulfilled. Naturally, the rich only can afford it. Sometimes sacrifices are also offered for the dead. Otherwise of course sacrificial ritual is unknown in Islam, although Mohammedan law provides for the slaughter of sacrificial victims.

The dead can thus be raised to supreme places of honour; this is very satisfactory. He will not wish himself back in this life. Happiness for the departed Moslem means protection for his survivors from the perpetual torment of departed spirits. This, much more than a belief in God's almighty, protecting power, gradually allays the fear of spirits. It does not actually vanish, for of course no one ever knows whether the departed do actually prevail in the intermediate state. But Islam,

at all events, considerably lessens the danger for them as regards evil spirits.

That Islam can convert the heathen even after death makes it easier for the living to go over. The heathen is concerned as to how his ancestors will regard the step. The Mohammedans used to tell me, for instance, in speaking about the Kramat beyond Bander, on the East coast of Sumatra, that the ancestral prince, who was buried there and is now greatly revered, lies in holy ground because many Mohammedans have settled in the neighbourhood, and that it is now his earnest desire that his descendants should also become Mohammedans. Zimmermann, a missionary in Borneo, makes a similar report.

Here again Islam does not demand of the heathen the great act of faith in God rather than in his ancestors ; it has recourse to a solemn posthumous reception of the ancestors into Islam. A convert is then beyond the reach of persecution, his ancestor himself abrogates the old order of things. One may have an easy conscience with regard to him. Very human motives here come into play. The heathen is rooted in his clan. It is because it means breaking loose from his clan that conversion to a new religion is so difficult—we know that from frequent experience on the mission field—to be parted from one's own people in the Hereafter is an intolerable thought. The heathen and the Heathen-Mohammedan alike have the idea that all the different religions have each their own Hereafter.

Those who are strongly attracted to Christianity will say : “ I cannot become a Christian because my ancestors died Mohammedans, and I should like to be united with them after death.” A Christian mother on the other hand, who has had her child baptized and buried as a Christian, will not so easily fall away from Christianity ; she will over and over again meet Mohammedan blandishments with the words : “ I want to be where my child is ! ”

The problem is solved by converting the dead to Mohammedanism. There is then sure prospect of seeing them again. That really fine and noble element in heathen nationalism, the oftentimes striking love for one's own people, thus becomes a strong motive for accepting Islam and remaining faithful to it.

Works of merit.—This endeavour to render service to the dead and to increase his religious debit balance in the Hereafter, is inspired by the truly Moslem conception of the meritoriousness of religious exercises.

It may surprise us that this idea of merit should have become popular among Animistic heathen. For we usually regard salvation by works as a Jewish doctrine. Yet we do find a tendency to it in Animism. Where the guardian angel of the dead asks the soul on its entrance into the shadow world how many heads it has taken in head-hunting (i.e., whether, according to Animistic ideas, it has contributed towards the life power of the tribe), or when the departed is asked whether he has adequately provided for posterity (i.e., contributed towards the maintenance of the clan), or whether he has been brave (i.e., possessed the virtues of his clan), and the gates of the other world are only opened to him when he replies in the affirmative, we meet the forerunner of a doctrine of merit. A place in the realm of the dead may not mean blessedness; but even if the merely relatively better state of the realm of the dead is only attained on the ground of Animistic merit, the Moslem's need of merit is much greater, because of course much greater blessedness is the prospect held out to him. Every means which assures an entrance to Paradise is eagerly grasped at. And woe to the Moslem who misses his heavenly goal! The heathen who does not reach the realm of the dead finds no rest, that is all; but the Mohammedan who is not received into Paradise passes into torment beyond imagination. The eschatological outlook has utterly increased man's terror of God and therewith his craving after merit.

Whereas uncertainty as to this life and the life to come reduced the heathen to a state of perpetual fear, the Mohammedan is tormented by the certainty of judgment. Man's earthly lot may be entirely dependent upon the caprice of God, which at best is one of compassion, and his eternal destiny may be predestined by God's immutable decree, but with the absolute inconsequence of a man distraught as to his future, the Mohammedan really focusses his entire religious endeavour upon the pursuit of merit which shall assure him of an entrance to heaven. It is meritorious even to be a Mohammedan, to name the name of Allah, to repeat the creed, to observe the law of purification, to pay the religious tax. The believer's daily prayer reminds him of the worship of the other world, admonishing him to do at least something beforehand to influence as favourably as possible the closing act of his earthly life. To gain eternity, that is his one absorbing thought. His worship does not spring from any inward desire for communion with God, it is not the thanksgiving of a soul overwhelmed by the goodness of God which cannot find words to praise its Lord: those are all emotions far removed from the Mohammedan. He gives something in order one day to receive something from God. Do ut des!

The month of fasting affords further opportunity for special works of merit. Not so much the actual fast is of supreme merit as the duties performed in connection with the revelry and feasting on the evening of the break-fast festival, e.g., the losses incurred by the fast and the accompanying standstill of merit are treasure laid up beforehand for eternity. The earthly debit balance from the period of fasting is carried to the credit account of the Hereafter. Many an one therefore spends his little all during the Fast. The Fast thus stands on a level with the religious dues. The prospect of accumulating "good works," the expectation of ultimate retribution, is the mainspring of all their fanaticism.

A rich eschatological promise is also attached to Holy War. "He who falls in Holy War passes straight into the presence of God." It is such ideas as these which makes Islam dangerous. No Colonial Power is secure from rebellions; the eschatological idea needs but to fall into the powder barrel and the most frenzied fanaticism is set aflame. During the fighting at Menilla, Moors bound themselves together and faced the Spanish guns, allowing themselves to be torn in pieces that their souls might ascend to Allah. One day at Achin one of the natives rushed into the Dutch camp and wounded several soldiers with his sword. Of course he was shot down by the nearest sentry; he only expected it. The case was investigated. The man had made an unhappy marriage. In despair and to escape from his bad wife, he took his desperate step; he was not committing suicide, which would have sent him to hell; he fell in Holy War and his soul, so embittered in this life by his wife, ascended to the bliss of Paradise.

The impress of Paradise and of Pan-Moslem conceptions is strong and deep upon the people. The more so because of the contrast between their religious and political ideals and the actual reality. These ideas welded together by an astute agitator into the word "Holy War" will rouse every Moslem to the pitch of excitement. The Pan-Moslem ideal *may* be attainable, the great day of final victory over the unbelievers *may* be at hand; it will at least be the glorious fate of Allah's slave to fall by the hand of the unbelievers and enter Paradise! Hence the battle-cry in every war between Mohammedans and Europeans is: "Holy War!" It was so in North Africa in the war between the French and Spanish and Italians, in the rebellions in the Dutch East Indies, and the unsettled element in German East Africa knows the rallying power of this magic word only too well.

Pan-Islamism may be a Utopia, its realization still a long way off. "Holy War" is of course a foolish catch-

word. The eschatological phantasmagory is of course a stupid fiction of the brain. Yet all three have mysterious, seductive power over Nature Peoples with their lack of sober insight into the seriousness of the political situation.

Teachers in the Hereafter.—The eschatological hope is a welcome lever by which the teachers may revive their waning influence and replenish an emptying pocket. For the teacher, say they, leads the faithful to Judgment. The full force of his mediatorial office now comes into play for the first time. The eternal salvation of those under his protection is in his hand. In this life the teacher's office is to receive the legal alms and worship of the faithful in Mohammed's stead, so that he may eventually be able to testify that he has received them. Not by virtue of exemplary conduct nor superior education, but by his place of vantage in the Hereafter, the teacher has become a powerful personage. Indeed, the teachers into whose hands the gifts of the faithful stream from all sides to a certain degree enjoy eternal life even in this present world.

As a matter of fact the influence upon the heathen of the eschatological hope cannot be exaggerated. It completely changes their outlook upon this life. The heathen used to spend all his energy upon the business of getting an increase of "soul-stuff," life power, and by that means more enjoyment out of life. He almost forgot the Hereafter. To the Moslem, on the contrary, this life is of no account as compared with the Hereafter. This life is an enigma, the Hereafter alone of real moment.

CHAPTER XI

MYSTICISM

MYSTICISM is widely prevalent in Islam, and not merely as the peculiar fancy of a few peoples. In the Dutch East Indies there is no higher mysticism, no scholastic system of mysticism, but on all hands we come across mystic ceremonies, that is to say, upon practical mysticism, which the common people regard as the supreme expression of piety.

{ This mysticism did not come from Arabia but from India; for mysticism in the Dutch East Indies influences even the lower classes. In the days of the mystic Ghazzali, Moslems universally believed even at Mecca that it was impossible to please God without being a mystic. Mohammed and all the other saints were declared to have been sufis, and to-day the mystic influences at work in the Dutch East Indies may be traced to the corporations and orders of mystics which have their head-quarters at Mecca.

The works of the mystic Ghazzali and portions of the writings of other Arabian and Persian mystics are circulated in the Dutch East Indies, and everywhere there is a strong predilection for mystical exercises. In Java the "ilmu peling" is regarded as a proof of the deepest piety. { Allah is within man, } Man is absorbed into the world-soul, which is likewise the Deity. This accounts for the fact that old men sometimes become hermits ¹

¹ Cf. *Mededeelingen*, 1860, p. 217 ff.

Devout Bataks like to close their daily prayer with a little mystical exercise. The worshipper sits upon the ground, his hands lying upon his knees in such a way that the tips of his fingers do not stick out beyond his knees (otherwise the Prophet will cut them off). The worshipper keeps in this position without moving; the Prophet then enters his soul. Or the worshipper will be told to shut his eyes after he has finished his prayer and stop his ears; then his soul communes with Mohammed and Ali. From them he receives the power to work miracles, to rise to eminence and obtain wealth.

Mystical exercises.—The native loves the mysterious and fantastic. Practices which he can only partially understand are a welcome substitute for the Animistic ceremonies Islam has taken away from him. We find among the Bataks three mystical exercises of devotion :

1. The so called "ratip," which proceeds as follows :—the malim appears with his pupils and associates more or less grounded in the faith. Arabic prayers (doa) and Arabic charms, which are to be taken from the Koran, are said aloud. The company sits in a semi-circle round the teacher. Then they draw in closer until their shoulders touch, and then the whole circle begins to sway to the left and to the right, shouting the *La ilaha ill'Allah* louder and louder. The bystanders beat time with their feet to increase the solemnity of the exercise. Most of the lamps are extinguished. The noise and the perpetual motion has a positively fascinating effect upon the participants, they seem to go mad, they fall into ecstasy. In some districts a ratip takes place three times during the month of fasting as a substitute, they say, for reading the Koran in three parts. The ratip is universally practised as a charm at funerals and during epidemics.

The common people have simply adopted the ratip instead of certain heathen customs. The mourners are glad to accept the noisy ratip in lieu of the manifold

frenzied devices that used to be practised to propitiate the spirit of the dead. They do not realize the far-reaching distinction between the old magic which was for the protection of the survivors and the new ratip which is exclusively for the protection of the departed soul. The common people realize the difference all the less because the formulas and charms are as unintelligible to them as was the old sorcerer's gibberish. During epidemics the noise of the ratip replaces the wild, old-time exorcisms, although as a matter of fact, Mohammedan teachers still keep up the old methods of driving out spirits, especially on the occasion of an epidemic.

This kind of mystical exercise is very popular, although the common people of course do not understand its mystical import, namely that the worshipper loses himself completely in glorifying the name of God in order to be but for a moment dead to this world. The ratip is one of the Zikr exercises by which the Moslem is to glorify God. To justify these exercises, they are attributed to Mohammed. "Zikr" means "remembering"; the various orders of fakir (dervishes) namely remember God by reciting His name hundreds and thousands of times in succession. Nearly every devout Mohammedan in the Dutch East Indies is a member of such an order.

2. In the Dutch East Indies mystical exercises are also performed with the help of a rosary of 100 beads, which represent the name of God and His ninety-nine attributes. This string of beads is passed ten times between the first and second fingers. With each bead one of the attributes of God must be said, or simply remembered, so that God's name is thus invoked 1,000 times. The exercise opens with litanies in which there are obvious traces of mysticism. Here is the opening prayer :—

Pure is the garment,
Pure the body,

Pure the place of prayer,¹
 Sitting in the left unison of the heart,
 Turned towards the West,²
 The heart of hearts in view,
 One in perception with the teacher,³
 Help me to obey thy law!
 May God slay me in the all holy,
 In the true faith, in pure Islam.⁴
 Lord God, admit me to glory.⁵

All rosary prayers culminate in the thought of the abnegation of the ego and the contemplation of the vision of God. The earth, they say, vanishes from the worshipper's sight, it becomes as small as a coin, he holds it in his hand, and the soul is one with God.

After the novice has learnt the appointed prayers and performed certain bodily purifications, he must spend the night in a closed room. In the morning he is solemnly conducted to the place of prayer, where he has to confess his sin aloud seven times; then the teacher carefully examines him to find out whether he has really beheld "the form of God." If he has, he receives his rosary.

Women also perform these exercises. They are required to spend a night alone with the malim. The

¹ External purity is the primary condition for communion with God.

² To enter into communion with God, man withdraws into his inmost soul to the place where the heart-beats fall in unison; motionless he "sits" towards the West, facing towards the Holy City of Mecca.

³ Altogether lost in contemplation of himself, his inmost soul, so that his immediate gaze is upon the representative of God within him.

⁴ This means the complete transporting of oneself out of this world, i.e. ecstasy. Man's ego is no longer there, he must be "dead" to this world (the teacher impresses this upon the novice) and only concern himself with God. Notice here that the meaning of "Islam" is "resignation."

⁵ The glorious bliss of union with Thyself. The *fruitio dei* (delight in God) of the Christian mystics which comes of contemplation.

women assert that they have first to take an oath not to tell any one what happens during that night. That immorality accompanies mystical exercises is a well known fact in the Near East.

These acts of devotion culminate in the so-called "Suluk" exercises, from the Arabic "suluk," hidden walk with God, mystical exercise. Any one wishing to perform a suluk exercise must first promise his teacher, generally on oath, (1) perfect obedience to all that the teacher says, even though it may seem wrong. (2) Unconditional faith in the teacher's word. (3) Faithful performance of all religious duties for ever. (4) Secrecy as to the ceremony. The exercise then proceeds as follows: the novice is led into a dark room and there treated like a corpse. He is washed and swathed in white cloth. The teacher reads the prayers for the dead, and then he is visited by the well known terrors of the grave. This lasts seven days. The novice is only allowed very little food. "One may not satisfy one's hunger or else the spirit of Mohammed will not appear." All the food must first be blessed by the teacher. No moan or cry must pass his lips, no matter what terrors, evil spirits and wild animals may appear to him; many cannot endure the ordeal and stop before the end of the first week. But he who endures to the end is endowed with great magic powers.

To him who overcomes prophets and angels appear in the second week to instruct him in all the magic arts as long as he cares to listen. Possessed of these powers ("ilmu"), he is blessed.

Now finally, the last great experience! The believer is worn out with fasting and prayer, his senses are bewildered with his thoughts and aspirations, with the terrible visions of the last few days. All kinds of animals and the spirits of earth and hell have appeared to tempt him; his body is exhausted; but in a final tension of soul he awaits the coming of the saints. There they come—his senses leave him. But see, the holy prophets

and Mohammed now take possession of his soul ; his body lies like a corpse and with his last gasp the novice murmurs once more the *La illaha ill'Allah*—and then Allah himself actually descends from his throne and takes up his abode in his heart. The mystic is blissful, enraptured, he hurries away to tell the waiting teacher, the Sheik of the order, of his last great experience, this meeting with the Almighty Allah. He has now attained the highest stage of earthly holiness which a man can reach in this world. He has beheld the Almighty within himself. All now lies at his feet, he can even become a prophet. He is happy here on earth, for who can withstand him ?

Happiness is also his in the Hereafter, for the terrors of death are past and over for him. The exercises often last forty days. As may well be imagined the novices at the end of that time remain squatting apathetically on the ground. Spiritual intercourse with his teacher is recommended as a solace ; the latter appears in a vision to the postulant's soul and overcomes his terrors. In a year's time the novices receive a paper saying they really have performed these exercises. However only a few, perhaps 5 per cent., endure the ordeal, and still fewer can pay enough to satisfy the Sheiks.

The religious content of mysticism.—Mystical exercises are really only intended for those who already know the law and the traditions ; but since it is especially the illiterate for whom these mystical exercises have such a fascination, ordinary people are also allowed to perform them. Nevertheless, they are only known to the chosen few ; the great mass of the people look with awe upon those who are versed in mystical matters. Here again, therefore, a clever opportunist policy prompts the leaders of Islam to let the abuse pass unnoticed.

The fascination of mystical practices is easily explained. Mysticism pertains to the twilight in which

Islam for the most part is hidden from the common people. It is part and parcel of the many strange and mysterious things in Islam: the Arabic language, the foreign dress, the hadji, etc. More satisfaction is found in these things than in the study of the law. Even self-righteousness repels more serious minds. It is true that mysticism is inter-religious, the common property of all religions, and yet it especially calls for explanation in Islam because it seems to be diametrically opposed to its conception of God, and its presence among the Animistic peoples is a striking phenomenon because heathenism has no parallel for mysticism. It is a reaction from the over-tension of Islam's stern idea of God. Man's longing for union with God bursts the barriers of orthodox doctrine which holds that communion with God is blasphemy.

Mysticism is distinguished from communion with God in that mysticism does away with the individuality of man; God and man become one. Substances but not personalities can be co-mingled; this distinction forms the essential condition for communion. When we apply it to Islam, anything surprising in the progress of mysticism vanishes. For Islam discredits both the personality of God and the personality of man. The freedom of God's personality is shackled by the idea of fate, and man as the bond-servant of determinism forfeits the hall-mark of personality, namely free-will.

This solves the further problem that, on the one hand, Islam places a man once more in fear of God, and mysticism, on the other hand, carries him at one leap beyond the bounds of fear. True fear based upon ethical grounds, that is to say awe, would seem impossible in respect of a personality so circumscribed as a God Who is the victim of fate. Realizing his lord's impotency, in that He cannot "will" but always "must," the slave becomes suddenly bold and grasps at mystical communion. Islam overlooks that which really separates God and man, namely sin. Thus man's slavish abjec-

tion and the denial of Divine free-will actually prepares the way for mysticism.

Even more simply are Animism and mysticism harmonized. Once Islam has awakened the Animist's slumbering thoughts of God and roused his hopes for the Hereafter, the Animist naturally takes any path which promises to bring him nearer his goal. Mysticism is one such way to God and the Hereafter. For mystical exercises help the dead in the other world and forearm a man for his conflicts hereafter; indeed, mystical exercises are sometimes more or less a prelude of the Last Day; the eschatological process, which so engrosses the believer's fancy, is anticipated to a certain extent even in this world in mystical practices.

Islam does awaken the desire after God, although of course not in the Christian sense. God is sought after because all magic power, for example, is centred in Him. Mysticism and magic run into one another. If all magic really comes from God, then nothing is more important than as close a relation to Him as possible, so that as much power as possible may be poured out upon the believer. Magic and mysticism have essentially much in common. Magic like mysticism is a means towards softening the stern idea of God, a method for bringing the unapproachable God nearer to oneself. No matter how the desired communion with God may be conceived, whether as religious aspiration after God, magic, or in the eschatological sense, the mystic's goal is always union with God. Although the doctors of the law say nothing of the kind, the Moslem hopes to attain that end by performing the prescribed duties. They, however, leave him in the lurch. His prayer five times a day, for instance, does not satisfy his desire to pray. The very prayerlessness of Islam promotes the cause of mysticism. The most scrupulous observance of the law never gives the Moslem any heartfelt assurance that he has attained the communion with God that he so longs for. Does any one ever keep the whole law?

The mystic life (tassawuf) covers at a stride the long road of justification by works ; the hope is that it will suddenly fill in that gap. This is what attracts more serious Moslems to mysticism ; it constitutes their final effort to reach the supreme heights of religion.

But few, however, reach their goal of union of the soul with God. Here again God's representatives take the place of God. It is enough to be one at heart with them. This is not surprising in view of what we have said about the teacher's position as mediators among the people. In all these exercises, if there is to be union with God, mystical union must first be established with the teacher, who in that case represents the Sheik of the order. The teacher, who, as we have heard, knows the thought of the absent, has the power to behold the souls of the departed, has in fact such deep insight into the soul of the novice, that he can decide whether union with God has actually taken place or not. These mystical exercises enslave believers more and more to their religious leaders. The believer's spiritual independence is lost in blind submission to the men who are God's representatives.

This peculiar relation to believers distinguishes the leaders of the mystic orders at Mecca from the teachers in the University. In the Dutch East Indies every teacher of any note tries to give instruction in mysticism ; because only so do they get any real hold upon the people. Even at Mecca the mystic orders exist for the same purpose side by side with the University without actually running counter to it. Many of the professors are themselves members of such orders ; they know that it only increases their reputation. If the great doctors in the Holy City of Mecca esteem these mystical exercises so highly, it is little wonder that the common people regard a man who has safely passed through the ordeal as the ideal Moslem, a holy man, who enjoys God's special favour and is in closer communion with Him than the rest of mankind. He has looked

upon the eternal form of God. Thus all who have learnt the rosary are regarded as a special class of more perfect believers, unconditionally resigned to Islam. They actually give one the impression of fanatics. They look upon themselves as a class apart and look down in pity on all who have not yet passed through their supreme experience.

Where, however, mysticism counts as the soul's supreme experience, other religious exercises recede into the background. In the Archipelago, as also in the Batak country more particularly, there are teachers who say it is no longer necessary to pray aloud, the secret prayer of the heart is sufficient. This is a mystical reaction from the externality of the idea of God and His worship.

Moslem mysticism, therefore, contains a certain revolutionary element; for once the drill of external religious observance is relaxed, Islam's very fabric is imperilled. These radical views are, however, only held by the chosen few; the body of the people knows nothing about them. On the contrary mysticism actually renders valuable service among the lower classes: it diffuses Pan-Moslem ideas more and more widely. For mystical exercises can of course be learnt only at Mecca in the societies of mystics which are generally called the Orders of Islam. The political power of Islam is steadily on the decline, even the strongest Moslem princes do not dare to engage in Holy War; the mystic orders discipline the common people as willing tools in their teacher's hands, making them obedient even against their own interests. Quite ignorant and very superstitious pilgrims are welcomed as members of these orders; the hope is that they will eventually retrieve their ignorance. Political powers are glad to curry favour with the leaders of the orders, because they have the masses so well in hand. For the mystic orders are a much stronger influence in implanting and fostering political ideals than study. The doctors impart theories,

the mystics practical conclusions. Hence the issue of these movements in popular fanaticism. Nor is the political tendency lacking, e.g., the "Sikir" has a political significance. "In telling his rosary, say the Bataks, a man learns to fight, to cross the ocean, march over hill and dale and conquer his enemies, so that some day he may make war against the unbelievers."

These mystic orders are spreading more and more in the Dutch East Indies. The Mecca pilgrims may often understand but little of the meaning of the mystic rites they have practised at Mecca, but they make the most of that little. It is not unlikely, as many Moslems hope, that mysticism will once more work a reformation in the national life; and what they mean by that is obvious: worse bondage than ever to the religious leaders, and a more complete blending of eschatological aspirations and mystic political tendencies. This is the direction in which mysticism, as it gains firmer footing, is driving Indonesian Islam. Refine the Moslem's idea of God, bring him into closer communion with God, or purify his hope of the Hereafter, it cannot. Mysticism can only increase the perplexity of an Animist people, at all events so fanciful, and obscure the living God from its sight more and more.

PART II

The Moral and Religious Condition of the Heathen-Mohammedan

IT is a mistake to think that when the heathen goes over to Islam he remains the same as he was before. The whole of the first part of this book goes to prove the contrary. We have seen into contact with what grand new thoughts and hopes Islam brings the heathen; we have repeatedly remarked upon the inner cohesion of the Moslem world as a whole. We have observed the way in which Islam adapted itself, one might almost say, by instinct, to the needs of the Animist, indeed, how it has fused the new with the old in one organism. Minute as may be the bacillus of Moslem theology among the uncivilized races, slight as may be now and then the Heathen-Mohammedan's serious intention of really fulfilling his religious duties, a new spirit has somehow been kindled and is moving in the Animist heart of the people.

Dr. Snouck Hurgronje contradicts the statement that the Javanese, the Buginese and other East Indian peoples are not good Mohammedans because they are ignorant of their religion. Being a Mohammedan, says Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, does not depend upon a man's knowledge of Islam, but rather upon his wish to be called a Mohammedan.

That natives like to call themselves Mohammedans without any right to the name does not modify this

statement. In practice it is sometimes difficult to decide whether people are still heathen or have become Mohammedans. We call Mohammedans those who have joined Islam by some ceremonial rite and from that time onwards desire to be Mohammedans. The leaven of Mohammedanism is at work in all these people. The measure of heathenism they may still continue to cherish is a matter of indifference. There is only a gradual distinction between them and the acknowledged leaders of the movement. This also applies to those who have only just entered the outer court of Mohammedanism and is also found in East Africa. "Besides the natives who have been officially received by a malim into the organized community of Islam, there are many who only follow certain customs as suits their convenience and who, nevertheless, regard themselves as Moslems." ¹

All the heathen who see in Islam the religion of the future find in it not merely their ideal of piety, but also the ideal of their whole conception of life, morally, religiously, politically and socially. In their heart of hearts—at least so they think—they are done with heathenism, even if they have not yet outwardly broken with it. These men set their entire hope upon Islam. Are their hopes fulfilled? Does what the heathen becomes under the influence of Islam imply progress or not?

¹ Cf. *Berliner Missions-Berichte*, 1908, xii.

CHAPTER I

ANIMISM

ANIMISM lies at the root of all the heathen misery of the peoples at this level of civilization. If help is to be brought to these peoples, the first thing to be done is to set them free from the strait waistcoat of their Animistic belief. The question is how far Islam has succeeded in doing this.

Looking back over the first part of this book, we may say that Islam relinquishes the fight against Animism entirely. Here and there it may prune away a few excrescences, such as cannibalism and head-hunting, but the axe is never laid to the root of the tree. Indeed, Islam has yet to tackle the whole problem of uprooting Animism; and it never will tackle it, because Islam from the first has failed to perceive it. The impassable gulf between the bondage of Animism and belief in God, it has never noticed. Otherwise, Moslem propaganda would have taken another direction; it would at all events never have found its way to the peoples of Indonesia.

The objection that Christianity—and especially the Roman Church—has not succeeded in conquering Animism, a question to which we shall return, falls to the ground, because Scriptural Christianity, at all events, does do battle against and overcome Animism. Where Animism is tolerated, it is contrary to the essence of Christianity. The Moslem, on the other hand, is naturally inclined to Animism; his Animism does not run

counter to the ideal of his religion. Islam is the classic example of the way in which the non-Christian religions do not succeed in conquering Animism.

This weakness in face of the supreme enemy of all religious and moral progress bears a bitter penalty. Among the Animist peoples Islam is more and more entangled in the meshes of Animism. The conqueror is, in reality, the conquered. Islam sees the most precious article of its creed, the belief in God, and the most important of its religious acts, the profession of belief, dragged in the mire of Animistic thought; only in Animistic guise do they gain currency among the common people. Instead of Islam raising the people, it is itself degraded. Islam, far from delivering heathendom from the toils of Animism, is itself deeply involved in them. Animism emerges from its struggle for the soul of a people, modernized it is true, but more powerful than ever, elegantly tricked out and buttressed by theology. Often it is scarcely recognizable in its refined Arabian dress, but it continues as before to sway the people; it has received Divine sanction.

Animism is a foe which must be refused all quarter. In not doing so, Islam is bound to suffer absolute defeat itself at the hands of its hypocritical opponent.

Many customs are doubtless forgotten; sacrifices are soon things of the past. Many prayer formulas, many names of spirits and ancestors are lost, but what an impregnable position magic gains in the new religion by entrenching itself behind the new conception of God. How many possible ways the Heathen-Mohammedan finds of satisfying his Animistic cravings in his daily religious exercises—and, above all, in the vagaries of mysticism. (Moslem ritual, instead of bringing a man to God, serves as a drag net for Animism.) (Dr. Adriani confirms this from Celebes: the Mohammedan there is more superstitious than the heathen.) Hence Islam has exercised quite a different influence upon the heathen

from what we should expect. It has not left him as he was, nor has it tempered his Animism. Rather it has relaid the old Animistic foundations of the heathen's religion and run up a light, artistic superstructure upon it of Moslem customs.

CHAPTER II

FANATICISM

THE religious life of the Heathen-Mohammedan is completely transformed. Something new comes into his soul, something hitherto unknown to him, but which in time characterizes his whole religious life : the Heathen-Mohammedan becomes a fanatic.

This is surprising. For fanaticism is utterly and absolutely foreign, at all events to the Indonesian peoples. We stand here suddenly before a "novum" in the thought world of the Heathen-Mohammedan, for which we must account. How does it come about that such a tolerant race of men as the Indonesians becomes fanatical? Towards those of every other faith the Animist advocates the principle of "Laissez faire, laissez aller!" The Chinese in his midst burns incense before his tablets, the Mohammedan worships his Nabi (prophet), the Christian keeps his Sunday. The Animist has no idea of forcing his ancestral traditions upon any other nation.

And yet people who yesterday were still quite contentedly eating swine's flesh and to-day have gone over to Islam, will to-morrow, without further instruction than the casual conversation of a Mohammedan packman, deride their fellow-countrymen's taste for that same swine's flesh. People, who only yesterday gave us a friendly greeting, pass us to-day with a haughty, gloomy look, because in the interval they have received their solemn initiation with lemon juice at the place of prayer on the river-bank. Hatred for all those of differ-

ent faith is apparently an essential constituent of the new thing of which the soul of the Moslem convert has become possessed.

Nor is this fanaticism merely the first zeal of the renegade, such as we have met elsewhere. It rather grows stronger as time goes on. Its origin is probably to be traced to Mecca ; at all events, Mecca supplies it constantly with fresh stores of energy. Every Mecca pilgrim returns home, at all events with this element of Islam. Once implanted, the seeds of intolerance and fanaticism find full opportunity to develop in this atmosphere. Such seeds are already sown in the heart of the Indonesian Moslem in early youth. Even in the teaching about the true faith given him as a child, the native has heard that hatred against unbelievers is the duty of the faithful. The Decalogue of the true faith includes a law that " a man must hate all non-Mohammedans ; for these are abhorrent to God."

That fanaticism should appear so quickly in converts is partly explained by the fact that the actual conversion of the natives to Islam does not proceed so suddenly as we generally think. Sometimes there have been centuries of contact with Mohammedans, e.g., in dealings with Mohammedan traders in the coast regions of the Archipelago. But even where the contact is of merely recent date, a stream of Mohammedan thought will have percolated into the mind of a people long before the first conversions take place. The charms of heathen sorcerers often breathe the Mohammedan spirit ; one meets even women in the interior of Sumatra who already know about the Nabi (prophet). Of course the native will often go over to Islam without any sort of instruction ; but a convert has always assimilated a certain quantum of Moslem thought ; when he at last calls himself a Moslem, he has been so at heart for a long time. And fanaticism is included in that quantum of thought. This should prevent us from saying these peoples have been superficially Islamized. For it actually enables us

to estimate how far the Islamizing process has already gone. The fanaticism of the Indonesian Mohammedan is merely one phenomenon in the whole transformation of Indonesian thought under the influence of Islam.

A deeper reason, however, for the Mohammedan's fanaticism is found in his conception of God and his idea of the Hereafter: it is the practical outcome of both.

The God of the heathen was only a national God, although as Creator of the world, He must of course be really a God universal; the heathen has, however, never drawn this logical conclusion from his belief in the creation of the world. He conceives of the world as the territory known to his own tribe. The Moslem's God lays claim, however, to universal supremacy. Any one who resists Him, i.e., who does not accept Islam, is rebellious against God. God pursues him with burning hate. The national God of the heathen concerns himself as little as the heathen himself with the religion of other nations, but the God of Islam is terrible in his wrath against unbelievers; and any one at enmity with God is also at enmity with the faithful. The Moslem's God knows nothing of salvation for the sinner; there is neither conversion on man's side nor acceptance on God's side, only submission. Any one who does not surrender suffers God's inexorable hate. Hatred and violence are heavenly virtues. Unfortunately, the conditions of the age render it impossible for the Moslem to give practical expression to this hatred. Holy Wars are not possible, rebellions are hopeless; but at least in his secret heart every one can hate the unbeliever. Fanaticism is the Holy War which every true Moslem can wage in his inmost soul without hindrance. Anything further is, unfortunately, impossible at present. But a man at least fulfils his duty in respect of war by faithfully hating those of other creeds.

Added to which there is the Pan-Moslem ideal. That, indeed, fans the flame of fanaticism. It keeps the

Moslem alive to the fact that he belongs to God's Chosen People.} The utopia of Pan-Moslem hopes feeds every Moslem's pride with fresh fuel. His passion for power is stirred. He is called to rule, he therefore looks down in pity on every unbeliever. And yet those born to rule are doomed to obedience! The more deeply does fanaticism eat into their hearts and secret wrath at the unnatural state of the world which should, but cannot be altered.

Their sole consolation lies in the end of the world. The last Holy War will then be fought to a triumphant finish; the unbeliever will at length receive his due. The prospect of this eschatological event fans the flame of fanaticism in the heart of the faithful. As the hope of the Hereafter gains ground in the Moslem's soul, he becomes more and more fanatical. For in the Hereafter the Moslem will have the lordship denied him in this present world, the unbeliever will suffer the humiliation he already deserves. Mohammed revels in actual enjoyment as he pictures the torment of the damned. And to-day the Mohammedan and the Indonesian in particular feasts his soul upon these descriptions with all the details added by tradition.

What he will one day be at the right hand of God makes the Mohammedan realize his superiority to all mankind.} His amazing self-conceit is fostered by the daily ritual of his religion. He alone is pure among the impure. He bears the mark of circumcision; he abstains from every kind of unclean food; daily he performs the ceremonial ablutions which alone ensure a heavenly existence. The pure despises the unclean. He actually hates them, their impurity is a daily menace to his purity. Unfortunately, present conditions are such that he cannot avoid contact with the unclean. But in his heart of hearts he knows he is better than other men, because he is rich in merit. That constitutes his guarantee of God's special favour and his claim to Paradise. How much reason he has to despise the

unbeliever who ends his days without merit and hence without title to the after life or any claims upon God. Salvation by works in Islam is thus purely external, dead formalism. The form, not the inward intention of religious acts is the main thing. How important is a man's posture at prayer. In what a mercenary spirit he observes the month of fasting. The religious tax is a regular counting-house transaction. The overrating of purely formal observance causes the underrating of the intention behind it; the man deadens.

But surely dull indifference is not fanaticism. Nevertheless, many a Mohammedan is really deadened. He is given too little independence, he is entirely under the tutelage of the ministers of his religion. The habit grows upon him of relegating the heavy burden of religious ritual to the Moslem teachers. They are after all the only ones who understand the Koran, only they know the right way, and it is they who see to it that a man reaches Paradise, his final goal. And hence the teachers' unholy power over the indolent mass of the people. A quiet nod from these masters of Islam, as they are reckoned by the common people, is quite sufficient for an outbreak of fanaticism in the Name of God. The apparently grave-like peace is but slumbering fanaticism. This is the reason the teachers try and keep the people as much in ignorance as possible. The more ignorant the masses are, the more easily is their fanaticism kindled. Their ignorance maintains their belief in the power of their sorcerers, it makes them ready to believe all the tales that are poured into their ears about the Christians.

The theory that the Heathen-Mohammedan is much too ignorant ever possibly to be fanatical is untenable. Fanaticism is no proof of deep religious experience; it only blinds the observer to the emptiness of the Moslem heart. The medley of unintelligible formulas which a man has to learn nips in the bud his heart worship. The more foreign words and foreign customs take the

place of his mother-tongue and the customs of his forefathers in his religious life, the more moribund does the natural religious instinct of the Heathen-Mohammedan become. When the heathen prayed, material as his object may have been, he did express an inward longing. His spirit-oracles, the hallowed custom of his fathers, were really more illuminating to the heathen than the strange texts from the Koran and the Malay formulas which form his moral code as a Mohammedan. The former did not let his religious inner self entirely die out, the latter have no influence upon his inner life at all. The more and more elaborate routine of religious exercises, which is becoming common property for the whole body of adherents of Islam, the perpetual listening to unintelligible formulas and phrases, whose merit is independent of being understood, gradually smothers the lingering embers of really personal religious experience.

In the inner religious life of the Animist, already feeble enough, going over to Islam means a retrograde step. In place of the natural religious feeling with which the Animist is incontrovertibly endowed, there appears the white heat of a fanaticism which is really foreign to his nature, and which merely covers cold religious indifference. Once peoples are submerged, Islam can only inflame them with fanaticism ; it will always stand in the way of any real spiritual and moral uplift.

Fanaticism is not the expression of religious power, but of weakness. Any one not sure of his cause is glad to hide the shakiness of his position under the cloak of enthusiasm. Fanaticism is the self-deception with which a man blinds himself and others to the powerlessness of his religious life. He not only wants to give his fanatical teacher and God the impression that he is a fanatic and so make up for the short-comings of his religious life ; he also seeks peace of conscience for himself. His proud, external show of assurance is a cloak for complete uncertainty as to his own destiny in this life or in eternity. This fanaticism has its origin in the

unreality of the religious life. A man wants to appear better than he is. He manifests to the world a zeal for the faith, devotion to God's cause, which in reality he does not possess.

Fanaticism is the natural expression of the inward unrest of the Heathen-Mohammedan, the reflection of his whole inward condition. The Heathen-Mohammedan, like the heathen, is oppressed by terrible fear. His good works only make him the more miserable. This inward dispeace, this despair at the superfluity of good works demanded of him impel him to be a fanatic; at least one thing he can do: he can hate, he can be fanatical. The voice of conscience shall therefore be drowned in the warcry of the fanatic. Of course Islam itself has no inkling of this. What does the Mohammedan know about conscience?

Fanaticism is the result of the bitter disappointment which Islam has in store for the converted Animist. The idea of God may have risen upon his soul, the true believer certainly is more occupied with the Hereafter than the heathen, but no union with God has been established. The Mohammedan has not entered into blessedness or peace. Nor can Islam point to any sure way to the other world. The satisfaction which Islam has not brought is now sought in fanaticism which flatters a man's pride and panders to his unbridled selfishness.

Fanaticism is a sham fight to draw a veil over what amounts to religious bankruptcy. It represents an effort to make conversion to Islam seem great gain, whereas it would be more honest to confess that it has meant a distinct loss. One does come across Mohammedans who undoubtedly see through and acknowledge Islam's swindling ways. Only they are ashamed to say so, because it means the confession of their own stupidity. These very Moslems are often the worst fanatics of all.

CHAPTER III

THE MORAL FORCE OF ISLAM

IN Islam one meets no powers from above, only such as spring from beneath. Islam's moral and religious influence run parallel. Here again, as if by some secret magnetism, the powers that draw man away from God ally themselves with the Animistic influences already at work in the heathen soul. And this league between forces at enmity with God destroys the last remnant of Divine truth and moral power in Islam.

The moral ideal.—If Islam adopts such an undecided attitude with regard to Animism, the cancer of heathendom, we shall scarcely expect it to contribute much to the solution of the great problem of guiding a people whose national life is passing through a period of transition, that is to say, at a time when an uncivilized people requires leadership.

The new age ploughs deep into the national life of a people. It is brought out from its isolation into contact with world commerce and world civilization. Its old religion and old customs, together with its old moral sanctions, such as they were, are useless for the new age. Does Islam succeed in providing any substitute? The task is difficult. Lax as tribal custom may have been, it did sufficiently curb heathen lust for communal life. A man's propensity to steal and defraud was, to a certain extent, controlled by the fear of the ancestors, the law of his tribe; sexual licence was bridled by marriage customs; self-seeking and tyranny were, if only to a

certain point, kept within bounds by tribal law. The new age breaks down all such restraint. A man's inclination to fraud is fostered. The coast traders overreach the islanders; immorality gains in refinement, flattery in smooth politeness; the native grows cunning, that is to say, clever at turning the new age and its blessings to his own ends.

But even if the new age is not accompanied by such momentous changes, it is always a tremendous undertaking to guide a people through a change of religion. And in heathendom how closely the religious and the general life of the people are intertwined. Heathenism certainly is corrupt through and through, paralysed by Animism, which is eating out its very marrow; but when a people gives up the customs of its forefathers, it throws away crutches on which it could at all events limp painfully through life. For an uncivilized people to give up its religion means that it is left completely without moral control. Has Islam got the power to give a people the support it needs at that crucial moment? The question before us is this: does Islam exercise an educative influence upon the heathen peoples which have adopted its religion, is it indeed in a position to do so?

The Animism which is taken over from heathenism is devoid of power; but even Islam's new contribution is not such as to raise the moral ideal of a people. Islam is without moral ideals. According to Islam, God Himself is not an irreproachable personality. In so far as God is arbitrary, He is not righteous, strenuously as every Mohammedan will maintain that He is. If God inspires not only man's good thoughts but his evil thoughts as well, He is not unacquainted with evil. The conception of God suffers most, however, from its association with magic. Even a plotting criminal will appeal to God and look for His aid. Nor is the moral influence of the Prophet Mohammed any more elevating. It is actually the undoing of the conception of God. What can be the

morality of a God, Who chooses such an immoral Apostle ? The more the heathen knows about his life, the more baneful is the influence of the Prophet. His cruelty rouses the brutality within him, Mohammed's sensuality, his evil passions, his untruthfulness is a welcome cloak for dishonesty. But, worst of all, the Prophet involves God in his immoral life, he justifies his conduct by appealing to Divine revelation. Sexual licence is a special dispensation from God to the Prophet, a privilege reserved for him alone. Again, what a shadow this throws upon the image of God. The Prophet is the mediator between God and man. (If God chooses a man as His mediator who exercises so little self-control in sexual matters, it proves that God Himself thinks but lightly of morality.) And further, the more the historical figure of the Prophet impresses itself upon the popular mind, the more readily is his manner of life taken as the excuse for loose living, the very contemplation of the Prophet's holy life excites the believer's fancy and thereby undermines his moral character. This is what makes Mohammed so popular. (The Animist welcomes a prophet who himself is not above reproach : he will be left unpunished and unmolested in his evil doings.)

It is true that we have remarked that the Bataks, for instance, are entirely ignorant on the subject of the Prophet's life, nor does it interest them ; the fact, however, that Mohammed had several wives is common knowledge. Just because the Bataks, for instance, are so ignorant about the Prophet's life, the morality of the Mohammedan Batak and his married life is on a higher plane than that of other Mohammedan countries.

The followers of the Prophet, the teachers, are by no means models for the community. We have seen how clever they are at making capital out of the faithful, how closely they follow the heathen sorcerers in their black art. Therein lies the secret of their power. From day to day they show the people to what lengths one may go in the service of this religion. The heathen likes that.

He realizes he can be a holy man, in favour with God and man, actually the representative of the Prophet and yet practise all his old deceitful tricks for his own advantage. The heathen did not know before that it is possible to be covetous and at the same time God's chosen servant. He learns that for the first time in Islam.

Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's description of life in Mecca makes it only too evident that a blight spreads over the whole Mohammedan world from the Holy City. Doubtless there is a certain reaction at Mecca against pederasty and temporary marriage; but in point of fact, as Mecca initiates the heathen in the mysteries of the faith of Islam, so it also introduces him to a refinement of vice of which he has hitherto been ignorant.

The terrible thing is that Mecca, where this immorality prevails is the City of God, the Holy City. The same gates which lead men into the presence of God introduce them to the most abominable immorality. The stronger the influence of Mecca upon a Mohammedan people, the more degrading is the influence of Islam upon its morality. In the matter of these vices in the Mohammedan world, it is not so much a question of remnants of heathenism as of influences from the centre to the circumference. The captains of pilgrim boats carry not only cholera germs to the ends of the earth; they have also shiploads of agents of immorality for the heathen world already immoral to the core. And this immorality, like everything which comes from Mecca, has the Divine sanction, forbidden as such vices may be by the letter of the law.

The prospect of the bliss of Paradise also excites the sexual passions of the southerner's naturally so susceptible nature. In the transcendental world which the hope of Paradise perpetually keeps before the eyes of the Mohammedan, there blow breezes of sultry earthly sensuality. The Moslem's future blessedness is potential sensuality. No wonder then that the prospect of the joys of Paradise so actively possesses the soul of the

Bataks. The promise of the houris of heaven in undisturbed possession, the doctrine that in Paradise the immoral man escapes the "irksome" consequence of sexual intercourse, namely, pregnancy and birth, is clearly a speculation in sensual pleasure. It colours the whole religious outlook of the Mohammedan. A young man's questions about the Hereafter do not arise from any desire to increase his religious knowledge. But they are called forth by that most terrible of doctrines that the dispenser of these joys is God. What was permitted to the Prophet by the special favour of God will one day be the privilege of all the faithful in unbounded measure. Will the God Who holds out to His faithful the prospect of such extensive sexual delights be really so very angry if those same faithful indulge in excesses here in this world ?

Thus in Islam the religious life challenges immorality.

Moral principle.—These demoralizing forces take effect the more surely because Islam is in no way concerned with the inculcation of any strong moral principles. As Christians, we are accustomed to regard religious power as moral strength at the same time. Islam has no such idea. One may be a very pious Mohammedan and yet lead an utterly immoral life. Piety and morality are on different planes in Islam. The great thing is to perform one's religious duties ; moral obligations have nothing whatever to do with the complete resignation, the "Islam" of a man ; and the impress of its piety is evident upon its moral life. For Islam does not merely tolerate remnants of Animism, it even furishes them up afresh ; hence the effects of Animistic heathenism in the moral sphere.

The fact that Islam has replaced heathen piety by fanaticism has far-reaching ethical consequences. Fanaticism is a really estimable quality in the believer. Once a fanatic, one is what one ought to be. It is, therefore, superfluous to aim at any further height of virtue. Once a fanatic the moral goal is reached. Piety and morality

show a man's life in double entry. Errors on one page appear also on the other.

Here is the crux of the situation. The question is not whether Islam abolishes individual heathen vices or is merely unable as yet to master them. Otherwise we would be willing enough to grant Islam a certain respite. We missionaries know full well what a gigantic task is involved in the moral depravity of heathenism. We know how difficult it is, for instance, to really inculcate truthfulness, so that we cannot level the reproach against Islam that there is still much immorality and untruthfulness within its borders. The same might very rightly be said of us also. The question is rather, does Islam endow the heathen with the power to become a new man; or if that is going too far, does its religion lay down a working principle according to which the heathen may order his life? If we can discover such a principle in Islam, we shall have the right to expect it to be an educative force among the uncivilized races.

The dogma of the rationality of Islam probably accounts for the fact that wide circles of people ascribe moral and elevating power over heathen races to Islam. Because Christian rationalism has without doubt been endowed with a moral ideal they conclude that rationalistic Islam has also a moral value. I do not know whether I am right in tracing the legend of the rationalism of Islam to Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. Let us, however, but consider Islam's fanciful conception of the Hereafter and the rationalist's empty hope of immortality, Islam's idea of mediation and the Unitarian's stern conception of God. Let us compare the rationalist's ideal Man Jesus with the supernatural Jesus of the Koran, who has even a place in eternity. How remote from orthodox Islam it is to adduce the human "ratio" at all as the principle of human knowledge. No legend is too fantastic or supramundane. The more it transcends the bounds of human thought, the more likely it is to find credence. There is no question, there-

fore, of rationalism nor consequently of moral force such as we should a priori associate with a rationalistic religion.

But does not true Islam, i.e., surrender to God, necessarily issue in moral regeneration? Islam is said to consist in resignation, absolute, submissive obedience and the renunciation of all gainsaying or opposition against God. But that involves no inward change of heart on the part of the heathen. Has he ever actually been opposed to God? He has simply never troubled about Him. The heathen is to resign himself to the will of God. That, however, entails no inward conversion, it only means recognizing certain religious duties, certain ritual, as binding in principle and in performing the same to the best of one's ability. One's moral behaviour suffers no change. It is not in the least affected by the well-known Moslem divisions of human conduct; for the matter of that, they are not generally known in the Dutch East Indies.

Breaches of morality are called "dosa" (literally, "offences against the customs of the ancestors"). Christian missionaries have adopted the same word to render the idea of sin. On the other hand, breaches of the law about food are called "haram," a word which has much the same force among the common people as "accursed." This clearly shows that the common people censure a breach of ritual more heavily than moral transgression.

Moreover, the teachers' moral instruction is a dead letter, however it may tickle our fancy. Their injunctions are learnt off by heart mechanically. Non-essentials are all mixed up with what is really important.

The Moslem Bataks are taught in relation to their religious duties: *A*. Ten parts of true faith. A man must show (1) love to God; (2) love to the angels; (3) love to the Koran; (4) love to the prophets; (5) love to the baleo (Ulia Allah); (6) hatred to all the enemies of God (with the explanation that God hates all who are

not Mohammedans); (7) fear of the wrath of God; (8) belief in the mercy of God; (9) reverence and awe for the name of Mecca, because Mecca is a holy name; (10) a heart turned away from all that is contrary to God.

B. Five things well-pleasing to God: (1) To go to the mosque and pray there in the Arabic language; (2) To teach the commandments of God; (3) To devote one's energies to making others Mohammedan; (4) To increase in virtue, and (5) in humility.

C. The following ten things are displeasing to God: (1) To pray without mentioning one's father and mother; (2) To step over a grave without saying a prayer; (3) To go abroad and not worship in a mosque; (4) To travel with friends without asking their name and place of origin; (5) Not to keep an agreement; (6) When reading the Koran to stop short of 100 chapters; (7) To speak in the presence of a baleo; (8) To visit mosques without worshipping there; (9) To give one's companions nothing when one has plenty of food; (10) To revile the baleo, malim or kulipa.

D. There are ten further things which destroy true faith: (1) To have two gods; (2) To love evil; (3) To do wrong to one's fellow-believers; (4) To quarrel with one's fellow-believers; (5) To think lightly of the ten parts essential to true belief; (6) Not to be afraid of losing one's faith; (7) To copy the dress of unbelievers; (8) Not to believe in the mercy of God; (9) To wear the clothes of unbelievers, i.e., a sunhat, a cravat, or trousers of European manufacture; (10) Not to turn towards Mecca at prayer.

Further, eight things are to be remembered on one's death-bed; they must at all costs be avoided:—(1) To destroy the religion of a fellow-believer; (2) Not to pray in Arabic; (3) Not to be afraid of everlasting torment; (4) To cling to earthly riches; (5) Hatred; (6) Boasting; (7) Lying; (8) To revile a teacher.

This constant confusion of the most external ordinances with commandments which in themselves are of intrin-

sic value (e.g., Not to step over a grave without saying a prayer, and to fear the wrath of God), causes an external construction to be put upon the whole law. The ceremonial law, especially as regards food, is placed on the same footing as individual moral prohibitions. The thief commits no greater crime than the Moslem who eats swine's flesh. Notorious cheats are utterly conscientious in giving alms. A favourite topic for discussion is what food is to be avoided, but a lie costs never a thought.

This, however, means that the moral point of view is contorted: it is a question not of disposition but of external behaviour, not of moral conduct but of the performance of a rite. Whenever ceremonial law espouses moral law, moral law always has to pay the cost. This perversion of morality is Animistic. In Animism also it was not a question of disposition, but of one's attitude towards the fathers, the ancestors, the inherited order of things.

The ominous consequence of the fusion of moral and ceremonial law is not abrogated by the growing indifference to be found in many circles even in the Near East to the external observance of Islam, because the undermining of ceremonial law means danger to moral law as well; for both are one. Since ceremonial law can no longer be observed in its entirety, why should one distress oneself with strict moral laws?

This twofold evil, the formation of religious observance and the confusion of the external ceremonial law and the moral law, renders Islam powerless to work a transformation in the heathen. Nor indeed does the Heathen-Mohammedan rise above the ethical depravity of heathenism. One must not be dazzled by high-sounding moral aphorisms. There is as little thought of working any such transformation as of overcoming Animism. There is no need for anything of the kind. Whatever may be the reproaches cast at the moral shortcomings of heathenism, the Heathen-Mohammedan does not in

the least regard his neighbours as such extremely wicked worshippers of spirits or accursed eaters of swine's flesh. The Heathen-Mohammedan lacks any true moral judgment concerning heathenism, because he is still far too much in its toils himself.

Hence we find no sense of sin. The Moslem has overcome all sin. Sin, however, consists in not fasting, and, above all, in eating swine's flesh. Islam has not been able to give the term sin any depth of content. The Mohammedan applies the word "dosa" as correctly to the cat who has stolen some rice as to a man who has committed the worst crime; of course, every ceremonial offence is also called "dosa." Islam knows nothing of secret sin.

By sin the Mohammedan, like the heathen, means simply offences against Divine ordinances. Islam, like the Animist, lacks all understanding of the fact that sin implies a wrong principle. He therefore has simply a series of detached injunctions against individual sins. His moral maxims may be excellent, but his is no ethical religion. Even at the Last Judgment, it is not his whole sinful behaviour which is weighed in the balance, but his individual transgressions. He is as ignorant of any definite moral principle, such as man's responsibility to God or love for his neighbour, as he is of any principle underlying sin, such as selfishness.

The subsidiary moral incentives of Islam have also an unfavourable influence upon the heathen. Their minds are dominated by the fear of the unapproachable Lord of the universe. Even the heathen realizes that such a God is not easily to be propitiated. The greater and more real danger, however, which threatens him as a Heathen-Mohammedan requires more tangible weapons of defence. More than an offering and a prayer is needed to counter-balance transgression. One must have merit, incontestable merit, which God shall indisputably recognize. In the ardent pursuit of merit, on the ground of certain external acts of devotion, one's im-

mediate moral duties are completely overlooked. (Cf. St. Mark vii. 11 ff.).

The doctrine of religious duties thus loses all value as an incentive to righteousness. Any one who fulfils the letter of the law can thereby atone for every moral shortcoming. Even if the one scale contains merely external but "good works" (pahalo) and the other serious moral transgressions, the good works will nevertheless counterbalance the moral faults. In so far as the observance of the "duties" is a work of merit, it does not involve moral principle. The Moslem fulfils the law not that he may be good, but in order to gain merit in the sight of God. The Mohammedan is full of zeal not for the sake of moral perfection, but in the hope of gaining sufficient merit to give vent to unbridled moral licence. That correct moral behaviour in all the circumstances of life will open the gate of heaven is not a Moslem conception, but rather that actual individual acts acquire so much definite merit. Instruction in itself is of little value, but it is a meritorious act to undergo instruction at the cost of so much time and money. The important thing is not that I should avoid transgression, but that I should observe as many months and days of fasting as possible; not that I should conduct my money affairs honestly, but that I should give as much alms as possible; because every individual almsgiving entitles me to a definite privilege in eternity.

The very expression, "salvation by works," must, however, be applied to Islam with caution. Moslem ideas cannot be given too mechanical and external an interpretation, and it is difficult, in using Christian terminology, to avoid the danger of giving Islam a halo which in reality it does not possess. The European is both in danger of putting too external an interpretation upon the religious ideas of Animism and of attributing to Islam our sublime Christian conceptions.

Further, the idea that individual acts are meritorious, when coupled with the idea of mediation, results in the

perfect observance of Divine law being left as far as possible to the higher teachers. To them is relegated all intensive study and the laborious duty of obeying religious and moral precepts. The teacher must know how one should behave towards God in every individual case. The ordinary man has no inclination to observe a multitude of minute details, and where indeed do they have an end? The teacher is continually laying down new rules. So it is all left to these holy men in the secret hope that in the Hereafter they will discover some secret way of making up for one's shortcomings.

Moslem law thus sinks lower and lower. Instead of bringing home to man a sense of sin, it makes him self-righteous. Instead of making a man independent, it more and more reduces him to unmanly dependence upon his teacher. What the priest says and ordains is of moment. Whether one's life is well pleasing to God or not is a matter of indifference, as long as the teacher is satisfied. With the utmost assurance, the Mohammedan calculates his own merit. He is, in fact, a Moslem, he is quite safe.

The zealous observance of religious duties is, however, not universal. The great mass of the people disposes of the moral problem much more easily than that. Why should one bother? all happens according to the will of God. That is popular morality. The last spark of responsibility towards God is smothered by the most shallow determinism.

Many take some time to reach this dead level. Once they were more zealous; but in the end they lose faith in their own efforts and those of the teachers; they always have the consolation that after all everything happens according to the Will of God. "Whether I am good or bad, how can I help it? God inspires good thoughts, but evil ones also. Why does He not give me good thoughts instead of evil ones?" And so the man sinks into crass indifference. The proud Mohammedan has once more become the sottish heathen, only

everything is even more a matter of indifference than before. We meet these sad figures by the score in every Mohammedan district ; they are the average men of the people, the tangible proof of the religious and moral devastation wrought among the Indonesian peoples by Moslem fatalism.

CHAPTER IV

ISLAM AND THE MORAL NEEDS OF HEATHENDOM

HEATHEN *Crime*.—Islam lacks even the good will to exercise a moral influence upon the heathen ; it therefore does not combat heathen vice. I know this is a keenly debated question. We are told, for instance, that Islam's prohibition of alcohol has bestowed a great blessing upon the negroes. This point in Islam's favour is all the more forcible because the blame for the terrible consequences of the gin traffic in Africa lies at the door of the so-called Christian powers.

We must leave those who have expert knowledge of African conditions to determine how far-reaching these good effects of Islam really are, which we are of course very willing to recognize. As regards the peoples of the Dutch East Indies however, we may take it as an established fact that they have no taste for alcohol. Nor do heathen peoples show any propensity to drunkenness. How far the Dutch Government's high import duties have been conducive to this end I cannot definitely say. On the whole, however, with the exception of the islands of Sangi and Talaur, the consumption of the scarcely intoxicating native liquor, palm-wine, is moderate. The rice run distilled by the Chinese is sold only here and there among the population. Nevertheless of recent years, since many of the natives began to imitate the Europeans and to adopt the foolish custom of handing round spirits on festive occasions,

alcohol seems unfortunately to have gained stronger hold in Java, and we are bound to say that it is the Mohammedans and especially the traders on the coast and the Government officials of the interior who have led the way in the use of spirits.

Gambling too, although strictly forbidden, is very general in Java, as also in Sumatra; and any credit there may be due to the Mohammedans for prohibiting alcohol is fully counterbalanced by the fact that the Arabs have always carried on an active trade in opium; they indeed introduced the poisonous drug to Eastern Asia. It is little wonder that opium and hemp smoking, although forbidden by orthodox law, is very prevalent in the Dutch East Indies, and also throughout the Eastern World.

The Mohammedan Gajo in Sumatra also smoke opium and often keep slaves to steal for them. In Macassar in Celebes, opium smoking is very much the fashion among the better class Mohammedans, and likewise dice playing. Java reeks with opium-smoking. Hashish is also used there. In the southern part of the Batak country, in Mandeling, the main centre of the Mohammedan population, the use of opium is unknown it is true, but that is not owing to their conversion to Islam; the neighbouring heathen tribes do not smoke opium either. In Eastern Sumatra, on the other hand, one meets many Mohammedan smokers; opium smokers do not give up the habit when they go over to Islam. There are opium smokers also among the Mohammedan agitators. I have met various opium smokers who went about the country as fencing masters and established Islam in Bandar, giving themselves out as teachers (malim or lobe), as also I have known at least one man who gave up opium smoking in order to become a lobe (teacher). Of recent years the Government has made strict regulations in many districts with a view to putting down the practice. These restrictions have, however, nothing to do with Islam.

Moreover, from the purely ethical standpoint, and no matter how keenly or on what practical grounds one may advocate abstinence movements in general, it is little use prohibiting alcohol. Temperance, not abstinence, is the moral ideal. On pedagogical grounds abstinence is often inculcated among uncivilized peoples rather than temperance, to practise which they have not yet sufficient force of character. But again we would emphatically point out that the prohibition of alcohol is no proof of a righteous ethical tendency in Islam.

The new religion not only does not denounce the fundamental evil of heathenism, namely untruthfulness, it actually fosters it. And little wonder, when according to tradition God belies man in eternity, and the Prophet deceives the angels at the Last Judgment. Hence the lying which accompanies propaganda. The heathen are told that gifts made to the teachers are for the poor, whereas they line the pockets of the holy men themselves. What lies, too, are spread among the heathen about Christianity by Mohammedan agitators! Here is only one example:—a Mohammedan teacher in Poboendjoran in Celebes told the Mohammedan children who wished to attend a Christian school: “If you go to that school, you will be hewn in half from your head to your feet when you die. The one half which knows how to recite the Koran will go to heaven, the other which has gone to school will go to hell!”

Officially a man is told to play the part of the abject slave in the presence of those in authority, and one must acknowledge that the Mohammedan is a past master of the art. Islam trains him in positively cringing flattery. The heathen also knows the art—but he is far from being as expert as the Moslem.

The way in which the heathen and the believer alike are excused all kinds of offences against actual or supposititious Mohammedan law is also untrue. Palm-wine is allowed if it is called “ngiro,” the Batak form of the Sanscrit word “nira” (water, sap); “mal-nira” or

“niro” means unfermented palm-wine, but it is forbidden if it is called “tuak” (fermented palm-wine), the name commonly given to it by the heathen.

The laxness of the Mohammedan in keeping an oath is especially serious. An oath was sacred to the Animist, because he was afraid of God's curse upon himself and his posterity, if he forswore himself or broke his oath. Among the Mohammedan Bataks, however, the saying goes that an oath made to a non-Mohammedan is not binding, nor is it obligatory to pay him one's debts. Elsewhere, also, Islam holds that a lie to an unbeliever is excusable, it is even commended if it will stay a quarrel. Because the Koran is such a holy book, oaths are taken upon it, but an oath can be made invalid by placing something between the Koran and the head of the person taking the oath, e.g., a pig's bristle; the Koran being placed upon the head in taking an oath.

The Position of Women.—In the Dutch East Indies the raising of a people morally must begin at the family. Among these peoples the life of the nation rests on the cohesion of the families which have bound themselves together in tribes on the basis of blood relationship. Doubtless heathen family life has great evils, doubtless women in many districts are overburdened with work. But throughout Indonesia heathen marriage and the position of women do serve as starting points for moral development. Polygamy is confined to individuals of the better classes, adultery is often punished, divorce is regarded as undesirable. Then, although the patriarchal system incorporates a woman in her husband's tribe, she still enjoys the powerful protection of her own relations in any case of ill-treatment from her husband.

Islam has no regard for these moral starting points. Instead of tightening the cords of family life, it slackens them. Islam has a disintegrating effect upon the life of the heathen woman and the family. In Islam polygamy has once and for all received Divine sanction. Its almost universal practice is even represented as the

Prophet's Divine reward. God rewards His Prophet by the gift of magic and a harem! Polygamy in every form, even if the number of wives be limited to four, is derogatory to woman. But the status of woman suffers more than that under the influence of Islam. Islam facilitates divorce, and this universal Moslem custom springs from the same turbid source, namely the Prophet's evil example.

He once caught sight of Zainab, the wife of his slave Zaid, unveiled. Smitten with love of her, he gave vent to his feelings in the exclamation: "Most Merciful, how Thou canst change the heart of man!" Zaid thereupon divorced Zainab, so that there might be no hindrance in the Prophet's path. There was, however, a further difficulty in that Zaid was the Prophet's adopted son, and the faithful took umbrage at the Prophet's desire to marry his adopted son's wife. Then there came a further revelation which ordained that it was wrong to call adopted sons sons, the Prophet was even reproved for having been afraid of men and for having hesitated to marry her. One must obey God rather than men. Whereupon Mohammed married Zainat.

The decisive factors in the Moslem religion actually contribute to the degradation of woman. The Prophet enters into an adulterous relationship. God gives the Prophet full liberty as regards a married woman, and in the Hereafter the female sex must again gratify the unbridled sexual desires of believers. No wonder that contempt for women has fallen to a point even below the zero of moral esteem for woman in heathenism.

In the Dutch East Indies, there is, moreover, no hint of prostitution being put down by Islam. Prostitution rages on the coast, and the Mohammedans are involved in it not only as frequenters but also as keepers of the brothels. Also in Java, for instance, married life in the villages has to a large extent become such as to forfeit the very name of marriage, it has become disguised

prostitution. The dancing girls on the island are really nothing better than public women, and they are actually an appointment of festivals with a religious significance !

At first sight the position of women seems higher in the Dutch East Indies than in the Near East. Women go about the streets everywhere unveiled, and they are also free to converse with men other than their own husbands. } But as a matter of fact, in the pre-Islamic period in Java, woman seems to have been in higher repute than nowadays. } In olden times women were often employed as go-betweens in negotiations between the native princes. Nowadays in Java, women are exposed to much degradation, and married life is a very gloomy prospect. There is universal testimony to this view.

Undeveloped and despised, the wife is entirely at the mercy of her husband's whim, she has scarcely any rights and only exists for her husband. Hence her manifold degradation and repudiation and the prevalence of divorce. A man may actually marry for the thirteenth time. Especially in the towns, marriage, divorce, unfaithfulness and illicit cohabitation, are the order of the day. The very treatment of women leaves much to be desired. A Java missionary called a man to book for beating his wife every day till she screamed ; he received this answer : " If a man may not even beat his wife, what is he to do ? " It has been claimed and emphasized that the wife may keep the proceeds of her field labour to herself, that work is equally divided and that the husband and wife consult together about the ultimate sale of their produce ; the wife's position being therefore by no means so degraded as is generally supposed. This, however, only applies to the country villages where more primitive pre-Islamic conditions prevail and for the most part monogamy is practised ; whereas Islam has degraded the position of women wherever it has been possible to do so, notably among the fluctuating population of manufacturing districts

and plantations. The husband can divorce his wife for a trifle and immediately marry another. If he likes he can have more than one wife, in short, he can do absolutely as he likes with his wife. C. Albers writes from West Java that women have been married five, ten, fifteen and even twenty times. Easy divorce leads to the destruction of all moral sense in husband and wife, parents and society.

Islam has certainly failed to shut up the women of the Dutch East Indies in harems, according to Mohammedan custom. [The native custom of letting women go about freely in public and appear everywhere holds its own successfully. In this connection Moslem influence has scarcely made itself felt, but Islam has never contributed to the raising of the status of women.] In "Woelang reh," a Javanese book of Mohammedan morals, it says that the wife was only created for her husband by Allah. She must honour him as her lord, and serve him. In Java the saying is that Allah cannot bear women, it is even a question whether they have a soul; in any case they do not go to such a glorious heaven as men.

Polygamy remains. The limitation of wives in the harem to four has no significance for the Bataks, who are mostly monogamous. Even the rich, with the exception of a few princes, have seldom had more than three or four wives. If princes with more than four wives go over to Islam, they are not required to reduce the number of their wives. "To have ten or even thirteen wives in this world is no sin," says the wandering teacher to the heathen. Hence Mohammed's ordinances as to marriage are of little practical account.

Islam's encouragement of divorce has a devastating influence. The common people justify their lax point of view by an appeal to Mohammed; they say: "A man may marry the wife of another as long as he is at one with her. Mohammed says it is no sin." This is especially to be deplored amongst a people for whom

divorce was so absolutely taboo as the heathen Bataks.

Divorce did occur in the case of barrenness and open adultery ; but it was rendered difficult by the fact that divorce costs the Batak the loss of all or part of the money he has paid for his wife, and the wife must always give up the children, because in the patriarchal system of the Bataks the children belong to the father's tribe. Besides the husband was afraid of divorcing his wife because he thereby incurred the enmity of her tribe, and it was for the most part to the chief's advantage politically to avoid such complications with tribes in blood relationship. The wife's tribe on the other hand was loath to receive a wife whom her husband had divorced out of ill will ; it was a culpable offence, the impression being that the wife's tribe wished to rob the husband's tribe of some of its property. Of course divorce did occur, especially in powerful chiefs' families which had nothing to fear ; but the lengthy and costly procedure it always involved was a strong curb upon promiscuous running hither and thither. Our native helpers tell us that adultery and divorce are almost unknown in the Pakpak tribe ; an adulterer is lain in wait for and killed. If any one puts away his wife, his father-in-law or the wife's nearest relation kills him wherever he finds him.

The husband pronounces the word of separation ("divorce") upon his wife ; he can then only take her back after marrying her out to another man. Whenever a married couple have a quarrel, the "tolak tiga" may be spoken ; several times in his tirade the husband will let fall the mention of divorce, and he actually does divorce his wife. They must now give up conjugal intercourse because the "tolak tiga" (divorce) has been pronounced ; the marriage is annulled. If, however, the married couple still want to live together, the man must marry out his wife for a certain sum to another man for three days. After three to five days this man, who is often a teacher, must testify to the other teachers of the place, before assembled witnesses, that the woman

has had conjugal intercourse with him during those three days. Then only may the woman be given back to her husband, a dowry ("alas nika") being paid to the hadji for her. Teachers often provoke such quarrels to get the dowry from the husband. This custom, which is called "djinabuto," and which is utterly repugnant to the Bataks, is practised not only by young people, but even by those who are already parents and grandparents.

Such things are unheard of in heathenism, although temporary marriage for other purposes does occur. Braches, one of our missionaries, tells of a certain Tuan hadji, Tarip Kalara, who promised to heal a sick woman by making her his wife, i.e., by admitting her into his harem. When after eight days the woman was not cured, he divorced her.

Such is the custom in the coast districts where Islam has succeeded in breaking up the tribal system. The stronger the resistance of old tribal custom to the innovations of Islam, the happier is the outlook for married life. Nevertheless, the firmer the grip of Islam upon the mind of the people, the more does old established custom begin to waver.

Unhappily the Heathen-Mohammedan becomes only too quickly accustomed to the looser marriage tie.

Moreover, a wife has no redress, because it is practically impossible for her to obtain a divorce. There is nothing about it in the Koran. Many women in Java compel their husbands to divorce them by becoming "ronggeng," i.e., public dancing women, which in Java is equivalent to prostitutes. Any one who has been a "ronggeng" for thrice twenty-four hours is free of her husband. The penalty upon adultery on the part of a wife is death; whereas the husband can always have concubines. Cases also abound of quite children being married against their will. Islam leaves untouched the heathen custom of child betrothal and child marriage. Instances are to be found in Java and Sumatra. In

Egypt also there are wives under thirteen years of age. This is why woman has such a despised position, she is regarded as actually an unclean creature. The very Koran regards man as a higher being than woman. Islam therefore does nothing to raise woman from her oppressed condition. Nothing is done for the education of the female sex. Where they do take part in religious instruction, it has as little effect upon their lives as upon that of the men.

Thus Islam completely ignores its most important educative duty, namely that of purifying family life among the uncivilized peoples. The possible starting point presented by the heathen idea of marriage, Islam simply passes by unheeded. The relatively close bond of marriage is loosened, polygamy is encouraged. The brutal egoism of the husband it does not combat. Islam has not hallowed family life nor given woman her freedom. Moreover, in so far as honour to parents is done away with by the breaking up of the family and polygamy, there is no question of the training of children.

We despair of these conditions being but temporary in districts which have recently gone over to Mohammedanism. A glance at the Mohammedan world shows that the level of morality is actually lowest in the old Mohammedan countries.

CHAPTER V

ISLAM AND NATIONALITY

WHY Islam should affect the nationality of the native is not obvious at first glance. His nationality is based on Animistic principles, and it is towards the Animistic conceptions of a people that Islam is especially tolerant. The native has gone over to Islam in order to preserve his nationality; although as a matter of fact all over the world we find local colouring in Islam, it has everywhere been reluctantly obliged to sanction ethnic characteristics.

Our reproach, however, is that Islam has not influenced national character according to any settled pedagogical principle. It never stops to inquire what is or is not justified, what is God-given and therefore to be preserved, refined and developed, and what is to be amputated with a firm hand. (Islam's attitude towards nationality is arbitrary. What seems indispensable is allowed to remain, what a people is willing to relinquish is destroyed.) Which proves that Islam in no way understands the claim of national characteristics; for all the great contrasts which differentiate mankind are lost in Islam in the one great contrast between Moslem and non-Moslem.) Here again Islam simply cuts the gordian knot of the great problems of humanity. (The Heathen-Mohammedan feels he is a member of a new world polity, chosen of God for external unity, even here in this present time. It is gathered out of the "massa perditionis," the mass of the lost, eternity will reveal

that. He therefore looks down with contempt on those who are still living in defilement and error. He wants to have as little as possible to do with them, rejected and accursed of God as they are. At Mecca, pilgrims not only discard their nationality, they also learn to despise it. In the same way when Heathen-Mohammedans are Islamized they no longer wish to be called members of their own nation. The Islamized peoples of Indonesia like to be called Malay, if they have received Islam from Malay sources.

Among the Bataks "to become a Mohammedan" means "to become Malay," and "to be a Batak" means "to be a heathen."—"He is still a Batak" means "he is still a heathen." To call a Mohammedan Batak a "Batak" offends him as much as it flatters him to be called "Malaju." The novice is perfectly right in feeling he is giving up part of his nationality when he accepts Islam. In East Africa the negroes do not want to be called "bushmen" (Shensi) any longer. The object of calling oneself Malay is to rise to a higher social position and at the same time to let it be clearly known that one has really broken with heathenism. Little do they imagine how Animistic they still are at heart! If a man does have any inkling of it, he is all the more anxious to hide his secret adherence under a very marked outward breach with heathenism.

Therefore, wherever it possibly can, Islam substitutes Malay for the vernacular in the Dutch East Indies; as far as possible, and in matters of religion in particular, they use "the language of Paradise," Arabic. The Arabs pride themselves on talking the language of God. The Javanese on the other hand console themselves for not understanding that heavenly tongue by saying it would be sacrilege for lower creatures such as they to speak it; it is sufficient to accentuate correctly the words: "then we are well-pleasing to God."

Malay religious terminology is instructive in this connection. The religious terms for God, prayer, teacher,

heaven, hell—all words for which one may find almost exact equivalents in the vernacular—are taken from the Malay-Arabic language. The Bataks use for God “Allah” or “tuhan” (Malay) instead of the Batak “debata”; for prayer, “sombajang” (from the Malay “sembahjang”) instead of the Batak “tangiang”; for heaven, Surgo (from the Malay sorga) instead of the Batak “banua gindjang”; for hell, “api na roko” (from the Malay “naraka”) instead of the Batak “banua toru.” The foreign words sound so much more refined; foreign words give the impression of culture. Conceit and amusing semi-education helps Islam to suppress the old language. The old native dress is exchanged whenever possible for Malay dress; they adopt an Arab fez and an Arabic name.]

Tolerant as may be the attitude of Islam towards the inner content of Animism, it is inexorable with regard to its outward form. Islam is intended to introduce something absolutely new. It knows nothing of the pedagogical law of apperception, the careful association of new ideas to those already at work. Points of contact are ignored even when they present themselves spontaneously. Islam lacks the most elementary pedagogical instinct. It does emphasize the fact that the old nationality is impure and should be abolished, but it makes no attempt to cleanse the heart of Animism.

Islam is right in so far as it recognizes that a new religion should re-create the whole thought and feeling of a people, but it has no idea of the problem involved in this transformation. It sets about the task extremely clumsily, nominally rejecting the whole national consciousness hitherto at work. To-day, as ever, it is the religion of force, although it is obliged to sheath its sword. It does violence to nationality. This accounts for the oftentimes rapid success of Islam. It knows nothing of that sparing method of Evangelical Missions, which combats most strenuously what is sinful in native custom but, at the same time, finds something sacred in native

usage which should not be touched unless the new law of God runs counter to it—a method which, however, works slowly.

{Islam, in fact, lacks all love for nationality. It wants to subdue, not to educate.} This corresponds to the Moslem conception of God. God also desires to subjugate man, God demands of him blind surrender, the outward acceptance of the articles of belief, but no glad inward assent to them. And the Moslem treats the convert accordingly. The gloomy conception of God thus casts its dark shadow over the social life of the people. Moslem dogma has destroyed its social ethics.

The result of this change of attitude towards his own nationality, which the heathen formerly held so dear, manifests itself in the most diverse ways in the bearing of the Heathen-Mohammedan. Islam does not everywhere succeed in at once winning over whole peoples. Although its converts may be numerous it often has to be content with individuals, and we may say here that {Islam makes individualistic men out of communistic peoples.} It is as much the nature of the Indonesian peoples as it was that of our own Teutonic forefathers, when they were Christianized, to be communistic, not only in their political economy, but also in their whole mode of thought. We have to deal not with individuals among them but with tribes organized on the patriarchal system, not with single people but with self-contained families.

In the first instance, single individuals break loose from the tribal system and become Mohammedans who conduct their own religious concerns. The heathen is an Animist, not because he holds Animism to be the true religion, but because it is the religion of his tribe. Just as there is no private property in land, only communal property belonging to the whole tribe, so also there is no individual practice of religion and no personal conviction. The practice of religion is the concern of the family or tribe. A man has no opinion of his own

at all, no free will ; the will of the community is the will of the individual. The moment a native breaks loose from this system and becomes a Mohammedan, he completely loses his anchorage. Leaps and bounds in the social development of a people are always ominous for its national character. Otherwise from the modern standpoint one might say that Islam was performing an act of liberation in setting nations free from the claims of a communism so subversive to all personal initiative ; but heathen at the level of the uncivilized races are not ready for such a sudden liberation. This accounts for the many vices of the Mohammedan. The heathen within his national system was controlled by the tradition of his forefathers ; the Mohammedan, suddenly set loose from it, becomes arrogant. Not accustomed to the individual's being of any account, he now realizes his own value and becomes conceited. He thinks he alone can accomplish what formerly only the family could do ; this leads to presumption. Intoxicated with his great dignity as a man, which he has suddenly acquired, he grows fanatical towards all who have not yet become what he is, which includes of course all Christians.

But this transformation has other very significant consequences. Islam breaks up national systems without putting anything in their place ; it gives free rein to the native's individuality without giving it any moral control, and we can readily see that the native, all independent as he is, seeks some support. He finds it in the Moslem clergy. That is why the common people are so in bondage to the religious leaders, independent and democratic as they may formerly have been, at all events in the case of the Bataks.

In the old days the tribe, in the person of the head of the tribe, the chief, offered sacrifices, now the priest performs the religious functions. He says the prayers for the dead in the house of mourning, he marries the young couples, cares for the soul of the departed, he escorts the soul of the departed through to the Judgment,

placing on his head the pilgrim's turban on the fields of the Resurrection if he has not gone on pilgrimage in this life. Of course all for a certain, not infrequently, considerable sum of money. It does not disturb the natives that the avaricious priest has much more concern in the whole proceeding for his own pocket than for the soul's well-being of him who pays. Without noticing it, the native has passed from the hands of the old swindling heathen sorcerer into the even closer grip of the Mohammedan elder. With him he finds, not only protection from the evil of this present world, but also eternal salvation as well. The native's proud freedom from the bondage of the heathen sorcerer is a pure farce. In the old days he was the slave of the sorcerer only for this life, now he is in bondage for eternity to the Mohammedan priest, and the new slavery is worse than the old, for it implies an absolute tutelage spiritually.

Peoples which have gone over to Islam *en bloc* are treated differently, such as the Javanese and the Malays in Sumatra. Their nationality is too strong for them ever to be persuaded to discard it like an old garment. Islam has here again been obliged to have recourse to the most far-reaching connivance, and has here again been unable to recreate the national life. Its every concession has once more been controlled by a policy of opportunism. It has no fixed moral standard for dealing with the thought and feeling of a nation. On the one hand it rejects good and bad together. On the other it leaves loopholes for any number of animistic errors to find their way back into the Islamized life of the people.

On one point alone Islam is stern and inexorable, and that is in the matter of the law which affects the everyday life of a people most acutely, namely the laws about food. We have already seen how incorrect it is to say that the heathen becomes a Mohammedan because it is made so easy for him. One must put oneself in the heathen's

place and have seen how eagerly he falls upon the dish of meat which to him is a rarity, and especially upon his beloved swine's flesh, to be able to realize that the heathen is really making a great sacrifice in this respect in becoming a Mohammedan.

Keeping the laws about food marks the Batak's conversion to Islam. To sell one's pigs signifies conversion to Islam. It is a sacrifice for the Batak to abstain from swine's flesh and yet even recent converts conscientiously do so, and before very long they actually begin to deride their heathen fellow-countrymen for their love of swine's flesh.

That especially this part of Mohammedan law should be observed, while on the whole they hold firmly by ancient custom, is explained by the fact that any one who transgresses the laws about food is "haram." They have an extraordinary fear of this. "Haram" really means "forbidden," in the sense that the transgression is visited by the curse of God, e.g., any one who fails to perform his daily worship, to pay his religious tax, to give one of his twelve children to the service of the mosque, to fast, is "haram." Even this does not however explain the fact that the people will often keep this very irksome law before they actually give their assent to Islam. The discussion as to which kinds of food are, or are not forbidden occupies a large place in the ordinary conversation of the clergy. We have here one form of asceticism.

Ascetic ideas underlie many old Batak customs. In times of illness (epidemics) and during pregnancy, one must abstain from certain acts and also from certain kinds of food (*robu*, *pantang*). Two methods of propitiating an unfriendly power are open to the heathen: sacrifice and abstinence.

Islam does away with sacrifice, but the sacrifice of oneself, self-surrender, takes its place, being practised in ascetic abstinence (the tithe, the prohibition upon food) as well as in self-mortification (fasting, mystical

exercises). These things are thus further methods of propitiating God, hence their power of attraction. For the very magnitude of the self-sacrifice is an attraction. Every day and with regard to every possible kind of transgression there is always the consoling thought that one may reckon upon a rich reward on the ground of a substantial offering.

The ascetic wishes to give drastic proof before God and all the world of how much he can take upon himself for God's sake. They emphasize the point that Mohammed forbade swine's flesh because it is so savoury. A man must give up what is dearest to him for God's sake. Asceticism has its root in the desire to be lord over nature to the glory of God. Man thereby certainly honours himself more than God. For in despising the highest earthly delights, the most tasty meat, the best beverage, alcohol, and the most enticing pleasure, opium smoking, a man looks up to himself proudly. His asceticism fosters his self-conceit. The law about food daily assures a man that he is a pure being in favour with God and his all-powerful Mohammedan teacher. His heathen neighbours, who eat swine's flesh daily, show him from what filth Islam has delivered him.

For that very reason, however, the practical value of the observance as regards the education of the people is simply nil ; desistance is merely required on one purely external point. The inward man is unaffected by the observance : he remains the same as he ever was, at best he becomes haughty, fanatical and more indifferent to much other evil doing which even his heathen conscience branded as sin.

In the Eye of the Law.—That Islam re-creates the entire life of the believer is the idea underlying Mohammedan law. Thus Islam rightly feels that man's surrender to God must, in point of fact, lead to an entire renewal of human life. This is, however, brought about not by any new principle indwelling in the believer, but rather by a multitude of legal ordinances which rule his whole

life down to the smallest detail. Not merely married life, affairs of state, jurisprudence, business and intercourse in general with one's fellow-men, are determined by law, but also the clothing of the body, its purification, eating and drinking, and even a man's attitude during the excretions of the human body.)

Now in every country this Mohammedan law comes into conflict with existing common law. This is at once apparent in the administration of justice. In Java the difficulty has been solved by the institution of spiritual and secular courts of law. Judgment in spiritual courts is according to Mohammedan law (Arabic, "sjariah"; Malay, "hukum Allah"; Javanese, "sarat"). The right of inheritance and marriage right accordingly pertain to things spiritual. To a certain extent this, however, gives these spiritual courts of law a secular character, especially as the Regent for the time being presides in the court as head of the Mohammedan religion. The secular courts are certainly only composed of princes and assessors, and their judgment is passed according to the ancient common law of the country, but a Mohammedan elder must be present to declare in case of necessity whether the common law accords with Mohammedan law. Thus the so-called secular court has an essentially spiritual character. Nevertheless, Islam has not succeeded in really establishing its jurisprudence in Java. Because the Colonial Government of course forbids such Mohammedan penalties as are inadmissible according to our idea of justice, e.g., mutilations,¹ so that common law often prevails when it is not in accordance with Mohammedan law.

For instance, native law permits of a field being sold

¹ According to Mohammedan law the penalty for adultery is stoning, or in the case of unmarried persons one hundred lashes with a scourge. In Java and Sumatra adultery is therefore punished either not at all or by a fine. Among penal offences of a religious character apostasy from Islam stands first; the penalty for that is death.

with the right of repurchase. As regards landed property the old Javanese law has held its own. Nor have the principles of Mohammedan law about slavery prevailed. Also in the matter of hereditary right Batak law holds on many points. The wife has no right of succession, only the son. In the Batak country Islam would like to legalize the intermarriage of members of the same tribe ("marga") which the Bataks regard as incest. The old Batak marriage laws have managed to hold their own; e.g., marriage with a bajo (the wife of one's brother-in-law) is not allowed even in Mohammedan districts; only on the coast, where tribal distinctions have been lost, are no questions asked.

It is the same elsewhere. Common law among the Turks, Bedouins, Egyptians and Syrians differs from that of the peoples of the Archipelago, but the relation between the customs of all these countries and Islam, as also the tenacious hold upon them, is the same everywhere. There is scarcely a place for law which rests on revelation, and yet the Mohammedans maintain its Divine origin. Islam has, therefore, adopted the same attitude towards the law of traditional use and wont as towards Animism. The new and old jurisprudence have been amalgamated. For only so could the new law be made acceptable to the common people; they have been as loath to give up the points especially dear to them in their common law as they are with regard to Animism.

It is obvious that in the course of time and as Islam has spread over the world, it has become impossible to control the whole of human life by detailed ordinances. People have therefore thought that Islam could never become a world religion, like Christianity and Buddhism. But Islam has simply given up its original system of an absolute theocracy. A secular state was founded. The Caliphs became kings. Relinquishing the strict observance of the sacred law, common law was given elbow room. Unscrupulous adaptation has made Moslem law

applicable to the whole world. Islam's conscientiousness is a myth.

Moreover, when Islam has Arabicized the national character of any people, it has at the same time robbed it of some of its vitality: it has deprived it of native genius, language, law and custom, substituting for them foreign words and foreign customs which may give an air of refinement but are not indigenous.) The body of the people has had its limbs amputated and replaced by artificial substitutes, and it laboriously trails about on these artificial limbs. A wooden leg is always a sorry sight.

Islam as a Factor of Civilization.—What has just been said throws light upon the question so often raised as to how far Islam is to be reckoned a factor of civilization. Even a superficial survey of the history of Islam shows that now and then it has succeeded, at least temporarily, in producing a civilization. Not only natives but many Europeans as well believe therefore that Islam is capable of raising the level of civilization among the uncivilized races.

We should go the wrong way to work if we proved *a priori* from book Islam whether it is or is not capable of producing civilization. Islam in practice is a different thing from what it seems to be in theory. Let us, therefore, inquire what Islam's present day propaganda contributes to the civilization of the Nature peoples. The soul of the Indonesian is possessed nowadays with the longing for modern civilization. During the Russo-Japanese War, the peoples of Eastern Asia learnt that Europe itself may be beaten with the help of a vigorous civilization. Thus the soil, the soul of the heathen peoples, is in the highest degree receptive to fertilization. If, in spite of this fact, Islam does not succeed in raising them, the blame is simply to be laid upon its own incapacity.

We must be careful not to generalize from particular cases. In Islam, as also in heathendom, there are of

course certain individuals of relatively high moral tone and individual aspiring souls. Nor is anything to be gained by reckoning up the individual virtues of Mohammedan peoples; many inherent characteristics come into play in this domain quite apart from Islam; e.g., the hospitality of the Arabs, their contentment, their power of endurance in suffering. Individual Mohammedan tribes among the Bataks also show the same admirable refined hospitality, e.g., in the Province of Padang lawas; it is, however, a custom with this people which has been carried over from heathenism, and which is vanishing before the advance of Islam.

Where Mohammedan peoples open up trade with the heathen, bartering with other tribes at a higher level of civilization is always found to give fresh impulse to the material and intellectual progress of a community. But here again that progress is not to be attributed to the change of religion.

On the other hand, we must not simply lay the blame upon Islam for the vices and crimes of a Mohammedan people, although it is an actual fact that Islam has not proved able really to raise the peoples of the Dutch East Indies; e.g., to make lazy Javanese industrious, to build up family life, to break down superstition and to destroy the remnants of the old religions.

In the Dutch East Indies all that has made for civilization and enlightenment among the people has come through the Government and Christian Missions. It is the same in East Africa: "Islam had done practically nothing for the enlightenment of the country. And Islam profits most of all by all that the industrious Germans are doing. Their roads and railways remove the local hindrances to its expansion, Kisuaheli any linguistic difficulties. The economic development of the country is attracting hundreds of Moslems from India; they monopolize the petty trading and the negroes are becoming dependants upon them financially."¹ The educated

¹ Axenfeld. *Berliner Missions-Berichte*, July, 1909.

natives, e.g., the Javanese doctors (dokter Djawa) have come into contact with the fruits of Christian European science and have been raised from the atmosphere of Islam. They are, therefore, no proof of the civilizing power of Islam.

Doubtless the native's tendency to attribute everything to a man's religious position prevents him from distinguishing what is the fruit of his educated fellow-countryman's religion, and what the fruit of his Christian education in the Colonial Government school. He attributes everything to religion. Hence the heathen is full of hope when he goes over to Islam that it will raise him intellectually. Is he satisfied from this point of view?

Animism, with its conservative superstition and dead fatalism, obviously creates no desire for enlightenment. In so far as Islam remains animistic, it is therefore unfruitful from the point of view of civilization, and intellectually impotent.

But neither does the subject matter of the new Moslem teaching contain any seeds of culture. Mohammedan education has a positively stupefying effect upon the mass of the people. All power to think and desire to learn is killed by the mechanical learning by heart of incomprehensible formulas; hearing, memory, and the organs of speech alone are exercised; the pupils learn like parrots, without understanding. The few small advantages which are gained do not compensate for this evil. Islam has certainly given many peoples a written language for the first time with its Arabic script; that script is, however, often very ill-adapted to their language. The knowledge of the Malay language has brought them into contact with Malay literature and with the whole world of Arabian thought. The Arabic language, however, is not the language of modern civilization, and the Arabian world is behind the times. Nor is Arabic learnt in the least thoroughly enough ever to be a channel of culture.

The very disintegration of the vernacular by Arabic phrases has retarded the natural development of the people, rather than promoted it. The loss to their own thoughts has not been covered by the gain in foreign phrases.

Further, the Pan-Moslem movement in Islam encourages the peoples to despise European civilization, because the true Moslem view is that all that is worth knowing is already contained in the Koran. The study of the Koran language, however, and the purely formal scholastic training of a few Mecca pilgrims is without significance for the people. As long as the Christian's superior civilization is regarded as an abnormal state of things to which Allah will certainly soon put an end, so long will ceremonial purity, which causes true believers to look upon Europeans as unclean, be scrupulously maintained. Strict Mohammedans lay a ban, for example, upon practice as a Doktor Djawa (i.e., doctor in Colonial Government service) because a doctor comes into contact with what is unclean. Certainly to no purpose !

As long as the very culture of the European in this world is believed to be the proof of his damnation in the world to come, every incentive to advance in civilization is nipped in the bud for the Islamized native. The saying is "the white people may be cleverer and more powerful in this world, but in eternity they will be fuel of fire."

Most ominous of all, however, is the spiritual tutelage in which the Mohammedan teachers keep believers. It is to the advantage of these ignorant men to awaken as little as possible the desire for education ; once awakened they can, of course, not satisfy it.

Lastly, the over-emphasis laid upon the life Hereafter in Islam, the blind submission which it enjoins, its secret mystic rites, but, above all, its determinism, hamper the progress of civilization. The Indonesian's slack way of letting everything slide, his tendency to throw up the game in face of difficulty, are only encouraged by

Islam. At the very point the education of the uncivilized heathen should begin Islam proves not only powerless but even a fresh hindrance. The universal desire for culture, and for European culture in particular, which is making itself felt all over the Dutch East Indies, is not the fruit of Islam, but rather the outcome of the energetic civilization of the country by the Dutch Government and the missionary system of education. This is proved by the fact that every missionary enterprise among the heathen peoples of the Archipelago finds this desire clearly expressing itself among even the heathen remnants of the population. There was a craving for enlightenment in several Mohammedan districts even before they were Islamized.

People say, however, that the Islamizing of a country does stem the barbarism of the heathen. Surely Islam abolishes cannibalism, human sacrifice and gruesome head-hunting. It is a question whether this is true of Indonesia. We do not know enough about the peoples which were Islamized long ago to be able to say whether those horrors were practised by them before they became Mohammedans; and, in the case of the peoples which have been recently Islamized, the Colonial Government has had a hand in the abolishing of heathen abominations. The Colonial Government has been an important factor in the civilization of these peoples.

We gladly acknowledge that greater cleanliness prevails in the Mohammedan districts, more attention is given to dress than in the heathen districts, although here also the new age and the Government school have played their part. As a matter of fact, one has only to leave the high road and study the subject of cleanliness, especially in isolated parts, to gain many an unpleasant experience even nowadays. Sundry objectionable practices have been abolished by Islam, e.g., the marriage of a stepmother and her stepson. But that is the most we can say. It is not worth our while considering the many moral aphorisms bandied about by Moslems.

In the Moslem Decalogue, for instance, we find the following commandments: (1) Do not associate anything with God; (2) Honour your father and mother; (3) Do not kill your children for fear of poverty; (4) Do not kill except when justice demands it; (6) Do not lay hands upon the inheritance of orphans; (7) Give good weight and measure; usury is also forbidden; (8) Do not impose more upon a slave than he can accomplish; (9) In all you say have regard to equity. (With this may be compared the methods of school instruction.) Nor has the heathen, by any means, such a bad ethic in his stock of moral and didactic proverbs and fables, only it has not prevented the depravity of heathenism.

Islam is unfruitful as a civilizing agency among uncivilized peoples because it does not engage in any more of a struggle against the abuses of heathenism than it combats Animism. On the one hand it accommodates itself to heathen ideas, and on the other, the level of its morality is even lower than the very depths of heathenism. It may abolish a few heathen abominations, but a glance at the bloodstained history of Islam shows that a new barbarism has merely taken the place of the old.

The terrible Padri wars, the "Thirty Years' War" of the Batak country, are one proof of this in the history of Sumatra. That time still lingers in the memory of the people. For a roll of tobacco, for no more than a betel leaf, the Bataks were put to death because the fanatical Padri forbade smoking and betel chewing. Terrible cruelty accompanied the fall of the mountain fortresses of the Padang bolaks. Betrayed by deserters they fell one after another into the hands of the conquerors. The men were thrown over the fortress walls, the women and girls were outraged.

Doubtless such things no longer happen under the iron hand of the Colonial Government. But the hatred against the unbeliever is as strong as ever.

And this cruelty is all the more to be condemned in Islam because it is committed in the name of God. The

name of God serves as a cloak for the worst possible robbery and plunder. Heathenism was, so to speak, at least more honest in its iniquity. Manstealing was certainly carried on from religious motives; the idea was to appropriate the murdered man's soul-stuff, hence the eating of his flesh. The heathen in no way disguised his self-seeking, whereas the superior refinement of Islam sheds the hypocritical halo of God's good pleasure over cruel self-seeking greed. That is why the fanatical hatred of Islam, even although it may never find actual expression, is morally lower than the heathen's pugnacity. For the Moslem learns what the heathen did not know, namely, hatred in the name of God; his hatred is actually a merit, a good work, and receives reward. It is the same with the slave-trade and piracy. In this very respect the bigotted people of Achin have made a name for themselves for all time. The depopulation of Northern Nias and the age-long piracy on the coast of Sumatra bear witness to it. Mohammedan peoples, such as the robber tribe of the Gajos in Central Sumatra, claim the right to carry on the slave-trade on the strength of its being the prescribed form of Holy War. Non-Moslem human life is disregarded—in Achin heathen slaves are called swine—in the name of "the Merciful God."

Further, man's gross selfishness remains unbroken, as is evident from the position of women. The Dutch East Indies have reproduced what has, so often, happened in Africa. The interest of the faith, with its command to carry the true doctrine to the heathen, has succumbed to the interest of commerce. For centuries the slave market towns were left untouched by Islam because one's fellow-believers might not be sold into slavery. There was always the consoling thought that it was a work of merit to subdue unbelievers. The piracy of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Achin and of the Malays, the plunder raids of the Gajos into the heathen country of the Bataks, were condoned as being

war against unbelievers. Here again, unabashed selfishness hides behind the Divine decree.

The tyranny of the native rulers is not weakened ; it serves to spread the holy religion. The Prince of Si Antar in Sumatra simply had the swine of his immediate subjects shot down, if they would not voluntarily sell them. The Sultan of Siong in Borneo used to summon a man to his presence overnight, whom he knew to be away on a journey. Of course the man could not appear : he was then condemned to pay a fine and on the crime being repeated he was sold as a slave, instead of being fined. Beautiful maidens he simply abducted and put into his harem. The population was always decreasing.

Thus Islam stands powerless before the great problem of delivering the heathen soul from the egoism which is at the root of all these cruelties. On the contrary, here again, as in the case of magic, God is brought upon the scene in the interests of man's self-seeking. This implies but one more downward step for Islam.

Isolated touches of neighbourliness towards one's fellow-believers do not alter the general position. The Moslem does certainly regard a fellow-believer as an equal towards whom he has certain duties, although this makes him the more intolerant towards unbelievers, but the heathen is also friendly towards his fellow-tribesman. It is to one's advantage to support the tribe, that is, the body of like faith with oneself.

In Islam, therefore, a man remains at the level of heathenism. Any real advance in civilization is due to other agencies. His selfishness is unbroken and actually manifests itself in the fanatical hatred of believers for all those otherwise minded. Slavish bondage and the fear of mysterious powers still sways him. The Moslem even sinks below the level of heathenism. Lying and untruthfulness are paradoxically bound up with religious dogmas and ritual. Moreover, we find arrogance, fanaticism, stupidity and an entirely mechani-

cal and formal performance of ritual, unknown in heathenism. Such a foundation makes it impossible to accomplish the task, in itself so difficult, of raising uncivilized peoples to a higher level.

PART III

The Conversion of the Mohammedan to Christianity

CHAPTER I

THE NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF THE MOHAMMEDAN

WE shall not here speak of the manifold outward hindrances which the Mohammedan has to face when he becomes a Christian. The persecutions to which Mohammedan-Christians are exposed are well known, nor is there any lack of hostility shown to them in the Dutch East Indies. It is more important for us to consider what are the personal difficulties to the Moslem's acceptance of the Gospel.

He does not want to be a Christian. The heathen's attitude to the preaching of the Gospel is also a negative one at first. The Gospel is something quite new to him ; because of its strangeness, he will have nothing whatever to do with it. The Mohammedan, however, rejects Christianity because he thinks he knows all about it.

He considers the Christian irreligious. The tendency in Islam is to represent Christianity as an irreligious doctrine or, if that does not find a hearing, as one, at all events, of little religious value.

Mohammedans endeavour in their discussions to class Christians as unbelievers. If we meet the assertion that God's guiding hand is in Fate, by saying that surely God

can do no evil, the Mohammedan considers we are disparaging God. "God can do as He pleases, He is the Lord, we are His servants." The very doctrines which seem to us to attest the pre-eminence of Christianity are in his eyes the proof of its inferiority. When we declare that the fulness of God can only be apprehended in the Trinity, Islam replies that the doctrine of the Trinity is tritheism, and, therefore, polytheism. Christianity is a relapse into heathenism. When we speak of being children of God and call God our Father, the Mohammedan tells us we have, therefore, a much lower idea of God than he. If we rightly understood the Glory of God, we should never predicate such an attribute of Him. "God has no children." If we tell him of the faithfulness of God he shrugs his shoulders at the fools who think they know what God will do. If we go on to speak of communion with God, or of the indwelling of His spirit in believers, he considers that is robbing God of His Divine sublimity and dragging Him down to regions to which the sublime God can never demean Himself without compromising Himself. As is well known, the Mohammedan considers it terrible blasphemy when we say that God allowed His Son to be crucified. God, in His Omnipotence, could never have allowed such a thing to happen.

And we meet these same ideas in the Dutch East Indies. Christianity is certainly better known to some than to others, but every Mohammedan, even those who have but recently gone over to Islam, are determined opponents of Christianity. Many only know Christianity from hearsay, but "the Christians come to destroy religion," they tell our native helpers. In Borneo, Mohammedans have been known to call one of our missionaries, Braches, "Dadjal maut" (Angel of death) and "Roh Setan" (spirit of Satan).

They only know about the terrible "Nasrani" by whom they swear such oaths as "May I be a Nasrani (Nazarene) if such and such is not true?" Many Moham-

medans do not in the least know that the white people, with whom they come in contact, belong to these Nazarenes. And many draw the conclusion from what they actually experience at the hands of Europeans, that the Christians are really as godless as their teachers say. They observe practically no religious life among Europeans, not only because many Europeans forswear their Christianity among Mohammedans, but because Christianity is a spiritual religion. The Mohammedan has only eyes for what appeals to the senses in religion ; he has no understanding for its spiritual character. And Christianity is just lacking in what appeals to the senses. Christians are men who live for earthly things without any thought of God. For the European never uses any of the expressions which continually make mention of the name of God and which are indispensable to a Mohammedan in everyday conversation. He puts, therefore, no trust in God, only in his own firearms and brains ; his aim in life is to earn money, and he does that with the utmost success. Of course, that does not prove that the European is as godless as the native thinks. Only the native does not see him performing any religious acts. A European may actually lead a Christian life, but how is a native to know that he does ? Christianity has no external ordinances for everyday life, such as laws about food and fasting. Heathenism has much more the impression of being a religion than Christianity. In heathenism there are sacrifices and prayers and a multitude of rules which must be observed in everyday life ; a house must be built facing in a certain direction ; one may only sleep with one's feet in a certain direction. Superstition and its decrees indicate much more religious life, according to Mohammedan ideas, than Christianity, which refuses to have anything to do with such things. The European is lacking in feeling for religion when he laughs at amulets and talismans. Levity makes him not afraid of any of the dangerous places in the forest, nor show any fear of spirits, and makes him amused that

any one should carefully guard against the magic arts of sorcerers and Mohammedan Sheiks. It is frivolous to consider oneself beyond the reach of such things.

He has absolutely no idea of secret communion with God. Silent, devotional reading of the Scriptures is quite beyond his power of imagination. And, unfortunately, there are many Europeans who take pleasure in not concealing their irreligion from the Mohammedans. Those, who still call themselves Christians without being so in reality, are chiefly to blame for the Moslem idea that Christianity and a complete lack of understanding for things religious are identical. They know nothing about Islam and think that a religious question of this kind can be disposed of in a couple of sentences. Perhaps they even air a smattering of modern criticism and tell the native, if they have the chance, that there is no God, that man developed from the brute beasts and so forth. The native can find no explanation for what he says except that with all his cleverness the Christian is simply ignorant in religious matters.

“Unfortunately, there are fools who do not spare their enlightenment, but tell the native that, according to the latest discoveries of science, there is no God.” So an imam told Dr. Snouck Hurgronje a Government official had said to him, “and,” he added, “without being drunk !” Such a Mohammedan would have found more in common with a fanatical Christian.

As soon as a native sees that he only makes the white man laugh at his religious ideas, he is very careful not to enter into such questions. His soul, as it were, curls up like a hedgedog, and the European can get nothing out of him at all. In fact, if the native is cunning enough, he imitates his master and also begins to mock at religious things ; like the European he freely uses modern catch-words, while all the time laughing up his sleeve at the clever European who is worse than a benighted heathen in everything that pertains to religion.

Other Europeans are continually saying they do not

in the least care what religion their inferiors profess. The native concludes from this that the European, at all events, thinks nothing of Christianity and that Christianity is not what he understands by religion. For a man will seek to propagate his religion, to bear testimony to it. The European thinks he will win the native's confidence by forswearing Christianity and praising Islam on every possible occasion, but this positively repels the native. Men utterly without religion are repugnant to him and make him suspicious. Also the Moslem is too clever not to see through any such praise. It is only intended to conciliate the native. He, the Mohammedan, does the same; when it suits him he cannot say enough in praise of Christianity. He hopes he will throw dust in the eyes of the European, and often he succeeds.

This accounts for many superficial opinions heard on the lips of Europeans. They say the Mohammedan is by no means such a fanatic; he can easily be made to change his preconceived notions. He has no proper idea of what the religion of the Prophet Mohammed is. They say they have discussed the Koran with Mohammedans and they know nothing whatever about it. As if the native would ever reveal his Moslem convictions willy-nilly to the stupid European! As if the knowledge of the Koran were the standard of fanaticism and the native's life of faith!

Be that as it may, intercourse with Europeans always confirms the native in the idea that Christians are without a religion, as indeed, Mohammedan priests have always declared.

How essential it therefore is that Christianity should be presented to the eyes of the Mohammedan world; only so will it realize that there is no foundation for the statement that Christianity is irreligious.

The Christian is Unclean.—Christians actually eat food which is ceremonially unclean and drink alcohol which is forbidden. The Christian knows nothing of ceremonial ablutions. The Mohammedan, therefore,

wishes to have nothing to do with Christianity. He rejoices in being at least pure by reason of circumcision, ritual, and, above all, the avoidance of all unclean food.

Christians are also considered dirty in their dress. Once on a journey a Christian was greeted by some Mohammedans in Padang Sidempuan with the words: "You are like one of ourselves, you look so nice!" For this reason many missionaries in Moslem countries recommend scrupulous attention to bodily cleanliness and abstinence from wine and swine's flesh.

A Christian arriving at an inn on a journey will be refused the customary use of the common pot for cooking his food. One of our first native Christian preachers was hailed by the people with the words: "You are dirtier than the soles of our feet!" The wandering Moslem teacher purposely exaggerates the uncleanness of Christians, because the heathen has by no means such a predilection for cleanliness. He says that at baptism the Christians receive an inordinate desire for all kinds of unclean food. There is nothing under heaven they would not like to eat, even the most disgusting things. The Mohammedans in Java, for instance, say the Christians are like herons: "On the wing they are white, but down on the ground they eat worms and frogs."

The very contact with a Christian is defilement. It is well to avoid Christians.

Of course Christianity has itself to blame in many cases for the erroneous ideas that are abroad among Mohammedans. The evil living of so-called Christians and the false doctrine which Islam has heard from the lips of Christians in the Near East often give a semblance of truth to its impeachment.

Christianity is out of date. If the native turns to his teacher, he receives further information about Christianity. He is told it is out of date. The teacher makes that clear to him by the doctrine of the various revelations of God through the Prophets, each of which was only intended for its own age. How happy may those count

themselves who have the last and complete revelation of the Prophet Mohammed, so absolutely superior to all others. Nothing is further from the Mohammedan's mind than to become a Christian. Why it would mean a step backwards. It would correspond to a Christian becoming a Jew. "We Mohammedans," say the Javanese, "are on the dry land and you Christians are down in the ditch, do you want to drag us down also?"

Better educated Mohammedans are wiser and say Moses actually prophesied the coming of Mohammed, because Mohammed was the prophet of whom he said, "Him shall ye hear." This is the more credible because according to the Koran Jesus was the son of Miriam, the sister of Moses, and a remote prophecy could, therefore, not have been meant to refer to him. Mohammed was the first to interpret the words of Jesus aright. He is the Comforter whom Jesus promised. Jesus' promise of the Paraclete is applied to Mohammed, or else that particular passage is deleted.

That the Christian religion is out of date is deduced by the Mohammedans from the encomium passed by Europeans upon Islam. This is often done with the best intention in the world, out of a feeling that the native must not be offended. But the native pricks up his ears whenever he hears a word in commendation of Islam on the lips of a European. If the Christian himself says what the Mohammedan teacher is always asserting, then surely it must be true.

From personal experience I know how easy it is to give a wrong impression. I once had a lengthy conversation in Pangaloan with a Mohammedan whose knowledge of Islam was above the average, as he was the pupil of a Mecca pilgrim and sheik in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately, there was only one other Christian present as witness. Although the conversation really did not entitle the man to claim a victory—he was then very nearly a Christian—he told me sometime afterwards that that conversation had convinced him that, in com-

parison to Islam, Christianity was an inferior and hopeless religion. He had deduced this from the careless way in which I had shown a conciliatory spirit towards Islam as he talked.

If you say to a Mohammedan: "I also know the Koran," he will conclude that the European therefore also believes in the Koran. If we attribute a certain æsthetic value to the Koran, because of a few poetical passages, the native who knows nothing about æsthetics and only appreciates things from the religious point of view, concludes we prize the Koran more than the Scriptures. If we praise the religious content of the Koran, he takes it as a sure proof that Christians themselves see they are outdistanced by Islam.

And in many other respects Christianity is also out of date. It favours the vernacular, teaches the old Batak character in its schools and even spares ancient customs. Surely it is more refined to use as many foreign words as possible in the *lingua franca* of the day, that is Malay in the Dutch East Indies.

Christian Bataks, for instance, simply call themselves Bataks, not Malays; but who wants to belong to such a low-down people as the Bataks? Many heathen feel so strongly that Christianity spares their nationality—whereas Islam destroys it—that in Maliwuko in Celebes the heathen call themselves "Sarani" (Christians) in contradistinction to the Mohammedans.

Christianity is False Doctrine.—The chief error in Christian doctrine is that God is said to have had a son. The otherwise not over-nice Mohammedan takes offence at the idea that God should have had a wife called Mary.

For such is his version of the Birth of Christ; the fiercest opposition is aroused by the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which the Mohammedan wrongly understands as tritheism. Jesus if possible is represented in the purely physical sense as the Son of God, the offspring of God and Mary (i.e., the Holy Ghost), or of Gabriel (the Holy Ghost) and Mary. This misunderstanding on this

point can, however, be cleared up by reasonable argument.

How can any one be so blasphemous as to attribute human passions to God! This is the origin of the false doctrine of three deities which, they say, Christianity has evolved. It is a relapse into heathenism? In the Dutch East Indies the harshness of this judgment upon Christianity is not tempered by any reverence such as we find paid to Jesus in the Koran, as the Prophet who was miraculously conceived as the Word of God. It is rare to find a Mohammedan who is willing to allow that every true Moslem should speak respectfully of Jesus.

The Bible is only true in so far as it agrees with the Koran; because of course the Jews tampered with it.

The worship of images is also owing to Christianity being out of date. The Christianity of Mohammed's day had sunk into Mariolatry, the worship of images and controversies about the nature of the Son of God. Hence Christianity found no footing in Arabia.¹ The people say in Sumatra that all the Christians' pictures, even the photographs which the missionaries have in their houses, are part of their image worship.

One of our Christians was once laughed at on this very account. "How can you go about the Christians," his neighbours said to him, "when they pray to images?" The faithful old man defended himself not unskilfully when he quietly said: "That is not true, it is you and your teachers who are traders, who pray to images and serve them." When they angrily asked him what he meant, he took a dollar out of his pocket and said, pointing to the head of the king of Spain: "This is the image before which you all grovel in the dust.

¹ A few Arabian tribes are said to have gone over to Judaism, which is a proof of the spirit of religious inquiry at that period, but they were repelled by Christianity. This is borne out by what Eddy writes from Syria about the Mohammedan's rejection of images, pictures and crucifixes in their worship making them receptive to *Evangelical* preaching.

You are the worshippers of images, not we." (The stamp on a coin is called "image" in the vernacular.)

The so-called worship of images among Christians is shamelessly exploited by agitators. Fuchs, a missionary in the Pakpak country, to the north-west of the Batak country, tells how the natives were shown a picture of a nude female figure surrounded by male worshippers. "That is Christian worship in Holland, they were told, don't you become Christians!" That no woman dare attend service in consequence is obvious.

The Mohammedan rejects Christianity because he is for the present satisfied with his own religion. He possesses all that Christianity offers him: God, heaven and hell. He also has a moral law. He has a book of God, like the Christians. Indeed, Moslems boast of their knowledge of the Bible. They return from Mecca, declaring they know the "taurah" (Law) and the "zaboor" (Psalms) and the "indjil" (Gospel). "We have a revelation from God in Creation, in the Koran and Mohammed." Many of these doctrines he certainly does not as yet understand. He knows but little of the Moslem Scriptures and the Kitab. Many questions about God and the Hereafter are still unanswered, but no matter. There are plenty of teachers who are never at a loss for an answer. "I am stupid, but our doctors can explain the smallest tittle of the Book!" said a Mohammedan, Chaji Salamudin by name, to Holzapfel at Sarepta in Cape Colony. If any one is not quite at rest in his mind, there are plenty of opportunities for getting information.

There is one clear road to heaven; let a man but really fulfil all the Commandments and he is safe; and should he be found wanting in certain points, there is still some way of arranging matters even after death. The Mohammedan is sure of his ground, at least, so he would have us believe, and needs no new doctrine. That is his final word in every discussion. He is proud of his Arabic, the language of heaven. His faith in

the mercy of God is undisturbed by any concern about his own sins. "Why should I be converted? (literally "change my inner life"), said a pilgrim to our native helper, Marinus Harahap. I have not committed any sins as far as I know." Fatalism rules out any feeling of responsibility. God is the ultimate source of evil as well as good; He has predetermined that some actions shall be called good and some evil. The Moslem is in bondage to the priesthood which prevents him from ever thinking for himself, and his sensibilities are so deadened that he is quite happy it should be so.

This makes the presentation of the Gospel extraordinarily difficult; we meet passive resistance everywhere. Even a superficial acceptance of Islam makes a man strong to oppose Christianity. The Moslem has no spiritual needs; Islam makes a man self-satisfied and indifferent. He does not defend himself, he does not contradict, he shows no hatred. He allows everything to pass over his head. He smiles when we set before him life or death.

Christianity does actually lack much that is found in Islam. That Christianity has no use for Animistic magic and scorns it is a regrettable want. Surely Christian doctrine has not yet plumbed the deepest depths of human wisdom and heavenly mystery. The way in which, as we have already said, Christianity is out of date dogmatically, is only understood by the more educated. The "Animistic" inferiority of Christianity is daily patent to the man in the street. Christianity knows nothing of those mysterious magic charms which the Mohammedan teacher has at his command in such abundance. Not because it retains so many elements of Animism does the Islam of the Dutch East Indies show such promise as a Mission field. On the contrary the league between old time superstition and new-fangled magic makes our work all the more difficult. The Moslem who shows leanings towards Christianity has also to fear the vengeance of Animistic powers.

Christianity lacks visible guarantees of salvation in this world or in eternity. Islam has such in the person of its teachers. They will see to it that one is at peace with God. One may have to put up with a certain amount of oppression, but it is willingly borne. However irksome such perpetual tutelage as that of the teachers may seem to us, it is valued extremely by the ordinary man. Even although he is sometimes swindled, he knows he is in safe keeping. It is a comforting thought that his salvation hereafter is in the hands of the same people who have always cared for his temporal welfare. Either side of the grave the chiefs are the fathers of the people, and their allies, the teachers, like the sorcerers used to be, are the ordinary man's counsellors; and so it has always been. In Christianity there are none of those religious exercises which give a man a better standing in God's sight. Christianity is a miserable religion as compared with Islam. Christianity has nothing to take the place of the pilgrimage to Mecca. It knows nothing of accumulated merit or of a glorious life in Paradise. The Mohammedans ask where are the holy graves of the Christian, adding: "Ours are in Mandeling, a district in Sumatra, and all over the world."

Yes, Islam encompasses the world, it forms a visible community, "dar al islam." The earth was created for it, the world will one day be its possession. Only a few Europeans belong to Christianity and that only for the time that now is. How soon their rule will cease! Then comes the new age of which Christians know nothing. Intellectually and morally, Islam thus considers itself vastly our superior. Wrapt in his cloak of self-righteousness, every Moslem, no matter how illiterate he may be, firmly believes he is superior to any Christian teacher. "The Mohammedans look down on us with contempt, the Word of God therefore remains a closed book to them," writes our native helper Jonathan.

The good news of Christianity does not appeal to them. Concubinage and polygamy, the low position of woman and the facility for divorce make the Moslem unreceptive to the high ethical demands of the New Testament. They realize the contrast between it and the precepts of the Koran. The ethics of Christianity arouse opposition; its demands seem exaggerated. The ethical demands of Islam are cast into the shade by ceremonial laws. Moreover, Christianity has some very unpleasant ordinances. Friday, the Mohammedan feast day, is not observed: Christians work on Fridays. The Christian keeps his Sabbath, an irksome duty and yet not a work of merit.

Monogamy is required of a Christian; although it is not universally enforced in the Dutch East Indies that a man must put away his extra wives before he is baptized. Christianity runs counter to every Animistic custom, and maintains strict discipline. It is unfamiliar and burdensome. Christian doctrine is unprofitable from the social point of view. It does not permit the rich to fleece the poor, but requires that the poor shall receive his due. That does not please the avaricious chief at all.

Christianity is only known to a minority, the native likes to go with the crowd; he is exposed to persecution, that is unbearable; he must separate himself from his family. Even in Java it still sometimes happens that members of a family lose their fields because they have come over to Christianity. Worse than all are the perils of the end of the world. A man who becomes a Christian runs the danger of being one of the first victims at the dawn of the Mohammedan world empire.

Christianity is too European. In becoming a Christian one becomes Dutch, i.e., European. In 1877, when the last remaining heathen in Sipirok were converted to Islam by foreign Mecca pilgrims at the command of the reigning prince, the Christians were also hailed before the Patuan (prince). The hadji then did

their utmost to make the Christians apostatize. He told them that Christianity was an affair of the whites, it was pure arrogance for them to wish to adopt that religion. Besides, within a few years all the Christians would become Mohammedans. Moslems in Java have also said: "The missionary wants to make us Dutch, and we do not want to be Dutch."

This again has momentous eschatological consequences. For who knows what will become of a European in the Hereafter. In Java the natives therefore say: "If we follow the religion of the Dutch, perhaps the God of the Dutch will not accept us, and perhaps the God of the Mohammedans will not either, and then we shall float about in mid-air."

It is here that Islam is most clearly opposed to Christianity; it stands out alone among the non-Christian religions. Christian worship is not immoral, which was the reproach levelled against the Early Church. Nor is it treasonable, nor anti-national as here and there in Eastern Asia, e.g., China, nor foolish because irrational according to ancient and modern philosophers; it is not merely unclean, as the Hindus say, but Christianity is the way to eternal destruction. The Mohammedan, who wants to become a Christian, stakes everything.

It is significant that, on the one hand, the native considers it a lack in Christianity that it practises no magic arts and, on the other hand, he tries to explain the power of Christianity in Animistic ways. The Mohammedan, as well as the heathen, always thinks the Christian is possessed of magic powers, dangerous satanic powers from which he must protect himself.

Baptism itself is one species of magic; through the still open fontanel (bones of the cranium) the minister pours into the child's head the "Nazarene water," which is endowed with certain mysterious powers, and then the minister obtains supernatural powers over the child. He can then do as he likes with it; the child must obey his will. Similarly the Mohammedans

in Java say that men are bewitched by drinking banjer sarani (Nazarene water). "I want you to help me," said a leper Amim to one of our native Christian helpers, "but I beseech you, at the same time, not to give me any Christian water. I should then have to become a Christian and cease to belong to the great people of the Prophet Mohammed." Indeed, every draught of medicine is simply a magic potion, by which the Mohammedan is bewitched into becoming a Christian. Christians dissect corpses to eat the hearts out of them; it gives them supernatural power. Christianity is, therefore, often called not "agama," religion; but "ilmu," magic.

Does it not almost seem a vain effort to try and carry Christianity to the Mohammedan? There seems to be no point of contact. He seems to have everything already that we might give him.

A consciousness of victory pervades the entire Mohammedan world. Islam's unfavourable position, politically, has not affected it, because the feeling has its origin in the *religious* conceptions of Islam, more especially in the doctrine of the final Holy Wars, which are to usher in the Last Day. Islam has known how to preserve this halo of invincibility in the mind of the heathen, even where it has had to bend its proud neck before a European Colonial power. This, surely, proves the strength of this feeling of invincibility.

Heathen, who have been but a short time in contact with Islam, have already adopted the idea that it is the religion of the future. How often, on the East coast of Sumatra, when I asked heathen if they were Mohammedans, did they answer: "Not yet!" They were quite convinced they would be some day.

That Christianity, in spite of its world supremacy, has within it the seed of death, is a deeply rooted Moslem conviction. "Why is it you Christians do not become Mohammedans?" a Mohammedan once said to me. "You greatly err in thinking you do not need to be con-

verted to Islam." This is easily explained. Allah, in His inscrutable wisdom, has thought good to give Christians a number of earthly gifts which He has denied the Mohammedans. A testing time, they say, has certainly fallen upon Islam. Satan has equipped Christians with all kinds of arts by which they can do despite to Islam in this present time. And yet Islam is, to-day, a power with which the mighty white man, who is in league with Satan, is forced to reckon. Is not that really a proof, the Mohammedan concludes, that Islam will, one day, drive all the powers at enmity with it from the field? The idea prevails all over Northern Java, for instance, that Achin in Northern Sumatra, which has been the bulwark of Islam in the Dutch East Indies for fully a generation, and has been carrying on war against the Dutch since 1875, is invincible; if it were conquered, they say, the end of the world would come.

This belief in the final defeat of Christianity has, unfortunately, been strengthened by the attitude of Colonial Governments. The principle of the Government remaining neutral in religious movements has already been shown to be a weak policy. The theory of toleration towards all religions often proves, in practice, a direct advantage to Islam.

With this may be coupled the little favours shown to Mohammedan servants, which the native is only too quick to notice. A Mohammedan servant will be given a large proportion of his wages in advance during the month of fasting and is treated very leniently, while a Christian servant is forbidden to go to Church. A Mohammedan servant may recite his Koran aloud of an evening in his usual howling sing-song, while the Christian servant is forbidden to sing a Christian hymn. It is, moreover, a pity that in the Dutch East Indies people generally take for granted that the natives are Mohammedans. Indeed, there is no desire that Mohammedans should become Christians. "It only makes them more insolent," people say.

All this has, certainly, been improving lately. Graafland relates a typical incident of a Government official, who was first put over a Christian district and did his utmost to suppress Christianity and then received a Mohammedan district and came to the conclusion that everything possible must be done "to prevent districts being Islamized." However, when the new mosque at Medan (Deli, Eastern Sumatra) was consecrated, as recently as August, 1909, a number of Europeans were present and Government representatives among them, and the European architect said in his speech that "the Sultan of Deli had built the mosque as a monument to the glory of Allah."

Even in the Dutch Colonies, which have been completely disillusioned in the last few decades as to Islam's being won by favours, no priaji, i.e., no Government official or regent in Java is allowed to become a Christian—and yet Holland is the land of liberty. These regents—officials with princely rank—have oversight over the Mohammedan teachers. They can only exercise this oversight, however, according to the regulations, in the capacity of Mohammedans. If a regent becomes a Christian, he must resign his position. The common people conclude from this that the Government in no way desires their conversion to Christianity. Because these highest circles in Java cannot become Christian, the Mohammedans say to the Christians: Many Mohammedans have received blessing and honour from Allah, which means, have risen to high positions and wealth, and that proves they are beloved of Allah, whereas no Christian has received such blessings. The Christians in Java, who are for the most part humble folk, very often say it does not seem to be God's will that the Javanese should become Christian; otherwise it would surely be possible for a prince's son, or a native official, to be a Christian. This is, of course, a hindrance to Missions.

Especially in the Dutch East Indies the attitude of

the Government has doubtless greatly changed. Missions have been recognized by many in high positions, but the mistakes of former days are still bearing fruit.

The Moslem's belief that Christianity is afraid of Islam is being strengthened. The native is keenly alive to the fact of a Government fearlessly taking its own way or not. The Colonial Governments strengthen the natives' hope of Islam's eventual triumph. As long as these thoughts are harboured by a Mohammedan people, the danger of rebellion is always imminent. And yet we actually have demands of this kind for the hampering of Missions, and the encouragement of Islam. A German Colonial newspaper declared, in the nineties, that the German Government should establish Mohammedan teachers of religion in East Africa, and become the protector of the Mohammedan religion in that country (Wegner). And they are a menace to missionary work, not only because they hinder its free development, but the religious native sees in such measures a proof of the inferiority of the Christian doctrine; those who profess it are afraid, that is to say, not so sure of victory as he is himself.

Doubtless, our belief in the power of the Gospel to overcome the world is independent of the measures of a Colonial Government; but if the bearing of the Colonial officials strengthens Islam's assurance of victory, if the heathen get the impression that Mohammedan agitators are right when they maintain that Christianity shall, one day, bow the knee to Islam, he loses any inclination to become a Christian. For, if Christianity is only a passing phenomenon, why, in all the world, should one concern oneself with it? So say both the Mohammedan and the heathen who have come under Mohammedan influence. On the other hand, when the Government makes a strong and fearless stand, we can prove that the natives are always profoundly impressed.

For example, the Government determined in East

Sumatra to go to law with a certain Mohammedan chief, who had undertaken, on oath, to tolerate religious freedom, but who was trying to force Islam upon his subjects. The prince was put in prison; the case brought to light a number of other acts of injustice. The man was exiled. The consequence was a marked change of front in the heathen population, which had hitherto been favourably disposed to Islam. They said: "Now we see that the Europeans are stronger than the Mohammedans." Others, it is true, did think the banished prince should have telegraphed to the Sultan in Constantinople, and he would certainly have restored his liberty; but it was clearly recognized that Islam's confidence rested on weak foundations.

There is no desire for fusion.—The Mohammedan's outspoken aversion for Christianity excludes any possibility of fusion between the two religions. Nevertheless, we constantly hear well-meaning proposals by which Christianity might be made acceptable to the Mohammedan. Surely, it is said, the two religions have so much in common! If those, who represent these two monotheistic tendencies, could but once come to an understanding, their union would spontaneously follow. Their goal, their belief in the one God, surely already unites them at heart!

Such fusion was advocated by the Rationalists. Certain people thought they had found something akin to Rationalism in Islam, that it was a really rational faith, they therefore believed the two could quite easily be blended into one. The cause of misjudged Islam was ardently espoused. What a wrong value had been, hitherto, set upon it!

The Dark Middle Ages pronounced it accursed heathenism. Luther called Mohammed a Satanic Seducer. "Fie, shame upon thee, thou horrible devil, thou accursed Mohammed!" (Cf. Deutsch's translation of the *Confutatio Alkoran*, p. 6.) Melancthon also declared that Mohammed was "inspired by Satan."

Dante (Canto xxviii.) relegates him to the lowest circle of the Inferno. This was one-sided! Lessing, in "Nathan der Weise," restored Islam's crown of glory. If not actually preferred to Christianity, Islam is here at least placed on an equality with it. Indeed, Rationalism went so far as to call Islam a benefactor of mankind. Hence its ardent desire to bring about fusion with Christianity. There is nothing against it on the side of Christianity, they said, we have only to make Islam realize there is nothing against it on its side either. Weil, for instance, maintains that the ultimate fusion of Islam and Christianity is all the more feasible, because Christ and Mary are actually esteemed more highly by Mohammedans than by many Protestants. He goes on to say that, if people would only cease "demanding belief in the dogma that Christ is the Son of God, the wall of partition between Islam and Christianity would be broken down." Jews, as well as Mohammedans, he further maintained, were only to be converted along rationalistic lines. Those who have a desire for a more positive religion, on the other hand, might adopt some supernatural faith. Just as many of the Mohammedans believe in Ali and the Imam, so also those of them who desire to do so might accept the belief in a Son of God, enthroned beyond the clouds. Instead of missions to Mohammedans he, therefore, recommends historico-theological studies and the study of universal history and the history of religions. The Bible and catechism, on the other hand, must be kept in the background as being repellent to all non-Christians. Let it be granted to the Mohammedan that Mohammed is his greatest prophet, the man who did for Arabia what Moses did for the people of Israel.

History, having already determined the significance of rationalism for Islam, and shown that it had absolutely no success in winning the Mohammedan world for Christ, we might disregard the rationalistic dictum were it not that such counsels are always finding voice. The

need of Islam, say they, is not for missions, which seek to replace Mohammed by Jesus, but for enlightenment, which will accord Mohammed a place side by side with Jesus.

Thus the Frenchman, Loyson, for instance, dreams of a renaissance of Islam under the influence of Christianity. *La Revue d'Islam* has it as its definite aim to break down the antagonism between Christianity and Islam. An officer, Conte de Castric by name, has written an apology of Islam called *l'Islam, impressions et étude* (Paris, 1896). In Germany there has appeared Barth's *Türke, wehre dich!* (Leipzig, 1898). Von Kremer hopes that Islam's mysticism will bridge the gulf between Christianity and Islam. An actual expression of Divine discontent, as Mysticism may be in wide circles of Islam, it has pantheistic rather than theistic tendencies. In Persia there certainly are groups of mystics who are tolerant towards Christianity, always provided Christianity relinquishes its claim that in Jesus alone we have the incarnation of God. If Christians will recognize other incarnations of God in the Imam, their opposition to Christianity will cease. The mysticism of the Dutch East Indies, in so far as it does not play into the hands of Buddhistic theosophy, only entangles the natives, more and more, in the toils of magic.

Doubtless, for the Christian in particular, it is a matter of conscience to meet even the Moslem religion in a conciliatory spirit. Nevertheless, expunging Christian verities will not promote a conciliation. Any proposition of this kind shows a lack of understanding of Islam as it is in practice, to say nothing of the disparagement it casts upon Christianity. If only Mohammed were simply the prophet of the Mohammedans? Weil's argument is based upon this false assumption. Islam is as little rationalistic as is Christianity itself. Rationalism wished to set aside the Divine Sonship of Jesus, His supernatural existence, and accounted Him no more than a sublime teacher and prophet. If this is

to be the ground of our union with Islam, the most we shall gain is that Islam will triumphantly maintain that its doctrine was perfectly true ; for Mohanmedans have long held that the Birth of Jesus was miraculous and that He is, therefore, one of the great prophets. Islam will further claim to be in the right when it teaches that Mohammed is greater than the Nazarene. For Mohammed is supernatural : Jesus is mere man. Islam will say, if the Christians want to unite with us, they must become Mohammedans. Any schemes of this kind thus inevitably lead to the Islamizing of Christianity, instead of to the Christianizing of Islam.

A Christian Mission, which only has a message of the man Jesus, has no justification for its existence, because it can bring Islam nothing new. Missions to Islam are only justified if they face the Mohammedans with the definite question : Mohammed *or* Christ ? For the Mohammed of the Mohammedan believer suffers a Christ, as rival, no more than the Christ of the Christian believer suffers a Mohammed. The effusions of zealous Mohammedans, such as the following, will cure us of the utopia of fusion with Islam. Sheik Abdul, Hag of Bagdad issued the following "last testimony" to Christians in 1903 : "Christian peoples, the time has come to listen to us. The hatred of Islam for Europe is irreconcilable ! After centuries of earnest endeavour to be kindly disposed towards you, the only result is that we abhor you more than we did in the earlier periods of our history. Learn to understand, ye wise and intelligent men of Europe, that we regard a Christian, be his station what it may, entirely and solely because he is a Christian, as blind and as having forfeited all human respect. You Christians, who have been trained, from your youth up, in the doctrines of your Churches, cannot possibly imagine what horror and disgust take possession of us at the mention of the mere name of your Trinity. We have not yet forgotten your crusades ; they are going on to-day under forms

a hundred-fold more accursed. Your plan is the annihilation of Islam. But how can we be ever possibly disturbed, even for a moment, by the thought of the sovereignty of a crucified God ; what possible meaning can there be for us in a God, Who should debase our Infinite God, the Almighty ruler of the world ? Our most ardent desire is that the day may soon dawn when we shall wipe out the last traces of your accursed supremacy."

A further misunderstanding is that Islam is not repelled by the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Divine Sonship in particular, so much as by the false interpretation which Islam puts upon these two articles of the Christian creed. (Cf. p. 216.) When the Mohammedan gains clear insight into Christian dogma and realizes that the Trinity does not attack, but rather completes the Unity of God, that Jesus was not carnally conceived by God, but in a manner hidden from human knowledge, that He was from the beginning of all time, his greatest difficulties vanish as to the doctrine of the Trinity, although it does not yet follow that he becomes a Christian.

For there still remains the difficulty we have already mentioned, that all preaching of the Gospel, however tender and conciliatory, has this inevitable issue : there is nothing in Mohammed. That strikes at the heart of Islam. Because Jesus drives Mohammed from the field, coalition is impossible between Christianity and Islam.

It is no blind Christian zealotism, without understanding for the bright sides of other religions, if we cannot regard Islam as in any way preparing for the coming of Christianity, like the Jewish theocracy which was meant to be a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. That would, indeed, be a very comforting solution of the Mohammedan problem and, without concern, we might watch the progress of Moslem propaganda in Africa ; we might even welcome it gladly. Where, however, in the course of the thirteen centuries of its

history has Islam proved to be a first step towards Christianity? What we have said shows that there is not the slightest ground for any such hope.

On the contrary, the characteristic operative truths of Islam, i.e., the religious assets it bestows upon the heathen, are exactly what hinder, rather than help, the Mohammedan's acceptance of the Gospel. The Moslem law of Islam brings God and men into a certain relation with one another, telling of a will of God for men and, therefore, also of sin and righteousness; but that is not much good.

For it is no more than apparent progress for Islam to speak of sin against God, whereas heathenism only recognizes offences against the traditional custom of the fathers. Even in Islam the idea of sin is purely external. Sin means ritual ceremonial transgressions and the omission of religious exercises. This appeals to the native because it does not, in any way, impeach his inner sinful nature. "The Moslem," says the Mohammedan-Christian, P. Awetarianian, "has no idea of the sonship of the children of God, nor of the essence of sin over against the holiness of God. He regards the essence of sin as the transgression of a law external to himself." To call a lie a sin, for instance, is a mere form of words, because every Mohammedan teacher lies with impunity. "If thy friend has been once to Mecca," says a Nubian proverb, "trust him not; if twice, avoid his company; if thrice, fly before him as before Satan incarnate."

And, even if we do grant that Islam brands some sins as sin, its idea of sin is always confined to particular sins. It ignores sin, in the broad sense of the inherent selfishness of man, which goes, hand in hand, with enmity against God. Therefore, Islam, as we have already seen, shuts its eyes to grievous crimes and exaggerates the most trifling external offences. Jesus' word to the Pharisees about straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel is only too applicable to Islam. Then among the peoples, which are under the ban of Animism, it has

made far-reaching concessions to their Animistic ways. It has even sanctioned, in the name of God, magic practices which are of criminal intent.

This disposes of the hope that Islam will act as a forerunner for law, in that it possesses a written law ; for its law is a casuistical conglomeration of single precepts, in which broad moral precept and ceremonial law are found, side by side, without logical sequence. Its law lacks any moral principle, such as that of love, which we find even in the Old Testament.

Our idea of holiness has, doubtless, its counterpart in Islam's endeavour after holiness in its religious exercises. But these do not lead to the Christian endeavour after holiness. For holiness in Islam has not a religious and ethical goal, but only a magic and mystical one. (Cf. the story of Simon Magus in Acts viii.) Mohammedan law awakens no moral striving, no sense of sin, no understanding of the holy will of God. The much vaunted belief of the Mohammedan in the Last Judgment is a mere dallying with the righteousness and holiness of God and, in no sense, qualified to inspire man with salutary awe of eternity. God's chastisement in eternity loses its terror by the fact that man only endures hell-fire for a certain length of time. How difficult it is so to disillusion a Mohammedan, who is possessed with the idea of the Moslem joys of Paradise, as to give him any relish for the Biblical hope of eternity.

Moreover, terms like the grace and mercy of God are totally without content in Islam. The arbitrariness of God really leaves no room for such impulses. Promises certainly abound. In Islam God is the Giver of many gifts, both in this world and the next, but these gifts make God the criminal arch-magician : He promises to gratify the fiercest sensual lust. Finally, the doctrine of the meritorious fulfilment of external law presents one of the chief hindrances to the acceptance of Christianity as man's salvation in Christ alone, and as the work of free grace personified in Him.

What point of contact does the Mohammedan's belief in the inspiration of sacred scriptures give us, when he has such a mechanical and superstitious conception of inspiration? As long as such an incomprehensible book as the Koran is sacred to him, even its very binding and paper, he has no regard for the Bible, which tells the simple Bible story in the ordinary language of the people. A man must dispense with the Koran if he wants to become a Christian. What point of contact does it give us that the Mohammedan, as we have seen, should pray, when his prayer has less the nature of prayer than that of the heathen?

The very faith of the Mohammedan does not make him strong to believe, in the New Testament sense. For the Mohammedan's faith is partly subjection and partly fatalism. Both are at the antipodes from child-like trust in God's fatherly goodness. If we discuss this point with a Mohammedan, he will use one of his fatalist expressions and demonstrate to us that he has much more of an inner faith than we. He takes his dead fatalism for faith.

Islam, of course, sets forth a number of religious conceptions besides the idea of God. Many of them are not new to the heathen, that is to say they are not peculiar to Islam, as a careful study of Animism clearly shows. They, therefore, in no way enrich heathenism religiously, nor do they offer any further points of contact for the preaching of the Gospel. On the contrary, the very similarity of the conceptions which Islam introduces are a hindrance to the understanding of Christian truth. How easily the heathen misunderstand us and how, even more easily, does the Mohammedan.

No wonder that the Javanese missionary is afraid lest the Gospel should be accepted as a new kind of "ilmu" (magic). We mention the word paradise in our preaching. What pictures that word recalls to the Mohammedan youth at our feet. Doubtless the heathen has not the least idea what we mean by eternity; the conception

of it is only formed gradually. But the Mohammedan will always persist in putting his Mohammedan interpretation upon the Christian word, he looks upon whatever we say to him in quite a different light. His idea of God must be carefully erased and his heaven depopulated, if Christian conceptions are to lay hold of him.

An experienced missionary to Mohammedans in the Near East has said : " Islam makes the people familiar with the idea of God and reveals the needs of the human heart, but it induces men to satisfy those needs by certain prescribed methods. The methods are national and, therefore, popular ; oriental and, therefore, easily assimilated ; but I doubt whether they make the faithful willing to substitute what we preach instead of them."

Therefore, Islam is not a first step towards Christianity. To build on land, which has never been built upon, is easier than first to pull down old buildings, offering stubborn resistance to the crowbar. Individual missionaries to Mohammedans have, I know, maintained that work among Mohammedans is more promising than work among the heathen, because the Mohammedan has great respect for the Gospel and for Jesus ; in the Dutch East Indies, however, and especially in Sumatra, where we work among Mohammedans *and* heathen, we do not find anything of the kind. Even in the Near East the Koran is always esteemed more highly than the Bible and Mohammed than Jesus. Only read the biography of Awetarianian : Islam meets us not as " a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ " (*παιδαγωγός*) but as " one who opposeth Christ " (*ἀντικείμενος*). 2 Thess. ii. 4.

The disintegration of Islam. Many people have set their hopes for the Christianizing of the Moslem world upon the gradual dismemberment of the Turkish State. They regard Islam as an essentially political power, and have not gauged its religious strength. The wide-spread expansion, however, of Mohammedan propaganda, in spite of the political decline of Islam, has, once and for

all, undermined any such hope. That the Mohammedan religion would spontaneously crumble away with the Ottoman state is an idle combination of ideas, in view of the revival of the Turkish State. If, again, there has been any expectation that the Christianizing process would be furthered by the supremacy of Christian Colonial powers in Mohammedan countries, it must, on the contrary, be maintained that this rule has proved extremely favourable to Islam. The Colonial powers cannot even be accredited with having allowed complete liberty of action to Christian Missions.

Nevertheless, many do still hope that the Mohammedan peril will gradually vanish. They say Islam is on the eve of disintegration and support their opinion by what Mohammedans themselves have said and by the conferences which have been convened by Mohammedans from time to time. But, even if Islam is actually considering its own condition with a critical eye, does that prove it is at the point of death?

From the reports of the Berlin Missionary Society, it would appear that many Mohammedan circles in East Africa seem to be somewhat tired of Islam at the present time—but here, again, Missions are no longer an unknown quantity.

In Mji-mwema, in East Africa, only twelve men out of a community of a hundred attended mid-day prayer. Only twenty-five were faithful to the mosque, and the old men at that, the young men are lazy. The mosque is dilapidated; the house of the Arabian founder of the community, a ruin. “The power of Islam is broken in Daressalam,” was the opinion of Martin Nganisho, “we have still to fight against it, but our children and grand-children will no longer have to carry on this difficult warfare.” Other native helpers also say the same.

We shall, however, do well not to take these complaints too seriously. Knowing to his shame how corrupt his own circle is, the Mohammedan is fond of deploring the

general insubordination of the faithful. He wishes to prove by that that the bad state of affairs is certainly not due to the system, but merely to the insubordination of the present generation in Islam.

How chary we must, however, be of hoping that Islam is on the decline is shown by the report, from the same district, of the astonishing zeal of Moslems in certain parts: "The natives of Magogoni are building themselves a mosque out of their own resources for some 250 rupees. They have all assessed their income, some up to 15 rupees. It is a great sum for such people to raise, even if the richest natives are to be found among the coast population."

Such a time is a warning to Christian Missions. "Buy up the opportunity!" For the ocean of Mohammedan ideas has its ebb and flow. Moslem history shows this very clearly. It is, in fact, a law that in Islam a period of flourishing propaganda will be followed by a certain time of indifference.

Such flagging does not imply receptivity to the Gospel. The close of that same report very rightly points out that "Whereas it may be a cause for thankfulness, we must not, on the other hand, shut our eyes to the fact that what separates the native from Islam, namely, repugnance to any kind of discipline and all moral or religious restraint, is bound to keep them even further away from Christianity."

Apart from the striking results of Christian missions, of which we shall have to speak later on, we must, therefore, come to the conclusion that Islam is gaining ground everywhere, and that there is no question of its dying out.

In the Batak country, as also in Java, we find an increase of Moslem knowledge and in religious zeal. The number of people who engage in Zikr exercises is growing. The teaching profession is gaining ground. The hadji who met the first missionaries, fifty years ago, and the young men who, to-day, return from a period of study at Mecca are very different men. Islam is more

and more permeating the life of the people. The number of pilgrims has increased in Java ; in Bantam the people are becoming more and more versed in Moslem law ; cheap Arabic books are being circulated in increasing numbers. The mosques are well attended and mystic exercises are much practised. In Sumatra Islam is continually expanding, and it gains in religious power. The Indonesians who go to Mecca want to become what the Mecca people are : doctors who live exactly in accordance with Mohammedan precepts. Hence Islam, imperfect as it may be at present, is brought nearer its ideal by intercourse with Mecca.

Of course Islam has also difficulties to contend with within its own religion. Sects and heresies are also found in the Dutch East Indies. There is much contention among the Mohammedan pilgrims, possibly often to be traced to the rivalry between the various mystic associations. Their very disputing drills these Mohammedan agitators and this increases the mischief a hundred-fold.

No matter where we may turn, we fail to lay our finger upon any actual indications of disintegration. Something else is, however, apparent : the modern intellectual flood-tide of Europe, and the swirl of Indian Buddhist theosophy are eddying round the ancient, firmly cemented bulwark of Islam. Here and there the mortar of ancient tradition is being loosened, and now and then a little stone falls out of the masonry of ancient dogma. Many, therefore, have visions of the whole Moslem structure being swept away by the surging billows of European free-thought. They hope Islam will be westernized, transformed under the influence of modern ideas, and they would have us note the Young Turkish and Young Egyptian movement and, in the Dutch East Indies, the unrest of the Young Javanese in Java.

The Young Javanese Movement. On October 3, 1908, a Conference of Javanese was held at Djokjakarta, in

which three hundred Javanese men and twenty Javanese women took part. They belonged to the highest circles of the Javanese nobility, and the educated class of Javanese was well represented by Government officials, doctors and teachers. Partiality was universally shown for the Budi Utomo Society (an organization with Buddhist tendencies which we might call "The beautiful endeavour"), and the desire for more thorough and more general education for the whole nation. The need for better education has long been realized by the higher class Javanese. The Regent of Karang Anjer has himself founded a girls' school with one hundred and twenty-one girl pupils. His own daughter and two other young Javanese women teach them. All the other Regents, however, have meanwhile resisted the Government's effort to found schools for girls. All the same the idea is simmering.

The Young Javanese Movement has gained much notoriety since 1908. Its Buddhist character is very evident. In the ordinary course of events, Buddhism was forcibly suppressed by Islam, by command of the reigning princes (even in the nineteenth century acts of violence were committed), but it has never quite died out. There have long been advocates of Buddhism in Java. A Javanese satire, called Gato-lotjo, censures the Javanese for having adopted the Arabian religion. There is a revival of theosophy at the present time, partly owing to the fact that Javanese go to Holland to study and do not come into touch there with real Christianity. The high-born Javanese likes to call himself a theosophist; Javanese and Malay theosophical writings are well known among the common people; and a theosophical monthly magazine is actually being issued.

Pastor van Dyk also writes about a Javanese philosopher, who questioned him about the origin of the Bible, the division of its books into the Old and New Testaments, the authors of the various books, the difference

between Moses and Christ. This man was a theosophist. He distinguished a coarser and a finer spiritual being in man. The way to blessedness consists in man's being gradually initiated, step by step, into this higher being ; finally, man transcends all the desires and impulses of the ordinary mortal " so that we have no further need of a Saviour or God."

The origin and the tendency of these movements is not very clear. They have, however, some connection with the awakening of the peoples of Eastern Asia since the Russo-Japanese War. That war also made a deep impression upon the Dutch East Indies. In a school, in Meester-Cornelis, some boys were looking at pictures of the Jewish wars in the Old Testament, and instinctively exclaimed : " Russia and Japan ! " Belief in the invincible power of the European has vanished, once and for all. The rivalry between the European and Javanese race is finding expression. The more civilized the native becomes, the more is he oppressed by the feeling of the gulf between white man and brown. He is still not in a position to enter all the Government posts which are open to the European. The object of such societies is, evidently, to place educated Javanese and Europeans on an equal footing. One European official, called Eyken, puts the blame upon the attitude of the European officials. Whether, as some think, Moslem tendencies and nationalist ideas are at the root of the movement, the future will show. It has been pointed out that no loyal address to the Governor-General was presented at the meetings. According to some reports, the Budi Utomo Society actually includes Moslem propaganda on its programme.

All these movements have this in common that they are incompatible with orthodox Islam. They desire European education and ethical influences among the mass of the people. They do not render Christian Missions superfluous but, rather, extremely urgent. They have arisen in countries where Evangelical Mis-

sions are, already, being actively carried on. It is not clear how far Evangelical missionary work in the Near East has been the origin of the Young Turkish Movement. At a ceremony in Marsowan a Turk said to the President of the American College of Anatolia: "You Americans have come here to Turkey, you find us in darkness and are showing us the way to light!" A Turkish official said the same in the Euphrates College. At all events, in the Near East as well as in the Dutch East Indies, the Mission School has played a not unimportant part in the awakening of the desire for education.

Nevertheless, we must not too hastily conclude that these movements are bringing the Moslem to Christ. In the Near East many of the exponents of liberal ideas are, doubtless, tolerant towards Christianity. In that sense, the movement is preparing the way for Christianity and we missionaries must rejoice. But the leaders of these movements are at least as adverse to living Christianity as they are to the old Islam. They are sceptics and agnostics or blasé souls, adverse to any kind of profound thinking. Such sad figures we also find in the Dutch East Indies, among our educated young people. Others, who have thrown off Islam, take refuge in Buddhism.

So here, instead of our old enemy fanaticism, we have that only too familiar opponent of modern Christianity, the modern monist, the materialist and the theosophist. They represent spiritual currents which do not lead to Christianity; they render Evangelical Missions not superfluous but an urgent necessity. In early days, the idea was that Moslem lands would ultimately arrive at the standpoint of complete indifference, simply holding fast to a general theistic principle. But, under the influence of the new age, modern Islam is also losing this theistic principle. The modern liberal movements in Islam renounce faith and desire western civilization in its place. Others say that the essential in all religions is identical. This movement is especially active in the

Egyptian press. Tradition, superstition and social evils are being attacked. The question is being raised as to whether Mohammed had any right to set himself up as a lawgiver; the worship of the saints and the Zikr are being condemned. Some of these statements in the press are so strong that one missionary says: "If we had dared to make them, we should probably have come into conflict with the Government."

But are these movements really a signal of disintegration? We always seem to have the idea that Islam is such a rigid system, that any foreign element must have a destructive influence upon it, and that Islam, because of its rigid dogma, its unalterable ritual, its one-sided theocratic system of law, is entirely unfit to become a world religion. The history of Islam shows that the ark of this religious community has been successfully steered through rocks of difficult dogmatic controversies, such as the problem of predestination and free-will, that it has neither been wrecked by the sun-gazing of the free-thinking Mutazilites, nor in the mists of Sufite mysticism, and that it has even passed the rapids of the puritanical Wahabis. Islam always shows a wonderful capacity, which we in no sense envy, for assimilating the various ethical and religious characteristics of the nations. We find quietly side by side Talmudic theology and Arabian heathenism, Persian mysticism and African fetishism, Javanese Hinduism and Indonesian Animism, even ancient Egyptian superstition and modern theosophical fantasies.

Of course we can always trace the pattern of the ancient Moslem ideals of the one God, and the one divinely appointed Prophet, running through the manifold intricacies of this intertexture. For opportunist reasons Islam has long ceased to be narrow-minded; it has, in fact, become utterly broad-minded. At most, the sole efficacy of the one Arabic language, in which God is magnified five times a day from Morocco to New Guinea, in its so-called prayer, is a remnant of the old

exclusiveness. But any one, who has hoped that Islam would run its head against its own inflexibility, will be very much disappointed. Nor will the sweet poison of European civilization and culture prove fatal to it; the Turkish newspaper, which wrote, after the new Constitution was promulgated in Turkey, that the political dawn in Turkey meant the breaking of a new day upon ancient Islam, was probably nearer the truth than the sulky, conservative members of the Senusi Order in the Sahara, who took serious offence at the defilement of the old Sultan by his intercourse with the Christian powers.

Islam, which has harnessed modern mechanical science, and which has been enabled to win the greatest missionary triumphs under, what we might suppose, most unfavourable political circumstances, will know how to accommodate itself to the modern intellectual movement, however much it may seem to be out of harmony with its essential nature.

Probably the great body of the Moslem peoples will not rise to an understanding of modern ideas. But, in the last resort, Islam will, of necessity, find a place for this foreign guest at its hearth, on which so much foreign fuel is already burning. It will actually profit by these movements and fight against Christianity with new weapons, just as other religions of Eastern Asia have long been doing. That the triumphant progress of the Colonial powers and Christian supremacy have helped Islam to victory and power, that its political decline has caused a missionary revival, is certainly part of "the irony of Universal History," but it strengthens our paradoxical fear that the modern movement within Islam will furnish the old believers with a new ally in their warfare against Christianity.

Nor should we imagine that the old hatred against Christianity will suddenly vanish in the new age. If need be, the Young Turks will again appeal to the religious instincts of their nation to protect themselves

from the greed of the Western powers, and rally the hordes of Islam round the threatened throne of the Caliphs. The modernizing of the nations does not put an end to the Pan-Moslem ideal.

Even a struggle between ancient and modern Islam need not necessarily break up the Mohammedan religion. On the contrary, if Islam were to be shaken out of its lethargy by a mighty coming to terms with the modern spirit, it would only be to its advantage. The Old Islam would gain by the controversy. The Young Turks level the reproach against the Old Moslem leaders that they have given Europe the impression that Islam is hostile to civilization. Europe, they say, has forgotten Islam's achievements under the Caliphs. The Young Turks have, therefore, no idea of giving up Islam ; they wish, rather, to give it its right position in the world.

Doubtless, the Arabian spirit is being driven from the field by European culture, but only to make room for another anti-Christian trend of thought.

Quietly and secretly a third rival is, therefore, entering the fight for the soul of the Nature peoples : the modern unbeliever. It is not, primarily, the European who is imparting this anti-Christian spirit to the Nature peoples, although he does have a share in the matter ; it is the work of Islam. This is easily accounted for. The Christian tendency in Islam is stronger than the Old Moslem. The common element in the Old Islam and the modern movement is just their hatred of Christianity. It lifts them above their differences, they join hands against Christianity. But, as we have already seen, the Old Islam had an even earlier ally in Animism. We thus stand arrayed against a mighty Triple Alliance in our conflict for the Nature peoples. In outward appearance the three allies are so unlike that one might think it impossible they should unite, but inwardly they are one in a great common something : their hatred against the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The anti-Christian spirit is the mortar which builds the most diverse

material into the bulwark against the missionary message.

For Evangelical Missions it is, therefore, a case of *videant consules*. Our missionary method is prescribed for us ; we must be armed against this threefold enemy.

Let us not be afraid. The knowledge of European languages, for instance, also opens up Christian literature, and this is the only possible weapon against Modernism. It is wrong to be afraid that what modern science has discovered about nature will make men lose their faith. It only leads them into the knowledge of God's conformity to law. Also the want of knowledge about Nature is a constant temptation to superstition, to a blind belief in every possible kind of legend. The Mohammedan's growth in scientific knowledge may, therefore, prepare the way for Christ. Instruction in the natural sciences is one way of demonstrating the untenableness of Mohammedan legends, and of showing that God is a God of order and not of arbitrary caprice.

In view of the approaching attacks of modern critical movements, it will be well quietly to discuss questions of Biblical criticism which may come up in our lessons ; the more frankly this is done, the better. Exact scientific knowledge will render the same great service to the Christians we win abroad, as it is rendering to the old Christianity in the home-land ; it will force the Christian believer, as it is forcing us, to shake off all spiritual dependence upon his fellows and oblige him to make the great fundamental experiment, that is to say, to learn by experience the fact of living communion with Christ. This inward vision and growing independence in the life of faith alone equips Mohammedan and Heathen-Christian Churches for the onslaught of international anti-Christianity.

CHAPTER II

THE UNDERMINING OF MOHAMMEDAN FAITH

THERE is no prospect of union between the Christian spirit and Moslem conceptions. Rather, the Mohammedan only comes to a belief in the Gospel by completely giving up his previous way of looking at things. This is confirmed by the experience of all missionaries to Mohammedans. The life of faith only begins for the Mohammedan when he has said a final farewell to Islam. The work of Christian Missions is, therefore, to bring a man to that point of renunciation. The difficulty of the task is obvious.

Not one of the three powers we have spoken of has the least idea of laying down its arms at the approach of Christianity. Rather, the Moslem religion is an arsenal for all three. Even Animism which, when left to itself, always strikes sail before Christianity, becomes by no means a despicable opponent in this triple alliance. Islam does not cripple Animism ; as we have already shown, it lends fresh vigour to Animistic conceptions. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that it is easier to evangelize peoples which have recently gone over to Islam, because Animism has been already conquered by monotheism. We find Animism re-entrenched within Islam ; it is no longer confined to the narrow sphere of a small national religion, but has a world standing. Animism finds self-realization in Islam. It receives a strongly anti-Christian bias. This feature of hostility to Christianity is not found in the old Animism.

It is characteristic of Islam that, on the one hand, it should be so averse to any union with Christianity and yet, on the other hand, enter with the utmost ease into organic relationship with Animism and inspire, with that power which is so inherently hostile to God, such intense hatred against Christ. Nor does this merely apply to peoples which have just come out of Animism into Islam. In Islam, as such, there is far more Animism than we generally suppose, and it is this heathen element in Islam which renders missions to Mohammedans so difficult. The Animistic elements in Arabian or Turkish Islam must not be regarded as imponderable because they do not occupy the first place in the theological discussions between our missionaries and educated Mohammedans in the Near East. Throughout the Mohammedan world, Animism reasserts itself as soon as we come into contact with the common people.

Thus the problem of the conversion of the Mohammedan at once brings up the subject of the conversion of the Animist with renewed force, and the solution of the problem is complicated by Islam. The Mohammedan is Animistic, and his Animism prevents any further feeling of misery. Islam pledges itself to banish from the world the misery of which Animism has been the cause, either here in this life or in Paradise. By every means in its power, Islam shuts its eyes to the fact that it, in no way, does overcome the misery of heathenism. Nor does it realize the actual state of the case as long as it does not come into contact with living Christianity. Fatalism deadens the Moslem's senses, the doctrine of merit hurls him to sleep, his teachers' work of mediation makes him inactive, with his prospect of a glorious Hereafter he is completely resigned under any misfortune. If he should be visited by a sense of need, the doctrine of magic powers offers him ample means of satisfying it. Islam covers heathen misery with a coat of white-wash. As, however, it is this very feeling of misery which opens the heathen's ear to the Gospel, we have,

here again, a hindrance to missionary work. Our preaching could find a point of contact in the heathen's longing after God ; the Mohammedan has no such longing at all. He is one of the rich who pass through the eye of a needle more easily than they enter the Kingdom of God. The Animism of Islam has no need of a Gospel because its good news is the good news of Islam.

The fusion between Animism and Islam makes the sometime heathen superficial in his religion and without character. In going over to Islam he has come to no really clear decision. The Animistic peoples have no inherent heroism of conviction ; a man has gone with the crowd in becoming a Mohammedan. Martin, a teacher in Padang bolak, writes thus of a Mohammedan : " Baginda acknowledged that the doctrine of Christianity was clearer, but that he became a Mohammedan because the Mohammedans were in the majority." Martin pointed out to him that a majority is not always best, from the fact that the wind sows weeds in abundance, and yet they are no use, and rice, which is of great use, grows but sparingly.

The Mohammedan becomes, on the whole, more and more indifferent to the question of religion. As far as possible he shelves every matter of personal decision. His conscience is dead, killed by the doctrine of salvation by works and fatalism, the perpetual deception of the ministers of religion has completely obliterated truthfulness from his nature. Our judgment is, however, superficial, if we think that indifferent Mohammedans are receptive to Christianity. The very earnestness of Christian preaching, which would bring a man to decision, avails nothing with the fathomless frivolity of Mohammedans. They mock at the missionary who seeks to awaken their conscience and that not merely because of the slackness of their national character ; the Mohammedan spirit delights in idle speculations but shuns every appeal to the conscience.

The instruction given by the teachers stifles all inde-

pendent thought by its mechanical drill. The more slavishly a man follows his teacher, the more meritorious is his religious life. Many do realize their imperfection but they are accustomed to hide their convictions; there is so much they do not understand in Islam. They hope that the teachers, the representatives of the Prophet, will eventually set everything right; one can help matters forward by gifts to these ministers of religion, and even after death, if need be. Doubt, which must trouble more earnest souls, is kept carefully hidden; they are afraid to express it. Besides, there are always new ways of finding peace. What prospects are held out in mystical exercises, for instance. Nevertheless, the meagre store of energy of these depressed peoples is only too soon exhausted; dull indifference and dead resignation is ultimately the piteous reaction of all their efforts after inward peace.

Nevertheless, the number of seekers after truth all over the Mohammedan world is greater than may be supposed. Paulus Tossari, a teacher in the Christian community of Mohammedans in Java, tells us that he was a very strict Mohammedan, but he could not find peace in his doctrine, and travelled from one place to another. He was told he might rob the Dutch and Chinese and any one who ate swine's flesh. He did all the penance that was required of him. He was told to stand for hours out in the tropical rain, he was made to fast, indeed, he was on the point of becoming a hermit when a friend told him something about the Gospel. He read the Scriptures and found peace. Missionaries are always telling us, and it is also my own experience, that there are many secret friends of Christian truth in Islam. In the Near East it is well known that many Mohammedans are reading the Bible, and that there are a great number of secret Christians among them.

A native preacher, Pandita Markus in Padang bolak in Sumatra, was called to the bedside of a Mohammedan who was very ill, and asked to pray with him. The

Pandita said : “ How can I pray with you ? You are a Mohammedan.” Whereupon the man confessed his sins and said : “ If I am to die, I want to die as a Christian, if only God will accept of me.” Then he sent for the Mohammedan priest and said to him : “ Until now I have been your disciple : but my heart has found no peace in Islam ; if I am to die, I want to die as a Christian. Now you know !” Then the Pandita prayed and some of the Christians with him, and the dying man solemnly made his profession of faith.

From among such people we gather our converts. This does not preclude conversions of an outward character owing, for instance, to some quarrel with the Mohammedan teacher or chief, or on the strength of help which the missionary may have given at a time of severe illness, or as the result of intermarriage with Christians. Such external motives may, of course, be insincere. Insincere adherents, however, for the most part fall back into Islam. Where, on the other hand, there is even a dim realization of the peace and power which Islam only promises, and Christianity bestows, such an external motive serves as the impulse to a new life in God.

Christian and Moslem faith. Islam promised the heathen much. Are its promises fulfilled ? The Heathen-Mohammedan asks himself this question only when a new religion like Christianity enters the field. The living power of Christianity shakes Islam out of its self-satisfied lethargy. How far have all the promises, which Islam made to the heathen, been fulfilled ? That Islam alone makes a man rich is untrue ; Christians also get on in the world and have children like Mohammedans, and Mohammedans die, when they are ill, like Christians.

Elder John’s little son lay dying ; the Christians sat in silence round the weeping parents. A Mohammedan rushed in and cried : “ There, now you see what you have gained !” A mocking smile was on his lips. The mother was nearly in despair. When the child had

breathed his last she said : " I can't bear it any longer, I shall turn Mohammedan again ; my child shall be buried with the Mohammedans." But her brother, who was himself still a Mohammedan, said : " Let be, Mother, it is no use, remember two of my children also died the other day."

They do not seem to be especially favoured by God in every-day life. Some do succeed better than others, they become teachers, and their cunning brings them wealth. That does spur many on, because the teachers perpetually assure them that they owe all their good fortune to Islam alone. Many, however, for whom the expected result tarries, are disillusioned. What has Islam brought them ? Heavy religious taxes and much ritual ; nothing else.

That, however, influences their thoughts of God. What were they not all to receive from God, how near they were to be to God when they once became Mohammedans and in reality ! Yes, and even supposing they could join in the mystical exercises, they have not the wherewithal. They hear a great deal about God's almighty power, but whether it brings blessing or damnation upon man, the teacher alone can know ; many groan under the bondage of the teachers.

A Mohammedan's faith in the efficacy of his own religion is thoroughly shaken when, somehow or other, European believers, or a missionary's family, or a living Heathen-Mohammedan Christian community, brings him into contact with living Christianity. To begin with, he finds many points of agreement which he must acknowledge, and which prove that Christianity is also a religion. This point of view is widely held in Mohammedan circles in the Mission field of Sumatra. In such circles Christianity is called *ugama*, religion, a term only applied to Islam, never to heathenism. The Gospel has won a measure of respect which shows that the undermining of the Mohammedan faith has begun. For if Islam is no longer the one incomparable religion,

it has begun to lose its halo. The more a Mohammedan comes to understand the life of faith of a living Christian, the more his own faith will be shaken.

He sees that the Christian believer is filled with the full assurance of hope while, at the same time, he absolutely rejects Moslem practice, which helps a man to Paradise. If the Christian merely called in question the way which leads the Mohammedan to his goal, without himself believing in God or having hope for the next world, it would make no impression upon the Mohammedan. No wonder that the Christian, like the heathen, should reject Mohammed and the whole system of good works. He knows nothing of the hope resting upon them. But the Christian does believe, like himself, in a Hereafter. That is what strikes him in the Christian believer. The heathen, with whom he has had discussion, has neither firm faith in God nor any clear idea of the Hereafter. It is easily to be understood that he should reject Mohammed and religious exercises. But the Christian has both. It is remarkable that he should, nevertheless, reject the guarantees of the Mohammedan religion.

This has far-reaching consequences: the conception which the Mohammedan forms of the Christian believer is different from what his teacher has hitherto given him. He has always called the Christian a "Kafr," that is an unbeliever and, therefore, he has not complied with the formalities which are binding upon a believer. As long as he did not come into contact with living Christianity, his teacher seemed to be right. Now, however, the Mohammedan believer realizes that his teacher's assertions do not tally with the facts of the case. He sees clearly that, even outside Islam, there are people who believe in one God and in a Hereafter. The teacher gave him to understand that these hopes were the prerogative of Islam.

The Mohammedan is confronted with the hope of the Hereafter, especially in Mohammedan Christian com-

munities, because it gives the Christians their advantage over the Mohammedan. On every possible occasion the Mohammedan hears about it. If he attends a Christian funeral he sees how much more living and assured is the Christian's hope of the resurrection of the dead than the Mohammedan's. A quiet, unaggressive address implies that the Christian alone, and not the Mohammedan, enters that other life. He cannot reject this statement, especially as Christians meet death in a peaceful spirit, utterly new to the Mohammedan.

A Christian woman, called Asnath, lay on her death-bed. A Mohammedan relation visited her and hoped she would get better, but Asnath said: "I have no longer any desire to recover; I long for heaven, for my Lord. Death has no longer any terror for me." The Mohammedan answered: "I do not understand such words. We are very much afraid of death and use every means in our power to get better and to live a long time." For, as we have already indicated, the Mohammedan never, all his life long, ceases to waver between pessimistic uncertainty and extravagant rhapsodies about the future life.

Christians, on the other hand, place their sole trust in Jesus. The Christian belief in a Hereafter, therefore, brings the Mohammedan face to face with the question: Who is Jesus? Their devotion to Jesus is as intense as their rejection of Mohammed. The Christian renounces all human mediation for the Hereafter. He expressly declares that neither his native teacher, nor the European missionary, can admit him to eternal life.

A Mohammedan will, sometimes, become a catechumen because he thinks the missionary's prayer will prevail with God in some special way, like that of some great Mohammedan priest. Some villagers once invited us, for instance, to a sacred meal at the end of the harvest; they wished us "to share their joy over the successful harvest." In reality, however, they looked

for some special blessing upon their house from the prayer which I was in the habit of offering with any Christians present on such occasions.

The missionaries and the leaders of the community are, however, always pointing out to the inquirer that he has as much power in prayer as they, if only he will have faith in Jesus. This gives the Mohammedan further food for thought. How "clever" the European is, how many "words" he has, how he can talk and give a reason for his faith. And yet this man absolutely denies that he can admit any one to Paradise. Rather, he says he must himself be granted admission there, and that Jesus alone admits him. Neither does the Christian native teacher ever tell his fellow-believer that he can do anything for him in the other world. He also is cleverer than most of his fellow-countrymen, indeed, than most Mohammedan teachers. He has some of the European's education, and yet he says Jesus alone can admit any one to heaven.

A Mohammedan does not understand this all at once. He may take years to believe that we are not semi-divine mediators, that we do not even think so in our secret hearts; but continual contact with Christianity does convince him in the end.

And, similarly, with the ritual and ceremonies from which the Mohammedan expects so much. The Christian rejects all these as works of merit. The Mohammedan is struck at every Christian service, by the fact that the Christian sets no store by the ceremony. He does fold his hands at prayer, he does take off his head-cloth before eating, he even stands during prayer in the service, but these ceremonial usages are not works of merit by which anything is to be gained, like Mohammedan prayer five times a day. The Christian knows nothing of payments, by which God's good will may be purchased, and yet he is fully assured of acceptance with God. He does keep Sunday, it is even an irksome duty. He sacrifices his work and earnings for that day.

Also the Mohammedan's first thought is, naturally, that the Christian is seeking to gain merit by it. Christians also pay a rice tax for the needs of their community. Now and then, the Mohammedan will come across a Christian who regards that as a work of merit. But the real Christians, who are most faithful in keeping Sunday, will always tell him that they cannot thereby win eternal life, nor even accumulate merit in this present life.

The Christian also reads in his holy book, only not in "a holy voice." He reads as he speaks. He says this reading brings him refreshment, but never that it gives him a claim upon God's grace. And yet the Christian does emphatically claim that grace and actually for himself alone: and if the Mohammedan asks what right he has to make the claim, he again receives the same answer: "Works of merit are superfluous. Jesus' merit is all availing." Our Christians say this with great candour and without troubling whether Mohammedans really understand what they mean by Jesus' merit. Not so much a logical reason for the worthlessness of external merit, as the simple assurance of the Christian that he is delivered from all works of merit by Christ, is what impresses the Mohammedan: he asks himself who is this Jesus?

To undermine Islam, discussion is, for the most part, valueless. We cannot dispute like the native. The subtlest conquers, the defeated one goes off with a growl; he is routed by his opponent. In the interest of the Christian community it is sometimes necessary to make a defence of Christian truth, but in such cases the Mohammedans often try to expound their religion instead of listening to us.

Thus, interest in Jesus is not created by references to the passages in the Koran which speak of the Nabi Isa. They contribute nothing towards making the inquiry about Jesus of really living moment to the Mohammedan. It is the hope in Jesus of those who

believe in Him which points the Mohammedan to "the Lord" of the Christians.

Doubtless, many conversations about Jesus will have to take those descriptions of Isa as their starting point; it would be a mistake not to take advantage of this point of contact. But we shall only thereby arouse the intellectual interest of the Mohammedans, who are interested to know more of the relations between Mohammed and Jesus. We find but little purely intellectual interest, however, among the common people. Moreover, the Mohammedans of the Dutch East Indies purposely put the person of the Nabi Isa in the background. This is a help to the missionary, because it is not easy to lead Mohammedans on from this purely intellectual interest to a religious interest in Jesus. The conscience is not touched by discussions of purely intellectual problems.

We are now only considering the undermining of the Mohammedan faith. Mohammedans are not forthwith converted when they come into contact with truly Christian experience, but it does leave a lively impression upon many a Mohammedan soul. The result of our mission to the Mohammedans of Angkola in Sumatra, for instance, is not adequately represented by the mere number of our seven thousand baptized Christians, and one thousand catechumens. What is far more important is the degree to which wide circles of the Mohammedan population are wavering in their faith in their own religion.

The fight for faith. The Christian's assurance of faith, at all events, does not rest upon any light interpretation of the law of God. As regards questions of morality the Christian is more serious than the Mohammedan. Gross sins, such as theft, deception, gambling, adultery, it is true Islam also condemns, but that avails little. In discussion with Christians, no Moslem can deny that Islam is not consistent with regard to these sins. Neither can they deny that the worst crimes are

committed under cover of magic. A sheik once said to Martin: "Anyhow, we have many magic powers." "Certainly you have," said Martin, "but we Christians do not want to kill our fellow-men." "I do not mean that at all," replied the sheik, "but magic can be turned to good account in bewitching hell when the time comes." "Then you think that the wisdom and wit of man can render God Himself powerless," answered Martin. "But does not magic come from God? If He had not created it, it would not exist," replied the other. "Then God has given men something by which to fight against Himself, by which His righteous judgment can even be averted," said Martin.

The common people are bound to acknowledge that their leading Moslem teachers are the very worst element in the population; they fleece the people most. They allow themselves the most liberty with women. Christian conduct may also leave much to be desired, but those who are most unsatisfactory in their moral life are also those who are least zealous in their Christian religion. The more truly Christian a man becomes, the greater is his chastity and humility. The mother of a young Mohammedan-Christian came to a missionary in Sumatra and said: "Do write to my son and make him keep on being a Christian while he is abroad. Since he has been a Christian, he has been much steadier."

The Christian community exercises Church discipline. Gross sin is even punished by excommunication. The elders and teachers of the community take measures against any one who behaves in an unchristian manner. Often to no purpose, it is true, but the Mohammedan cannot deny that sin is taken cognizance of. This may keep the Mohammedan from actual conversion; he also will come under this discipline. But strong discipline makes a deep impression upon him. He is bound to acknowledge that nothing of this kind exists in the Moslem community. Doubtless, moral aphorisms are on the lips of every Mohammedan and especially of their

spiritual leaders, but no one ever inflicts punishment. Of course that is much more congenial to the Mohammedan. No one likes to feel himself within bounds. Nevertheless, he says to himself, and converts have often told me this, the Christian takes much more trouble to live according to his doctrine than the Moslem.

Besides which, the Christian also carries things much further. He not only declares adultery and polygamy to be sin, he also calls unclean speech, even secret hatred and all unloving conduct, sin. The Mohammedan is quite well aware of the weaknesses of the Christian community, but he cannot shake off the impression that the state of morality among their young people, for instance, is better than among the Mohammedans, that the tone of their conversation is higher, and that there is more love and less hatred and uncharitableness in the Christian community than elsewhere.

Some people emphasize the shortcomings of our young Christians. We missionaries would not wish to condone them. But the Mohammedan views the state of the case with other eyes than a European. When he measures the Christian community by the standard of the Mohammedan community, he finds a great difference: on the one hand, there are faithful individual Christians who stand at a moral level, which may not strike us as so very high, but which is never reached by a Mohammedan within Islam. And, besides that, discipline is exercised in the Christian community. There is thus a power in Christianity fighting against evil, and the Mohammedan asks: "Why is it so among you?" The Christians reply: "That is the law Jesus gave us. He also gives us the power to keep His commandments."

The ground of faith: the Bible and the Koran. Where does the Christian get to know about Christ? The Christian appeals to the Word of God. The Mohammedan also has a written word, but this is as little recognized by Christians as the Bible by Mohammedans. Many evangelists, in the Near East, have taken the

Koran as their starting point, and have been successful preachers. Among peoples, such as the Indonesians, however, that know but little of the Koran and cannot read it, this method is not feasible. Among them the Christian simply goes to the Mohammedan with the Bible in the vernacular. Arabic is thus being driven from the field. Awetaranian's judgment is that "as the Arabic language loses its importance, the Arabian religion also loses its influence. The people begin to realize that God speaks to every nation in its own language." Every man can read the Bible, or have it read to him, and decide for himself. Dammerboer says many Mohammedans read the word of God in Christian houses in Sumatra. And there are also Mohammedans in the Dutch East Indies, who have come to the light by reading the Holy Scriptures, but who will not be baptized, for one reason or another. The Mohammedan cannot become the apologist of Scriptures which he himself cannot understand. He comes to see that his religion is really floating very much in mid-air. For a charter which is unintelligible is, surely, worthless. He accepted the Koran because such an attested authority seemed an advance upon the uncertain oral tradition of "the doctrine of the ancestors" in heathenism; but, in reality, he substituted a revelation written down, it is true, but incomprehensible for unwritten but at all events intelligible tradition. Christianity, for the first time, presents him with a written and at the same time intelligible charter. Eight Mohammedans began to attend Christian worship in Madura in 1904, in order not to be obliged blindly to follow Arabic "nonsense." At Church they could understand the sermon and knew what the prayers meant.

The Christian, therefore, rejects the Koran and declares that he has the true word of God. It is, in the first instance, a case of authority for authority, assertion for assertion. The heathen accepts the word of God all the more readily, because the printed word and the

book, as a whole, is something very sublime in his eyes. He approaches the word with awe. The schools, however, have introduced many books into the country, the Malay newspapers have robbed the printed page of its halo. A book, as such, has lost its place of eminence, it is no longer such an unusual thing as it was when Moslem propaganda began. It has lost its unapproachableness. Many people go to school and can read books. The mere possession of a book no longer satisfies them, they are beginning to ask about its contents.

Islam is now in a sorry case. It speaks of its book with the utmost reverence, but it does not know what it contains. Even the teachers know very little of its contents, they are chary of entering into explanations. They only do so for money. The sacred book of the Christians is freely offered in the vernacular. Any one who can read can test it for himself. It costs nothing to learn to read ; the more one is willing to know, the better.

The contents of the Scriptures are uniform, all the teachers use the same book. The Mecea pilgrims, on the other hand, have various books (*kitab*) ; the one says his is better than another, in the hope of gathering more pupils.

Even were the contents of the Koran so important as Mohammedan teachers assert, the simple believer knows nothing about them. Those contents are a sealed book to him. All the more potent are the effects of the Gospel. He wonders at the moral purity of the Gospel. For that very reason he may have no inclination to accept it. As when a Javanese village chief came to a Christian, called Wongsu, and read his Christian scriptures until he came to the seventh commandment. There he stopped and said : " Perhaps you can follow these stipulations : I cannot." The contents of Mohammedan tracts are usually impure ; but, for that reason, they are more entertaining than the Word of God and they are not so disturbing.

The people often exclaim : “ Yes, a man must be like that, but it is impossible to keep these laws. We cannot bear the Word of God.” Schröder was reading the Sermon on the Mount with a Mohammedan in Java, who was teaching him the language, and when they came to the passages about taking oaths and about marriage, the Mohammedan said : “ That is quite different doctrine from ours.” On being asked which he thought the better of the two, he said : “ The Christian, but it is very difficult,” (namely, to follow).

Many, who even get as far as this, turn back. If the Word of God were nothing more than a high moral standard, it might possibly interest a few Mohammedans, but it would permanently arrest none ; it is its moral content which gives food for thought to many Mohammedans.

The Gospel works by its natural simplicity. Its narratives are attractive from the purely human point of view. There is none of the wondrous fantastic by-play of Mohammedan legends. This is really the distinction between the Gospel and the old folk-lore and native stories. No one could possibly think they were true, the very art of the story-teller is to improvise as many new exciting details as possible. Moslem religious tracts, with their stories of miracles, one instinctively classes with these legends and they arouse our suspicions in consequence. This all falls away in the Word of God. Its narratives are short and to the point. To make additions, or to cut out portions, is impossible ; there it stands written and is read aloud. This gives it the stamp of truth in the eyes of the Mohammedan. The Gospel does also recount miraeles. These are a difficulty to the Mohammedan in his reading, but not because they go against the law of Nature. He is quite ignorant of the law of causation. In this respect he is accustomed to altogether different things. He approaches miraeles from the opposite point of view from we Westerners. He does not consider it remarkable

that there should be descriptions of miracles, but that there are so few of them ; and those few are so succinct, so fully under the control of a moral principle, namely that of love ; that is where the difficulty lies for him. He is obliged to curb his desire for the miraeulous. The simple narrative of the New Testament seems to him incredible, but be Mohammedan legend never so fantastic, he accepts it. God alone works miraeles. Only Jesus, not we ? Jesus only works miracles to help men, not to avenge Himself, not for the sake of notoriety. Mohammedans had recourse to the Talmud and the treasure-trove of Jewish-Christian legends to embellish the Biblical miracles ; for example, the story of the Birth of Jesus. We have already seen in the Moslem's craving for the miraeulous his delight in Mohammedan miraeles and " ilmu." They are his proof of his religion. The more a religion enables him to circumvent Nature, the more credible it is. Humbly to bow before Nature is difficult to the Mohammedan-Christian ; because he does not know that God's Fatherly hand is at the helm of the Universe, the moral purpose and the straightforwardness of the New Testament miracles are a hindrance to his faith.

New Testament miracle is a challenge to magic. It reveals the immoral character of magic, in that it would force God's hand and is the instrument of man's selfishness. On the one hand the miracles of the Son of God remind man of his limitations and, on the other, lay fresh obligations upon him : it is not his to evade the difficulties which come in the natural course of this our life, but rather to overcome in the conflict with the moral order of the universe, ordained by God ; this conflict is sin. Jesus heals men but, at the same time, He forgives their sin and bids them " go and sin no more." The Christian, in his turn, seeks help from God ; not to practise magic but to conquer sin. Jesus also promises His disciples the power to work miraeles and His disciples do actually receive that power, but He

expressly rejects those who fail to do the Father's will in their miracles.

The Gospel thus brings home the question to the conscience of the Mohammedan as to which revelation lays claim to credibility ; he must decide for or against the word. This appeal to the conscience is strengthened by the personality of those who spread the word. The Gospel has come to him by the mouth of the missionaries and native Christians, the Koran and the Kitab by Mecca pilgrims. He is bound to recognize that the messenger of the Word of God is set upon himself living in accordance with the word he preaches, whereas the Mecca pilgrims, for all their high-sounding words, are far from obeying them themselves.

One might think that this very point of view would, surely, lead many of those to Christ who have been apprehended by the Gospel. But, again, something quite definitely holds them back. The moral laxity of the Mecca pilgrims may be volubly denounced, especially to the missionaries, but, in his secret soul, the native is by no means so averse to it, because he himself is thereby set free not to keep the commandments of his religion either. Moral indignation at the life of the exponents of the Koran does not lead a man into the Kingdom of God ; it is easy to give vent to moral indignation, but it is difficult to make the sacrifice demanded by the Word of God. Nevertheless, this does help to undermine the Mohammedan position. The content and the messengers of the Gospel are a powerful witness to Christianity.

The history of Missions to Mohammedans is a proof of the power of the Word of God. In the Near East, the respect which is given to the Scriptures in the Koran has been of no slight moment in preparing the way for the Bible. According to Awetaranian the Old and New Testaments are sacred books to Mohammedans, as to ourselves, but they are totally unknown. Missions have translated them into the vernacular and many an

one, who now reads them, has found, with Kamil, that "he has drunk like the wanderer in the desert when he has found a crystal spring of cold water." And Missions to the Mohammedans of the Dutch East Indies have also won their victory by the Gospel, although it has been by the spoken rather than by the written and read word.

The object of faith: Christ and Mohammed. Islam does not adopt any definite attitude towards Jesus. He is called, it is true, the Word of God, the Spirit of God; He is even said to have been without father; but Mohammed is always preferred to Him, Mohammed who, of course, is the prophet of God. According to the Koran and the tracts in circulation in the Dutch East Indies, Jesus worked many miracles. At the Last Judgment He is the friend of Mohammed. He will then come again and overcome the power of the Antichrist, Addadjal. They do not hesitate to assert that He Himself taught this, as the prophets did before Him and Mohammed after Him. The Mohammedan's conception of Jesus is, verbally, by no means so very far removed from the Christian doctrine of the Divine Sonship of Jesus, and yet Islam turns the full fury of its attack against this article of the faith.

The Moslem's attitude towards Jesus shows what Islam really is. Its knowing Him distinguishes it from all the rest of heathenism. Its acknowledging Him distinguishes it from Judaism, which rejects Him. But its acknowledgment of the Person of Jesus has, for the present, lost its significance. Jesus is supplanted: another has stepped into His place. Hence Islam is not so much opposed to Christ as to the Christians.

It is presumption on the part of Christians to believe that they have the final revelation of God in Jesus, because they thereby render Mohammed superfluous. It is arroganee on the part of Christians to claim Divine Sonship for Jesus, because that is incomprehensible. How much that is incomprehensible does one fondly

believe ! Not so much because the belief in the Son of God is polytheism, for many elements of polytheism are otherwise tolerated, but because the Divine Sonship is derogatory to Mohammed. To acknowledge Jesus, in any way, brings a man face to face with the alternative, Christ or Mohammed.

The Mohammedan does not come to a decision by comparing their respective characters, or by comparing their respective careers.

We have already seen how little is known of the Prophet Mohammed in the Dutch East Indies, for instance. Hence it is of little use to dwell upon his life. There are two methods of setting to work. Some people frankly denounce Mohammed as a deceiver. Thus Ernst, a missionary in the Cameroons, told the King of Bali, when he asked him about Mohammed, that he considered Mohammed a swindler, and this particular Mohammedan prince agreed with him, because he had lost all confidence in Mohammedans.

In contrast to this extreme there is another method. Graafland writes as follows from the Dutch East Indies : " I once won a Mohammedan by asking him questions about Mohammed and, when he knew very little, I told him a few facts, and creditable things at that." Then Graafland clearly showed him how excellent Mohammedan doctrine had been, but that it lacked something, and that that something lacking had been revealed to us in Jesus.

Graafland is of opinion that Jesus should always be preached as one already known in the Koran. He would have missionaries acknowledge that Islam does possess and teach good and true and really religious ideas. We should not call its doctrine blasphemous, nor say that the doctrine has become corrupt, which was pure in Christ and in Israel. Mohammed should not be regarded as the false Prophet, the Koran should be recognized as a source of the knowledge of God, and as a sign post in religion. The missionary has simply to look for

points of contact in Islam. He must learn to appreciate the fundamental verities set forth in the Koran.

Of course a Mohammedan must never disparage Mohammed: it is no good to emphasize Mohammed's shortcomings unless a missionary has the complete confidence of his hearers. Thus, Van der Spiegel writes: "A missionary must judge for himself when he can take a bolder stand." He is, however, against the learned confuting of Islam, even among educated Mohammedans, saying that it only widens the gulf between them and us. He upholds the simple, powerful preaching of Christ, present difficulties as it may. Van der Spiegel was invited to meet a number of Mohammedan Government officials in Bondoworo. He said: "Mohammed was a man and a sinner; he is dead and buried. He cannot save himself, much less others. So how can you be saved?" There was no answer. Then he said: "God is holy, man is sinful. Christ forgives, man is reconciled." There was silence. None of them had anything more to do with him. They all hated him. Even Bishop Jakobus van Vitry, of Akkro, writing in Jerusalem as early as 1250, says: "The Mohammedans listen gladly to the preaching of the monks of the Franciscan Order when they speak to them of faith in Christ, and as long as they restrain themselves from railing at Mohammed. Otherwise they run the risk of being maltreated, killed and driven away."

Nevertheless, if a Mohammedan is to become a Christian, it must be made clear to him that Mohammed is a false Prophet. Otherwise he may perhaps praise Christianity, without ever giving up Islam.

The aim of our preaching is to make the Mohammedan realize who Jesus is; then his faith in Mohammed spontaneously breaks down. He must become assured of a two-fold fact: that Christians really have another Jesus from the Jesus of Islam, and that Mohammed is not what he himself claims to be, nor what the teachers say he is.

This knowledge of Jesus the Christian draws from the

Gospels. They give him a consistent account of Jesus. The story of Jesus is uniform. It raises missionary instruction above the level of the stray information given by Mohammedan teachers about Mohammed, which consists of single disconnected stories of the Prophet. The Gospels give a continuous self-contained narrative about Jesus. Every Christian knows something about it. Every Christian has a definite idea of the career of Jesus. One never knows when the stories about Mohammed happened. To-day, the believer hears a story about Mohammed in dim prehistoric times, in which Mohammed is said to have taken part in the flood. To-morrow, he is told a story which will only happen at the end of the world. He has no clear picture in his mind of what Mohammed was at any particular time. Nor is he, at first, concerned that it should be so ; he lacks all historical intuition ; nevertheless, gradually he notices that it is otherwise with Jesus. He sees His life unfold from the cradle to the grave. He hears of the works of Jesus. They also are miraculous works, but these miracles have always a definite purpose. They do not merely serve to magnify the power of Jesus, nor do they merely picture all kinds of superlative qualities beyond the actual reach of any one ; the works of Jesus are intended to help others. We observe that the Mohammedan, who is actually facing the question of Mohammed or Jesus, does not make it his first concern to solve the problem of the Divine Sonship. Jesus, he thinks, is for the Christians what Mohammed is for the Mohammedans, namely their guide to heaven.

Jesus' works show that Jesus took heartfelt interest in man. This feature of the story of Jesus catches the Mohammedan's attention. That Mohammed ascended to heaven may, indeed, be a proof of his supernatural power, but man is not benefited thereby. Whereas Jesus not only did mighty works, but He is also helper, protector and Saviour. The hungry multitude is fed, the sick are healed, and He still helps men to-day.

In the story of the Temptation, He expressly declined to work miracles to show men that He had supernatural powers. This is the Mohammedan's answer to the question which has arisen in his mind, as he has watched living Christians : " Why have these men got something to give to others ? " There is a real reflection of Jesus in such Christian activity. Power goes forth from Jesus upon those who ally themselves with Him.

Jesus creates new men. What does a man become by the aid of Mohammed ? A man who seeks his own glory, who fleeces his fellow-men, who turns their weaknesses and stupidity to his own profit. For such are all the Mohammedan priests. They deceive the people. The people hoped their coming meant education and progress, but the only one who gains by Islam is the teacher. Hitherto the native has not realized this. It was just the same when he was a heathen. Then, too, the teacher, or rather the sorcerer, drank all the cream. But in the light of the love of Jesus and the readiness on the part of His believers to lend a helping hand, he realizes his bondage and the tutelage of the priests. If he wanted, the missionary could easily take advantage of his social standing as a European. Does he not possess sufficient education to make the native his dupe ? But he does not use it in any such way. He places his medical knowledge at the disposal of the sick ; he freely shares his wisdom by teaching the children ; he does not keep his culture to himself like something he has robbed.

Jesus' self-sacrifice amongst His own people met with no response from His contemporaries ; they actually killed Him ; and Jesus knew what was in the heart of men. Neither does the missionary have an easy time of it, much less the native Christian. By living so long among the natives, the missionary knows his national vices and yet Missions are always spreading, and it all happens in the name of Jesus. There is power which goes forth from Jesus and which the living Christian can claim.

Christian charity and the uncharitableness of Islam. The Moslem world also speaks of charity. But we have already seen where, for instance, alms go to. The poor do not receive them, but the rich priests. That is heathen. The heathen also passes the poor coldly by, but the respected, influential sorcerers receive rich gifts. The people thereby curry favour with them. The selfishness of heathenism is unbroken. As a matter of fact, Islam has not bettered the condition of the sick and suffering one hair's-breadth.

Dr. Pruijs, of Djokjakarta in Java, writes that Europeans have often asked him to send them native sick nurses, but not Christians ; he has then asked these men to send him Mohammedans to train. But after a few months he has always received the same answer : " Doctor, we can find plenty of people for all kinds of labour but, no matter what we promise or offer them, we can get no one to dedicate themselves to nursing the sick." Dr Pruijs rightly adds : " Islam gives alms, but it shows no compassion."

In Java, the sick are sometimes simply laid by the roadside, in the hope that passers-by will help them. I have never heard of heathen doing that. On the other hand, it is a generally accepted fact that the Christians treat the sick, the suffering, the poor, widows and orphans with kindness. Benevolent institutions have been founded everywhere by Missions, with the active support of the Government. Even lepers are cared for by the Christians. The Rhenish Mission in Sumatra alone has a hospital with a dispensary and surgery, an orphanage and two leper asylums. The Mohammedan world is as cold and loveless as its God, however zealous the Mohammedan may be in keeping the law. Kahar of Baringin, a hadji of Sumatra, once said he had visited the Schwefel springs, that is the Mission leper asylum in Si Tumba, and had seen many sick folk who were fed and clothed there without the missionary making any money out of it ; it was beyond his comprehension.

On religious grounds the Mohammedan has no desire to care for the sick, because dirty wounds are also unclean ceremonially. Islam has thus a hypocritical religious excuse for the native's great aversion for sick-nursing. Heathen selfishness is covered by a Divine command.

Christian love enters this loveless world like a sun-beam from the compassionate heart of Jesus, seeking to save. It cannot be denied that Christianity has the compassionate love which Islam so entirely lacks. The Moslem is disappointed in his own religion.

In the light of Christian love many a Mohammedan realizes the uncharitableness of his own religion. Without any doubt Christianity is often sorely defamed in Mohammedan circles, but the Christians make as if they did not hear, they open their hospitals to those of the other faith without any ill-will. A sick Mohammedan woman once said: "My own mother has cast me out, but strangers have had pity on me and are helping me." Night and day the missionary is ready to help in any way he can and the Christian teachers go and look for sick Mohammedans who have been left to die. Native Christians nurse in our hospitals, they have even undertaken the dangerous work of caring for their miserable fellow-countrymen who are lepers.

Nor is it merely a case of caring for the sick. In Simanosor (Sumatra), a catechumen relapsed into Islam as the result of all kinds of misfortune, but he nearly went out of his mind about it. For three days and three nights he roamed the forest. The Mohammedans showed no concern, but, at last, some Christians found him and took pity on him. He was impressed and since then has been going regularly to Church. The missionary is always ready to help in whatever way he can. How different is his attitude from that of the Mohammedan teachers whose primary idea is to get rich at the expense of their adherents. The teacher is sympathetic when he is well paid; otherwise he pays no attention.

The way we enter into discussions must also manifest this same spirit of love. It demonstrates the difference between the two religions better than propositions and counter-propositions. The most convincing argument, from the Christian standpoint, is certainly that which our native preacher, Mark Siregar, used with a Mohammedan teacher. Mark had fallen in with him at the beginning of his missionary work in the Mohammedan district of Padang bolak. On that occasion the malim said: "I smell something unclean. The plates of the Christians are dirty." Mark was silent. Several years afterwards he met this man again; he invited him to his house and killed a fowl for him, an honour only done to a guest who is one's social superior. When Christians are asked why they do such things they say Jesus has taught them to do so. This is an enigma to the Mohammedan. Who is this Jesus? What kind of power can it be which this Jesus pours out upon the Christians? Who is Jesus?

Christian Education and the Illiteracy of Islam. The heathen had aspirations after culture; that was one of the reasons he became a Mohammedan. When, however, he sees Christian educational institutions he is bound to acknowledge that Islam has deceived him on this point.

Christian Missions have given the people the simple elementary school and a respectable class of elementary teacher. The village school, which to our eyes may seem but very ill equipped, with its homely and may be unmethodical brown village schoolmaster, has destroyed Islam's pompous boast of culture. Link, one of our missionaries in Parsosoran, once gave a malim an easy sum in arithmetic before some Mohammedans. He could not do it. Then he gave it to a schoolboy he had with him and the boy immediately did it. The bystanders burst out laughing and the Mohammedan teacher was very much ashamed.

Not only does the Christian teacher know more than the Mohammedan priest, he also knows how to impart

his knowledge to children. The children learn something ; a new generation, which can read, write and count, is growing up in the Christian community. This is apparent to every one ; it is a severe blow to the idea of the illiteracy and wickedness of Christians, which used to be in vogue.

Disappointment, therefore, awaits every one who has thought that Islam was the one and only medium of education and culture. What has it actually done ? It has taught a little Arabic, but that is no practical use to any one. Here lies the great significance of the Mission School in Mohammedan districts. When Mohammedan children come for instruction, they are often fonder of school and Christian stories than of Islam.

Amim, a native helper in Java, writes : " I became a Christian firstly, because I attended the Mission School ; secondly, because I heard the Gospel preached three times a week ; and thirdly, owing to the missionary's encouragement." And the same might be said of quite a number of our native helpers in Sumatra.

Many a father soon finds that his child has no further taste for Mohammedan learning and knows more than he does himself. In such cases the children often attract their parents to Christianity. We missionaries should bear this in mind. Once Christian Missions get ahead of Islam with their schools, the native immediately realizes that Islam is not the only medium of education, but that Christianity also imparts it, and indeed that Christian education is more practical than that of Islam. The Rajah of Bolaang Itam once said to his Christian teacher : " Every one over ten years old is a Christian here." He had been deeply impressed by the fact that our Mission School children politely saluted the local representative of the Dutch Government on his official journey. Islam teaches nothing of that sort.

The Mission School, however, has a more far-reaching influence than this. The educational work of our Missions is a labour of love. Our efforts to raise the people

by means of schools, and also to give certain individuals a higher education in our seminaries, is often gratefully acknowledged by the people as a gift of love. They see that this labour of love does not serve to enrich the Europeans or the native Christians, whereas in Islam no higher learning is imparted without payment. The common people realize that Islam is not concerned with their intellectual betterment ; it has good reason not to enlighten the people too much. Christianity is interested in the children even of the lower classes ; this makes the ordinary man especially grateful.

The Mission School, which is open to all, shows the Mohammedan that his prejudices with regard to it are unfounded. For the Christian teacher does not make the school children "his slaves" ; the missionary does not "sell them to the Government as soldiers" ; but, rather, the children return home after school better mannered, more obedient and more intelligent. So, on this point at least, the aspersions cast upon Christianity by the Mohammedan teachers do not tally with reality. Our schools make the Mohammedan mistrust his own religion.

Alamsah, an influential Government secretary, who was a native of the old Mohammedan kingdom of Menangkabau in Sumatra, was a Mohammedan but, in spite of his high-sounding name ("Alamsah," Arabic for "Lord of the World"), he was a simple soul. Some years before I knew him, he had chanced to live at a Mission station and had sometimes slipped into Church. He had seen with his own eyes that the Christian doctrine was by no means such a terrible thing as the Mecca pilgrims said. Every morning he saw the children pouring into school from the Heathen-Christian villages and it impressed him. He had also attended Christian worship, and he had seen with his own eyes that the despised Christian doctrine did make something of the people. So this Mohammedan had himself advised his prince to have a missionary. He was a remarkable man

and was for years one of my friends. He could not break with Islam for his father would have cursed him if he had become a Christian ; but he was always friendly and ready to help us.

Islam, therefore, does all in its power to combat the Christian elementary school. At first the Christian teacher is sorely put to it by the crafty Moslem propagandists. They try to expose his ignorance before the common people by cunning questions : “ Where does the human voice come from ? If you will become a Mohammedan I will tell you.” “ Why is polygamy forbidden with you ; David and Solomon both had several wives ? ” It is no use to argue ; when they are beaten they get angry and say to the Christians : “ You say that because the missionaries have told you so.”

Things soon change, however. The Mohammedan teachers may be feared, but they have a bad reputation on the whole. When a poor person dies, one of the lower teachers goes to the house, for every one knows there is not much to be raked in there. But when a rich person dies, they dash into yellow silk coats and swarm to the house of mourning. Many a Mohammedan has gone to considerable expense and had several teachers and yet learnt little ; at every point it is a question of money. Money is the pathway to Paradise.

The Mohammedan teaching profession is self-seeking. The very bond between teacher and chief makes the teaching profession hated. Schütz, a missionary in Sumatra, writes : “ On the whole the Mohammedans are disillusioned and many go on with Islam as if it were a burden, like the Government statute labour to which they are forced by some higher authority, namely, the Mohammedan head chiefs. There are many Mohammedans who would like to come to Church, were they not kept back by false pride before their friends. Only the other day the first malim in this district gave his own niece to a Christian as wife and she was, of her own free-will, publicly married in Church. In the meantime,

of course, no one ventures to oppose this two-fold lordship ; they are at its mercy."

The Mohammedan teaching profession fleeces the people. It has learnt that at Mecca. A hadji came back from pilgrimage to Padang in 1898, discarded his pilgrim's dress and exposed the corruptions at Mecca in a Malay newspaper. Such things for the most part make but little impression upon the Mohammedan ; they are too well accustomed to them. Where, however, Christian Missions are known, people begin to prick up their ears.

Discord reigns in Islam. The teachers in the Dutch East Indies have many doctrinal differences. Mohammedan Christians, on the other hand, are always emphasizing the fact that Missions have brought one Gospel and one kind of preaching. Whether one goes to Church in the far north of the Batak country, or in the south, but "one way to life" is preached. (What a warning to us Christian Missions to be mightily at one !)

The lack of moral qualifications in the Moslem teacher becomes very apparent in contrast to those of our Christian helpers. The difference strikes even the Mohammedan : "his teachers may be clean in person but their words are very dirty." Moreover, it is a case of *vita clerici, evangelium populi*, "the life of the priest is the people's Gospel." The question is how do matters stand with Islam as a whole ? Many a father complains that the teacher has not a good influence : "The higher his standing the more magic he knows, and that makes him arrogant. The young men are ruined to whom they teach these things."

Also the tutelage exercised by the teacher now bears its penalty. In his intercourse with Christians, the Mohammedan realizes his inability to defend his faith.

That Christians demand a long time of preparation keeps back many Mohammedans, but in time they come to recognize that this gives the Christians an advantage over them. Many Mohammedans, therefore, avoid dis-

cussions or they answer Christian questions with ridicule, but they are bound to admit that the Christians can give "a reason for the faith that is in them," whereas they cannot. If a Moslem appeals to his teacher he is told "so says the Koran," and that is the end of the matter. If he appeals to the Christians, for example, concerning the laws about food, he learns that God also created the swine and that He cannot curse what He has created. That is so simple; it is really unanswerable. The Mohammedan at once realizes the difference: the Christians are instructed; he has gone on without thinking.

In the course of a conversation with the elder John, a Mohammedan teacher asked: "Why do Christians lay aside their head-cloth when they eat?" John did not very well know what to say; he had never thought about it before. At last he said: "The head-cloth is the clothing of our heads. As long as men did no sin, they required no clothing. Our clothes are to remind us of that fact. In those days men were as innocent as children; only when man fell did he require clothing. Our prayer to God is that He would forgive us our sins and wash us thoroughly so that we may again become as innocent children. We think of that when we lay aside our head-cloth." The malim could give no reply, but he said: "Listen, John, be sensible and become a Mohammedan. You will at once become a great teacher, for you know what our cleverest malim do not know, nor even our pilgrims."

Christian Fellowship and the Moslem Community. Two thoughts have won the depressed races over to Islam; the hope of protecting their hereditary nationality from the all-conquering European, and the expectation of forcing an alliance with the power of that international community which dares to set the European at defiance.

The Moslem, who has not come into contact with Christianity, lives under the delusion that, from this point of view, Islam has actually fulfilled these hopes for his people. In reality, however, it is not Islam but Chris-

tianity which sets nationality upon a firm basis. Islam deals very roughly with nationality. It has no respect for ancestral customs. The Moslem propagandist allows himself liberties with women which are unheard of among the heathen. The vicious Mohammedan youth is glad enough that the bounds set by heathen customs are removed; this is exactly what attracts many a young man to Mohammedanism. Many an unhappy husband is quite pleased that he can procure a divorce so easily and many a voluptuary rejoices in being able to enlarge his harem with concubines. Very differently, however, is such licentiousness regarded by the injured parties; they at once realize how much better a state of matters Christianity brings about in not allowing any of these things. In Java many women refuse to remain Mohammedans because they can, as Mohammedans, be divorced at any moment and must endure the presence of secondary wives. The Mohammedan observes that Islam removes the control exercised by ancient custom, without introducing anything practical in its place. Once the prince has to pass through the experience of the Mohammedan propagandist sidling up to even the women of the princely clan, and once a father sees his newly-married daughter divorced by his son-in-law for no reason whatever, they realize how much better is the strict discipline of the Christian community. On this point they perceive that Christianity is certainly a better protector of their old nationality than licentious Islam.

Islam tramples native custom ruthlessly under foot. It seeks to enforce its ideas of law at the expense of common use and wont. Doubtless this is sometimes convenient and falls in with the devious ways of the chiefs; but once they have themselves had their rights entrenched upon by the new customs, their desire for the old days to return awakens. They have been deceived. They wished to protect their nationality; but they have lost it. Small peoples are merged in the great Malay race. Christianity preserves more of the old

order of things than Islam. The Christian eats the same things as his fellow-countrymen ; he respects the old common law, the tribal system. Only when truth and righteousness are abused does the Christian feel aggrieved ; for example, the Christian refuses to enforce the old harsh native law which takes from the widow all that she has. But he does not ridicule the old common law ; he appeals to God in all seriousness.

That Christianity, which of course has been introduced by Europeans, the ruling nation, should have such regard for his old nationality makes all the deeper impression upon the native, because Christianity has always been represented to him by Mohammedans as something foreign, European. He has been told that it is simply a means whereby the ruling nation may hold the people in firmer control, " We, on the other hand, the brown people, bring the religion of the brown man," say they. Yet in reality this falsely maligned Christianity deals more considerately with ancient custom than Islam.

Doubtless, it deals correctively, yet its religious teaching actually fosters national feeling, it does not repress it. The very attitude of Christianity towards language shows this. The Christian missionary translates the Bible into the vernacular. He uses no foreign Arabic words in preaching, but, as far as possible, only expressions from the old native language. The laborious language study of European missionaries is peculiarly fruitful ; it clearly shows the native how much trouble the European will take to learn his language. All this convinces him that Christian teaching really wants to preserve his national characteristics.

He is, therefore, bound to admit that Christianity does not bear a distinctly European character. Rather, it reconciles the coloured race and the white race ; it bridges over the gulf between them, the bond being their common faith, their common Bible. Europeans and the coloured race work side by side in the Christian com-

munity. The five hundred native helpers in our Batak Missions are an overwhelming proof to the Mohammedan that the European has no intention of destroying old national characteristics. Distinction between white man and brown cannot suddenly vanish. Everywhere in the Christian community the European still takes the lead. Nevertheless, over and above what divides them, they have fellowship. Christianity binds the peoples together without obliterating their distinctive character. Racial difference abides, but its hateful unlovely sting is lost. They are one in Christ.

In one of his evangelistic addresses in Java, our helper Laban said : " Christ came to make men brethren, that is why you see us consorting with the Dutch ; it is not because we have become kafir, unbelievers, but because all peoples and all races of men who believe with us in Christ are united in Him."

Just because his intercourse with the European has made the native realize that he is his inferior, it means a great deal to him that the superior race should seek to raise the inferior to its level. A rise in the social scale was what he sought in Islam ; because he wanted recognition socially, he became a Mohammedan. To attain this desire, however, meant giving up his nationality, becoming a Malay and observing Arabian customs as far as possible. Islam's social betterment is not to be compared with that which Christianity affords.

The white Christian's attitude towards the native is that of the affectionate teacher. He does not take advantage of his racial superiority to victimize the native, he seeks to serve him. The superior race assumes responsibility for the inferior. This is the Christian solution of the racial problem.

The Fellowship of believing Christians. The Mohammedan sees that foreign Europeans are behind the missionaries, making great sacrifices, year in year out, to establish Christian fellowship with his people, entirely foreign though it may be to those same Europeans. Our

missionary giving makes it clear to the Mohammedan world that there really is active, devoted, persevering fellowship in the Gospel. The native Christians rejoice in the recompense for their leaving the Umat Allah (people of God), as the Mohammedans call themselves, which they find in the great fellowship of the disciples of Jesus Christ in other lands. In conversation with foreigners on the coast, such as Chinese and Indian or Japanese merchants, the native learns that there are also missionaries in their countries.

There is no real counterpart to this in Islam. For what is the use of there being so many rich Mohammedans in the world? They are very good at receiving money, as one learns at Mecca. But they have never yet given any for the Mohammedan people here in the Archipelago. The fellowship of Christian believers here challenges Islam with a fact which cannot easily be set aside. Christian worship also, with its congregational singing and prayers, with its order and peace, shows the Mohammedan that there is a fellowship of active members forming a single whole. Thus Schütz of Sumatra writes: "Many Mohammedans are wavering here. Our village Church is on a high-road where they pass up and down every day. They, therefore, see many of their own people attending our services, they hear our bells, our cornets and our singing, their children actually attend our school and, unconsciously, carry many a good seed home with them. There are also many Mohammedan families where at least one member is a Christian, as for instance, the son of the priest in our village. Also the funerals here are conducted with due ceremony. In the house of mourning there is singing and an address; and not a few Mohammedan relations accompany their Christian dead to Church and from there to the grave, where they always listen to the word of God and hear the Christians' hope."

Christian fellowship is thus rendered a visible fact by the organized community with its institutions and

ceremonial observances, much as all these may leave to be desired from our European point of view. Every Christian wedding seems greatly to attract the Mohammedans. Many friends and relations will be present on the occasion. A Mohammedan once said to his neighbour: "A Christian wedding like this is really a wedding." Van Hasselt reports that in his district of Angkola in Sumatra, Mohammedan girls are quite ready to become Christians if they marry Christian young men. A Mohammedan village magistrate told this same missionary that girls frequented the neighbourhood of the Mission Station of an evening to hear the Christian young people singing. Poensen again tells of a man who had been seeking a religion or an "ilmu" (magic) for years, which should give his heart more peace than his religion hitherto had done. Father and son resolved to pursue the search. One day this man met Poensen in a church where he was attending a wedding, and the ceremony made such a deep impression upon him that he determined that very day to become a catechumen; he attended the usual Bible readings and spent the night with a Christian to study the Scriptures more thoroughly. All this binds the community into a living whole. The only institution which really gathers the Moslem community together is the Friday service. It excludes women and children. The Christian community is really a family. When a death occurs some of the elders visit the bereaved and speak comforting words to them, the school-children sing to them of the Resurrection hope. The Mohammedan teachers' only concern is their fee and the funeral feast.

There is a great attraction in membership in a body for a people which has always been communistic. Among Mohammedans one is continually confronted with the fear that, as Christians, they will not be gathered to their forefathers; underlying this there is the heathen conception that the family tie is the strongest in the after life. In view of this, it is the duty of Christian

missionaries to strengthen the unity between members of the same faith, so that the native's great need of spiritual support may be satisfied. Here lies the importance of the Native Christian Church. Despite some lamentable dissensions, a spirit of peace rests upon our congregations. The Moslem sees this. He knows the distraught condition of the Mohammedan community better than we do, for we have the Church of the Apostolic age as our ideal. The sharp contrast between that ideal and Islam binds Christian believers together in a way which amazes Mohammedans.

I have the following from a man who was formerly a Mohammedan : " I found no peace in Islam. I found no love reigning there, only ill-will and jealousy. Then I took refuge with the missionary. In the first instance I only wished to make a trial of Christianity, but when I became interested in Christianity my former fellow-believers persecuted me with such hatred that I attached myself more and more closely to the missionary."

The reality of this fellowship between Christian believers, which bridges over racial differences, stands out in strong contrast to the Pan-Moslem utopia, of which many airy hopes may be entertained but which, at the moment, serves no practical purpose. The Mohammedan soul thus loses hold of the Pan-Moslem idea. Contact with Christianity robs it of its indistinct and, therefore, so deceptive radiance. The Christian has an equivalent for these world-embracing hopes in the communion of saints. This is no mere chimera of the Christian brain ; Missions bring it visibly into action, making it apparent even to Mohammedans.

The Pan-Moslem hope shows no prospect of fulfilment ; every year makes that more and more evident. Christian European culture, which is percolating through the Mission School to the lower classes of the people, does its part in more and more undermining the fantastic hopes of the Mohammedan. They have no foundation beyond the glowing descriptions perpetually on the lips of the

Mecca pilgrims ; these men have no doubt seen the spiritual fellowship of Moslems at Mecca, but so far it has borne no fruit in the Dutch East Indies.

Christian Missions, and of course not they alone, but equally so many Government measures imbued with the Christian spirit, drain off the waters feeding the Pan-Moslem movement ; they show up the European in a new light. Common hatred for their conqueror bound the nations together in Pan-Islamism ; the love which the European offers in his Christian missions loosens this bond and binds the soul of a Nature people, with fresh cords, to the foreign conqueror.

The cleansing of Mohammedan fanaticism. We do not thereby imply that living Christian faith and love is always the means of the Mohammedan's conversion. On the other hand, contact with living Christianity is not without its own value. The influence of the sun-rays of Christian love and evangelical faith displays itself among the Moslem population in the softening of its hard judgment upon Christianity. In Sumatra one observes the change from the fact that the Moslem recognizes Christianity as also a religion.

However trivial this change of attitude towards Christianity may seem to us, it really implies success on our part which is full of possibilities. To my mind, it accounts for most of the conversions we have seen in the last few years. In so far, namely, as Christianity has lost the odium of not being a religion, the aversion of the Mohammedan for Christianity has, to a large extent, vanished. Arabs in Mondowoso (Java) have even said of Von der Spiegel : "The missionary is no kafir. He is our friend. His medicine and his prayers are potent for our sick." A father, who does not want to refuse his daughter in marriage to an otherwise desirable Christian suitor, can now console himself with the thought that Christianity is also a religion. A father, whose son has become a Christian in our Christian school, no longer says : "I must curse my son," for after all he also has a

religion. How often I have heard Mohammedan relations of our scholars saying such things. People are, therefore, no longer afraid to send their children to a Christian school. Many acknowledge that the Christian will also go to a Paradise ("surgo"). Here we have the distinct impress of the Christian life upon the soul of the Mohammedan. Men like the Christians cannot possibly be damned.

This is extraordinarily encouraging for Christian Missions. It means more than the numerical increase of baptized converts. Our hope for the future is based on this kind of thing, because it means that Islam is being driven from the offensive to the defensive. It must defend itself. It is obliged to furnish the proof of its being the one and only true religion. And how is it to do that? It cannot fall back upon its history; that is unknown. It cannot appeal to the Koran for that is unintelligible, and where it is comprehensible, it cannot compete with the Christian Bible. Islam, on the offensive, is as turbulent as it is weak on the defensive. It lacks any firm vantage ground.

The significance of this change of attitude is more far-reaching still. It enables us to gauge the extent to which that characteristic feature of the Mohammedan life of faith, fanaticism, is being cleansed by Islam's coming into contact with living Christianity, through Christian Missions. We must exercise due caution in handling this subject. For Colonial Governments are continually laying restrictions upon missions to Mohammedans lest missions incite Mohammedan fanaticism. In missionary circles too, people are always saying that fanaticism renders all the success of missions to Mohammedans illusive. Where, however, are the central proofs of it? Missionary experience in the Dutch East Indies shows that, year by year, we are winning the confidence of the Mohammedans more and more, and are gradually overcoming their antipathy for us.

This appears not only in the friendly relations which

exist between individual missionaries and individual Mohammedans ; it is also proved by the fact that over and over again in Java, Borneo and more particularly in Sumatra, Mohammedans have given contributions in money or labour to Church buildings, schools and even to missionaries' houses, where they have been built by the Native Christian community.

The irreligion of many Europeans may have given the impression that Christians are really hated kafirs ; but the Christian Mission which has brought the Mohammedan into touch with believing Christians shows how false that prejudice is ; it compels the Mohammedan to acknowledge that the Christian is also a man who serves God.

In the Dutch East Indies, missions have also roused Islam to action. Just as we speak of a reviving influence exercised by the Protestant Church upon the Roman Catholic Church, so also Evangelical Missions can be shown to have shaken Islam from its lethargy. One has the impression, for instance, that Islam is more alive on the west coast of Sumatra, where it is fighting in competition with Christian Missions, than in Eastern Sumatra. The same is to be observed in Java. Nevertheless, in such cases we find not so much a more intense hatred against Christianity as more zeal in their own ceremonial observances. Momentary ebullitions of bad feeling there certainly are, especially when we have conversions. " If I did not know I should myself be put to death for it," said a Mohammedan in Java to one of his relations, who had been converted to Christianity, " you would not leave this house alive, you wretched dog of a Christian ! " Yet the attitude of the people, as a whole, is milder. We also see the effect of this in the political sphere. The Christian communities have often been like oil upon troubled waters when a population has been roused by Pan-Islamism.

The Christian communities, which are the fruit of mission work in Java, have not only caused no disturb-

ances, but they have served as a protection against the extravagances of Moslem fanaticism. The good influence of the Christian communities has, therefore, repeatedly received official recognition. On March 31, 1891, Graf von Limburg-Stirum told a meeting of Dutch Colonial officials that "for years the policy of the Dutch Government in the East Indies had been influenced by the fear that the spread of Christianity might arouse the fanaticism of the Mohammedan and, thereby, make difficulties for the Government, but that this shortsighted fear is gradually vanishing in influential circles and is being more and more replaced by the very opposite opinion that, for purely political reasons, no obstacle should be put in the path of missions." At the same gathering Herr Canne, the Governor of the West coast of Sumatra said: "I have not observed that the preaching of the Gospel in those districts which have been most fully Islamized, such as Pakanten, Angkola, Sipirok and Siboga, has ever given rise to disturbances. Even the nomination of a Christian as Chief Justice in Padang Sidempuan was accepted without a murmur on the part of the Mohammedan leaders." When a new tax was imposed in 1908 there was a rebellion in Southern Sumatra. In the Batak country even the Mohammedan districts remained quiet, and officials in high position attributed it to the influence of our Mission.

CHAPTER III

THE TRIUMPH OF THE GOSPEL

CONVERSION.—We have every right to call the Mohammedan's going over to Christianity "conversion." The heathen who becomes a Mohammedan does not experience conversion, he simply makes an addition to his old Animistic stock of ideas, and if the Gospel demanded no more than that of the Mohammedan, conversion would be an easy matter. Assimilate a few Christian ideas, adorn the Moslem system with a few ethical trappings from Christianity, why not? Animistic heathenism has a strong tendency to syncretism, Islam still more so. Christianity requires the complete demolition of the old house; it does not merely wish to give it a new more elaborately decorated façade. All things must become new. There must be a new birth, there must be a new man. That is our gigantic task. This is the work of the spirit of God.

For every conversion means a miracle, a process, that is to say, which we can only account for up to a certain point. The Divine working is beyond our comprehension.

I am not going to enter here into a description of our baptized Mohammedan Christians. We cannot associate particular inward experiences with particular groups of Christians, saying that our catechumens have reached such and such a point, and our baptized converts such and such another. There are Mohammedan Christians in our congregations who have as yet no great measure of Christian experience, they have become Christians

because they have been disappointed in some way in Islam. They draw comparisons between Jesus and Mohammed and that is their ground of faith. On the other hand, there are some who may not have been baptized and yet who know that Christ is the revelation of God, or that He has reconciled us to God, or that He brings man into communion with God; one of these truths will have come home to them, they now believe in Jesus.

The conversion of the Mohammedan is the work of God, no set process. He overcomes the obstacles. Every conversion is, therefore, a victory for God. God reveals Himself to the Mohammedan through the Son. Only through the Son does the Mohammedan come to the Father. The Mohammedan surrenders himself to the Son, the Son takes possession of his soul instead of the Prophet, He is born within him; He leads him to the Father; the Lord of the Prophet yields place to the Father of the Son. How does it come about?

As we have seen, the Mohammedan's attention is attracted in the first instance to those who have committed themselves to Jesus' guidance, who have been made new men by Him, endowed with new powers, in whom, that is to say, the Son has begun to be formed. They point him to the Gospel, "the Word of God," because it is there that Jesus has revealed Himself to them.

The Mohammedan approaches the Scriptures in the first instance with the same premises as he does the Koran. The Christians' book is a book of God in the same sense that the Koran is the Moslem's book. He is accustomed to an appeal to a book, for his Mohammedan teacher was always appealing to a book. "How do you know, teacher, what you are teaching me?" he asks and he receives the answer: "Out of the Koran"; and if he questions further, he is told that "God has caused the Koran and the Scriptures to enlighten the hearts of pious men." (This of course is not essentially

Moslem.) So Mohammedans are accustomed to the idea of revelation and it no longer impresses them.

Revelation is a decolorized idea in Islam. As a matter of fact, any one can receive a revelation ; it is merely a mark of special favour which God now and then gives to the believer. " Did Jesus write the New Testament Himself ? " a Mohammedan once asked me. " No, but His disciples wrote accounts of Him." " Oh, then, what we know about Jesus can hardly be very accurate," said he ; " the Koran is a book direct from the hand of God." The New Testament, in the opinion of that Mohammedan, was on the same level as the rest of the teachers' books. " The Christian's book " is only of interest to Mohammedans because it speaks of the power they have seen at work in Christian believers.

Then, however, the Mohammedan has a certain experience : the story he hears gives him a coherent presentation of Jesus. In the first place, He is a man like ourselves. His human characteristics, His tears and His rejoicing with men, His hunger and thirst, His weariness and sleep, every one can understand. Is it not, however, surprising that this man Jesus should occupy the position He does among Christians ? What is there especially about Him ? Is it His supernatural power ? Certainly every human characteristic in Jesus is marked by something which is not of this world. His human weakness is coupled with a Divine fulness of power ; the Jesus, Who but a moment ago was asleep on a pillow, commands the storm ; the Jesus Who cries : " I thirst," opens the gates of Paradise. The Mohammedan is not surprised by the supernatural in Jesus. He expects the Prophet to whom the Christians pray will be also possessed of supernatural powers. What does overwhelm the Mohammedan is the fact that this Jesus draws near to him as a man. He looks into the heart of this wonderful man. He loves this man, Who is the friend of the poor and miserable. Jesus is born within him.

Now the objection may be raised that the ordinary

Mohammedan-Christian does not understand the content of the Scriptures, even when they are translated into the vernacular ; and no doubt the Epistles, for instance, are not understood at first by the Mohammedan-Christian. This is, however, only an apparent loss. He learns to know the contents of the Epistles from keynote sentences, there is a gradual crystallization of his soul round the kernel, the historical figure of Jesus Christ. The kernel is found in every heart, the crystalline formation varies with the individual. Little as he may understand, it may be no more than a couple of Bible stories, how clearly and intelligibly the word of God speaks to him, at all events in comparison to the Koran. An image of Jesus is impressed upon his soul which occupies his mind.

The Mohammedan does not stop there, however. As he becomes possessed of Jesus, the Prophet Mohammed loses interest for him. Jesus is mightier than Mohammed, His gifts are greater than those of the Prophet. He is a better leader, He is more than a Prophet. What is He ? Mohammed was a mediator ; if Jesus is more than a Divine mediator, if His works are greater than those of Mohammed, who then is He ? The Christian answers : " He is the Son of God, He came down from heaven. What is wonderful in Him is the power of God, the marvellous love in Him is the love of God. Possess Jesus and you have God." Many revolve round this point. The figure of Jesus attracts them, but they go no further. Not because they stand before an incomprehensible marvel, but because they know that Jesus wants them for Himself alone. They must give up their former companions ; they expose themselves to derision and mockery. They may expect the Mohammedan teachers to do them what uncanny injury they can. They must completely break with Mohammed and all the magic and mysterious powers acquired in his service. To break with Mohammed means a break with Animism. That they follow Jesus only, that they give up all practice of Animistic magic, is asking too much,

Will Jesus really be able, unaided, to see His people through the judgment into Paradise? Will He be able to really secure peace for the departed from the spirits of the grave? And what if He is too weak to do so, what then? What dreadful things might not follow! It is a fact of which the native is well aware that he makes a decision for time and for eternity when as a Mohammedan he gives up Mohammed and as a Christian he places his trust in Christ.

This dawn of faith in our hearers reminds one forcibly of the faith of those in the New Testament who decided to become Christ's followers. The fulness of Jesus' personality had not yet broken upon them, but it is surely great faith to set all doubt aside and place firm trust in Jesus that He will help in time of need, that He is the One with whom to pass through life. Such faith is great because it really risks everything. There is a Christian of Indramaju in Java, called Karta Widjaja, who knows both the Bible and the Koran and speaks Javanese, Malay and Soudanese, and who travels up and down the country inviting Mohammedan teachers to meet with him and refuting the Koran that he may preach the Gospel of salvation from the Scriptures. When his life was once threatened for so doing, he answered: "It is a blessed thing to die for Jesus, I will faithfully continue to witness for Him."

When the Mohammedan accepts Jesus, he accepts Him as God. For only in that Jesus is God has He a greater significance than Mohammed. The Gospel which preaches Jesus as the Son of God, that is to say, the message which repels the Moslem in the first instance, eventually wins its way with him. Every time the uniqueness of Jesus is disparaged, our message to the Moslem loses its justification; because only as the Son of God is Jesus greater than Mohammed.

Let us now follow the ray of light east by this new recognition of Jesus as the Son of God. The moment Jesus is realized to be God, the Moslem idea of God

suffers a trenchant corrective. Or rather, a new God, the Father of Jesus Christ, Who is one with the Son, takes the place of Allah in the sometime Moslem heart.

This recognition of Jesus is the starting-point for all subsequent growth in the knowledge of God. The Mohammedan's conception of God is not affected by the life of the Prophet. He is simply a mediator of the Divine revelation. He may be the last of a succession of such mediators, his revelation is final and complete, but he himself is not a Divine revelation. But Jesus is. This gives His life an altogether new significance. The Mohammedan-Christian receives no new doctrine of God from Jesus, he learns no new attributes of God, Jesus' words are God's words, His action is God's action : He is the revelation of God. Islam may have an exalted idea of the life of Jesus, but it always remains the remarkable life of a saint, more or less like that of many other saints who have worked miracles. This brings home the essential difference between Islam and Christianity to the ordinary man. The Christian idea of God is focussed altogether and entirely by Jesus. Only in so far as we know Jesus, do we know God. In the Son we have the Father. The Person of Jesus is not the central point in Islam. Jesus is not the mediator between God and man, Jesus does not reconcile man to God, He is neither the Saviour, nor did He die on the Cross. He neither rose again nor does He intercede for man with the Father, above all, He is not the image of the Father nor the effulgence of His glory, which was before the world and shall be to all eternity. The Mohammedan has no idea that Jesus' power to work miracles is the power of God, that the holiness of Jesus is the holiness of God. This constitutes the revelation which the Mohammedan-Christian has found in Christ.

Feature by feature Jesus unveils the new image of God in the mind of the Mohammedan convert. He is the Omnipotent Lord of life and death, wind and wave, spirits and men. Jesus' very miracles make the Moham-

medan understand for the first time what Omnipotence is. He realizes that the Omnipotence of God of which he has been told by his Mohammedan teachers, is an empty sham. For spirits, saints and angels share God's rule. No Moslem has any idea that he may be falling away from God in making offerings on occasion to spirits or invoking his various saints. But Jesus has control *over* spirits, before Him they lose their power. This exclusiveness in God is a new attribute for the Mohammedan. The worship of spirits may seem foolishness to the enlightened Moslem, but he realizes now for the first time that it is derogatory to the holiness and glory of God. He has hitherto never thought of magic and the saints being a reproach to Islam. Jesus shows him for the first time that the worship of spirits, saints and prophets abrogates the worship of God. In Jesus he perceives the Omnipotence of God in full fruition. He neither knew nor imagined before that there could be a being with such power at his command. Now he sees it in Jesus and in union with Him he has experience of it himself, for by Him he is really set free from every possible power. Faith in Jesus, therefore, banishes spirit worship; for the Mohammedan-Christian experiences the fact that the Saviour is as almighty and ready to save him to-day as ever He was.

Finally, he sees in Jesus unselfish, yearning love. At first this is an incomprehensible mystery to the Mohammedan-Christian. It presents difficulties to him such as the modern mind finds, for instance, in the miracles. Miracles present but slight difficulties to him, but he stands overcome with doubt before the great miracle of love. Jesus being Omnipotent, as He certainly is, for He actually makes new men of His disciples, and His being morally perfect, as no one can deny, makes it doubly wonderful that He should love men; because His love is then neither kindly weakness, which lets things go their own way, like the gods of the heathen, nor the passing ill-will of the tyrant, which can always be tem-

pered by more scrupulous performances of ritual, as in Islam ; this love of Jesus is an unwearied effort towards a certain end. The Shepherd goes about from place to place to seek and to save, to help and to heal, to exhort and to admonish, to teach the way of righteousness and raise up those that fall.

Jesus' activity is entirely determined by love. This introduces altogether new features into the image of God. Instead of a God, Who is autocratic arbitrariness personified, there appears the God of yearning love. This love of Jesus, the Good Shepherd, so grips the Mohammedan-Christian that Islam's unholy conception of God completely vanishes.

The love of Jesus is so great, because He Himself is Omnipotent. This world's mighty men, and among them the leading Moslem teachers, use their power for their own ends. The greater their power, the less love do they show. In Jesus it is the other way round ; although He is Omnipotent, He loves. His Omnipotence is at the disposal of His love. Love rules His life. What good is a living God to man if He is only occupied in destroying man ? Arbitrary, capricious interference with human life is impossible in the case of Jesus, because His actions are controlled by love alone. God is holy and almighty, and God is love, that is the new revelation which conquers the Mohammedan.

It is not a mere question of correcting the Mohammedan conception of God. That is a hopeless task ; the idea is too distorted. An entirely new conception is formed in the mind of the Mohammedan. The very name of God scarcely remains the same. Among the Bataks, we revert to the old vernacular name for God and once more eliminate the Arabic Allah. The soul finds the living God Himself in Jesus.

This accounts for the fact that the life of faith of the Mohammedan-Christian in Sumatra is Christo-centric. When they dispute with their old associates, they always hold up Jesus in contrast to Mohammed.

What is new for them in Christianity is Jesus, not God. Doubtless the God to Whom they turn in Jesus is quite a new God to them ; but He is new because He bears the features of Jesus Who reveals Him.

“When I consider how these people,” writes Schütz, a missionary in Sumatra, “were a few years ago fanatical Mohammedans, utterly closed to the Gospel and alienated from the grace of God in Christ, set upon gaining seven beautiful women in heaven by their reading of the Koran, prayer and fasting, and how the conviction has gradually come home to their hearts, despite all their prejudice, delusion and superstition, that not Mohammed, whom they previously worshipped and vindicated, but Christ is the way, the truth and the life, I am lost in wonder at the grace of God.” As Rajah Obadja of Simanosor, in Sumatra, lay on his deathbed, we are told he was continually exhorting his sons who were still Moslems not on any account to follow the malim but to follow the true doctrine which came down from heaven. “Only the Lord Jesus can save you and make up to you all that you lose by my death.” The word “tuhan,” which he used for “Lord,” is only applied to God. For men one must say “tuan.”

Most of our Christians do not arrive at their new conception of God by first having their doubts solved about the Trinity. For these doubts are not their own, they have learnt them from and repeat them after their teachers. What difficulty should an old Animist, who used to believe in a “Trimurti,” find in the doctrine of a Trinity, even in its Moslem guise? As a matter of fact, the Mohammedan’s objection to the Trinity is not caused by this dogma being incomprehensible to him. How many things even less comprehensible does the Mohammedan believe! And least of all, does the objection really arise from any moral scruple on the part of the Mohammedan, refuse as he ostensibly may to “allow” God to have a wife. How many serious moral blemishes there are in the Mohammedan conception of God, and

who objects to them? Rather they reject the doctrine of the Trinity because it alone can prevent Mohammed from being outshone by Jesus. The objection to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, therefore, falls to the ground the moment the work and person of Jesus gains a hold upon the heart of the Mohammedan-Christian.

Salvation.—What strikes the Mohammedan most in the story of Jesus, is His death. Mohammed could also perform miracles, but his death on the Cross is unthinkable. Mohammed's death has no significance whatever, whereas the Gospel story really derives its peculiar power from the Cross. The Mohammedan-Christian challenges his old fellow-believers with the death of Jesus: "What can you set over against that?" So important has this fact become to him. The Mohammedan-Christian sees in the life of Jesus a life of self-sacrificing love. He had the power to reign, His miracles show that, but He was as a servant, His Cross reveals that. The death of Jesus, therefore, sets the seal upon Jesus' labour of love.

The old question, nevertheless, remains, why should the innocent suffer this terrible death? This has always been a difficulty to the Moslem. For only those who feel the burden of sin understand Jesus' death on the Cross, and Islam has lulled all sense of sin to sleep. In this connection, however, the influence of the story of Jesus is making itself felt. Many Mohammedans are impressed with the moral perfection of Jesus. His commandments and His moral behaviour lift Him far above humanity, even above Mohammed; no mere man can have given a commandment such as that which bids us love our enemies, and the truth is beginning to dawn upon many that Jesus does not belong to the human sphere. His commandments run altogether counter to man's natural inclinations. A young Afghan once asked Akhund Sahib, a recent convert from Islam: "What really is the teaching of your faith?" Amongst other things Akhund answered: "Love your enemies."

“Stop,” said the Afghan, “that doctrine must be from God; our faith teaches us to hate those that hate us, exactly as every man naturally does. It has never occurred to a man before to love his enemies. Any one who teaches that must be more than man. That is Divine.” On the other hand, this contentious people at once understands Islam’s commandment to hate those of other faiths.

Similarly, all the rest of Jesus’ commandments which require perfect love, purity and truthfulness are taken as proof of His heavenly origin. All Mohammed’s concessions, on the other hand, are in response to human cravings and thereby indicate the earthly origin of his doctrine. The moral laxity, which in the first instance attracted the heathen to Islam, appears hateful when he comes into contact with living Christianity.

No more can it be mere man who lives out such commandments as Jesus does. Heedless of human praise, Jesus revealed the will of God. This runs altogether counter to the ways of men, it is the way of one absolutely sure of His God. He gives His commandments in full consciousness of His own power. His tone is not that of a messenger, but of a King: “I say unto you.” In Jesus there is complete unity of word and deed. As is His commandment, so is His action. He commanded men to be meek and He Himself was meek. He was righteous, He had no regard for what the authorities said about His words. He not only preached forgiveness, He bore with a Judas, He received a Peter back again.

The Christian community before his eyes helps the Mohammedan-Christian to understand this height of morality. For it acts in the same way as Jesus did; it exercises discipline, although discipline does not attract the masses. In so doing, it therefore has regard for God alone, as Jesus had. It actually has divine power, which it receives in communion with Jesus. Despite all the short-comings of the Church of Christ, it

cannot be denied that missionary and believer alike strive at least to attune their word and conduct. The Moslem teacher never has such a thought nor does the Moslem community require it of him. His ritual is holy, his Koran is holy, his position as mediator is holy, but how he lives is a matter of indifference. Too little is actually known of Mohammed to make it possible to compare his manner of life with the life of Jesus, and that even is superfluous. Whether he really did what he bade others do, no one has ever inquired. Such questions are raised by those who have come into contact with the Christian community. The native realizes in this connection that there really is unity between Jesus and His disciples and it makes him think.

He learns more about Jesus. He lacks it is true any understanding for attempts to give historical proof of the credibility of the story of Jesus. We cannot convince him by historical proof of the credibility of the story of Mohammed either; but the story of Jesus challenges comparison with the life of Mohammed. Jesus, Who claims pre-existence and union with God, He Who raises others from the dead, Himself goes forth to die. Reviled, He prays for His murderers; He, Who was mightier than His captors, allows Himself to be taken captive without resistance. These striking contrasts in the story of Jesus have overwhelming weight with the Mohammedan. Where does Mohammed show anything like this?

It therefore becomes evident that Jesus is the moral ideal which Islam lacks, which is not of this world, but from above. The Mohammedan recognizes the reflection in Him of the Divine holiness. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." Jesus, Whom no one could convict of sin, is the image of the pure and holy God. Jesus is the revelation of God's holiness. Therefore, any one who is like Jesus does the will of God. This it is true does not forthwith deliver a man from fear; on the contrary, the life of Jesus in the first instance awakens

his sense of sin. The life of his Lord, however, reveals to the Christian what living according to the will of God means. This brings enlightenment. He is no longer admonished to perform every possible rite and ceremony, to be always undertaking, as the Moslem does, some new exercise of devotion. His aim is clearly set before him : to become as Jesus was. He is on a plain, clearly defined high road. He has no need to seek his way to the right or to the left, nor to depend on guides.

The Divine life for the Christian does not consist in keeping a multitude of detached precepts. The commandment of God has been lived before his eyes ; unselfish love, serving the brethren, is the new moral principle which is to control the life of the Christian. But this is a great demand !

In endeavouring to live according to the commandment of Christ, Mohammedan-Christians feel the opposition of the sinful heart to God. Their soul rebels with all its might against the unselfish love which Jesus demands ; their carnal desire finds itself perpetually in conflict with the purity of heart which He calls blessed. He knows man ; the native instinctively realizes that. Jesus calls it adultery when any one looks on his neighbour's wife to lust after her. He says, " he that hateth his brother is a murderer," even without raising a hand against him. He therefore knows the innermost heart of man. It is unbearable.

How easy it is in comparison to obey the Moslem commandments. Hence the constant complaint of those who are studying the word of God : " We cannot bear the burden of the commandment." Many even refuse to become Christians on this account. Some external causes such as an illness or persecution, is all that is needed to throw them into despair and make them relapse into Mohammedanism.

This very emphasis upon the demand God makes upon man convinces the Mohammedan at the same time of the futility of his good works. Islam prescribed a

multitude of ordinances which the conscientious believer could never perform. The frivolous could deliver themselves from all their sins by payment. The doctrine of good works has made the Mohammedan self-righteous and superficial. Luke, a Javanese evangelist, once said in an address : " You believe that man is unclean because of sin. When you circumcise a person, you call that cleansing him from sin, and you make an offering of a fowl and you think that helps to purify him. Do you really believe that a fowl, which is worth sixpence, can take away your sins ? "

They bask in the regularity of their daily prayers ; they set their hope upon their fasting and their holy words. But Jesus expressly shows that the performance of Jewish ritual was of no avail for the forgiveness of sins. The conflict which Jesus and afterwards Paul waged against the righteousness of the Pharisees and against the emphasis they put upon the laws about purity and food has special significance for the Mohammedan-Christian. Doubtless many do carry their confidence in works of merit over into Christianity. We are continually coming across the tendency in Mohammedan-Christians to regard Christian ordinances such as the Sabbath, grace before meat, attendance at Church and especially Holy Communion as works of merit which God is bound to reward. And we can easily understand their point of view. Islam has engraven deeply upon their minds that trust in human achievement which always finds an echo in the natural heart of man.

Awetaranian one day put on his green turban, which is the mark of the Sejids (descendants of the Prophet). His teacher at first reproved him, but when he heard that Awetaranian actually was a Sejid, " he always rose at my approach." Awetaranian was proud of his descent, " and this my descent was the means in the hand of Satan of keeping me away from Christ for a long time. But blessed be the Name of the Saviour Who has set me free ! "

The Mohammedan's faith in his own righteousness breaks down the moment he beholds the righteousness of Jesus. Kamil, a Turkish Christian, writes : " A deep feeling of personal indebtedness, a conviction of sin against a righteous and holy God reveals the worthlessness of external works of merit and compels the sinner to seek a Saviour." What can ritual avail when it is a case of a sinful heart ? Looking upon Jesus, a man's conscience awakens. He is then a lost soul. For Islam has no Gospel of a Saviour. The hearer's heart is open to the Word of the Cross. The Cross is the way to life. He begins to hate his sin ; in face of all that, all other difficulties lose their significance, even the difficulty presented by the actual fact of the Crucifixion. The Cross is the ground of his assurance that his sins are forgiven. Islam set the believer's merits over against his shortcomings, subtracting the one from the other. The result is uncertain. Who knows whether he has done enough ? The Cross places the Mohammedan once and for all on the firm foundation of God's supreme act of grace.

To the " for you " is added the " freely." In Islam payment of the tithes and taxes appointed by Moslem law alone opened up the way to God. Do what he will man never does enough ; here is a payment which entirely wipes out his debt. For Jesus pays the debt with His life ; the bond is torn up. Islam is fond of the word " representatives." The Prophet and the teachers are God's representatives. They can therefore receive what really ought to be paid to God. They may take our part, they may not. But on the Cross Jesus really is our substitute ; man does not pay, Jesus freely sheds His blood in our stead. " Because we have such a substitute, we are free," says the Mohammedan-Christian.

Paulana, one of our native helpers in Java, writes : " If one asks a Chinaman how sin is forgiven, he says : ' By good works.' If one asks a Christian who forgives sin, he says, ' The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from

all sin.' The Mohammedans, however, have a different idea : ' It is Mohammed who forgives man's sins and in the following cunning way : Mohammed sets his friends Abubeker, Osman, Omar and Ali to guard the Balance, the Gate of Heaven, the Bridge and the Door of heaven. If any one has too many sins, Mohammed shuts the Door of heaven and carries the dead man across the Bridge. For God acts in accordance with the will of Mohammed.' "

Islam has offerings which wash away sin. Jesus bears our sins on the Cross, they are therefore gone, they no longer oppress us. Jesus' work upon the Cross is merit in comparison to which all human merit is as nothing. Here suffers the altogether pure and innocent Jesus, whose life was all merit.

Whereas the Moslem teacher was quick to threaten men with the curse that falls on every one who breaks the law about food, for instance, here is One Who takes upon Himself, of His own free will, not merely the curse resting upon the whole human race on account of an individual transgression, but all sin. There is no longer any curse upon him who seeks the shadow of the Cross. " One thing I beg of you," said the Chief Obadja on his deathbed, " do not mourn my death as the heathen and the Mohammedans do. I am not afraid to die. The Lord Jesus died for me." (" Lord," " tuhan," = God.) The Cross utterly transforms man's attitude of self-righteousness towards God. Now he says : " By grace, not by right." " Talo do uhum dibaen asi ni roha ni Jesus," says the Batak, i.e., right has been overcome by grace. Nevertheless, right does come to its own. These people's keen sense of right requires atonement for every sin. In pilgrimage and fasting Islam presented the opportunity for making atonement for oneself. Here is an atonement which avails above all others : the shed blood of the Son of God. Thus the Cross is the surety in every way of the sinner's salvation.

From the shadow of the Cross the Mohammedan sees right into the heart of God. God is love, giving Himself

up for the salvation of the world. The God of Islam has no concern for the salvation of mankind. God is neither wrathful against man nor does He love him. Man, however, will not be satisfied with such an indifferent God. The anxious soul's need of salvation breaks the shackles of this cold idea of God. Man longs for salvation and Islam (= "resignation") is really a stupendous effort on the part of man to save himself by self-surrender. The devout Moslem strains every nerve if so be that he may perchance succeed in pacifying his unreconciled, angry God. But what good is it, after all, if God has no concern for the salvation of mankind?

In such distress as this the fact of Jesus' Death on the Cross alone can help the Moslem. It alone can bring about the complete transformation of the Moslem idea of God, which is imperative at this point. The Cross reveals a God, Who gives Himself for man, that is to say, Who does not wait for man's self-surrender, but Who reconciles the world unto Himself neither weighing nor reckoning what man does to obtain reconciliation. The Mohammedan who grasps this truth is born again, delivered from the bondage of Islam, with its doctrine of self-justification and self-reconciliation. A new man is born, who has a new idea of God, because he now knows a God by experience Who is a Saviour.

Eternity.—We have seen how much the Mohammedan is occupied with the thought of the Hereafter. "A Prophet, a Mecca, a way to Paradise" is the saying which sums up the quintessence of Islam. The Mohammedan who becomes a Christian looks out into eternity with very different eyes. He has assurance. For the salvation which is his through Jesus Christ is salvation for time and for eternity. Thus the village chief of the Mohammedan-Christian community at Si Manosar declared, when the first converts were baptized, that formerly he had been ignorant of the way of life, but that now he was at peace and happy because he knew that the Lord Jesus had washed away his sins in His

blood, and he besought all his friends also to become Christians that they might win eternal life.

The Mohammedans say that Christian doctrine has nothing to say of the life after death. The Christian does not know, for instance, what happens to the soul in the intermediate state ; and as a matter of fact the New Testament seems to give very little information at all as to what happens to a man in the intermediate state.

The Mohammedan teacher paints a vivid picture of the terrors of the grave and shows that Islam has received a fuller revelation from God. The Christian, however, who has grown accustomed to the simple, natural Gospel narrative, is no longer impressed by his phantasmagory. On the contrary, he is attracted by the modest reserve of the Biblical writers and their hesitation to draw aside the veil which God has cast over eternity. The flaunting description of Paradise makes the Christian suspicious. The sensual appeal, which this vision of Paradise is intended to convey, too clearly betrays its human origin and dispels the halo of Divine revelation surrounding these fantastic pictures of the future life. Whereas, to begin with, the heathen soul was captivated by this sensual imagery of a corrupt fancy fostered by the licentious career of the Prophet, it helps the Christian to tear away the tissue of lies with which the art of human deception has enwreathed the Mohammedan Hereafter.

Paul, one of our Mohammedan-Christians, was taught by the santri (teachers) in Java concerning the life after death that it is uncertain whether God will pronounce eternal damnation ; man does not know. "A man is sure only when he hears the word, "Whosoever believes is saved, because Jesus says so," is the experience of that same convert Paul.

Such brave humble testimony, so certain of its hope, is surely indicative of a stronger hold upon the truth than any of Islam's dissolute descriptions. For the eternal hope of the Christian clings to Christ. Because He rose again, because He ascended to heaven, because

He lives and reigns in eternity, the Christian has hope of a life to come with Him.

Soleman, a Mohammedan-Christian in Java, once said in a sermon: "Ask a Mohammedan if Mohammed ascended to heaven. He will say: 'Perhaps.' We know the day of Christ's Resurrection; for eleven, not only three or four saw Him. Brethren, Mohammed is in Arabia, the dead Mohammed is there. Christ, the living Christ, is in heaven."

Because the Christian hope for the Hereafter is so bound up with Jesus, it receives cleansing. Because *He* is the giver of life, every sensual idea falls away of its own accord. His purity also sheds undefiled glory upon His heaven. Because further the eschatological hope has perfect communion with Jesus as its supreme goal, the Christian can form an actual idea of eternal life even here in this life. There is only a gradual difference between life in eternity and life in communion with the Risen Lord here in this present world. The Christian has a clearer conception of the Hereafter than the Mohammedan, because even now in communion with his Lord he has some experience of what eternity has in store for him.

The way to life eternal has been clearly set before him. His Saviour is his surety of a place in the kingdom of heaven. The anxious question: "How shall I get to Paradise?" is heard no more, he knows the way. The many ways and means of getting successfully through the Judgment have lost all interest for him. Judgment lies now with Jesus Christ; his Judge yonder is his Saviour; close communion with Jesus is all that is required on man's side to get through the Judgment.

He has, therefore, no further fear for the intermediate state. It is enough for him to know that when he dies he commits himself to Him Who has already watched over his earthly life. The ordeals of the grave have lost their terror. Has not his Saviour Jesus Christ vanquished the fear of death? This brings peace to the heart of the

Christian believer. The Mohammedan hope of the Hereafter brought no peace. The Mohammedan's constant preoccupation with the Hereafter is not the outcome of bright hope but rather of anxious uncertainty as to whether he will after all find entrance there. This so to speak artificial fear of eternity Christianity reduces to the natural fear which every one has of the life to come.

Finally, the Scriptures contain many passages which shed light upon the gloom of eternity. They inspire the Mohammedan-Christian with the certainty that his passing into eternity means entering into the joy of his Lord. Our elder John one day had the following conversation with a Mohammedan priest: "Are you a Christian?" "Yes." "What a pity!" "How so?" "Well, because you will not go to Paradise. The Europeans have their Paradise here below, but we Mohammedans have still something in store for us. Are you content with this present world? Up, seek Paradise!" "I certainly am preparing for Paradise, but for that very reason I became a Christian."

The eschatological passages of the Bible, however, lay fresh obligations upon the Christian. Above all things, he must be a faithful, devout servant of his Lord. This forbids all frivolous dallying with eschatological imagery such as the Mohammedan loves. A man's earthly existence is emptied of content by Islam's eschatological rhapsodies. This is all changed. A man's eternal destiny lies in Jesus' hand, his duty here below consists in keeping fast hold of that same hand.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW LIFE

THERE is no such thing as slowly gliding over from Islam into Christianity ; Christianity means a complete break with a man's old beliefs and principles. In Pinang Sori, in Sumatra, two Mohammedan priests went over to Christianity ; as a sign that they were in earnest, they killed a pig and ate it with those who had been baptized along with them. They could not have chosen a more drastic way of telling their old associates that they had broken with Islam. The more clearly this new element finds expression in the sometime Mohammedan's life of faith, the stronger will his faith become ; because that new element which does not arise within his own heart, but is given him from above, is a daily proof to him of the power of the Gospel.

How does this new life find expression ? The new element is trust in God. Islam had never a word to say about that. Fear actually forbade it. Moreover, fear does not simply vanish at the bare assertion that God can harbour no evil design against the believer because He is the God of love. The teaching of the Mohammedan priests, whose one aim is to keep men in a condition of fear has made much too deep an impression on the Mohammedan mind for that. There is also the voice of an accusing conscience quickened by an acquaintance with the story of Jesus and His commandment. The love of God becomes credible by the work of Jesus upon the Cross. Any one who understands wherein

that work consists enters into the mind of God. What is incomprehensible to the Mohammedan there becomes comprehensible. He simply throws aside the Moslem conception of God. It is irreparable. He must decide one way or another ; if the God of the Christians is the God of grace, the true God, then the God of Islam is a caricature. Then God is a Father, not merely in the sense in which the heathen also calls God Father, because it is God Who " sends men into the world," alike at the creation and every time a new human being comes into the world, but He is also the One Who has compassion upon man and receives him as His child. Slavish fear vanishes in presence of such a God as this, it gives way to childlike trust.

The life of every true Christian gathered out of Mohammedanism and heathenism is a strength to the Mohammedan, because what is so new in the Christian is this same childlike confidence in God. In the native Christian community the Mohammedans see the proof of the fact that God's Spirit is creating a new creation. The native Christian community is not to be compared with the Heathen-Mohammedan community. No childlike trust is found there, only fatalism. The Christian knows he is safe in God's fatherly care. This completely transforms his attitude of mind, because assured protection means certain obligations. The Christian is committed to God ; this does away with the frivolity of the fatalist. Fatalism makes a man lazy, trust in God is an incentive to action. Trust makes for freedom, but at the same time it binds a man to that which has won him his freedom. And the Mohammedan-Christian grasps this difference. Paul, one of our converts in Java from Islam, used in his Mohammedan days to go about a district infested with tigers unarmed and without even a stick, because he was a convinced fatalist. When he became a Christian, he was very prudent, because he said it was not right for a son, even when living under his Father's protection, to be careless and foolish,

Thus, the Mohammedan-Christian really is delivered from Animism. The heathen Bataks are afraid of the spirit of the new-born child whose mother dies in child-bed. They, therefore, bury such a child with its mother. The Mohammedans generally leave such children to die of starvation, because no one ventures to take compassion upon them. But, placing her trust in the Lord, a young Christian woman soon after being baptized into my congregation at Sipiongot adopted a motherless Mohammedan child, although all her Mohammedan women neighbours prophesied all her own children would die in consequence. The Christian native is really delivered from the fear of evil spirits.

The heathen fled for protection from God to his spirits, because his God was powerless. The Mohammedan sought to escape from God, because God is so little to be counted upon. Now, however, the Cross of Jesus and His Resurrection has clearly shown that God is not impotent, like the God of the heathen, but Omnipotent; the Resurrection of Jesus Christ proves it. Yet He is not hyperpowerful like the God of the Mohammedan. His omnipotence is controlled by boundless compassion, which empties itself of power for the sinner's sake at Golgotha. So great is His omnipotence, so great is His compassion. He is strong indeed to visit with chastisement, but strong also to have mercy. Golgotha reveals both.

God's plans no longer swing like a pendulum between exaggerated favour and terrible judgments; all His Almighty working is directed to the one definite aim of serving man. To such an unchanging fatherly God one may commit oneself with quiet confidence.

Communion with God.—The peace which the soul enjoys in contact with Jesus, the Prince of Peace, is personal communion with God. It excludes every other mediator.

If Jesus is the one and only mediator, then it is all over with Mohammed. For he was primarily of account

as a mediator. The historical figure of the Prophet had no attraction for an Animistic people. Our Christians ask the Moslem : " Can sinful Mohammed really be a mediator ? " This embarrasses the Mohammedan. If the Prophet is declared to be sinless, then he is at once placed on an equality with God, although the common people do actually say " God does what Mohammed wants. " If he is sinful, then the Christians are right : he cannot be a mediator, he is himself in need of cleansing as much as we. The Christian, who has a sinless Saviour, declares to the Mohammedan : " Mohammed cannot help you at the Day of Judgment. He himself needs forgiveness. So what good is he to us ? "

The Christian, whose gaze is fixed on Jesus, then asks : " Where is Mohammed now ? " He well knows where his Lord and Saviour is. He is risen from the dead, according to the Scriptures.

Our Mohammedan-Christians do not believe the story of the Resurrection on the strength of the literary version, that is terra incognita to them. They have not as yet a strong enough historical sense to be able to decide whether the discrepancies in the various narratives of the Resurrection tell for or against the historicity of the event. The disciples' report is credible to them because they are otherwise honest men. Their attitude to the Scriptures is based on the conviction that the word of Jesus is true ; that is an experimental fact ; they have received life from Him. They find no difficulty in the miracle of Jesus' Resurrection. For the difficulty which the idea of miracle presents to the modern mind has no affinity with their naïve mode of thought. They have no idea of exact processes in Nature nor of the law of causation. Once the obstacles to faith in the Person of Jesus are overcome, and these lie, as we have seen, in the moral sphere, there is no further hindrance to their believing the story of the Resurrection.

No one on the other hand knows anything about

Mohammed's Resurrection. He is certainly said to have died and been buried, for prayers are offered at his tomb. If, however, Mohammed did not rise from the dead, his office as mediator hangs on a slender thread indeed. How can a person lying in the grave be a help to any one? If Mohammed only exists as the spirits of other departed exist, he has no pre-eminence over the rest of the departed and the doctrine of his mediation lacks all foundation.

On the other hand, the Mohammedan is not in a position to dispute the fact of Jesus' Resurrection; Jesus' present activity attests the truth of the Resurrection. The native Christian Church gives visible expression to the life of Jesus Christ; it is a fact which the Mohammedan-Christian ascribes to the creative power of Jesus Christ.

The Mohammedan-Christian thus shakes himself free from the false mediator in order to apprehend the true Mediator. In this connection we may study the following original sermon about Mohammed which was once preached by Salomo, one of our native helpers in Java, a converted Mohammedan: "Granted that Mohammed did possess a certain measure of power, it was nevertheless greatly inferior to that of Christ. Mohammed can only hear when a man prays turning to the East, but Christ hears whether a man turns to the East, West, South or North. Mohammed has only power towards the East, Christ has power towards the East, West, South and North."

Jesus is our "fellow-countryman," "comrade," "beloved clansman." The space between God and man is thus completely filled by the God-Man. If man wishes to have the Deity in tangible form, there stands Jesus, our flesh and blood and yet very God of very God. The tendency to adopt Jesus as a Mediator among other mediators, the syncretic tendency of the Animist, appears in various sects. A pandito (holy man) founded a sect on the basis of the Moslem creed and certain

Javanese magic charms in which Allah, Batara, Endro, Siva, Mohammed and Jesus appear side by side.

With the belief in the God-Man mediator, the belief in the saints and prophets also disappears. Compared with Jesus they are impotent ; none of them have risen from the dead. At best the saints had a shadow existence like Mohammed. Belief in the God-Man thus brings deliverance from the worship of the saints and the prophets.

Finally, the mediators who are still alive. They also must descend from the lowest rungs of the Jacob's ladder of Islam. The God-Man mediator is with us always. He helps us even in this present world. Jesus lives. Compared with Him, what are living and mortal helpers ? The same may be said of the teachers. The Christian teachers are not mediators. They only point the way to salvation. They themselves cannot save, they are saved. Thus, Jesus the Mediator delivers the Christian from the tutelage of men. If Jesus has wrought salvation for man once and for all, then man is no longer shut up to the mediation of avaricious men. Islam certainly promised deliverance from the swindling sorcerer, but it only brought a new kind of dependence. The eternal salvation of the Moslem has lain in his teacher's hand. Only now as a Christian does he really gain his freedom ; the white teacher is certainly a leader, but he does not hold him in bondage. The way to God is thus opened up step by step.

Let us consider what this means. The worship of the Prophet and the saints and the veneration of the priests are at bottom nothing but refined polytheism and Animism. By faith in the one and only Mediator, Jesus Christ, every trace of polytheism and Animism is therefore wiped out.

Islam claims to be able to overcome the polytheistic tendency of heathenism, to have the power to transform it into monotheism. In so far as it leaves Jesus out of account however, it finds itself between Scylla and

Charybdis. Islam, it is true, does not try to humanize God, as heathenism does, that is why it rejects the Divine Sonship ; it anxiously safeguards itself from everything which might impugn the unity of God. Inadvertently, however, it deifies men. Mohammed becomes a demi-god, the Prophets and saints, helpers in time of need, the priests, God's representatives. Jesus is driven from His kingly throne, and behold angels, saints and prophets take His empty place. Instead of the *one* mediator there appear an array of mediators who obscure the Moslem idea of God in the same way as the spirit host has diverted the heathen from the living God.

The Christian faith, which clings to Christ alone, comes forth fully armed against any polytheistic attack upon God ; the adoration of saints and the worship of man are absolutely incompatible with it. The Christ of the New Testament alone secures God from misrepresentation. Islam as we see it in practice clearly proves that the acceptance of individual Christian truths does not overcome man's natural tendency to polytheism, no matter how sublime its doctrine of the unity and supremacy of God. The only bulwark against the universal human tendency to polytheism is Christ in all His plenitude of grace. The only possible substitute for the Animistic belief in one's own "soul-stuff" is the present Saviour ; the only safeguard against spiritualistic vagaries is the glorified Son of Man.

In Islam the working of the mediators revealed the working of God, because it knows nothing of the working of God in history. The history of Israel, however, and the story of Jesus give the Mohammedan-Christian clear insight into the providence of God. The Moslem idea of God makes it more difficult to realize the working of God. We find a catechumen asking his Christian teacher who the Allah is that is above Allah, because the Allah who, as the Creed says, created heaven and earth, cannot possibly be the true Allah, because He is still working. When the teacher maintained that

this Allah was Lord of all, and unsurpassable, the catechumen fell away. He said Christianity could not teach him which was the true Allah.

The Prayer of Faith.—There is no communion with God in Islam. Man is always distressed to know whether God can understand his prayers, because God is so far removed from his own understanding. In speaking to man, God uses a foreign language. The worshipper does not understand God: he therefore seeks out men who do understand the language of God, the language of heaven, namely Arabic. The teacher prays for the Moslem believer. The revelation of Jesus renders that superfluous. Jesus understands every one who draws near to Him. God is understood in Christ. The Bible gives even the simple believer every opportunity of gaining an insight into the innermost being of God, into the heart of the Father. There is mutual understanding and the possibility for real intercourse in prayer. Communion in prayer consists in giving and taking.

The heathen looked upon Mohammedan ceremonial worship as what was new to him in the Moslem religion. When a Mohammedan becomes a Christian, his friends say that he is no longer performing the daily prayers (sombajang) with them, but that "he prays with the Christians." Christian prayer makes such a strong impression upon the Mohammedan, because here he sees miserable man saying something to God in his own every-day language. Not so much the preacher's prayer at Christian services, as our Christian's prayer before eating, or as they travel, or as they offer their evening worship, gives him food for thought. In the report of one of his journeys my native helper, Martin, says that the Mohammedans were very much astonished that he prayed before eating. He said to them: "You look at me inquiringly, what is it you want to know?" They replied: "What was that you were just saying?" He then explained his prayer to them. If they were glad when any one gave them a betel nut, when their

own supply was exhausted, how much more should one thank God for His gifts, and then he went on : " It is one of our privileges as Christians to know exactly who gives us everything."

Intercession is especially striking to the Mohammedans. Our Christians are accustomed to pray for the conversion of their fellow-countrymen. That is altogether contrary to Mohammedan custom. By supplications, which however are curses rather than prayers, all manner of evil may be desired upon an enemy, but intercession for unbelievers is actually forbidden.

In Christian prayer the outward form is a matter of indifference. The innermost soul of man comes here into action. The deeper the depths from which the prayer ascends, the higher does it rise. Ritual is done away with. Here again is salvation for the Mohammedan-Christian : unfettered by time or place, unhampered by the posture of the body or local circumstances, its only condition a look fixed on the one Saviour Jesus Christ, the prayer ascends to God. The Christian learns that prayer is only answered when the soul passes from its own inner sanctuary to the sanctuary of God. The longing of the really devout soul here finds satisfaction. Moreover, man is not shut up to faith in some inscrutable counsel of God, but it is in the Name of Jesus, that man prevails with God. Through Christ, we have the assurance that Christian prayer is heard. After attending a Christian service, a Mohammedan one day said to a Christian : " If you pray for me, I shall not be able to bear Islam much longer. Would that I had never come to Church. I shall not be able to get away from this goad." The man afterwards became a Christian.

They have liberty in prayer through Christ. If one asks our Christians how they have come to pray as they do to God, they will say they have learnt it from Jesus. " We can simply talk with God through Jesus Christ, say the Mohammedan-Christians, we do not need to pay anything, we simply use our own words."

Nevertheless, the Christian is always submissive to the will of God. "Thy will be done" is the keynote of the new prayer in the name of Jesus. That excludes every defiant petition for a magical answer. The prayer of faith conquers the magical desire for supernatural power. Not magic powers (*ilmu*) is desired of God, but spiritual power: comfort, forgiveness, power against evil. This certainly means a test of faith for our Christians. Those who fall back again into Mohammedanism are often people who have been excommunicated, who have called in the Mohammedan priests in times of illness or turned to exorcists who have gone over to Islam and who will only help such as in their turn go over to Islam.

In this way the Mohammedan-Christian enters into the fulness of Christian experience, into communion with God through Jesus Christ. Man draws near to God in his inmost soul, and God answers by His word, and constantly granting his prayers. This union with God may be indeed a mystery, but it is not to be compared with the mystical exercises which we have described; it is not a passing ecstatic experience, but an abiding state of mind; not vague rapture, but an active, moral relationship with God. The mystical tendency is, therefore, overcome by union between God and man, which is really communion, i.e., man remains himself and so does God. There is no absorption of personality, as in mysticism, where man loses himself in nothingness.

The motive behind the Moslem's mystical exercises was not a desire for communion with God, but the hope that the performance of such exercises would assure him of a higher standing with God and men. He wished to join the ranks of those in God's special favour, he wished to be one of the saints, he wished to gain a better social standing, and finally to reap the advantages bound up with that position.

The following account of the conversion of one of these holy men is significant. In Si Manosar, the dis-

trict south of Si Bolga, where Heerig is carrying on a Mission which has now eight out-stations and 245 baptized Christians, there is a perpetual struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity. One of the converts of recent years has been a young kulipa (a rank of Mohammedan clergy corresponding more or less to our teachers). For years this man refused to become a catechumen. He had previously studied Islam with another kulipa, ending up with 44 days behind a curtain to prepare himself for initiation as a kulipa. He describes the experience as follows: "I hungered and thirsted that I might become a holy man. From day to day I expected Allah to appear to me and make me behold His great and glorious kingdom. But in vain. I nearly went out of my mind with hunger and thirst; but my pride would not permit me to give in before the appointed number of days. When the time was at last fulfilled, I was told I must pay 44 gilders (about £3 13s. 6d.) for my letter as a kulipa. I had no money, however, and then my former friends deserted me. My teacher was about to go to law with me, so I left him. "How is it, I said, that money is the chief thing with us Mohammedans? When Christians go to their sikola tinggi (seminary), they become teachers and have nothing to pay for their diplomas. I sat 44 days behind that curtain, and now over and above all my discomfort I must pay 44 gilders! This is not right, this cannot be the true religion (ugama). I will become a Christian."

The man who engages in these mystical exercises only becomes more and more arrogant, whereas the Christian is humble in well ordered communion with God; communion with God humbles him. The fuller his experience of the greatness of God's grace, the lower is his opinion of himself. The ultimate reason for the Moslem's timidity in prayer and his devotion to mediators and ritual was doubtless his bad conscience. He at all events takes refuge in the sublimity of God and

pretends that that makes it impossible for him to understand the intimacy of the Christian's relation to God. In reality, however, it is nothing but pretence ; he does not venture to approach God, because his own conscience is not clear. He cannot bear the light of God's presence and is continually seeking the shadow of mediators or the twilight of all kinds of magical religious exercises.

Prayer is, therefore, the test as to whether the Christian has actually broken down the unapproachableness of God or not. In communion with God, the Christian has experience of the fact that he really has gained access to God. He can call upon God at all times, indeed, God desires him to do so. He need learn no foreign language ; every man, be his language never so imperfect, may draw near to God. Christian worship serves to establish communion with God ; the clearest expression of it is found in the Sacrament. A Mohammedan priest once said to an elder : " Have you been baptized ? " " Yes." " No, but really, have you partaken of the Farewell Supper (Holy Communion) ? " " Yes." " Well, just tell me please, what does it signify ? " " It is so to speak an oath to God, and it brings one into close union with God ; it is something like one of our baskets for catching fish, within which there is water, and round about which there is water." " To be so united to God would be truly like that," said the Mohammedan.

Obedience towards God.—Communion with God presupposes obedience. Despite the Moslem law, the Moslem does as he likes. He does nothing for God's sake. God is really too far away. Compelled by dire necessity, he performs some of the prescribed ritual observances ; otherwise he is the same as ever. " Islam " does certainly mean " resignation," but only in the positive sense. The Mohammedan surrenders himself blindly into the hands of his God, " like a corpse in the hands of the layer-out."

This entirely suits the Indonesian nature. The more passive, the more comfortable he is. The Moslem

thus becomes more and more inactive. Passivity kills his power to think ; he is content that the higher teachers should possess the knowledge of God. The more passive, the more devout he is. - " If God lets me do bad things, what can I do ? He can change my heart. To fight oneself against evil means going against God."

This passivity is the real reason for the low level of morality and civilization in Islam. These peoples are a natural hot-bed for it, and yet it is by no means an irradicable racial characteristic. Their tendency to slackness can be overcome by the Gospel. The Mohammedan Christian awakens from his rapturous sleep of indolent, pious resignation to God. The Gospel too demands resignation, but only in the sense that the redeemed believer must henceforth surrender himself to his God as His redeemed child. Now really awake to life, the Christian is the willing servant of his God, who sets his will, but his free-will, to do the work of God. His will is redeemed, and thus in the redeemed believer's will-power finds its full fruition. Man's will does not die, but unfolds to the life abundant.

The Gospel rouses a man's intellect. He must himself know the truth of the Gospel or he will not be able to hold his own against his former associates ; he must be able to answer them. He is independent of the written word, but bound to Christ. His very sensibilities were dead in Islam. The God of Islam is indifferent and disinterested. Hence, the Mohammedan is also impervious to God. He takes no interest in man or beast. The slave is not moved by the lot of his fellow-slaves. But now his sympathy awakens, he and all men are cradled in a Father's love. Joy in living awakens within him, he and all men are the work of God's hands. Pain is no longer stifled in resignation, it is relieved by comfort. He becomes a man again and lives for men. The Gospel faces a man with great responsibilities. He spends himself for his family, his village and his Church, as one called to action and fruitful labour.

Hence, the willingness of many Christians to carry the Gospel to Mohammedans. Soerio Asmoro, the hoofddjaksa of Soerabaja, that is a superior officer of justice in one of the highest positions open to the Javanese, was a member of a Mohammedan-Christian family. Although a thorn in the side of his Mohammedan prince, he rose by sheer ability above all his contemporaries and conducted unaided the inquiry into the Gedangan rebellion. He holds meetings in his house at which he expounds the Scriptures to Mohammedans. In 1909, Toegondo, a native Government servant (Adjunktjaksa), the son of a Mohammedan, went as a native preacher from Java to New Guinea. The living centres of Christianity in our mission field are always the fruit of evangelistic work on the part of our native Christians. We hear that most of the Javanese, who attend worship at Indramaju, have been gathered by the Christian believer Karta Widjaja. Individual Christians with some measure of enlightenment endeavour, quite on their own account, to spread the Gospel. At Sungepining for instance, there is a man called Andrew, who often walks four hours' distance to preach the Word of God in a tiny village called Si Hodahoda. The Mohammedans have asked him why he does it, saying: "You are not paid for it." But he is impelled to take his part in the great work.

Christianity means a new life. To the outward eye the transition from heathenism to Islam affects the life of the people much more deeply than Christianity. The acceptance of Mohammedan law, for instance the laws about food, catches the eye more than the Christian's new life. Yet the changes brought about by the Islamizing process are only of an external value. Islam scrupulously avoids tampering with the inner life of the heathen or curbing his carnal desires. Christianity scarcely touches a man's outward life. Even the polygamist is only gradually induced to have but one wife. One's food and drink are the same as before, the change

appears in the inner life of the soul. The difficult side of the Christian life does not consist in the demand for any sudden break but, rather, in the duty, which becomes clearer to the Christian from day to day, of leading a life well-pleasing to God ; he can only give up sin and turn to God by daily becoming changed in his inner self. Islam, so to speak, introduced certain changes for the better in the disposition of the wives. Christianity sets out to introduce a new current of life at the central power station in the heart of man, which shall equip him for his new undertaking, namely, his fight against the sin which is contrary to God's law. This new power is God's Holy Spirit. It does not merely change some of men's habits, neither does it suddenly produce completely new men, the men who are inspired by the Holy Spirit wage a conflict against sin.

It does not come within the range of my subject to show how far individual persons are successful in the fight. It is very easy to sit in judgment upon the Mohammedan-Christian because it is difficult for us, who have grown up within Christendom, to picture what the fight against sin means for a Mohammedan-Christian. Let it suffice to say that there is a real conflict against sin. This is proved by the number of backsliders who are much more numerous in the Mohammedan-Christian community than among Heathen-Christians.

What kind of people do turn their back upon the Church ? The storm only shakes down the leaves from a tree which are drawing no more living sap from the stem which bears them, and we only lose those who have ceased to have communion with God. They have not found Christianity to be untrue. The dissatisfied fall away. People who have lost a law-suit, people who hoped for a chieftainship and have not received one, pupils who have failed to pass the entrance examination to a higher school, finally people who have fallen into despair about everything as the result of heavy trials. They have tried Christianity, but it has not brought

them their desire and they gave it up. For such people, even if they have unfortunately been baptized, the Gospel was merely an experiment.

This sort of thing, however, is truly Mohammedan. In Islam one tries this kind of magic to-day, and that to-morrow ; if one teacher is no use, one turns to another. If a man accepts Christianity in that spirit, he discovers no magical effects from the Gospel. On the contrary, because he tempts Christ, that is God, God withdraws further and further away from him. No matter what may be his profession of Christianity, he has never received the Holy Spirit. "Many Javanese Christians," Paul Tossari, one of our teachers once wrote, "think they are Christians when they know the creed and the ten commandments. At first I was the same. By reading the Holy Scriptures my heart was enlightened."

The Gospel is to some a breath of life unto life, to others a breath of death unto death ; where the Gospel has been able to display its living power, the believer has been filled with new life and is slowly being led on from victory to victory. Where, however, a man has gone over to Christianity without being born again, the old state of death continues, and from that death in the soul there go forth, in their turn, the powers of death which ultimately destroy even the semblance of life.

Nevertheless, judgment is consummated upon such people. They think they can accept the Christian law just as they submitted themselves to many irksome ordinances in Islam, without breaking with their old habits. But what was possible in Islam is impossible in Christianity. Any one who obeys the commandments of Jesus, as law, soon finds he has taken an unbearable yoke. Every life is censured, Sunday observance is made a duty, it is not to be borne ! Even in the direct extremity there must be no recourse to magic. This is a bitter restriction ; in times of need pretence vanishes, and the hypocrite relapses into Islam.

That there is so much backsliding, that conversion

from Islam only takes place, so to speak, drop by drop is accounted for by the fact that the living power in the Christian community, as also in the Christian Church, is so weighed down by remnants of heathenism, half-heartedness and unholy living. For the most part we may leave the European Christians in the Colony out of account; they contribute very little living power and many hindrances; there is much open or secret sympathy expressed for anti-Christian Islam. With all good will in the world the native can see nothing of the new life in Christ among them.

The number of our converts from heathenism is not always, as such, a proof of the triumph of the Gospel. Unconquered Animism, unsatisfactory conduct, gross sin, deceit and avarice only make the name of Christian more despicable in the eyes of Mohammedan scoffers.

Relapses are often numerous in the very communities which have most living power, because the educational labours of a community filled with the spirit of Christ, become a heavy burden to those who are merely experimenting with Christianity, and they eventually withdraw. The sifting power of the Gospel manifests itself in their conscience, in contrast to Islam, which received, without let or hindrance, a constant stream of heathen adherents. As they themselves confess, many of these backsliders go through life, their conscience pricked by the living seed which was once in them but has been stifled by the overgrowth of death.

One of our finest Mohammedan Christians passed through a very dark time for years. One misfortune followed upon another, and he was exposed to constant persecution at the hands of his Mohammedan relatives. At last his wife also died after the birth of a child. He could not find a Christian wife. His Mohammedan relations found him a Mohammedan woman. He could not stand against this great temptation; he fell away. He of course received the wife only on condition he himself became a Mohammedan. He then wrote his mis-

sionary this characteristic letter: "The sorrow God has sent upon me is too great, and the temptation too severe, I cannot endure. I have become a Mohammedan that I may again have a wife. I have received my portion from God, like the Prodigal Son. I will consume it with riotous living. The good seed has fallen with me among thorns and been choked by them. I am now a lost sheep, which is lost in the wilderness. May other Christians not imitate my conduct. I have not become a Mohammedan because I really consider the religion of the Mohammedan a good one. I know that the Lord Jesus is alive and sitting at the right hand of God in heaven. Five of my people have already died as Christians. My purpose used to be never to be parted from them. My prayer now is that master (the missionary) and his wife would help me to lead my wife over to Christianity so that I, like the Prodigal, may return from the far country to God our Father."

Every year many find their way back into the Christian community, often after many years of backsliding.

Is the Mohammedan-Christian who has passed through the fire of Islam superior to the heathen-Christian? One is inclined to answer in the affirmative. In the heathen-Christian communities of the Batak country it is, for the most part, quite an honour to be called a Christian and a disgrace to be still called a heathen. Heathenism is sinking more and more to the level of paganism. Rejoice as we may at this, it does not tend to purify the Church. The leaders of heathen-Christian communities sigh under a dead weight of sluggish members, of whom they would gladly be rid. The constant storms, on the other hand, which fall upon Mohammedan-Christian communities, whirl these withered leaves back again into Islam. Such sifting under the pressure of Mohammedan surroundings makes for stronger Christians. Islam forces every Christian to be constantly taking fresh grip of his personal hold upon Christian

truth. Also the piety of Mohammedan-Christians bears, on the whole, a truer impress of faith in Christ.

The development of their Christian individuality suffers, however, from the reflex action of the spiritual tutelage of the Mohammedan clergy. The Mohammedan-Christian is more inclined than one would wish to lean on his teachers. It is part of his Moslem heritage. The desire to cling to men rather than God is deeply embedded in the Mohammedan. Thus, Christian converts from Mohammedanism have also their own characteristic failings.

The Mohammedan-Christian has indeed a great conflict before him, he faces a double line of battle. He has to fight against Animism with its reinforcements from Islam, and against Islam with the attractive features it has borrowed from Animism. He must strive against his specifically Moslem characteristics. The tendency to legalism does not vanish all at once from the heart of new converts. They are inclined to see nothing in the Gospel but a new law. "I have been going to Church now for eight years," a Mohammedan catechumen once said to me, "and my rice-field has not yet become more fruitful"; or a man will say: "if God sees that I go regularly to Church, then He is bound to help me to get rich."

Neither does the Mohammedan-Christian lose his slavish fear all at once. By going regularly to Church he would fain temper God's wrath and purchase His good will by charitable gifts. When his fear really gives way, the Christian easily grows presumptuous. He is inclined to think of God as a weak, kindly father who grants everything for the asking. He comes to God importunately with arrogant petitions, and is astonished when God lays His hand in discipline upon his life; he will not admit that God's sovereignty freely entitles Him to deny our requests. Hence the complaint that there is but little fear of God among Mohammedan-Christians. Such people are in great danger of falling

away. Their arrogance has quenched the Holy Spirit and they have lost the power to resist the onslaught of the old spirit. The grace they receive in Christ tempts them to sin against grace.

Mohammedan-Christians are fond of citing the Prodigal Son, who was eventually welcomed back again, and on the strength of this story they will expect their every lapse to be at once forgiven. Such superficiality of course disturbs their communion with Christ and the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, of which the heathen-Mohammedan stands in such pressing need, can find no entrance into, nor outlet from, his soul.

For that reason the Last Judgment and Eternity are not of the same serious moment to the Mohammedan-Christian as to us. He finds it difficult to understand that every promise depends upon a certain condition. The message of the Good Shepherd, for instance, is precious to him, but he overlooks the fact that the Shepherd, just because He is the Good Shepherd, separates the sheep from the goats. In the preaching of the Baptist, he passes over the word about the winnowing fan and does not realize that the Lamb of God can only bear away the sins of the world, because He is possessed of divine power from on high. The call to repentance, which accompanies the Gospel, only reaches the Mohammedan heart with difficulty. Its tone is too unusual. The foolishness of Mohammedan preaching about the Judgment has utterly deadened the Mohammedan conscience to the dread seriousness of God's chastisement.

We find an avowed love of religious phraseology which, of course, is death to all true Christian life. Islam trains a man in hypocrisy; the evil fruits of this training again mean many a struggle for the Mohammedan-Christian.

However, such comparisons are always rather invidious. Both groups of native Christians have, respectively, their bright and dark sides. At the present time it is, at all events, a point in favour of the Moham-

medan-Christian community that it is steeling itself to perpetual conflict against overwhelming odds. Nevertheless, as Moslem propaganda grows more and more aggressive, the heathen-Christian community will also have to come more and more to terms with Islam. It will be a great gain to it spiritually, even although the shock of the encounter with Islam may cost it some temporary loss in numbers.

Conclusion.—In so far, however, as these heathen-Christian Churches, in actual conflict with Islam, are linked in the closest possible way to the Home Church by the labours of their European leaders, the missionary gifts of older Christendom which are poured out on their behalf, and not least by the loving, sustaining prayers of Christian believers, this coming to terms between Islam and Christianity, out there on the horizon, is a direct concern for us here at home. They are our brothers who fight out yonder.

We must so preach Christ to the Moslem world that it shall recognize we have in Him what they, as Moham-medans, are seeking apart from Him. They are seeking forgiveness of sins, we have it in virtue of His death; they are seeking for mediators, in the risen and living Christ we have the true Mediator. They cry aloud for God's representatives, in the God-Man we have Him Who was of our flesh and blood and yet very God of very God. He stands in our stead. They toil over a dead obscure Book from God, we have His living Word, the Scriptures which bring Christ home to the hearts of men. They have much to say of the One Almighty and yet so distant God, we have His plenitude in the Three in One, Who has drawn near to us in Christ. They dream of dark powers from God, in us His Spirit is at work. They long for mystical union with God, in the Spirit of Jesus Christ we enjoy communion with God which recreates our life anew. They intoxicate their senses with the joys of a future Paradise, we know a world which is above where Christ is.

Will self-satisfied Islam believe our message? Certainly not our words. It must see the living power of the Gospel in us, and in the ever-growing community of heathen-Christians. In the end it will not be a Christianity which can refute the Moslem's faith in so many words which will vanquish them, but the living native Church which will comfort comfortless Islam with her Saviour, love the loveless Crescent and bear with, suffer and die, like her Master, for this religion of force. Our real and complete surrender of ourselves to the service of the Moslem world, in the strength of the self-surrender of Jesus, can alone conquer this proud religion which calls itself "resignation," self-surrender, without the least idea of what surrender means. For only so will the all-conquering plenitude of the power of Jesus Christ unfold itself in us.

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