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FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

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السيارة المائية

اخترع المر نربيل أحد فواد
 فرق المحوم النازية في لاسا
 سيارة تسير على الارض وبحق
 الماء على السواء دون ان تحتاج
 الى تعديل فيها وتغيير . وبما
 حقق امنية كانت تمد من قبل
 الحبال

أكبر بيضة في العالم

عرضت في معرض الطيور الذي
 أقيم أخيراً بكوفنت جاردن
 بلندن بيضة من طير العطان .
 وهي تعد أكبر بيضة في العالم .
 ويبلغ طولها ١٣ بوصة . وقد
 وجدت ضمن مخلفات المرحوم
 جورج دوسون رولى العلامة
 بالطيور . وتمثل هذه الصورة
 المستر بيل كروس المروف
 بمحاهمه من الطيور ومنتجاتها ،
 وهو واقف أمام تلك البيضة
 الهائلة ويمسك بيده بيضة دحاحه
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THE OPEN COURT

Volume XLIX

April, 1935

Number 933

THE BOOK OF JOB

BY A. P. DRUCKER

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE BOOK OF JOB

TO READERS of the Bible generally and to Biblical students particularly, there is no one portion of the Bible which presents so much that is vague, baffling, not to say contradictory, as the Book of Job. Taking it as a narrative pure and simple, they are rather at a loss to discover its real motive and interpret its various ideas in terms of such philosophical teachings and moral lessons as will clarify its obscurity and justify its acceptance into the Canon.

Perhaps the most general and plausible conclusion of the commentators hitherto has been that Job is essentially didactic, that its purpose is to teach the lesson of reward and punishment here on earth. Yet this idea is not too remotely hinted at to offer a satisfactory explanation, but—and the most cursory examination will show this—it is not even consistently worked out in the progress of the discussion. Thus, in the first round of the debate, the three Friends attribute Job's sufferings to his sins, which he himself stoutly denies;¹ at another time he admits his transgressions,² while they flatly contradict him, saying that he is no worse than the generality of mankind.³ In fact, as we proceed in the dialogue, we are lost in a maze of obscurity, Job now corroborating, anon denying the previous speaker's testimony as to the glory, justice, and righteousness of God.

Again, the plot itself seems to contradict the theory of the righteousness of God. At the very beginning we are told that it was not on account of his sins that Job was being punished, but because his faith and constancy were being tested; or, to put it more boldly, his afflictions were the result of a wager between God and Satan

¹Job 9:21; 16:17.

²*ibid.* 7:20, 21.

³*ibid.* 25.

to the effect that Job would not blaspheme God, under suffering. We thus see that Job was not punished for wrongdoing, as his Friends would have it. If then, he was smitten for the mere purpose of bearing out God's stand in a wager, Job's Friends are placed in a ludicrous position.

In the modern theater the playwright often presents the same kind of a situation as in Job to provoke the mirth of the audience. He creates some puzzling situation to which the spectators, having been duly informed of the truth beforehand, have the key; whereas the characters of the play apparently grope helplessly in the dark for some solution, and in their vain attempts hazard various wrong guesses. These wrong guesses convulse the naïve spectators with laughter, because they are beguiled into the illusion that they know more about the perplexing incident than the persons in the play, who appear to be so dull-witted. Now it would seem as though the author of Job employed the same kind of device. He, too, in the Introduction, takes the audience into his confidence, letting them hear of what went on in heaven, thus informing them of the actual reason for Job's sufferings. Then he brings in the three Friends, with their ingenious explanations, as if to heighten the comedy to the situation and minister to the amusement of the audience. If the author intended the Book of Job to inculcate a moral lesson, he surely resorted to the wrong method, since in the plot we are given one apparently true reason for the tribulations of Job, and in the debate another reason is given; and, inasmuch as these two reasons, according as the old interpretations contradict each other, we are at a loss to divine the author's true motive.

Another point to consider in searching for the purpose of Job is that not one of the motives hitherto ascribed to the composition explains adequately the function of God's appearing in a storm-wind. What is his mission? What his powerful and all enlightening message? He makes no startling revelation, says nothing which in substance has not been said again and again by the Friends of Job. In the Greek drama the *deus ex machina* usually disentangles the perplexing knots that have baffled men, opens the eyes of the hero, and communicates some new truth to the spectators. Why does not Job's God likewise assign the true reason for all the sorrow that has befallen the poor sufferer? Or is He ashamed (or afraid) to confess that it was all for a mere wager? Admitting that He not only add nothing to what the three Friends have already

said, but positively reiterates their mistaken assumption, would not His epiphany in the storm-wind seem a factor also in increasing the obscurity?

There is, however, one statement made by God to Eliphaz which demands our special consideration. In the discussion between Job and his Friends, the former denounces God as unjust, careless of human right.⁴ The Friends, on the other hand, defend him, endeavoring to convince Job of the divine righteousness and goodness. Always they speak and counsel to the best of their ability in the most pious and reverential manner. And still, the battle over, the sky again clear, God emerges from the storm-wind, and his first word to Eliphaz is: "Mine anger is kindled against thee and thy two friends, for you spoke not rightly of me, as my servant Job." In the light of the old theories, does not this rebuke show God to be very unjust? After upholding the divine cause, maintaining his justice so eloquently in the face of Job's bitter revilings to be told that their praise was less acceptable to him than Job's impious utterances—that rebuke is disconcerting, to say the least. For notwithstanding the fact that Job at first refrained from "speaking foolishly against God" and that he "sinned not with his lips," even after he was "afflicted with boils," nevertheless, further on, he uttered many words that must have pleased Satan immensely. Yet God was angry with the Friends of Job who spoke of his justice and righteousness.

If the author had any desire to teach a moral lesson or lay down a philosophy of reward or punishment, he would have constructed his plot far differently. Instead of telling us the real cause of Job's suffering at the outset, he would have reserved that for the end, thus working up to a climax which would have been the clearing up of the mystery by the descent of God in the storm-wind, or why tell us at all of the wager between God and Satan? Let him simply state that Job suffers because God wished to try him.

But the author clearly had no such lesson to teach; hence he cast his plot in a different mold. The question, therefore, is quite pertinent: What was the purpose the writer had in mind with this book? Before entering upon an attempt at solving this question, it might be well to mention that the same extraordinary, incompatible use of the name of God found in the Pentateuch is met with here.

In the Introduction, the name of Yahawe is employed in refer-

⁴Job 9:24.

ring to the supreme God. It is to Yahawe that the Sons of Elohim come to pay homage. It is only after obtaining permission from Yahawe that Satan can inflict suffering upon Job. The same appellation for God is also used at the end of the story; Yahawe it is who answers Job out of the storm-wind; Yahawe, too, who disapproves of the utterances of the Friends;⁵ and again Yahawe who restores Job to his prosperity and happiness.⁶ In contradiction to this, in the entire discussion or debate, Yahawe is not once mentioned, except by Job.⁷ It is to El, Eloha, Shaddai, that the Friends constantly refer. This change in the appellation of God can scarcely be accidental, for there are numerous opportunities throughout the debate for employing the name of Yahawe. Is there some reason for this peculiar incongruity? The explanation made by a few commentators, that the plot and the discussion are not by the same author, is rather a makeshift. As stated above Yahawe is mentioned in the discussion by Job. Then too, the epiphany of Yahawe and the discussion are correlated. For the plot without the discussion is just as lame as the discussion without the plot; the characters, ideas, and situations are so closely interwoven that one cannot stand without the other.

WHY HAS THE BOOK OF JOB BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD?

We see, then, that the Book of Job, as explained by the commentators, is not explained at all. Its contents remain vague, incomprehensible, incoherent. Shall we conclude, then, that these commentators have pronounced the final word on the subject; that it is impossible to simplify this apparently conglomerate mass of ideas; and that the author himself had no clear idea or plan in mind when he wrote? Or, shall we not rather assume that the Book has been hitherto misunderstood, misinterpreted by its editors for one reason or another? If the latter assumption be accepted, we may feel free to give due consideration to any new theory which may purport to remove difficulties and clear up the vagueness of the composition.

One can easily discern one cause for the prevalent misunderstanding of the Book of Job in the great reverence with which the commentators have always regarded the Bible. Under their guidance, we are permeated with the idea that everything in the Scrip-

⁵Job 42:8.

⁶*ibid.* 42:12-16.

⁷*ibid.* 12:9.

tures holds a sublime religious thought, and hence, when we are confronted with some naïve, primitive expression, we hasten to explain it away, to allegorize it, and to fill it with a mystic significance, which, very likely, was far from the mind of the author. From this preconceived interpretation of the Bible, the Book of Job especially suffers. All its primitive ideas have been exalted and philosophic verities have been read into them, until such a confusion has resulted as would ensue were we to attempt to interpret Homer or Æschylus in terms of modern philosophic thought.

A further cause for the general misunderstanding of Job lies in the fact that it is ascribed to a very late period, and this error, in a measure, grew out of the former mistakes. Since the work is so full of "grand conceptions of God," we are told naturally, it must have been written at a high stage of Hebrew civilization, when Israel's religious consciousness had become poignantly awake. And this preconceived idea leads to further confusion; for when the commentator chances upon some really non-Israelitish concept, reasoning that such a concept could not have arisen in the mind of the God-intoxicated people of the post-Exilic period, he endows that expression with a cryptic meaning and ascribes to it a sublime moral or ethical lesson which it never had.

Now the reason which leads scholars to place Job at so late a period is not hard to discover. They refuse to attribute to the Hebrews a civilization or literature worthy of the name, before they came into direct contact with the Babylonians. But this prejudice regarding pre-Exilic Jewish culture is altogether untenable: first, because it is hard to believe that the long splendid intellectual period of Samuel, David, Solomon should have left no impress upon, have borne no fruit in, the literature of their times. Indeed, it would be rather extraordinary if all this rivalry and strife of the several religious cults had not produced a great literature of which some high concepts were not found.

But we know positively that the Jews had a notable, inspiring literature even before the Exile. Most scholars admit that Deuteronomy was composed in the time of Josiah.⁸ And a work such as this implies a long line of precedent literary works of which its monumental grandeur becomes the splendid consummation.⁹

We see, therefore, that the reason for putting the composition of

⁸2 Kings 22:8, 10.

⁹See the author's book *The Culture of Ancient Israel*. Block Pub. Co.

Job at so late a period has no basis in fact; and as we find it no longer needful to read into its words later ideas, we can accept its naïve primitive ideas at their intrinsic worth and infer that the Book of Job was composed at a very early date, when Israel's religious knowledge was yet in its infancy, and when the people still had anthropomorphic notions about God and believed that he could be prevailed upon to do certain things in order to convince himself of the result. The moment we come to this conclusion, that the Book of Job is not coeval and therefore not of the same ethical level with the Books of the later Prophets, the meaning and import of its contents break upon us with a new helpful light.

THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF JOB

It will be impossible for us to thoroughly understand Job, until we have fixed the date of its composition and surveyed the conditions of religious life of which it is the expression. Two sources will shed light upon its authorship: tradition and the contents of the Book itself. In the Talmud we find Job assigned to a very early period in Jewish history (Baba Bathra) and if we may not lean too confidently on the wall of Talmudic tradition, yet its averment adds weight to the arguments deductible from the Book itself. If we divest the composition of all its unwarranted sanctity, the naked plot will reveal to us a plain pre-Israelitish myth of a struggle between rival gods, and the success and victory of one Yahawe over the others. At the very outset, we are told how the Sons of Elohim came to pay homage to Yahawe; how Satan made a wager with him, that Job would speak blasphemous words if afflicted with punishment. What light does this plot throw upon the development of the God-idea in ancient Israel at this date. This we can determine by following the history of the latter up to the time of the author of this book.

From Exodus 6:2, we know that Yahawe was a new god among the Hebrews. There we are informed that Yahawe was not known to the Patriarchs of old; they knew only El,¹⁰ and Shaddai.¹¹ But we learn also from many other passages that the oldest gods of the Hebrews were known as the Elohim. Abraham was addressed by his neighbor Ephraim as a Prince of the Elohim.¹² Thus when the Children of Israel made the Golden Calf in the wildness, they ex-

¹⁰Genesis 28:19.

¹¹Exodus 6:2.

¹²Genesis 23:6.

ulted, "These are thy Elohim, O Israel!"¹³ Again in the days of the High Priest Eli, when the Ark was taken into the camp of the Hebrews, the Philistines cried out in dismay: "Behold, the Elohim came to the camp of Israel! Woe unto us! Who will save us from these mighty Elohim, who smote the Egyptians with all kinds of plagues in the Wilderness."¹⁴ These and other Biblical passages prove that the Elohim were the oldest and most popular gods in ancient Israel.

Under these circumstances it will appear self-evident that it took Yahawe's followers some time to drive out the Elohim cult and root instead into the minds of the people the name of their God. Even in the Creation stories we have one in which Elohim¹⁵ and another in which Yahawe,¹⁶ is the Creator. Likewise in the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac there is recorded a victory of Yahawe's mild religion over the harsher and more barbaric cult of Elohim.¹⁷ At the time of the Prophet Elijah, however, we find the Children of Israel given to the worship of the Baalim, the gods of their neighbors, the Phoenicians; but when Yahawe revealed his awful majesty and power on Mount Carmel through his servant Elijah, the people cried out, "Yahawe is Elohim! Yahawe is Elohim!" which would indicate that Yahawe and not Baal, became the recognized successor to Elohim; even more it would indicate that there came about a compromise, a kind of understanding, between the old and the new, between Elohim and Yahawe, who were henceforth regarded as identical.

From these data we can readily infer the date of composition of Job. Here Yahawe speaks with tolerance of Elohim.¹⁸ And while the author goes so far as to claim supremacy for Yahawe, still the latter is anxious that no good man should speak blasphemously or even slightly of Elohim.¹⁹ There are two other names that add to the mystery of the Book of Job. One is the designation "Sons of Elohim" and the other "Satan." The former are alluded to in but one other instance throughout the Bible: namely, where we read that the Sons of Elohim acted displeasingly to Yahawe.²⁰ This

¹³Exodus 32:4.

¹⁴1 Samuel 4:6, 8.

¹⁵Genesis 1.

¹⁶Genesis 2:4.

¹⁷See *The Drama of Ancient Israel*. A. P. Drucker.

¹⁸Job 1.

¹⁹Job 1:8; 2:3.

²⁰Genesis 6:2, 4.

name would then carry the Book back to a very early date. The reference to Satan, on the other hand, would point to a later origin for Job. Neither designation affords conclusive evidence, however, hence we must leave them entirely out of consideration.

The evidence in Job shows, however, that Yahawe was considered supreme. To him the Sons of Elohim come to pay homage. To him Satan shows courtesy, and without his consent, can do nothing. And yet this supreme Yahawe was desirous that none should offend the Elohim. We gather, furthermore, that he could be persuaded by Satan to act one way or another, even if the advice was wrong. And it would seem that there existed a rivalry between Yahawe and Satan, the spokesman of the Sons of Elohim (El, Shaddai, and Eloha). This evidence would place Job at a period anterior to the story of Elijah and before Baal invaded the land of Israel, and took over the struggle against Yahawe. This book was written when the struggle was between Yahawe and El, Shaddai, and Eloha.

Now, in the light of this evidence, it is plain that the naïve sentiments, the mythical religious views of Job are to be taken literally, without gloss or explanation. Job is an old book written at an early epoch in Israel's religious experience. Accordingly, we must not seek for profound religious verities or philosophic reflections. We must take it simply as a beautiful myth of the time of Israel's youth, full of poetic fancy and childish sentiments. The plot, like its predecessors which deal with the strife and the victory of Yahawe, was put in the form of a drama and presented before an audience at a shrine of Yahawe to inculcate the lesson that Yahawe is supreme and that the other gods are subject to his will.

JOB AS A DRAMA

The Book of Job must have originally been a drama. Evidence is, that in spite of the manifold revisions, alterations, and amendments which the Book underwent at the hands of the later Jewish editors before it was accepted into the Canon, it has retained many of the original dramatic features and devices. In the first place, it has the primary requisites of the drama in its pathos, its poetic fancy, conflict of passions, and struggle of will against impulse. Furthermore, it has a spectacular setting, intense action, and impassioned oratory. Again, it employs the well-known technique of the drama since it has (a) a well-defined introduction, which strikes the keynote of the whole composition; (b) a climax (in Job's con-

stancy); (c) a denouement (in the appearance of Yahawe).

Another proof of the dramatic origin of the Book of Job is found in the device used in solving the problem involved in the story. How to present the solution of a play is one of the greatest difficulties experienced by dramatic writers. They cannot close with an additional note, an explanation, or personal reference like story writers. In the play every incident must be presented on the stage, through the actors and by means of actions. In a play of mystery the author cannot present himself before the audience and disclose the "real truth"; on the other hand, the actor, not having apparently been aware of it throughout the play, could hardly assume the role of informant at the end. In the drama of the Middle Ages the author resorted to the epilogue to explain away all the difficulties and disentangle the knots of the plot. This epilogue was recited by some one who had no part in the play itself. This method, however, was not very dramatic.

The Greek and Roman playwrights had recourse to a more ingenious method. When they constructed a problem drama dealing with Fate or Providence, they had in mind a religious assembly, which could readily believe in miracles and the intervention of the gods in human affairs. Accordingly, it was not at all out of the way for them to have a god appear on the stage to reveal the truth to erring men and unfold the mystery of Providence or Fate, and thus effect the denouement of the plot. This device aided the play in several ways: it was spectacular, impressive and inspiring; besides, it seemed quite natural that only a god who in his mercy had come to the rescue of the suffering hero should be able to shed light on the profound mystery involved. Indeed, so commonly was this method resorted to on the Greek and Roman stage that in all the great theaters provision was made to have a *deus ex machina* contrivance ready at hand, and this machine later became a permanent fixture on the classical stage.

Now the author of Job employs the same device in trying to clear up the problem involved in his plot. The situation at the end of the discussion is extremely embarrassing. Job and his Friends seem unable to come to an agreement. Each side remains stubbornly unconvinced, the plot is at a standstill, only a god can reveal the truth and reconcile the contradictions. And so we have Yahawe descending from the storm-wind, performing the office of *deus ex machina*, and opening the eyes of the erring to the truth. This

treatment in itself would seem sufficient to prove that Job was originally a drama.

There is more conclusive proof, however, for the author makes use of a device that is employed only in a composition written with a spectacular presentation in view. In a written narrative the author can paint a vivid picture of the entire plot by showing the events in logical progression. Since by his mere say-so he can transport the reader in imagination from place to place, he finds it more convenient to picture occurrences in action, as they happen, no matter where, and thus his story gains in clearness and vividness. Not so in the drama, which is written with the design of being acted out on a stage. Here the playwright finds it impossible to introduce in action every minor event connected with the story: first, because every event would require its individual scenery (a change that would entail great inconvenience and expense); secondly, because there would be need for a greater number of actors; and thirdly, because many scenes would confuse the audience, whose memory must not be taxed too severely with details. To overcome this difficulty, dramatic writers resort to various methods. The modern playwright introduces a confidante, a friend or servant, to tell of some event that happened at a distance. The classical playwright employed a messenger who told the people of minor events, connected with the plot, that took place somewhere else.

To this device the author of Job has recourse. Ostensibly to inform Job, but actually to tell the audience of the catastrophes that befell Job's cattle, flocks, servants and children, he introduces a messenger in each particular event. This method of using a messenger to tell what occurred instead of relating it directly proves conclusively that Job was written as a drama, with a view to presentation on the stage, where minor events could not be presented in action.

From these several methods and devices of the composition, we therefore conclude that the author of the Book of Job wrote it for presentation as a play. His main purpose was to prove the glory, the power, and the superiority of Yahawe. Accordingly, it would be a legitimate inference that it was a religious play, written by a Yahawe priest, for presentation at one of the Yahawe shrines.

THE PLOT OF THE DRAMA

We are now in a position to understand the full significance of the plot, and can readily follow its intricacies. We must, however, always bear in mind that the real hero of the play is Yahawe, while the villain is Satan. Job and Elihu, as their respective representatives, are only the pawns, with which hero and villain pursue the game of conquest. In the Introduction we have presented a picture of Job, prosperous in his material affairs, pious and religious in his conduct. Yahawe is very proud of him and sets him up as an example of his worshippers to the Sons of Elohim. The latter, envying him the possession of so loyal a subject, would fain seduce Job from his righteous way; but he is protected by Yahawe on all sides, and their attempts prove vain.

Now Satan, the heavenly mischief-maker, devises a trick which, if it succeeds, will rob Yahawe of his faithful servant. As Job under the protection of Yahawe is unassailable, Satan must needs secure the latter's permission ere he can touch Job. To obtain this, he resorts to a ruse. Yahawe, however, is vigilant. At first he allows Satan only to deprive Job of his possessions and his children; and even the second time, while he permits Satan to inflict punishment on Job himself, he is careful to stipulate that his servant's life must be spared at all hazards.²¹

Full of glee, Satan leaves the court of heaven, for now he has won the second skirmish in the conflict. Now will every one see that the servants of Yahawe are not always safe from suffering, as his priests contend. Now, too, will Job himself finally grow weary of his glorious Yahawe, who no longer protects his devotee, and go over to the worship of the Sons of Elohim.

To Satan's chagrin, Job's constancy again remains unshaken, even after the three Friends, the representatives of the Sons of Elohim, urge and exhort him to come over to the service of El, Shaddai, and Eloha.²² Their pleading is met with the answer: "Ask the Behemoth, and it will teach thee: or bend down to the earth and it will tell thee; the fishes of the sea will inform thee; in fact, who does not know that it was the hand of Yahawe which made all these," (which you attribute to other gods)²³. The Yahawe priest who composed the drama purposely took the spectators into his confi-

²¹The Talmud says that it was harder for Satan than for Job to preserve the latter's life.

²²Job 5:8, 11.

²³Job 12:9.

dence at the outset concerning the reason for Job's affliction, in order to turn them against the three Friends, the priests of the other gods, who are thus placed in a ridiculous position, to be jeered and laughed at for their gross ignorance and their false statements in declaring that Job's punishment was due to his sins.

The three Friends finally give up importuning Job. They can do nothing more, their words have no weight with him. It is, the terrible attack of Elihu, apparently a priest of El, which almost accomplished the design of Satan, misleading and nearly convincing Job that he ought to desert Yahawe and adopt the worship of El, for Job's silence is a virtual acquiescence in Elihu's testimony that El is the greater god.

Not a moment too soon does Yahawe learn of the ruse of his adversary. But now he rushes forthwith to the succor of his worshipper, and revealing his omnipotence at the critical moment, saves his cause. The mere fact that Yahawe should manifest himself was enough to convince the sufferer that his god would once again afford him protection. But now Yahawe is introduced on the stage, he is made to criticize the other divinities, to claim for himself all the power attributed by Elihu to El and Shaddai. In fact, Yahawe minimizes the work of these gods. Whatever El has made was not satisfactory,²⁴ it had to be changed or improved. Yahawe now also tells of the victory he has had over the two monsters, Behemoth and Leviathan.²⁵ He first describes their power and ferocity.²⁶ Then he turns to the priest of El with a triumphant taunt, "Didst *thou* draw Leviathan in the net? Or didst *thou* bore his tongue with a rope? Didst *thou* put an hook into his nose, or bore his jaw through with a thorn?" Yahawe thus jeers the priest of El to show that no one but he himself did all these things. He then dilates upon the great event when Leviathan (the Tiamath of the Babylonians) declared war upon the gods. How they all trembled! He alone subdued the wild animal.

Eliphaz and his two Friends, hitherto El worshippers, on witnessing the power of Yahawe and hearing the words, are, like the assemblage on Mount Carmel in the days of Elijah, soon convinced, and become willing converts to Job's god. But Yahawe announces to Eliphaz that his "anger is kindled against" him and his Friends,

²⁴Job 39:17; 38:41; 40:20.

²⁵See *Schöpfung und Chaos*, by Gunkel; Talmud.

²⁶Job 41:1-34; 40:15-24.

because they did not abet Job in his vindication of Yahawe. They are advised to entreat Job to pray for them, and to propitiate Yahawe with sacrifice. This they do and are henceforth accepted by the god of Job.

Here the drama is at an end. There is no need of informing the audience as to what becomes of Job. It knows that the merciful Yahawe will do everything to make him forget his misfortunes. At a later date, however, when this composition was adopted into the Canon and made over into a prose story, an epilogue was added to the original drama, telling all that Yahawe did for Job afterward, so that the reader might have it brought to him that Yahawe always takes care of his followers and helps and protects all who rely upon him.

THE PURPOSE OF THE DRAMA

The Yahawe priest, for such was undoubtedly the character of the author of the Job drama, had a manifold purpose in writing this work. He would prove, first, that Yahawe is the supreme ruler of the universe, to whom all the other gods are subservient, and without whose permission they can do nothing. Although he concedes that Elohim is the older divinity and indeed makes Yahawe speak with respect of him always, yet Yahawe is the Creator and the ruler of the world. Secondly, he would emphasize the fact that Yahawe always protects his faithful worshippers. "No evil ever comes from Yahawe," it comes instead from Satan, the spokesman of the Sons of Elohim. Thirdly, the author would demonstrate that Yahawe alone is able to reveal Himself to his servants in the hour of need. Fourthly, this Yahawe priest would hold up to ridicule the followers of El, Shaddai, and Eloha. The author has taken care to inform the audience in the Introduction of what took place in heaven, and thus of the actual reason of Job's suffering. Then he brings on the four Friends (Elihu comes in later), who, as representatives of the other gods, persistently contend that Job's afflictions are due to his neglect of the other gods (El, Shaddai, and Eloha). And one can easily picture the disgust and contempt of the spectators for these Friends who speak all that the people considered grossest falsehood and blindest ignorance. They who held the truth, how must they have regarded with disdain these false prophets that knew not like their own Yahawe priests the secrets of heaven. And fifthly, the author would prove that Yahawe can-

not be deceived by any one. He but seemingly allowed Satan to deceive him, in order to have the best of him in the end by capturing the representatives of the Sons of Elohim. Thus Satan falls into his own net. And finally, the author took this opportunity to reiterate the old stories of the conquests of Yahawe over the monsters Behometh and Leviathan, who had terrified all the other gods.²⁷ As it was Yahawe who subdued them, he must therefore be recognized as the supreme ruler.

This Job drama was a stroke of genius in every way, the work of a master and an artist. It awed and inspired, above all it taught the people not to believe the statements of the priests and prophets of the other gods. We will concur, then, that the plot and the debate were written by one and the same hand; the latter being an outgrowth of the former, the plot the framework of the discussion. All the difficulties now fall away, all the obscurities resolve themselves into essentials. What seemed at first a bewildering incoherence, is seen to be the ingenious arrangement of a master mind that devised the loftiest and most sublime methods to bring out his boldly conceived and inspiring purpose of presenting a wonderful picture of Yahawe before the worshippers of their common god.

²⁷Job 41:34.

THE TRAIL OF BLOOD

BY SAN MARCOS TRUMBO

I.

OF all the strange religious orders within the boundaries of the United States, the strangest of all has its stronghold in northern New Mexico. Down through the dim mists that clothe the past centuries, comes this strange religion, a survival of a medieval European order.

The traveler through the mountain regions where trails are few and white people scarce will be surprised to see that the barren hills are scattered with little white crosses, like so many snow-white butterflies hovering on the landscape. About each little cross is a pile of stones. Perhaps there will be a church or a low, flat-roofed *morado*, or meeting-house, somewhere in the district, and doubtlessly a massive cross will darken the skyline on some near-by peak. Let the traveler know that he is within the boundaries of the *Hermanos de Luz*, or Brothers of Light, and that every little cross covers the grave of one of the brotherhood who has died from the voluntary, hideous torture of cactus whips. Perhaps one of them may cover the grave of a modern Christ who was crucified upon the giant's cross on a long-gone Good Friday.

The Penitentes, as the members of this order are known today, are far from dying out as is popularly supposed. Every year the numbers increase, and whole Mexican villages in the north Rio Grande Valley have become Penitente. Little Alcalde is entirely Penitente, and Taos and Abiquiu have enough of that faith to control the politics of the villages. The people belong to an ordinary Catholic church in the community and this religious order seems to be a branch of it. Only the men are admitted to the *morado*, which is governed by the ten *Hermanos de Luz* and also the *Hermano Mayor* who has the authority to settle disputes among the members and occasionally between Penitentes and outsiders.

The *morado* used to be built of stone, without windows, and nobody outside of the order knew what strange rites went on within the inky blackness of the house, but in recent years a few have gone in and returned to tell the world the strange tortures revealed. Weird tales are these, in which the characters tread barefoot on cactus and

beat themselves unmercifully with cactus whips. But today the *morado* is built of adobe with a cross above the low doorway, except in some communities where the tourists have become such nuisances that the crosses have been removed and the building masquerades as a dwelling.

The history of the Penitentes is rather unusual. It is supposedly descended from the Flagellantes of Europe which appeared in Italy in 1210. However this particular order is a stray remnant of the Third Order of St. Francis to which everyone of importance in New Mexico once belonged. After the Franciscans left the country the order went wild and time brought many queer and superstitious changes until today all that remains is the Penitente Order.

The biggest event in the year of the Penitente worship is on Good Friday, when one of their members is crucified in such a realistic manner that he often dies from his wounds. It seems incredulous that such a practice goes on within the boundaries of this country, but nevertheless it is true. It is practised in the open in the back communities where tourists are unknown, but those in the better-known districts remain within the sheltering walls of the *morado* to crucify their fellow member because tourists have interfered with the ceremony.

It is the most true-to-life ceremony of the crucifixion of Christ staged anywhere on the whole earth, even excelling the Passion Play at Oberammergau. It is the most impressive, if not awful, spectacle of modern times. Yet can it be modern times? As one watches the ceremonies which are held during the week preceding Good Friday, one wonders if he has not managed by some curious spell to step back several centuries into Medieval Europe. It is a page out of the past, a survival of the age-old custom of sacrifice, and the weirdness of it startles one as he sees the procession winding up Calvary perhaps for the last time for the unfortunate *Cristo*.

II.

Let us turn the calendar ahead a few weeks and witness the mysterious ceremony which takes place at Easter-time . . .

It is Lent in the little adobe village nestling at the foot of the cliffs. The evening is chill since the setting of the sun, for spring has not yet advanced to make the country warm with her blushes. Beside the village walls, the Rio Grande tinkles icily thru its narrow channel of rock and sand. Slowly the mountains and the hills

and the village are being clothed in a dusk that is as crisp as the inky-blackness of a deep well. On the outskirts of the village the little adobe *morado*, the meeting-house of the Penitentes, snuggles up to its little high-pointed hill, on whose summit a great rugged cross darkens the last glimmering light of day in the west. The little adobe hut is awake, as well as the other houses in the village, and tiny patches of shimmering light paint the darkness of the night.

Shortly there is a larger patch of gold as the door of the *morado* opens and a mysterious person in white emerges to stand in the deep shadow of the wall. Instantly the air is filled with the high weird notes of a native flute, echoing eerily down the cliffs, as the piper calls the men of the village to torture. The pipings cease and the village begins to stir. Every home gives up its male members to answer the piper's call. They are big, brawny men, lithe as the wildcat, healthy, fearless. They have stood years in the torture chamber and have survived. They are immune from fear of death, and almost immune from suffering and the fear of pain.

Slowly the *morado* fills and at last the door is shut. Few people have ventured or been allowed to venture beyond that door during the ceremony, but those who have, have brought back tales that might have come from the hinterlands of a pagan country . . . tales as heinous and terrible as the fresh blood now dripping from the cactus whips within the self-torture chambers.

There has been absolute silence in the little old adobe, but now a doleful chant arises as if from the very hearts of the mountains themselves. The door is flung open wide and the piper emerges, followed by a ghostly procession . . . five of the brothers dressed in long white robes, each equipped with a whip made from the fibers of the Spanish-bayonet, ended with a knot of cholla cactus. Behind them comes the *Hermano Mayor*. The rest of the brothers follow, carrying lanterns or torches which throw a ruddy glow upon the faces of the suffering five. Three or four men guide the whippers up the narrow, devious path. As they walk the flagellantes throw the whip over one shoulder and then the other, and it lands with a dull sickening thud into the flesh which is already raw with torture. If one of the five cringes or falters, the guides immediately whip him severely with blacksnake whips which they carry.

What a picture! It makes one shudder to see the weird procession winding up the crooked path toward the Calvario cross. The

white-clothed figures loom dully white and crimson against the black, starlit sky, as if each garment had been soaked in blood. Perhaps it had been, or maybe it was only the red of the lanterns and torches. The hollow behind the church seems to be filled with phantom figures of those who have gone before, now witnessing their kinsmen going through the same fatal rites that they once performed. It is unreal! It can't be happening here in our own country. It is some witches' sabbath in which the devil is taking part.

The Calvario cross is reached and the lanterns have covered it with bloody light, which sharply defines the anguished faces of the five flagellantes as they prostrate themselves before the cross while dolorous hymns arise from the other members.

Finally the ceremonious rites are finished and the *Hermanos de Luz* parade back to the *morado* for a short service before they go back to their homes in the village to nurse their wounds. This same service takes place night after night during the six weeks of Lent. How those sturdy rustics stand even that much is a mystery, for every night their old wounds are reopened by those devilish devices called cactus-whips. Often they do not survive, for many of them die while in the torture chamber of the meeting-house. When this happens the whipper is taken from the *morado* at midnight and buried secretly, the only message to his family being his shoes placed outside his door. A year passes and a little white cross bearing his name is erected over his secret grave.

When Ash Wednesday arrives, the usual ceremony takes place in the evening, but the five flagellantes draw lots to see who is to act the part of Christ on the following Friday. Unfortunate Cristo! The ceremony on Good Friday is the climax and the last one of the year. And perhaps it is the last ceremony on earth for the Cristo!

III.

Friday morning. The whole valley lies under the bloom of saffron daybreak. Although the skies to the westward are still dark and filled with stars, the eastern skies over the Sangre de Cristos are bright with approaching dawn. The little village so peacefully slumbering might be carved from choice beryl, set in a case of silver with one glowing topaz on its edge. The topaz is the gleam of light coming from the tiny window of the meeting-house, for the *Hermanos de Luz* are already going through the solemn ceremonies preceding the crucifixion. Somewhere in the mountains

looming black to the westward, a coyote howls dismally. A sudden patch of darkness drifts across the saffron dawn as an eagle, disturbed in his sleep, flutters over the surrounding landscape. Calvario hill, distinctly dark against the dawn, is minus its rugged cross. The brothers have removed it for use in the coming ceremony.

The shrill notes of the piper's flute come from the *morado*. The door swings open and he emerges into the early light, shivering in the frosty chill of the spring morning. Behind him stumbles the unfortunate Cristo under his heavy cross, followed by the two thieves with their smaller crosses. The rear of the weird company is brought up by the whippers and guides who prevent any interference from outsiders.

The edge of the red-gold sun is just peeping over the tops of the Sangre de Cristos, flooding the clouds of dawn with blood. How strange that the very mountains should bear the name, "Blood of Christ"! As the Cristo falters up the path a brother helps him along to prevent him from going down under the load of the massive oaken beams.

The hill is finally reached. Fourteen little crosses like those which cover the graves of the dead are hastily erected in a circle around the top of the hill, and the Penitentes, like grim spectres from another world, march around the circle saying a prayer at each little station. The Cristo is divested of his garments, hurled down upon the waiting cross and bound so tight that the flesh on his pitiful hands turns blue. The brothers stop their chant. The silence is so complete that the Rio Grande, shimmering palely in its course, echoes nothing but the murmur of water. Slowly the great cross is lifted by struggling men. Someone rushes forward and thrusts a crown of thorns upon the head of the Christ. At last the great cross falls into place and the blue body of the Cristo hangs limp upon its beam. The unnatural silence is broken only by the wails of the mother and the wife.

What a weird ceremony! Can it really be here in America? It might not be, for the pale blue walls of the adobe village lack only a dome and a slender minaret to become a Palestinian village. These long-robed figures with their dark, swarthy faces might easily be the Jews bent upon the destruction of the King. This whole dusky arid land, watered only by the opulence of the Rio Grande, might be a patch of ancient Palestine moved across the seas and set in the heart of America.

And that unfortunate man whom destiny picked to be the Cristo? The massive old cross silhouetted against the sunrise holds only the sagging form of an unconscious man. His bare body has turned a hideous blue from the lack of circulation and from the bitter cold of the early morning. A tiny stream of blood trickles over his face from a wound inflicted by the crown of thorns. "Blood of Christ"! This whole country is stained with blood; first the Plains Tribes fighting against the Pueblo Indians; the Indians fighting against the Spaniards who brought the Faith into the country; and now, these simple people enacting the age-old story and perpetuating the tragedy in a drama that is as impressive as it is terrible.

When only a deep inflicted wound remains and the first outbreak of weeping from the women has died down, the *Hermano Mayor* gives a signal and the man upon the cross is at last taken down to be borne back into the meeting-house where the women may not enter. If the Cristo dies, as he often does, he is buried secretly before another dawn. The following morning his anxious family, waiting for his return, may find that his shoes have been placed upon their doorstep. By these signs they know that he is gone. A long year passes before they gain the knowledge of his burial place, and then one day, they discover that a tiny white cross bearing his name has appeared on his grave like a ghostly little butterfly hovering on a flower. The friends of the family each place a stone in remembrance beside the cross so that the wild north winds will not blow the dirt from around it. Another cross has been added to the myriads that adorn the hillsides, monuments to the grim tragedy that occurred in a foreign country nearly two thousand years ago.

As the night of Good Friday arrives the piper lures the people for the last time that year to the little church that is generally close to the meeting-house. "Tinieblas," or "earthquake," the people call this little service at night, for it represents the earthquake that followed Christ's crucifixion. The church is dark as pitch, for the service is held in the blackness of night, and the songs and chants that ring from the black recesses are the very symbols of the dolor and despair that is echoed in the hearts of mankind over the death of the Christ!

IDEALISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

BY EDWIN M. SLOCOMBE

IF any word is more elusive of definition than the word *education* it is the word *idealism*. One should approach with caution a discussion which involves both of these elusive words. However, the subject of idealism in education is an intriguing one, and although it cannot be defined precisely it can be discussed intelligently.

We might well start at scratch with the familiar definition of education given by an undergraduate. According to this student "education is the process of getting information out of a professor's notebook into the notebook of a student without its passing through the mind of either." That definition may be irreverent but it is not entirely irrelevant. It suggests a distinction between two kinds of education—the kind of education that a man gets, and the kind that gets him. The element in a process of education that "gets" a man, is the element of idealism.

Any discussion of idealism in our American system of education must, for two reasons, come to a focus on the colleges. The first reason is that the colleges have an opportunity to teach idealism that is unapproached by any other institution. The second reason is that for some years past the colleges have been yielding increasingly to the increasing pressure which has been brought upon them to make their courses of study more practical and less idealistic.

Moreover, one cannot overlook the influence of the colleges upon the secondary schools. So far as these schools fall short in the matter of idealism, it must be remembered that they are avowedly preparatory schools whose aims and attitudes are modified by the aims and attitudes of the colleges for which they are preparatory. The best way to lessen the demand upon our public high schools for education with an immediate cash value, is to set up a very different objective in the colleges and to stand resolutely for that objective in the matter of entrance requirements.

With far less opportunity than the colleges have to teach idealism, the high schools, the private preparatory schools, and the grammar schools are earnestly trying to make the utmost use of such opportunity as they have. It is already a widely accepted conviction among the schoolmasters that education for character is a primary

function of the public schools. How seriously they regard their obligation in the matter is apparent in the many and excellent programs of character-education which they have worked out and fitted into their crowded schedules.

Of course the teaching of idealism is not limited to definite programs of character-education, but the concern which the schoolmasters have shown for these programs is evidence of their interest.

At the present time, the American college is the object of spirited criticism from many quarters. One should hesitate before adding one criticism more, and yet, the common disregard by the colleges of their measureless opportunity to teach idealism cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. Moreover, although the connection is not apparent on the surface of things, there is an intimate connection between certain conditions for which the colleges are frequently criticized and their too scant concern about idealism.

One such criticism is that the colleges do not prepare their students for an active participation in the life of the world. The critics disagree in their diagnosis of the malady but the symptoms of the malady are obvious and abundant.

Here, for example, is a young woman who has spent four years at college and received the bachelor's degree in arts. This young woman can read and speak several languages. She knows something about history—in spots—both ancient and modern and in between. She can identify a Rembrandt painting and a Beethoven sonata. She knows the characteristics of Elizabethan prose and early Victorian verse and Georgian architecture. But she doesn't know what she wants to do next. Educationally speaking, she is "all dressed up and nowhere to go!" If you should ask her, she could not tell you how she could turn any or all of her acquired education to the service of other people—except by passing on to others the actual information which she has acquired. Fortunately she kept notebooks in all her courses and she could—she thinks—get most of this information across a desk to the notebooks of a younger generation of students. She would be willing to do this if she had to do it as a matter of self-support, but she has no desire to do it. Somehow her education is not connected with any deep desire in her own life—nor is it connected with any of the deep currents in the life of humanity. She has no vital interest in any great need of any race or group or class or community, and she is unaware of any great need in her own life.

It must be granted that any college which has a student within its care for four years—for four responsive, formative years—and turns that student out into the world at the end of those years with no deeper incentive, and no wider vision, and no higher aspiration than this student has, is morally delinquent. The vital lack in the educative process of such a college is idealism.

However, it is not generally agreed that what is lacking in such colleges is idealism. Many people are quite sure that what is needed is vocational training. They observe that it is only the graduates of colleges of the liberal arts who do not know what they want to do next and are unprepared to do anything. They remind us that graduates of technical colleges and vocational schools have no such lack. In their opinion the remedy for the unhappy plight of the graduates of colleges is a very simple one: it is the inclusion of a sufficient number of vocational courses in the college curriculum.

This suggestion assumes that the greatest service which a college can render its students is not to teach them how to live but—how to make a living. It assumes also that the greatest need of social, political, and commercial agencies is a need of men and women who have acquired certain technical or vocational skills, whereas what these agencies really need most is not men and women who *have* something, but men and women who *are* something. Technical and vocational skills without a liberal education may be a liability instead of an asset, both to the agencies and to the individual. If a man is a technician and a technician only, he is not much of a man. His largest interests and strongest inner drives will seek an outlet apart from his narrowly limited and merely technical occupation. His education will have prepared him to make a success of his vocation; it will not have prepared him to make a success of his personal life.

In opposing the demand for the vocationalizing of the colleges of liberal arts, President J. Edgar Park, of Wheaton College, declared that: “. . . the liberal arts college holds with the experience of the Civil Service in the British Empire. (This Service) has taken, year by year, the most brilliant students of the British universities, those schooled in the classics, or sciences, or mathematics, or history, and has turned them loose in their posts in British colonies to pick up there the particular technique of their job.”

Among the proponents of the vocational remedy must be included those who believe that the liberal arts college should be primarily a

teacher-training college. The objection to the vocationalizing of the college in the interest of any other vocations, applies with equal force to the vocation of teaching. Moreover, in so far as there is need of pedagogical training, there is abundant opportunity for it in summer schools and in colleges which specialize in this training. It is significant, however, that ambitious teachers who seek additional preparation after they have entered their profession are far more inclined to take courses in the subjects which they teach than in the technique of pedagogy.

There are other critics of the college of liberal arts who explain the plight of its graduates by saying that a college of this traditional type no longer has a definite place to fill, nor a specific function to perform. The development of the all-inclusive university, they say, has made the four-years' college an unnecessary appendage to our educational system. These critics point to Germany where, as they remind us, "general education is much more thorough, and is carried much further, in secondary schools, than with us; and where the university as a consequence is composed entirely of what we should call the graduate faculties of philosophy, medicine, law, and theology—with the technical and vocational training relegated to separate institutions."

Other critics approve the Junior College plan, especially for students who intend to continue their studies in some technical or vocational school, on the assumption that two years is enough to spend on general "culture"!

In one opinion all these groups of critics are agreed, namely: that the four-year college of liberal arts has outlived its period of usefulness. Adverse criticism could hardly go further than this. And yet, in view of the life-transforming influence of many of these colleges upon many of their students, it does not seem probable that these critics have made an accurate diagnosis of the ills of the liberal arts college. Is it not, rather, probable that they have failed to perceive what the real function of a liberal arts college is?

Unfortunately it is not only the adverse critics of the colleges who seem unaware of that peculiar function. The educators within the colleges commonly speak of the function of the college as a divided and not a unified one. This divided function is concerned with the differing aims of the first two and the second two years. The aim of the first two years is to provide the student with the founda-

tion of a general education. The aim of the second two years is slanted toward the student's special field of interest. If his interest is in a particular profession, his studies are slanted toward that profession and the subsequent specialized training of the professional school. But in any case, there is a distinct difference between the aims of these two periods of study.

If the college had no higher function than the intellectual one which it seeks to fulfill by this division of its aims, it could scarcely defend itself from the barbed shafts of those critics who contend that it occupies an anomalous position in our educational system. These critics accept the division which the colleges themselves make between the first two and the second two years, and then go on to contend that the program of the secondary schools should be extended to include the studies of these first two years, and that the studies of the second two years should be included in the program of the professional or graduate schools, thus eliminating the college altogether. It is pointed out that our system of education would then be in accord with the European, or German system, in which there is no institution closely comparable to the American college.

But the American college, peculiar as it is, is indigenous to the soil of America. Throughout its history, moreover, it has had a distinctive and a unified function. It is only in recent years, with the increasing emphasis on the necessity of vocational preparation, that the college has forgotten its primary function and become chiefly concerned with its secondary function which may well be a divided or twofold one.

Certainly there is as great need today as there ever was for some institution within our educational system which shall have for its primary concern, not the vocations, but the manhood and the womanhood of the oncoming generations. That was the traditional concern of the American college of liberal arts, and that is the forgotten concern of every college today which has not, above the divided aims of its secondary and divided function, the single aim of a primary and unifying function.

The concern of the college is a concern with the personality of the student, with the development of all his abilities—physical, intellectual, moral, aesthetic, and cultural—and with the integration of these abilities in a unified life. Every institution within our educational system should have some regard for the development of all

these abilities; but by tradition, and by virtue of its exceptional opportunities, this should be the specialized concern of the college.

The educational task of the college is not exclusively an intellectual one. It is that, of course. The average high school graduate needs to be taught how to use his mind. He must learn how to analyze and dissect ideas and problems. He must also learn to think constructively—and to relate and integrate, to coordinate and synthesize. These learnings are easily acquired in this scientific age. But his intellectual training must not stop there. He needs not only to think dispassionately but also to think passionately. His imaginative powers need to be stimulated and disciplined in creative activity. And his insights and appreciations need somehow to be deepened and broadened.

The educational process involves not only the intellect but also the emotions. The college should therefore be concerned with the student's emotional life in all its aspects, in its aspirations and its longings and its various moods. It should awaken in the student an emotional response of personal and purposeful loyalty to the high ideals and significant meanings of life. The most effective power for the organizing and integrating of a life is a purpose for which to live. A significant purpose furnishes both of the two great needs of the emotional life: incentives and controls. The college is under obligation to provide for these needs.

And it has at hand an instrument equal to its task. For the college has ever been the guardian of the ideals of truth, goodness, and beauty. It is the privilege of the college to receive immature high school graduates into its care and to reveal to them the sovereignty and the everlasting reality of these ideals. Far from being the cloistered ideals of an academic community, these ideals touch the whole life of the individual and the whole life of humanity. Moreover they give to whatever they touch, significant meaning and purposeful direction. It is for this reason that it seemed legitimate to say of the aimless college graduate, whom we left all dressed up and with nowhere to go, that her greatest need was not of vocational training but of idealism.

The revealing of the nature and the sovereignty of the ideals of truth, goodness and beauty, and the awakening of a response to them, is not a privilege that can be quickly fulfilled. It takes time. It requires study. It needs an environment of detachment. It is

best accomplished in a community of free and inquiring minds. It could not have a better setting than the college affords, nor a more promising group to work with than the youthful undergraduates in our colleges.

It should be obvious that the "detachment" from the world which is here commended is a detachment of environment and not of interest. The first step away from idealism was taken when the colleges lost a vital interest in the world of humanity outside their walls, and both cultivated and affected an attitude of academic isolation. The college student should know what is going on in the world and what the desires, purposes, passions and prejudices are, which underlie the activities on the surface of the world's life. He should know about the significant institutions and social enterprises of mankind and what makes them significant. He should know something about the great problems which confront men in their group-relationships as racial or national or economic groups. His detachment from these affairs should be a detachment from the passions and prejudices involved in them, and not a detachment of his personal interest in them.

Through his deeper understanding of the meanings which underlie the surface relationships of human lives and the outward appearances of things in the physical world, and through his deeper understanding of his own life, the college student should be prepared to take his place in the life of the world as an interested, intelligent and serviceable participant.

The measure in which a college can prepare its students for this more intelligent participation in the world's life is intimately related to the subject-matter of its courses of study. The second step away from idealism was taken when the colleges began to increase and diversify their courses of study in subservience to the future vocational needs of their students. The more closely the colleges related themselves to the activities on the surface of the world's life, the less concerned they became with the meanings which lie below the surface. And yet, these deeper meanings were once the chief concern of the American college.

The traditional function of the college is still its highest function—the transforming of the student's personality by a process of education which is essentially idealistic. In its endeavor to fulfill this traditional function, the college of today has the advantage of a

deeper knowledge of the nature of personality and of its various and intimately related elements. The college of today will therefore be no less concerned with the development of the student's physical and emotional life than with his spiritual and intellectual life. It will regard each student's life as a whole and will be concerned with his whole development.

It thus appears that the divided intellectual programs of the college, and also its often detached program of physical education, may all be included in one comprehensive program which has a unified and a unifying purpose. That purpose may be stated in a few words as: the enlarging and the unifying of the student's personality, both for his own sake, and for the sake of his serviceableness to society.

This transformation of the student's personality must not be imposed upon him from the outside. It must come from within as a personal achievement, which the college should inspire, encourage, and guide, but which it cannot impose. All the energies that are needed for this transforming process are latent in the student's own life. All the incentives that are needed to motivate the transformation are latent in the needs of his fellow men. It is the privilege of the college to liberate these energies, to interpret these inciting needs, and to prepare the student, through the disciplines of its ideals, for his participation in the turbulent life of a world which needs all that he can put into it of strength, intelligence, and character.

AN ARAB EDITOR SURVEYS JAPAN AND US

BY MARTIN SPREGLING

THE ARTICLE here presented in translation seems to us particularly well adapted to the purposes of the New Orient Society and to the needs and interests of its members.

On the one hand it deals, capably and readably, with a live problem of the present Far East, Japan and its relations to us and *vice versa*. The author is not an American, but evidently an interested and well-informed observer. This gives us opportunity, at one of the most difficult points of our foreign relations, to see ourselves as others see us. Perhaps, however, this is too much to say, since we guarantee neither his data nor his views, except insofar as we can vouch for his general ability and reliability. In any case, we can here discover how others see us in our relations and dealings with modern Japan.

The second point of importance about the essay here translated is that the author is, if not in the precise sense a man of Western Asia, certainly an eminent man of the present-day Near East. He does not name himself, but from the place and style of his article we can readily identify him as Fuad Sarruf, editor of the great Arabic magazine *Al-Muktataf*.

This throws light for our members and other readers on a little known and much misunderstood phase of modern life and letters in the Near East. Except for a few specialists the educated American on his travels in the Near East comes into contact with dragomen, until recently for the most part not very high class; with sales people of fripperies everywhere made for tourists; with native markets largely maintained for tourists¹; with shady places, creatures, transactions, and doings such as form a catch-net to trap the unwary foreigner in supposedly true native situations the world over. With high-class Arabic literati, scientists, businessmen, men of government, the traveler for pleasure rarely has any dealings.

In the late Jewish-Arabic controversy an appreciable portion of the tremendous weight and volume of the Jewish statement of their case was so phrased that the Western world received the impression

¹Debevoise, "The Vanishing Bazaars of the Near East." *Opent Court*, April 1934, 99-115.

that there were but two kinds of Arabs, nomads like the "red Indians," and "effete effendis" oppressing their poor serfs. There are high-class Jews, Zionists, and others, who know and say and write quite other things. It was not the voice of these last, but of the former, the propagandist voice, that penetrated and filled the Western press, and against this the Arabs, less widely spread, less well organized, less used to advertising methods, and perhaps less well equipped with means, had no counterweight.

Hence American views and opinions of the Arab world are even more false and distorted than our Arab editor shows them to be in the matter of Japanese manners and customs. Our little article cannot correct all of that. It can, however, make a partial correction and direct our minds toward the need of greater and sounder knowledge.

The periodical magazine is a fairly modern phenomenon. The magazine output of a people is one of the indicators of the level of what we Western Moderns call civilization. Measured by this yardstick the modern Arabic world may not be, as it was in Medieval times, in the very van of civilization, but neither is it so very far in the rear. The number of its journals is less than those seen on an American news stand, but most of the varieties are there, even the comic. And in quality the Arabic magazine stands by no means low.

The complete story of Arabic journals cannot be told here; a three-volume history of Arabic journalism—in the Arabic tongue—is in course of publication. We content ourselves and perhaps our readers here by pointing out three outstanding examples.

To many of our readers the first great surprise will be that the first of these examples appeared within our gates, in America itself. Of the three largely literary journals here briefly described it was the youngest and the least enduring, yet of considerable influence in creating and launching a new, thoroughly modern Arabic literature of essay, short story, novel, and drama, as well as lyric poetry. Founded in 1913, the first number of *Al-Funoon (The Arts)* appeared in New York in April of that year. Two of the major figures of modern Arabic literature, Khalil Gibran and Ameen Rihani, both not unknown in the world of English American letters, were contributors to this number and both continued to contribute freely until very nearly the end. Translations from the Russian and other languages occupied more space at first than later. In 1916 the jour-

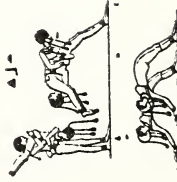
nal secured its own Russian strain in Arabic in the person of Michael Naimy, of whose work in English and in translation from the Arabic examples have been given in the *Open Court*, August 1932, p. 551-563; see *The New Orient, A Series of Monographs on Oriental Culture*. Vol. I, The Near East, p. 313-324. The fitful and stormy, but neither ignoble nor ineffective career of this American Arabic magazine closed in August 1918, just as the dream of Arab freedom and unity in their homelands exploded into meteoric brilliance only to wane presently in the welter of these post-war years into a dim and uncertain future.

The second great Arabic magazine to which I would like to introduce the members of the New Orient Society and the readers of our literature is called the *Hilal* (the *Crescent*). It was founded in 1892 by the great Syro-Egyptian, Jirji Zaydan, who among other things is also a sort of Arabic Sir Walter Scott, the best of whose historical novels is even now being translated into appropriate English by Mrs. Florence Lowden Miller at Chicago. Without subvention of any kind, government or private, the *Hilal* has flourished uninterruptedly, and now, in its forty-third year, is still earning a comfortable living for its owners, two descendants of the founder. It is comparable in America to *Harpers*, with the addition, say, of the *Reader's Digest* and *Popular Science*. The number for January 1935 contains articles on "Precocious Genius" by Mohammed Fareed Wajdi; on "Literature and the Legal Profession" by the great blind genius, Taha Hussain²; on "Art and Artists" in the modern conception by the editor of the great Cairo daily *Siyasa*, Dr. Mohammed Husain Haikal; under the caption "Problems of the Present Age," an article on "Marriage" by Ahmed Ameen; "Cradle Songs among the Arabs" by Doctor Ahmed Bey Isa; a good short story "The Pariah" by Mohammed Auda Mohammed; "The Philosophy of Names" by Ameen Boctor; two reports on new Byzantine and Greco-Roman mosaics found at Bethlehem and Beirut; and a dozen or more other articles of a similar nature, informative and well written. American readers will be interested to know about a section called *The Magazine of Magazines* which gives a digest of articles from eight foreign journals, among them our *Esquire*, *New York Times*, *Harpers*, *Parents' Magazine*, and *Reader's Digest*. A pictorial review depicts among other things a new water automobile and the largest egg in the world, as shown in the frontispiece. A

²See *The New Orient*, Vol. I, p. 365-371 and 440-458.



الرقص الهولندي
من حركات عن وكلمسون
في عهد الاميرة الثانية عشرة



رقصة هولندية



رقص بينة رقص و فلبا
Ballot عن ارمان و رانك

الفنون

مجلة شهرية

تصدر في نيويورك



رئيس تحريرها
نسب عريفه



فيها اشتركا كما خسة ريلات اميركية في كل مكان



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العدد الاول

الجزء الرابع

scientific digest, book reviews, and a question and answer box for readers closes the number.

The third great Arabic magazine, published like the *Hilal* in the greatest Arabic publishing center in the world, Cairo, is, the one from which our article is taken, *al Muktataf* (*The Élite*). Founded in 1876 it is now in its 86th volume and going strong. It designates itself "An Arabic Monthly Review of Current Science and Literature." The quality of its articles is comparable to our *Atlantic Monthly* and *The Scientific American*, without loss of prestige to either. The last number lying before us as we write, January 1935, discusses intelligently and intelligibly the discovery of heavy hydrogen and its Nobel prize; the library of Alexandria and its school; Pirandello and his Tragedies by the famous authoress, al-Anisah Mayy, opening a monthly series of literary studies; Minot and his associates conquer pernicious anaemia by means of liver and extracts from it; athletic games and exercises among the ancient Egyptians; Ancient Crete: was it the fabled Atlantis?—science and armament, a digest from the American Journal, *Popular Science*; modern psychology (meaning Freud); the current events section in this number reviews Japan and its Asiatic policy, modern Italy, and Captain Anthony Eden; the outstanding article in the woman's section is an extract from a new book in Arabic on modern educational methods, which, as a very favorable review later shows, presents clearly the Montessori, Decroly, Dalton, and Gary systems, together with the project plan; the poetic section brings in Arabic selections from Edna St. Vincent Millay, Alfonse de Lamartine, and Tennyson; the general essay section has a good pen picture of a prominent Egyptian business man and discussions of modern Arabic linguistic usage. It would be difficult to find a five dollar magazine in America or England offering in any one month a richer selection or one of higher class.

From the November 1934 number of this last of the three great magazines is taken the article here presented in translation. The author of the article, Fuad Sarruf, is a person of consequence in the Arabic world, comparable to John H. Finley of the New York Times, Glenn Frank, or Stuart Chase in America. It is interesting to observe his Asiatic sympathy with Japan vying with his Near Eastern sympathetic interest in America. This curious and interesting combination in the Near Eastern mind dates back at least to the early years of the World War. In 1915 or 1916 the writer was given

a clipping from an Arabic newspaper, which extolled as ideals for the young Egyptian Arab on the one hand Japan's Westernization and modernization, especially in her army and in her merchant and war fleet, on the other hand courses in the Correspondence School of the University of Chicago and the Alexander Hamilton Institute.

During the Versailles Peace Conference an eminent and well-equipped American Committee of investigation, whose results were published too late and are now almost forgotten, found a universal love and preference for American management prevailing all over the Near East. Something of this prestige and grateful friendliness manifestly still exists there. In this stage, as the Near East is striving for revival as did Japan fifty or seventy-five years ago, it behooves America, as well as the British Empire, to note with due appreciation this sector of the world and its genuine friendliness to us, and to do what is in our power not to neglect and throw away, but to preserve and foster this gift of the gods in a chaotic world.

With this recommendation we give the floor to Fuad Sarruf to speak to us on

THE NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY OF JAPAN

[America is watching the affairs of the Far East with considerable care and anxiety. At the same time she does not hesitate to assert strongly her attitude with regard to these affairs, which is, that she will not recognize any treaty or established state of affairs arrived at by means contrary to the Kellogg-Briand pact—the Pact of Paris which outlaws war—and in this connection she has begun to restore her fleet to the strength permitted her by the naval treaties. Over against this Japan is troubled with jealous, perplexed anxiety. What is the attitude of the Japanese nation toward America? What ideas do they entertain about her? What do they fear from her?]

A Double Life

The Japanese of today lives a double life, with one foot in the brilliant-hued, ancient, Japanese life, the life of the fathers and forefathers, circumscribed by a narrow circle of desires and interests, and the other foot in the life of the twentieth century, a life of travel, of telegraphic news, of mechanized industry, international trade, and capitalistic economy, filled with the urge to enlargement and expansion.

Take any picture that comes to hand of a Japanese ministry, and you may ascertain the truth of our statement. You will see in such

a picture a group of managers of imperial affairs in clothes of the latest fashion generally accepted in Europe and America, and you will see another group in the garb of their forefathers. General Araki, formerly Japanese Minister of War, the leader of militarist Japan, leader of the militarist spirit in her, would appear in his office dressed in a military uniform made of khaki cloth; but when a reporter or photographer surprised him in his house, he would find the uniform discarded and its place taken by the wide, flowing, brilliant-hued garb of the ancients, which one sees in pictures characteristic of Old Japan.

What is true in this sort of statesmen and leaders of empires is true likewise in the little and ordinary matters of everyday life. In the Japanese house of today is a wing of foreign chambers—one room or more—containing tables, chairs, and rugs, such as may be seen in New York or Paris; but the rest of the house is pure Japanese, the floors of the rooms covered with golden-hued mats which give forth no sound, when you walk upon them, and for the rest bare of furniture except for a brazier, a tea tray, and a few cushions.

Or take the man of finance, business, or industry. He spends his day in his office on a swivel chair among typewriters, telephones, stenographers; he takes his lunch in a first-class restaurant; he pauses a bit after lunch to listen over the radio to a speech on some subject of interest to him. But when the day's work is done, he returns to his home; he takes his bath in a wooden tub full of hot water with the steam arching over him in a cloud as in a Turkish bath; then he puts on ample, silken robes and eats Japanese food sitting on the floor at a table which rises not more than a foot from the surface of the floor. His daughters, who have spent their day in their schools or places of work dressed in regular Western clothes, now surround him at eventide in wide, bright kimonos, jesting, laughing, spreading about them the pleasant atmosphere of youth.

It is as though the Japanese, returning from his office to his home, had turned back the hand of the clock of history a hundred years. He has turned away from the materialistic civilization, which he has adopted, but in which he does not find himself at ease, to a receding civilization of which there remain only some few remnants in which he takes comfort, but which, nevertheless, he enjoys to the full. In the paper, in which in the morning he has read the prices of the world's markets, he reads in the evening a story of the age of ancient Japanese chivalry. If he goes forth with the members of

his household to the moving picture theaters, he finds before him on the one hand films of Hollywood or the films of modern Japan, which follow the footsteps of Hollywood—and on the other hand ancient plays, into which sex motifs do not enter, about a life based at heart upon sincerity and loyalty; for the plays of this sort outweigh in Japan all other plays by at least two hundred per cent.

Attraction and Repulsion

This doubleness or pairing in Japanese life, where two utterly different currents intermingle, runs through a variety of the phases of Japanese life. You may easily discern it in the attitude of Japan toward America. The writer, Hugh Byas—we believe he is a Japanese³ who has studied in America, who now serves as correspondent for the great dailies, a man upon whom we think we can rely—tells of an incident when in an autumn night he was out walking in Tokyo. At one point he heard voices of young men and women talking English with an American accent. He turned in surprise, and his eyes fell upon a brightly lighted restaurant from which issued the sounds that had attracted his attention. There he discovered some sixty or seventy young people seated round a room, from the center of which all the furniture had been removed in preparation for a dance. They were all Japanese.

This gathering consisted of Japanese born in America or such as had studied there and then returned to their native land. When the writer talked to them, they said that the opinions commonly held in Japanese circles about American life were derived from the seeing of American films. These did not represent true American life or at best they presented a wholly distorted view of it. The only way to correct these opinions was to arrange an innocent evening's entertainment in the American fashion, so that the Japanese might learn what was meant by "diversion," a "Good Time" in America, and for those who wished to understand America as she really is, to attend our entertainment.

The strange thing about this, a matter which gives rise to real astonishment, is that the time during which these young people were undertaking this conciliatory enterprise was a period in which Japan was extremely apprehensive about America. Indeed, American tourists were meeting with serious obstacles on their travels in Japan, because the Japanese considered every American a spy who carried

³Hugh Byas, the *New York Times* tells us, is not a Japanese. *Asia* says he is Scotch by birth.

about concealed in the folds of his clothing means of divulging Japan's military secrets. It is said that a party of tourists had been rambling about in a beautiful district and that the police had repeatedly arrested and released them, until finally they requested the police department to detail a policeman to accompany them from one district to the next, and to turn them over to the following police guard with instructions, that there was nothing against them and that their trip was not to be interfered with thereafter.

A strange phenomenon in the twentieth century! Travelers used to seek aid of the police against highway robbery in lands in which security was lacking. But in Japan during this interval this company of American tourists was forced to request assistance of the police—for protection against the police!

Still more strange is the following tale. A New York bank had offices in Japan. This bank asked its branch in Osaka to assemble photographs of the principal buildings of Osaka for use in a general statement which was designed to set forth the affluence of the district in which the financial operations of the bank were carried on. The manager called in a Japanese photographer and commissioned him to take pictures of the government building, the board of trade, the chamber of commerce, and others. A policeman saw that photographer and felt convinced that these pictures were ultimately to be used by the American air force, when it would attack Japan and attempt to bomb Osaka. He arrested him and held him for questioning. When it appeared that the photographer was within the limits of the law, he was, indeed, released, but the story got out to the papers and was made into a scarehead. This in itself serves to show you an angle of Japanese psychology in its attitude toward America.

Fear of espionage is a natural thing in a country like Japan. Government employees are watched to make sure that they are conscientiously fulfilling their functions. The people are watched to make sure that none among them is conspiring against the government. When a foreigner comes to live in Japan, a man of the police looks him up and registers his name, his sex, his age, his birthplace, his nationality, the names of his parents and of the parents of his spouse. Every month thereafter the policeman returns, even though the foreigner should remain in Japan for twenty years, to establish the correctness of the informations which he has registered. On the following visits, however, he does not trouble the foreigner with

his questions, but contents himself with questioning the servant.

Those who have lived long in Japan have become accustomed to the coming of policemen to ask them about their names, their ages, their nationalities, whence they have come, and whither they are going. So they return answers to the questions with the same politeness with which they are addressed to them and go on their ways.

But those whose stay in Japan is of recent date are nettled by such treatment. If they are Americans, they interpret it as an insult to the dignity of their government. Should a minor official, because of his ignorance of the American language blunder into the American's ignorance of the Japanese language, then a molehill becomes a mountain, and the American leaves, considering himself insulted and bearing away with him nothing but anger and rancor against the Japanese.

So the Japanese fear of espionage, and their severity in punishing those against whom the suspicion is confirmed, and their treatment of suspects until their innocence is established serve as contributory causes toward estrangement between Japan and America. In such circumstances it occurs to the mind of some employee or chief of department that America is anxious to spy on Japan, while at the same time he does not realize that the ordinary missionary or tourist rambling about for amusement is rarely able to gather any military data of value during the space of such rambling. Quite evidently, when a nation is smitten with the disease "fear of espionage" it loses in a general way sane insight and sound judgment.

But, of course, it is evident, when a nation is smitten with the disease "Fear of Espionage," then generally sane insight and sound judgment has departed.

As for the Americans in Japan, they are stricken with another variety of the disease "Fear of Espionage" than that which has attacked the Japanese. The Japanese fear of espionage is permanent. The Americans, however, become aware of it only sometimes with sudden surprise, as if they had uncovered a new and serious matter. Then they go off telling stories about what happened to them and to their friends and conceiving of it all as an indication that the Japanese hate the Americans. If people believe what they say, nothing is easier to infer than that the Japanese government is behind all this, and that it is the government itself which eggs on the police to interfere with the journey of American travelers. So they stir up public opinion against the attitude of Japan and the Japanese govern-

ment and against any friendly relation of the American government with Japan.

An Historical Sketch

Friendly relations between Japan and America continued uninterruptedly for thirty years after the American Commodore Perry had entered Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan feeling bound to America by bonds that savored of the most sincere friendship. Those years left in the minds of the young people of that era—who have since become mature and aged men—a deep impression to the effect that the American government was sincerely striving for the highest goals and ideals. Thus sincerity was a strong bond between the Japanese and Americans. This firmly rooted image in the minds of mature and aged men was a powerful factor in smoothing out affairs, when complications arose between them during the period in which Japan emerged from the stage of youthful tutelage in relation to America and became a strong state, with the ambitions and interests of other strong states.

Some years ago President Franklin Roosevelt wrote an article in which he maintained that Japan's change of attitude toward America was to be traced back to the time when America occupied the Philippine Islands. At that time the Departments of the Army and of the Navy began to bring up the subject of the defense of these islands and the means for such defense. At the same time Japan, seeing a foreign nation venturing into its near neighborhood southwards, made use of this venturesome approach as grounds for demanding an increase of her fleet.

Nevertheless the objective of Japan's military and naval preparations in those days was not America, but Russia. And when war broke out between these two in the early years of this century, the attitude of President Theodore Roosevelt was sympathetic toward Japan.

Then, when the Chinese government signed the treaty of 1915,⁴ in which she acceded to the severe demands of Japan, the government of President Wilson stated publicly that it would recognize no change inaugurated by the treaty, which was detrimental to American interests. When President Wilson at the Peace Conference attempted to eject Japan from Shantung (a district in China, which

⁴A treaty concluded between Japan and China after an ultimatum on the part of the former, to whose stern demands, 21 in number, designed to ratify Japan's advance on the Chinese mainland, China was forced to yield.

had been the property of Germany before the war, which Japan had wrested from her during the war, and which was of considerable commercial and military importance), the American people believed that Wilson was doing this merely as a philanthropic attempt to aid China in her struggle for independence, while in reality it was in the service of American commercial interests. When the Washington Naval Conference met and Mr. Hughes, then Secretary of State, returned to the subject and persuaded the Japanese to evacuate Shantung and to drop the treaty with England in favor of two new treaties with the powers there assembled, guaranteeing the integrity of China and maintaining the open door, America reaffirmed the right to interfere in the affairs of the Far East.

* * *

In more recent times the Japanese have been watching with anxious care the actions of Mr. Stimson, Secretary of State in Hoover's term, in the matter of the controversy over Manchuria. Mr. Stimson was arguing for the sanctity of treaties concluded and for the cause of universal peace. The Japanese, however, in their intense preoccupation with disturbances detrimental to them, of which they were complaining, did not believe that the maintenance of their rights in a country adjacent to them, a prey to continuing anarchical conditions, was in its very nature disturbing to the peace of the world. They did not realize that the Americans were not nearly so much interested in Manchuria as they were in general peace in the Far East to the end that the routes of commerce might remain unhampered there. The foreign policy of the American State Department was following the line of interference in the affairs of the Far East, which had been firmly laid down by Mr. Hughes in the treaties of 1922, when he persuaded Japan to evacuate Shantung and to annul their treaty with England; and this was what Japan was repudiating now.

So the group of Japanese young men and women trying by their dance to inaugurate a rapprochement between America and Japan, and the incidents in which Americans were arrested under suspicion of espionage, illustrate the two forces of attraction and repulsion between America and Japan. Where personal knowledge was increased and expanded, there bonds of friendship, confidence, and sympathy were strengthened. Where relations were circumscribed by official negotiations, the utterances of statesmen on general attitudes, the ignorance of minor officials, and the hasty statements of

the daily press, there fear, guarded caution, and doubt prevailed.

Wars and Rumors of Wars

In the shadow of this tension in Japanese-American relations there arose the whisper about a war which was to break out in the Pacific Ocean. The whisper rose to a higher pitch, when America proceeded to increase its fleet toward the limit permitted to her by the naval treaties. Here the arena was laid open for the masters of "certain knowledge" among the spreaders of rumors. Mr. Hugh Byas says, that, a short while before the writing of his article, he was approached by an American who asked him, was it true, what was said in Honolulu (the capital of the Hawaiian islands, a group of islands belonging to America in the middle of the Pacific Ocean), that Japan was preparing to attack these islands, and that this attack would be the first stage in the war of Japan with America. And he says likewise, that he was told that America was keeping its fleet on a footing of preparedness for the conflict in the Pacific Ocean so as to be prepared against eventualities, and that 27,000 soldiers would soon be added to the garrison of the islands.

And what is said on the American side is said also on the Japanese side. Recently an American visited Japan, making inquiries up to the highest classes of Japanese society. He noticed that every conversation with every Japanese turned about the question: Does America intend to go to war?

The Japanese ask: Why does America want to interfere in the affair of Manchuria, when she decided the difficulties of Cuba and Panama by armed force? When he is told that the settlement of these two problems, the Cuban and that of Panama, by force took place before the Kellogg pact, and that the settlement of the Manchurian difficulty by force took place after that, the Japanese curls up his lip and adds nothing further; but the tongue of his posture is saying: Why do you not leave us alone with our business? We do not interfere in your affairs in America. Why do you want to interfere in our affairs in Manchuria?

The Perplexity of the Japanese

So you see the Japanese perplexed because the nation which had the greatest and most extensive educational influence in the rise of his land, is the country which now faces and thwarts him when he tries to expand his narrow domain; the country which he looks up to with the utmost admiration and whose means and ways he con-

siders the last and highest word in human invention is the country which he fears more than all other countries together; and this perplexity is the more deeply impressed upon his mind by the fact that the country which blocks his way is the richest nation on the face of the earth in actual and potential wealth, while his country, in the numbers of its inhabitants and in the harshness of its soil is the poorest of nations.

Thus it is necessary that one remember the difficulties which face Japan, when her sins are recounted.

If Japan has entered upon a dangerous line of conduct, taking no one into account, i. e., her struggle in Manchuria,—then we must remember that she had reached in the gravity of her economic situation the limit of desperation. The condition of troubled China, a land of about 400,000,000 souls, was rousing fear. What would America do if China were in the place of Canada? Or if Canada were like China, troubled and disturbed, bearing within herself the seeds of chaotic revolution and overturn, like a giant evil genius, of whom you did not know what would be the next step he would take?

* * *

There is no doubt that in Japan's policy there is danger to peace in the Far East; but the Japanese are sorely troubled by the fact, that the difficulties which she faces are not studied sympathetically and that the great things which she has accomplished are not rated at their true value. The Japanese see themselves as a country which honors private property, public security, law and order, the safeguarding of individual liberty, and the establishment of universal education; her constitution is based upon parliamentary foundations, that is, she honors the fundamental principles which America honors; in addition to all this she sees herself as the sole stable element in a continent given up to chaotic conditions. So she is astonished and grieved, that America should consider her as nothing other than the "bad boy," who must be admonished or disciplined.

Those of our readers who want to balance this Asiatic survey by a wholly American one can do so by reviewing our state papers and the writings of Carroll Binder, Upton Close, and the excellent and farsighted article by Nathaniel Peffer in *Asia* for April, 1935, on the Japanese question.

CURRENT NATIONALISM IN THE MOSLEM NEAR EAST

BY EDGAR J. FISHER

THE MOST important single factor in the development of current nationalism in Asia was the World War. This in turn was largely due to the harsh pressure of the imperialistic policies of the Great Powers upon the East. These Great Powers themselves were responsible for letting loose the forces that resulted in the organization of the new nationalistic states with their earnest zeal and fervor. During the Middle Ages Asia was the aggressor against Europe: the Arabs in Spain and Sicily, the Mongols in Russia, and the Turks in the Balkans and Hungary. This was not without its value for European culture, particularly because of the great importance of the Arab learning in the development of the Western Renaissance. Since the early part of the nineteenth century European nations have been the aggressors against Asia. Western ideas and methods have been scattered throughout the East by statesmen, merchants, missionaries, teachers, and travelers. There were a few who, in their ignorance, professed to believe that the East was an area that would resist all change. But most people in their hearts had the idea that something would happen as a result of the great outpouring of Western influence in Eastern lands. Had this not been the case, certainly we would have been driven to the conclusion that there was something the matter with the ideas as they worked, or did not work, upon the East. But now that they are "taking," many profess to be surprised that something is actually happening. And Eastern peoples are driving this thing called Nationalism through to its logical conclusion.

For the sake of definiteness it will be well to indicate what we include in the Near East. Geographically speaking it is the area that was under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This includes the Balkan peninsula south of the Danube River, Roumania, the islands in and the lands bordering the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, Asia Minor, and the Arab-speaking lands of Western Asia. With the exception of the Christian States in the Balkans and the Lebanon in Syria, this area is inhabited predominantly by people who embrace the Moslem faith. The struggle for nationality among the Balkan States has in

the main come to an end, although there are still disputes due to the mixture of populations.

It is in the Moslem Near East that nationalism has had the most astonishing development in the last decade and a half. Only about a generation ago Vambéry wrote that "religion absorbs the intellect of the Asiatic; it is stronger than his feeling of nationality." That statement needs revision today, so fast has the supposedly unchanging East changed. Political liberty preceded by some time the demands for social liberty in the West. The reason why Eastern nationalism now seems to be moving at such a rapid tempo is because it is hop-step-and-jumping the political, religious and social at once. These peoples want sovereignty and independence as complete as that possessed by any of the Western States.

In his important treatise on International Law, "The Law of Nations," the Swiss writer Vattel commented upon the freedom, independence and equality of nations, and how they judged according to their own consciences. The apparent effect of this, to quote from Vattel, was to produce, "a perfect equality of rights between nations, in the administration of their affairs, and the pursuit of their pretensions, without regard to the intrinsic justice of their conduct, of which others have no right to form a definitive judgment; so that what is permitted in one, is also permitted in the other, and they ought to be considered in human society as having an equal right." That has been doctrine dear to the Western nations, and Eastern nationalism has developed the same enthusiastic affection for it.

But it should be observed that Eastern nationalism has appeared when nationalism in the West has to a large degree lost its reason for being. There was something of a noble moral enthusiasm and conviction in the Western nationalism of the century before the Great War. It undertook to liberate peoples and to combat injustice. To Mazzini, one of the greatest of the liberal nationalists, there was chiefly unselfishness in this ideal. It was the purpose of life "not to possess more or less of happiness but to make ourselves and others better." Nationalism had a duty to fulfil to mankind, to aid civilization and cultures. So far as the Western Powers are concerned, nationalism has had its fling, and its positive values have been reaped. The peculiar characteristics of the different national cultures may be retained, and the values of national boundaries for administrative purposes will long be seen. But the economic and cultural justifica-

tion for many of our national frontiers has largely passed. The nationalism of the last decade or two in the West has been chiefly negative, concerned with hostility for the foreigners, attacks upon the minorities within the gates, and attempts to develop a false economic self-sufficiency which has to be propped up by wasteful means. To have a real and peculiar affection for one's homeland is not only proper but inevitable, but this should not necessarily presuppose a hostility for the neighboring lands. It is quite apt to be an inferiority complex that leads some countries, especially some of the new nationalisms of the Near East, to fear the presence of other nationalities in their midst.

There are surely some areas, both East and West, where present movements can be explained on the basis of the inspired liberal nationalism of the earlier decades. When the Chinese seek to defend themselves against the plundering of their territory by military and aggressive nationalisms, that seems to justify a valid national enthusiasm. That is also the case with the Turks when they are fired with national vigor to defend valiantly the heart and center of the old Ottoman Empire, and preserve what is unquestionably their own. The very words of Mazzini cry out against the efforts that have been made to Italianize the people of the Austrian Tyrol. There is much more valid reason for the currency and tide of nationalism in the Moslem Near East at the present time, than there is for its continued artificial stimulation in the well-established countries of the Western world. For some time the Eastern lands may stand to gain from their nationalist thought and feeling, provided it is reasonably restrained and tempered with justice. They are justified in their nationalist fervor as long as it helps to preserve a national culture. The new Near Eastern nationalisms may be urged to learn from the West what the Western nations have not been able themselves to see clearly; namely, that when nationalism has patriotically aided in obtaining the organization and security of the State and the development of its culture, it should exercise care not to condemn in others what it approves in itself, should not outlast its usefulness by negative and destructive purposes, but should be a refining influence among the nations.

No part of the Moslem Near East has failed to respond to the stimulus of modern nationalism, but the result of this response has varied greatly in the different sections, whether viewed from the success or failure of a movement to secure national independence, or

the degree to which a community has become modernized. The magic slogan of "self-determination" was a siren call to which these peoples gave ready heed. They all had definite grievances which could have been righted years earlier had it not been for the greedy imperialism of the Great Powers. It was the feeling of having been restrained and unjustly treated for long years that led the Arabic and Turkish peoples to embrace nationalism with such avidity. It became a force the strength of which many leaders did not realize. They have been carried along by this ferment of nationalistic feeling not knowing just where it was taking them, and not risking to stem the tide at times for fear that they would lose their power.

In this new day when the Orient has been again awakened, conflicting motives appear to be urging them. They are anti-Western in the sense that they sacrifice and struggle to throw off the political control of the Western States, but at the same time, with one or two exceptions, they eagerly strive to become as nearly like Europe as possible. Fortunately these Moslem States do not appear to be interested in slavishly copying the West, but in trying to adapt Western methods and techniques to suit their ends. This is especially true in those fields which the Easterner believes have contributed to the material power and prestige of Western civilization. Social and religious influences from the West are not nearly as acceptable as are the evidences of organizational and scientific advance. This is natural because the East has ever excelled in the contemplative and peaceful rather than in the material and the mechanical.

Turkey has been the most successful State in the Moslem Near East in its efforts to throw off foreign control and develop a modernized national country. Her leaders have been more quick to adapt themselves to and understand the meaning of the changes necessary in her life. No other people has followed insistent leadership so readily in throwing overboard almost everything Oriental and breaking with the most deep-rooted traditions of the past. It has been suggested that this was probably easier than in the case of Arab lands, because there was less of an indigenous Turkish civilization from which to break away. There were earlier attempts in the time of the Ottoman Empire to reform the State, but they were superficial and did not strike at the root of the problem. Islam presupposed a theocratic State, in which religion was the source of law and order, and this was not consonant with the modern nationalist

State. The despotic sultan, Abdul Hamid II, feared nationalism as the forerunner of a worse evil, democracy. He sought to strengthen his own position at home and threaten the European countries as well by Pan-Islam, a movement to unite all the Moslems under the influence of the Sultan-Caliph at Constantinople, as the present city of Istanbul was then called. The Young Turks overthrew Abdul Hamid II in 1909, and proclaimed a new nationalism based upon iraternity of all the peoples of the Empire. They failed sadly because they were unwilling or unable to develop a just nationalist movement that would satisfy the non-Turkish elements. They yielded to the fatal idea that national cultures should be suppressed and not nurtured. Only a decentralized state based upon a recognition of the needs of the different cultural groups in the country could have developed Ottoman unity, and then staved off the ravages of Western imperialism against the Turkish Empire.

Those ravages were real indeed, although it was the ineptitude and misgovernment of the Ottoman Sultans, as the present Turkish leaders themselves now state, that were in large part responsible for the encroachment of the West. On the other hand the European Powers were not interested in helping the Sultanate to be strengthened and improved, but rather in pushing it down so that they could participate in the inevitable distribution of the spoils. In the last two or three centuries the Ottoman Empire lost territory in every succeeding generation, and in the long reign of Abdul Hamid II, the Turkish State became entangled in a maze of enforced concessions and financial loans to European interests, that constituted virtual economic enslavement. This process was facilitated by the capitulations, or extraterritorial rights, that granted foreigners in the land special privileges. These had originally been voluntarily given by the Sultan to certain foreign states, but in the days of Ottoman decline and weakness had been twisted by the Powers into instruments of unfair advantage for themselves. At the end of the Great War no state was seemingly at such a low ebb as the remnant of the Ottoman Empire. With its capital, Constantinople, in control of the Allies, the Sultan's representatives were told to sign the severe Treaty of Sevres. Meanwhile the Western Powers authorized the Greeks to occupy Smyrna and its hinterland in western Asia Minor on a temporary basis, but the Turks feared that this was the beginning of the end of their own control over this fair western part of what

they regarded as an historical homeland. A sweeping nationalist movement, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, an able military commander, flared up in Asia Minor, and rapidly carried all before it.

Aroused by a dual hostility to Greek nationalism and British imperialism, the Turkish struggle was remarkably successful. In January, 1920, a brief National Pact that had earlier been accepted by the nationalist Assembly at Angora was adopted at the last meeting which the Turkish Parliament ever held in Constantinople. The Pact was a succinct and reasonable statement of the "maximum of sacrifice," which the Turkish people would be willing to make as a guarantee for their national independence. Its principles became the basis of the negotiations that resulted in the Treaty of Lausanne between Turkey and the Western Powers in 1923. This Declaration of Independence, as the Pact may be called, presupposed the continuance of the Ottoman Sultanate, and demanded the recognition of an independent Turkey, consisting of those lands that contained an Ottoman Moslem majority, free from foreign yoke and the capitulatory restrictions. If there was any sense in which the Lausanne Treaty was an imposed treaty, it was imposed by the Turks upon the Allies, for practically all the terms of the National Pact were fulfilled.

The nationalists soon overthrew the Sultan and established a Republic and then ousted the Caliph because they wished to make sure of no hindrance in organizing a completely secular and lay State. The leaders wished their people to press on quickly to modern life, by which they meant a Western mentality. To reject the Asiatic and virtually transplant the institutions of the West to Asia Minor became almost a passion. It was a case of adopting European tools with which to make permanent the newly gained freedom from European control. Gradualness was a word foreign to the vocabulary of the Turkish nationalist. Following the abolition of the capitulations, the Sultanate and the Caliphate, there came in rapid succession a series of religious, social, cultural, and legal reforms which thoroughly altered the very foundations of Turkish traditions and life. If there are principles or practices of modern nationalism, whether valid or questionable, which the people are slow to accept, it is not because the leaders have not furnished an insistent example. The national compactness of the population has contributed to the

success of the movement. The country is inhabited almost exclusively by Moslem Turks, except in Istanbul, where there are some Christian minorities and Jews, and in Eastern Anatolia, where there are still Kurds who have not yet been settled in other parts of Asia Minor by the Government. The keynotes of Kemalism have been to consolidate the Turkish elements in the state, to throw off foreign influence and control, and to construct in Turkey an independent, modern nation. Whatever has come down from the past that seemed to block those aims, has been rigorously discarded; whatever there is in the present that would appear to further those aims, has been speedily accepted. In this respect no modern ruler has been more consistent, more purposeful, or more thorough than Mustafa Kemal Pasha, whose new name is Ghazi Kemal Ata Türk.

In the new Turkey, the nation replaced religion in the State. The heterogeneous Ottoman Empire had developed a system in which religious feeling was the expression of nationality; with the practically homogeneous population in the Turkish Republic, national solidarity took the place of religious feeling. It was significant that the Sultanate was overturned before the Caliphate. The former affected Turkey only, but the latter the entire Moslem world, at least supposedly. Is there anything which shows the driving force of this nationalist feeling so conclusively as that in 1924 it accomplished in a twinkling the overthrow of the Caliph of Islam as if he were but a mere subaltern, when a decade before the Caliph had been seriously regarded as a world-power, who could array the hosts of Islam in battle against the Western Allies? The Turkish Constitution of 1924 declared, "The religion of the Turkish State is Islam," but this Article was removed from the Constitution four years later. Some have declared that the Turkish leaders were bent upon repudiating Islam in favor of atheism, but there is hardly confirmation for this belief. It is sufficient to suppose that they wished to leave no doubt about the lay character of the State. The Government has not neglected the services in the mosques, which are carried on in the Turkish language and not in the Arabic of the original Koran. For the people this brings distinct advantages. There are Turkish leaders who believe that the new relationship between religion and the State will give new vitality to Islam, and that Turkey will act as a guide for other Moslem lands to follow. There does not seem to be, however, any sufficient source, or training school, from which the

Turkish religious leadership of the future will come. There is a law against religious propaganda, and legally there is religious freedom for all adults. Religious equality does not exist, and there has been practically no increase in the true spirit of religious tolerance toward non-Moslem faiths during the period of the Republic. In these respects, however, the new Turkey is probably not far behind some other nations, whose cultures are supposed to have been more highly advanced for a long period of time.

The nationalist Government is organized with all the forms of a modern republican State. The franchise is still very narrow, and wisely so, because the percentage of illiteracy is high in the land, despite the great progress that has been made since the adoption of the Latin characters for the language. Political leaders in the land declare their earnest support of democracy, but believe that the new forms of their government can be filled with content only after the people become better educated and able to use them. Organized political opposition is not tolerated, and there is only one political party in the country, the People's Party. It has a relationship to the Government similar to that in other states, which are dominated by the single-party system. The names of candidates for election to the Grand National Assembly are submitted to the President of the Republic, who chooses a certain number from among them, and the deputies are chosen from his list. The courage and earnestness of the leaders has been noteworthy, and with the continuance of these virtues, progress in the nation may be conditioned only by their ability and wisdom.

The Turks are probably no more instinctively anti-foreign than are other people. Having smarted for so long under the real injustices of foreign subordination, they were inclined at first to believe that the foreigner was responsible for all, instead of only a part, of their ills. To them it is axiomatic that whatever other nations are entitled to do, they are entitled to also, both as a matter of right and prestige. This is nicely illustrated in the case of the Egyptian capitulations. Turkey had complained bitterly, and with justice, that the capitulations were unfair and worked unjust hardship upon her. After she had freed herself from the onus of the capitulations, however, Turkey demanded that Egypt should grant her capitulatory privileges in that country as long as other foreign powers had them!

The Turkish attitude toward foreigners and foreign influence is colored by the fact that this period of trying to substitute new values for radically different old values is critical for the leaders. Because of the character of their past experiences, they want to control the foreign assistance which they secure. The Turkish Government has employed many foreign experts, and in general finds this method satisfactory, for they can "hire and fire" the expert according to the terms of a definite contract. The Turkish authorities are becoming increasingly suspicious, if not intolerant, of foreign institutions in the country, which parallel institutions which they have, or may have in the future, whether the institutions are schools, hospitals, banks, or establishments of more modest scope. There are many Turks who recognize the values, comparative and otherwise, of the foreign institutions, but they cannot wield a commensurate amount of influence at this time.

Like the other nationalisms, particularly the new ones of this day, the Turkish is complete, sweeping and thoroughgoing. It presses on to a logical conclusion, even if the results appear at times to show contradictions. The progress that the Turkish Republic has made was clearly shown when the completion of the first decade of its existence was celebrated in October, 1933. In her domestic concerns, the great task of putting "on modern foundations the bonds of social life, of giving a new ideal and a new direction to society," as one of the Turkish intellectuals has expressed it, has been carried on with substantial progress; in foreign policy, the Turkish statesmen have shown great wisdom, especially in the work of conciliation in the Balkans. That Turkey should take her effective place among the modern nations not only in name, but in spirit as well, is of great importance.

During the long years of domination by the Ottoman Empire, the Arabs had been stirred by nationalist feeling. Islam was the religion of both Arabs and Turks, but they had widely varying conceptions of this religion. Furthermore the Arabs believed that theirs was a culture and a civilization far superior to that of their political overlords. In 1905 an Arab National Committee had urged the union of all Arab tribes, under a liberal monarchy with an Arab as Sultan. The Ottomanization policy of the Young Turks after 1908 helped fan the flames of Arab nationalism. Arabs hoped that the World War would bring a federal union of Arab countries and

a return of ancient glory. But these hopes for union were blasted due to secret agreements and treaties made by the Allies which conflicted with promises that had been made to the Arabs.

Arab nationalism had first developed thus as a protest against the authority of the Turks, but since the Great War it has been fired by hostility to Western control, and a stern belief that France and Great Britain did not play fair by them in establishing administrations, which, according to a promise made by these two Powers as late as November, 1918, would derive "their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations." There were two currents in Arab nationalism, in each of which the religious strain was felt differently. The Bedouins of the desert, especially the Wahhabites, were deeply stirred by religious feeling. In the towns the Arabs had been more exposed to the political and other influences from Europe, with the result that they were more opposed to Turkish domination. With the townsmen the enthusiasm for their religion rated second to political influences in the development of nationalism, and with them Arabs of differing religions could cooperate better together.

Syria was the first Arab land to feel the surge of modern nationalism. It was particularly exposed to outside influences, notably the French. Just before the World War the policies of the Young Turks stirred the Syrian consciousness deeply, and the different races and religions in that country felt a more common bond in their Arabic speech. Earlier religious hatreds came to be displaced by political and social interests that developed a common nationality. After it became clear in the early part of 1919, that a confederation of the Arab States would not be formed, the Syrian nationalists at least hoped for a united Syria. They opposed being put under a mandate, and aimed at a constitutional monarchy with Emir Feisal at the head. Such a plan was disallowed by the Allied statesmen, who awarded to France the mandate for Syria, despite the expressed opposition of the people. In assuming the mandate, the French ignored the fact that a rather strong national consciousness had developed in recent years and was beginning to overcome sectional and religious differences. The mandate was organized under several separate units, the French justifying this division on the ground of administrative necessity and religious differences.

From the very beginning the French have had trouble with their

Syrian mandate. The High Commissioners were changed frequently, and with one or two exceptions they have not been men of ability sufficient to cope with the situation. They have been accused of treating the country as a backward colony, instead of a Class A mandate. The most serious trouble was a rebellion of the Druses in 1925 as a result of which the great city of Damascus was bombarded by the French forces and a large area was ruined. The Lebanon, with its predominantly Christian population, was proclaimed a Republic in 1926, and this has not smoothed the problem of attaining a united Syria. The Syrians wish to establish a treaty relationship with France similar to that arranged between Great Britain and Irak, but the negotiations to this end carried on by the French with the Syrian Parliament at Damascus have repeatedly failed. The country has been pacified at great expense in money and wounded feelings, but discontent is strong because of the denial of real independence and the continued division of the country. With patience and restraint on the part of the Syrians and more wisdom and better administrators on the part of the French, time should correct most of the grievances of the nationalists and also stimulate the French to substitute for the mandate a treaty that will honorably guard the interests of all. Even then the question of the status of the Lebanon will be a special problem. If Syria were only more prosperous, the French might be having an easier time.

As to Irak, or Mesopotamia, the Allied secret agreements had provided that Northern Mesopotamia should be a part of a projected post-war Arab State, and that the Southern part should be under British protection. The nationalism of the Irakis was expecting a Kingdom of Mesopotamia, as declared at a 1920 Congress in Damascus. Instead the San Remo Conference awarded Irak to Great Britain as a Class A mandate. A revolt followed this news and the mandate never actually came into legal existence, but was superseded by an Anglo-Irak Treaty. An Arab monarchy was established with the Emir Feisal, who had just been overthrown by the French as King of Syria, as King of Irak. With Arab nationalism in the ascendant, the Irakis at once began to agitate violently and otherwise for complete independence. Different treaties were negotiated, but they were unsatisfactory to the nationalists because they resembled a mandate. League of Nations obligations made it necessary for Great Britain to insist on exercising certain international

and financial controls, that clashed with the Irak ideas of independence. Great Britain promised to recommend Irak for admission to the League of Nations as soon as sufficient progress toward preparedness for independence had been made.

The impatience of the nationalists for Great Britain to fix "the time" was extreme, and at times led them into indiscreet action. As criteria for independence, the British stated that there must be stable government, settled frontiers, and "a sincere intention to fulfill" international obligations. In 1929 Great Britain announced that Irak would be recommended for League membership in 1932. In the first case of its kind to arise, the League of Nations studied the question of the fitness of Irak for independence, and, chiefly because of the British recommendation, admitted this Arab State to the League in 1932. Irak was required to subscribe to certain guarantees. This change in the status of Irak was of international importance. To the Iraki it meant the culmination of their nationalist struggle, and they expressed the hope that other Arab States would not be much longer delayed in their admission to the League.

After the World War only the kingdom of Hejaz was organized as an independent Arabian State. Including the Holy Places of Islam, Mecca and Medina, this was the heart of Arabia. British support gave the throne to the Emir Hussein, Sherif of Mecca, who dreamt of an Arab Federation. His sons, Feisal and Abdullah, were rulers over Irak and Transjordan respectively, and this gave a family or personal union to three Arab States. When the Turkish Republic overthrew the Caliph, King Hussein believed that the keeper of the Holy Places of Islam was a natural successor to the Caliphate, and that this office would also aid him in shaping Arabian political unity. He thus assumed the title of Caliph. Hussein's plans failed chiefly because the powerful Moslem leaders in Egypt did not support him, and because his neighbor and enemy, Ibn Saoud, the strongest man in Arabia, now attacked and defeated him. King Hussein abdicated in favor of another son, Ali, but by the beginning of 1926, Ibn Saoud, Sultan of Nejd, had seized control of the Hejaz. Since 1932 the combined Hejaz and Nejd has been called the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ibn Saoud has continued his conquests, has recently conquered the Imam Yalya of the Yemen, and has brought still nearer the union of the Arab tribes..

In Arabia proper nationalism is of a different stamp than in the

other Arab states that have been mentioned. The communities are more primitive, and the personal dictation of a dominant chieftain, such as Ibn Saoud, determines its character for the time. As chief of the Wahhabi sect, Ibn Saoud speaks for the most puritanical and fanatically unitarian Moslem sect in the Near East. It is theocracy complete with the orders of the day based on the laws of the Koran. But Ibn Saoud is a wise and powerful ruler, the most astute of the Arabs. The precepts of religion and the traditions handed down must be observed, but likewise there are relationships that must be carried on with the foreigners, and with the other Arab states. Rigid though the Moslem world is sometimes claimed to be, it has discriminating and successful ways of change that tend to progress. Ibn Saoud is seeking to consolidate his immediate authority over practically all Arabia proper. He has declared himself as hopeful for a Federation of the Arab states, a grouping which he promises to support, and also as a believer in Pan-Arabism. This Cromwell of Arabia is not yet old, and he may take many steps toward the headship of a united Pan-Arab world.

Egyptian nationalism has been a clear-cut struggle against British imperialism. The English have often declared that the Egyptians would be trained through liberalism to independence, but to the impatient Egyptian nationalist it was taking far too long. Large numbers of the people experienced real prosperity, but prosperity was not political independence. Years before the Great War, the Egyptians had made demands for constitutional government with the high offices in their own hands, for a greater diffusion of education and with more emphasis upon the Arabic, and for a prohibition upon the grant of concessions to foreigners. These demands were made at a time when the sovereignty of the Ottoman Sultan still held over Egypt, but when years of British administration had given security and excellent administration to the country. The English declared a protectorate over Egypt, when Turkey joined the German Powers in 1914. The example of the Arab world, the doctrine of self-determination, and opposition to foreign rule urged Egyptian nationalism onward during and after the Great War. The most outstanding and uncompromising nationalist leader in Egypt was Zaghul Pasha.

The struggle between the British and the Egyptians during the last two decades has been bitter and at times violent. The Egyptian demands moved from autonomy to complete independence. Eryp-

tian independence was declared in 1922, and the Sultan became King, but there was a field of authority which the British insisted on maintaining, and this has caused trouble. Egypt has insisted on its need of possessing the Sudan in order to control the Nile waters, but such political possession is denied by the British. The Egyptians wish to wave farewell to all British troops, but England maintains that the defense of the British Empire depends upon the security and control of the Suez Canal, for which purpose adequate troops must be stationed there. The abolition of the capitulations and the complete control of her internal affairs are nationalist demands, which the British have been seeking earnestly to adjust. The safety of British imperial communications also involves supervision of Egyptian foreign relations. These difficult reserved questions, as they have been called, have occasioned many conferences, much heat, and serious misunderstandings. As long as Great Britain has extensive Eastern interests, it will be necessary to harmonize, or integrate, Egyptian independence with British policies. This is very certain as long as international affairs remain so crudely organized that a completely independent Egypt, unable to defend itself might be overrun and conquered by another Power. This problem is an example of how cordial cooperation between an Eastern and a Western state might become a pattern for others to follow. The success of the attempt is still for the future to determine.

At the end of the World War, Great Britain was granted a mandate over Palestine and Transjordan. The same High Commissioner serves both areas, but it is provided that Transjordan and Palestine should be separately administered. The Arabs are opposed to having the provisions of the Palestine mandate concerning the Jewish National Home apply to the country across the Jordan, for they do not wish to chance the opening up of this land to Jewish immigration. Transjordan is a valuable link in the chain for the protection of Britain's eastern interests. The fiction of constitutional rule is maintained by King Abdullah in agreement with the mandatory Power. Transjordan is dependent upon British advice, financial and military assistance. Nationalism is present and raises its voice from time to time, but it is still too definitely connected with British policies to be bothersome or embarrassing to the controlling foreign Power. The same can hardly be said about the situation in the historic country west of the Jordan River.

The problem of Palestine is clearly that of reconciling two differing nationalities, bitterly opposed to each other, to living together in a small country in reasonable peace and security. The land has a predominantly Arab population, almost three-quarters, the Jews have both religious and political attachments there, and to the Christians it is an object of special interest and concern. The British Balfour Declaration of 1917, later approved by France, Italy, and the United States, promised a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine, on the understanding that this did not "prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities." The purpose of the League mandate given to Great Britain was declared to be to train the people of Palestine for self-government and to establish a Jewish National Home.

Despite the fact that Palestine has had High Commissioners of remarkable ability, the story of the mandate is an account of passive or violent resistance on the part of the Arabs, and complaints and frequent dissatisfaction on the part of the Jews. The Arabs have feared the entrance of so many Jewish immigrants that their own people would lose their numerical superiority; the Jews have complained that the annual immigration quotas for their people were insufficient for the economic development of the land. Arabs have declared that the Balfour Declaration makes impossible the normal development of self-governing institutions as implied in the League mandate; the Jews have charged the Arabs with carrying out a policy of obstruction against the mandatory Power. Placed squarely between these two zealous and rival nationalisms, the British Government has been in an unenviable position. The mandatory has declared that Palestine cannot become "as Jewish as England is English," that Jewish nationality will not be imposed on all Palestine, and that the Jewish National Home is to develop along with, and not to the exclusion of, the Arabs.

The Arabs are unconvinced. The Jews have the great advantage of tremendous financial assistance from the Western world. In 1929, the Jewish Agency was reorganized so that Zionists and non-Zionist organizations could assist in establishing the National Home. Zionist agricultural developments have expanded greatly, and much land has been purchased by Jews from Arabs. These have all been voluntary sales at good prices, but the Arab nationalists resent this exchange of land, feeling that with each sale a part of the

country itself is passing from their control. The Arabs have possessed the land for many years, but it is undeniable that under the new dispensation the Jews in Palestine have rights guaranteed by international promises. It is generally admitted that new Jewish immigrants should be peasants or manual workers. Tel-Aviv is a remarkable tribute to Jewish industry, faith, and vision, but Palestine cannot support many such cities, or absorb unlimited numbers of the professional classes and "white-collar" devotees.

The Arabs came to their "Philistia" and the Jews to their "Land of Israel" as conquerors, centuries ago, the latter having preceded the former in the land. But for the purposes of today and the future, both peoples should emphasize less the possession of the past and turn to the indispensable cooperation necessary for the present. Jewish enthusiasm and the development of special projects in Palestine, such as the splendid new port at Haifa, the Jordan Hydro-Electric Works, and the exploitation of the Dead Sea Salts Concession, largely account for recent material progress in spite of all the nationalist disturbances. This progress is beginning to affect the standard of living of the Arabs, and hence their social life. It seems axiomatic that for a contented Palestine it is necessary that the Arabs comprehend that self-governing institutions can be secured only through cooperation with the Jews, and that the Jews realize that they cannot by unlimited immigration become a majority in the land, but rather that the "Land of Israel" should be to them a great center for the renewal and restoration of what is finest in their cultural and religious life. British policy is seeking to build a bi-national State in which two nationalities living side by side have absolutely equal rights and privileges. It is to be questioned if there is, or ever has been, a more difficult place in which to bring such an experiment to a successful reality. Truly has someone said that Great Britain will deserve well of the world, if in the Holy Land there is developed a firm Palestinian nationality of "awakened Arab and home-loving Jew."

It is thus seen that the easily explainable struggle of the Arabs to secure the realization of their nationalistic aims and ambitions has left the Arab World at the present time in an exceedingly unhappy state. The problem is insoluble to the satisfaction of the great majority as long as at least two conditions remain. The first condition is the continuance of foreign imperialistic policies which

have been responsible for keeping the Arab World divided into a large number of units. The second is the lack of union among the Arabs themselves and the common character of current nationalism which often makes it almost brutally careless of the rights of others. But grant the absence of these conditions, with the result that Arab union or federation developed in some form, even then it is quite probable that for an unknown number of years Great Britain would need to remain in a special relationship to Palestine and France to the Lebanon.

Life in the midst of the current nationalisms of the Moslem Near East does bring one face to face with certain stern facts, the appreciation of which might help both East and West. The bitter and suspicious attitude which the struggle for national satisfaction aroused among these Near Eastern peoples has been due to the harsh experience which they had in exploitation by the imperialist Powers. There is much in our Western life which is unworthy for the Eastern States to copy, but in seeking to use nationalism with which to combat Western control, or assert authority over others, they have used not only its worthy elements, but also the same kind of technique, which, when applied toward them, they have described as unfair and intolerable. The success of nationalist movements in the Near East has been varied but still remarkably rapid since the Great War, and these new nationalisms should in patience and restraint realize that Western institutions, which they are seeking to copy or adapt, developed only through sacrifice and long experience, and did not come full-blown.

But the Western Powers must realize the necessity of freeing the awakened Near East from imperialistic pressure. The excuse for continued control on the ground that these peoples are not capable of self-government is becoming palpably unjustifiable. In view of the lack of success that democratic self-government has been experiencing in large areas of the Western world, it borders on hypocrisy and self-conceit to prejudge too dogmatically the capacity of others in this respect. On that basis of equality of judgment and treatment of which both East and West stand much in need, we should not at this present hour regard the sheeplike support of a single leader, or of a few, a proof of incapacity for self-government. In reconciling the demands of modern nationalism with the injunctions and spirit of Islam, the Moslem communities have shown

that they can be sufficiently ingenious and adjustable, but probably no more so than have been the Christian communities in their attitude toward imperialism and militarism. Present-day nationalism in the Near East has no virtues, and probably no vices, which cannot be found in the nationalism of the West. Our patience and help should be extended to those who are seeking to build the new nation-states of the Near East. Our sympathy must consider the fact that this building has been taking place at a time when their leaders did not have the finest period of Western nationalism to serve as a model and when they were too urgently pressed to study the history of the past, so that it could serve as a guide.

It is said that Iraki leaders once told Gertrude Lowthian Bell in the early years of the British control of that country that liberty as between nations is never given, but is always taken. In stating some of his views to Ameen Rihani, the puritan Ibn Saoud declared that the Germans merely expressed the views of all Europe in their estimate that treaties were mere "scraps of paper," and that the Arab rulers should take care not to imitate the European Powers in this respect. If the Moslem Near East at times displays the childish qualities of supersensitiveness to criticism and a kind of petulance, the West needs to study its own past and quash any manifestations of superiority.

MAGIC WRITINGS IN MODERN CHINA

BY I. V. GILLIS

RECENTLY while engaged in writing up some bibliographical notes in connection with the cataloguing of the books of "The Gest Chinese Research Library," I noted with astonishment the dates of the prefaces to two works. These prefaces were written under the name of the Taoist immortal Lü-tsu, A. D. 755-805, and yet the prefaces were dated the first year of Chia Ch'ing (1796) in one instance; and the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang (1849) in the other. It was not until I noticed the words *fu-chiang* in one of them that I realized that these prefaces were supposed to have been written by the Patriarch Lü" through the medium of the Chinese planchette.

As to Lü-tsu, the Patriarch Lü, he is also known as Lü Yen and Lü Tung-pin. He is one of the Eight Immortals (*pa hsien*) and is revered by scholars as a patron god under the designation Shunyang, "Pure Essence of the Universe." He is said to have sprung from a good family and to have passed the official examinations in the highest rank. One account states that he became the magistrate of Tê-hua, which is the present city of Kiu-kiang in Kiangsi. Later he became a recluse on the Stork Peak (Ho-ling) of the Lu Mountains near the present site of Kuling. It was here that he discoursed on the five grades of genii and the three categories of merit. Here also he met the fire-dragon who gave him a magic sword with which he was able to perform many miracles. One account says that he made a journey to Yo-yang as a seller of oil in the hope of making converts to his doctrine. During the year which he spent on this trip he tried to find someone who would be sufficiently unselfish not to demand more than the amount of oil which the price warranted. Finally he found one old woman who did not ask for more than her due. He was so pleased that he went to her house and threw rice into a well, thus turning the water into wine, the sale of which made the old woman wealthy. His characteristics are the magic sword, *chan yao chien*, which he carries on his back, and a fly-switch of horse-hair which he carries in his hand. (Condensed from *Chinese Reader's Manual* by Mayers, *Chinese Mythology* by Ferguson, and *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* by Werner.)

As a matter of possible interest I reproduce herewith one of the prefaces, the translation of which is as follows:

LÜ-TSU HUI CHI TSUNG HSÜ

Preface to the collected writings of the "Patriarch Lü"

Towards the east I have wandered as far as the Wu-lai mountain; to the west I entered the Ch'ing-ch'êng hills; in the south I went as far as the Chung-lai mountain; and in the northerly direction I have traversed the Chien-ko region. This I have done many times.

As for my writings,—there are not even one or two of my books to be found in the whole of Szechuan; and every time I noticed this fact it irritated me.

In the autumn of the *ting-wei* year I was dwelling (spiritually) at Yüan-t'ung chih in the T'ang-an district in the "Temple of Ten-thousand Longevities," engaged in transmitting through the planchette (instructions for the) reformation of the age; when one day, just as I was about to leave (i.e., his spiritual presence at the planchette), some of those present requested (through the planchette) my permission to publish a complete set of my previous works—divinations, prose, verse, and songs—all classes. Convinced of their sincerity (of purpose) I consented. I instructed them to buy a complete set of my works and said that I would correct the books myself.

In a few months a complete set was collected, and then I descended to the earth again (i.e., "entered into the planchette"; and through that medium communicated the revision) and collated and arranged the books one by one under the title *Hui-chi*. The collection is divided into two parts—a main section and a supplement. Indeed, it was an arduous task.

Now, that the work of cutting the blocks has been completed, I indite these few words (in expression) of my gratification that what I had in mind hitherto (has now come about).

And who were those who made the request? Hu An-hui; P'êng Wên-tou; and Ch'ê Ch'ui-pi.

Dated at the beginning of summer in the *chi-yu* (29th) year of the reign of the Emperor Tao-Kuang (1849) (written by Tung-pin Lü Shun-yang.

In connection with the subject of magic, or spirit writings through the medium of the Chinese planchette, I would draw attention to this very same method in the case of a work that was privately published here in Peking a few years ago by a group en-

呂祖彙集總序

吾東遊巫峽西入青城南至邛崃北過劍閣屢矣見吾經品未流播一二於蜀中每以爲恨丁未之秋吾駐唐安元通市之萬壽宮乩諭化世將去之日有以刊吾歷來經典及一切諭文詩歌各體爲請者吾鑒其誠而許焉命購齊吾書吾自證訂不數月書齊吾復降一一編次名曰彙集分爲正附吾蓋有苦心焉茲梓工已備吾誌數語蓋喜其先得我心也請者誰胡安惠彭文斗車垂璧也

呂祖彙集

總序

道光己酉初夏洞賓呂純陽序



PREFACE TO THE COLLECTED WRITINGS OF THE "PATRIARCH LU"

gaged in "working the planchette" in order to obtain the correct rendering and interpretation of certain Chinese classical works through "direct contact" with the original authors themselves.

The particular work I refer to is the well-known classic—*Ta*

Hsüeh, and the title of the "planchette version" is *Ta Hsüeh chêng shih*.

From the catalogue of the "The Gest Chinese Research Library" I would quote my own notations, as follows:

SUBJECT—verification and explanation of the text of the *Ta Hsüeh* by Confucius himself through the medium of the Chinese planchette (*chi-sha*).

REMARKS—this work is supposed to be "divinely inspired" and written by Confucius himself. I personally attended one of the seances and am not prepared to say whether the whole thing is a "fake" or not. One thing is certain, if it is, the greater number of the participants are not parties to it, and are deluded into believing the genuine seriousness of the performance. At any rate, the book is of interest on account of its "mysterious origin," and was given to me by one of those interested in the movement.

Although in no way connected with "magic writings," I include herewith a "date" of possible interest. In a work on the Imperial seals of the Ch'ing Dynasty there is a preface by the Emperor Ch'ien-Lung, dated in the 62d year (of his reign). Now, out of respect to his grandfather, the Emperor K'ang-Hsi, Ch'ien-Lung abdicated the throne to his son at the end of the sixty-year cycle of his reign, in order not to exceed the length of K'ang-Hsi's reign. I noted, therefore, with some surprise the date "Ch'ien-Lung 62d year." Investigation of this point resulted in my learning that after Ch'ien-Lung's abdication and up to his death, many "court" documents were dated with his reign title, and especially all those directly connected with the Imperial family.

RELIGION WITHIN THE LIMITS OF REASON ALONE

By IMMANUEL KANT

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by

THEODORE M. GREENE

Associate Professor of Philosophy, Princeton University

and

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Kant's Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone serves, more than any of his other writings, to round out the philosophical system which he developed in the three *Critiques*. In it Kant examines the nature and significance of the religious experience, devoting special attention to the tenets and practices of Christianity, which he reinterprets with sympathy and originality.

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