

THE
OPEN
COURT

JULY

1935

Vol. 49

Number 934

THE OPEN COURT

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science,
and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

Volume 49

JULY, 1935

Number 934

CONTENTS

THE YOUNG MANCHU EMPEROR.....129

John Gilbert Reid

LAW, LIFE, AND PURPOSE.....156

Victor S. Yarros

THE NEW ORIENT

5 THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN IRAQ.....162

*Matta Akraoui Director of Elem. Educ.,
Ministry of Education, Baghdad, Iraq.*

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF PRE-CONFUCIAN CHINA.....177

Herrlee Glessner Creel

10 RAMADAN187

Gertrude R. Colburn and Arabella Laraby

Published Quarterly

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

149 EAST HURON STREET

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Subscription rates: \$2.00 a year, 50c a copy. Remittances may be made by personal checks, drafts,
post office or express money orders, payable to *The Open Court Publishing Company*.

While the editors welcome contributions, they do not hold themselves responsible
for unsolicited manuscripts.

Address all correspondence to *The Open Court Publishing Company*,
149 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Entered as Second Class matter March 2, 1934, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois
under Act of March 3, 1879.

Copyright 1935 by *The Open Court Publishing Company*

Printed in the United States of America.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
CARLI: Consortium of Academic and Research Libraries in Illinois



Courtesy of the Emperor.

All rights reserved.

HIS MAJESTY, THE MANCHU EMPEROR

Posed in the Chinese manner, Forbidden City Palace, Peking, 1924;
with his signature.

Frontispiece to The Open Court

THE OPEN COURT

Volume XLIX

July, 1935

Number 934

THE YOUNG MANCHU EMPEROR

BY JOHN GILBERT REID

On March 1, 1935, the *Ta Man-chou Ti-kuo* (great Manchu empire) observed its first anniversary, with appropriate exercises, parades, and ceremonies. Its twenty-nine-year-old emperor at Hsinking (new capital) had weathered what turned out to be a fairly quiet year, in spite of gloomy prognostications and dire threats twelve months earlier when he resumed imperial status.

The youthful monarch's realm included a large portion of the original Manchu empire founded by his ancestors prior to their conquest of China. Three hundred years ago—when the first American colonies were forming along the north Atlantic coast—the *Ta Ming Kuo* (great bright empire) was disintegrating through rebellion and a new empire was emerging north of the Great Wall. This was the *Man-chou-kuo* (Manchu empire) which in 1636 inaugurated the dynastic name of *Ta Ch'ing* (great pure) and in 1644 captured the dragon throne in the Forbidden City at Peking. This Manchu dynasty reigned at Peking until February 12, 1912; but its last emperor was destined once more to reign over the domain of his Manchu-Mongol forefathers.

The modern state of Manchuria—comprising the former *tung san shêng* (eastern three provinces) and Jehol province—lies entirely north of the Great Wall and east of the meridian of Peking; it covers a territory formerly anglicized as Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia. Its inhabitants three centuries ago were mostly Tartars (Manchus, Tungusic tribes, Mongols); yet a growing Chinese colony already was being attracted to the southern portion of Manchuria. Today the Chinese population predominates over all other racial strains; and the Manchus, for the most part apparently, have merged culturally with the Chinese. The Mongols, in the western section of the new state, remain a separate race; and Korean, Japanese, and Russian elements add to the confusion.

When in 1644 the Manchu empire spread south of the Great Wall, its territory extended over a vast region. From the Pacific ocean in the east and the Amur river valley in the north to the Yellow Sea and Great Wall in the south and the Gobi desert in the west, this original *Man-chou-kuo* was no trifling rival for the Ming dynasty at Peking. The Manchu emperor possessed a symbol of imperial authority acquired from his Mongol allies, expelled from Peking in the fourteenth century; and his armies were experienced from years of fighting and invasion. Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese served the new dynasty; even Korean detachments were on hand; for the king of Korea acknowledged the overlordship of the Manchu ruler at Mukden, rather than that of the Chinese Son of Heaven at Peking. Despite a small population compared to China's, the Manchu empire's forces swept southward and in less than twenty years drove out the last Ming pretender. The *Ta Ch'ing Kuo* (great pure empire) was established.

The famous founder of this dynasty died near Mukden in 1626; his remarkable eighth son, who succeeded him, died there in 1643; and a five-year-old grandson was chosen for the vacant throne. This boy emperor was six when he became the first Manchu Son of Heaven at Peking, where he resided in the Forbidden City from 1644 until 1661. He was the father of the illustrious K'ang-Hsi emperor, who, in turn, was the grandfather of the no less celebrated Ch'ien-Lung emperor. These two rulers each reigned a full cycle of sixty years; and the Ch'ien-Lung emperor died in retirement the same year as George Washington.

From that date the splendor of the dynasty began to fade, but another century elapsed before history recorded the end of Manchu sovereignty over the vast realm called China. The last emperor, who was six years old when he abdicated his political rights in favor of the Chinese people, did not relinquish his imperial title, nor certain prescribed privileges and duties, among them the proper care of the tombs of his imperial predecessors. These are situated near Mukden and northeast and southwest of Peking.

Long before his birth, the last Manchu emperor's fate was significantly affected by foreign influences. His great-grandfather was reigning when British forces compelled the signature of the treaty of 1842 at Nanking. His grandfather's elder brother was reigning when the southern T'ai-p'ing rebels almost captured Peking and when Franco-British forces did reach the capital, causing the court



THE LATE TZŪ-HSI, EMPRESS DOWAGER

to flee to Jehol, and compelled the signature of new treaties in 1860. His uncle was reigning when a third foreign war was won by

France, the great Mohammedan rebellion was successfully suppressed, and Japan by a fourth war compelled the signature of the treaty of 1895 at Shimonoseki, which ushered in the "scramble" among the great powers for economic partition of China.



Courtesy of the late Prince Yu-lang.

All rights reserved.

PRINCE YÜ-LANG

Adopted Grandfather of the Manchu Empress.

This uncle, the eager young Kuang-Hsü emperor, was respon-

sible in 1898 for the "hundred days" of reform, when he tried to modernize his realm in order to prevent its disintegration and collapse. But his brave effort failed, and two years later the Boxer uprising brought an international army to Peking. For a second time the court fled, this time to Shensi province in the west. From that day the emperor might have been restored to power by international action if only the powers had been able to agree.

The siege of Peking's foreign legations in 1900 marked a turning point in the career of China's last emperor, although he was not born until February 11, 1906. If in 1898 his uncle had not defied the real "power behind the throne," the old T'zū-Hsi dowager empress, she might not have relegated him to impotent obscurity. If her loyal Manchu adviser Jung-lu had not then helped her to frustrate her nephew's reform program and again, in 1900 if Jung-lu had not prevented the Boxers from wiping out the foreign legations, thus saving her regency and the dynasty from destruction at the hands of the victorious foreign states, he would never have been grandfather of an emperor.

After the humiliating and costly settlement of 1901, the "Venerable Buddha," as the old dowager was popularly called by her subjects, realized her future success demanded a "new deal." So she began by discarding the then heir to the throne, the son of a Manchu Boxer prince. A new heir was needed, since her nephew the emperor was childless. However, he had a younger unmarried brother, the second Prince Ch'un, whose fiancée committed suicide in 1900 when the court fled from Peking. Because Jung-lu twice saved her from ignominy, the old dowager resolved to reward him—and incidentally strengthen her own position—by making one of his many daughters the mother of the future emperor.

Jung-lu did not live to see his grandson, but he approved the marriage of his daughter to the youthful Prince Ch'un. Their son was to become heir to the deposed Kuang-Hsü emperor and, at the same time, also to the old dowager's own son who preceded her nephew on the dragon throne and left no heir. While her arrangements were not announced, they were known to those chiefly concerned; and, when the first son of the union was born in 1906, he was hailed and cared for as the heir of an emperor, rather than of a prince. The baby boy was carried to the Forbidden City at the earliest opportunity by his proud mother to give personal thanks to the old dowager empress. This incident indicated his choice as heir to the throne.

Nevertheless, the child continued to live at home with his parents in their palace in the northern part of Peking; and not until his imperial uncle was mortally ill did the baby boy actually assume his place as "son and heir" of two emperors. This occurred on November 13, 1908. Next day, the public was told, the Son of Heaven ascended, dragon-borne, on high; and his heir, his brother's son, was proclaimed emperor below. On November 15, 1908, the old dowager herself suddenly expired, leaving her young niece, widow of the baby emperor's uncle, to head the Yehonala clan at court. She was the Lung-Yü dowager empress; and her "son," the emperor, early in 1909 inaugurated the Hsüan-T'ung reign, in accordance with custom.

The child, born in 1906 to head the Manchu imperial house, was named P'u-yi. The character *P'u*, his family name, denoted his particular generation in descent from the founder of the house; while the *yi*, his personal name, distinguished him from other members of his generation. For example, two older princes of his generation, great-grandsons of the Tao-Kuang emperor, were P'u-lun, heir to the senior branch of the family, and P'u-wai, heir to the principedom of K'ung, likewise senior to the principedom of Ch'un. Both princes were grown men, logical candidates to succeed P'u-yi's uncle in 1908; and they failed only because the old dowager empress refused to yield by breaking her promise to Jung-lu and his widow.

When the infant P'u-yi became emperor, his parents became his subjects, as he was no longer legally their son. His "mother," the newly widowed empress, retained the power of veto over every act of the prince regent, actual father of the emperor. Prince Ch'un and his wife, therefore, did not lose all control over their eldest son, despite his removal to the Forbidden City where they were not allowed to reside. So long as Prince Ch'un remained regent, coöperating in the government, under appointment of the late dowager empress, he might exercise influence on behalf of his son. A younger son, P'u-chieh, however, became heir to his title. Still, the baby emperor inherited characteristics from both sides of his family.

Through his father, the son was a direct descendant of the founder of the Manchu dynasty, but also a grandson of a Chinese, mother of the second Prince Ch'un. The first prince of this name, though a conservative nationalist, did not limit his consorts to Manchus, as was the rule for heads of the Ch'ing house. While his



大清宣統皇帝陛下御容

H. J. M. SHE TOY THE EMPEROR OF CHINA

THE BABY HSUAN-TUNG

An early likeness taken in the Forbidden City, Pekin.

chief wife, a sister of the T'zū-Hsi dowager and mother of the Kuang-Hsü emperor, was a Manchu, his secondary wives or concubines were not all of the same race. Thus a Chinese girl happened to be mother of the son who succeeded to his princely title, the elder son having previously succeeded to the throne left vacant by a first cousin. This Chinese girl was the mother of a younger son, Tsai-t'ao, later a staunch monarchist.

Yet, although the second Prince Ch'un and his brother Tsai-t'ao were half Chinese by birth, they were wholly Manchu by education, environment, and preference. They possessed the polished manners of the Manchu aristocrat, heirs of ten generations of rulership; they were proud of their race and ancestors; and they considered themselves natural leaders of the *Ta Ch'ing Kuo*. Nevertheless, they were not totally ignorant of the modern world. The young Prince Ch'un was dispatched to Germany in 1901 on a mission to apologize for the Boxer murder of Berlin's envoy at Peking; and he absolutely refused to kowtow to the emperor William II, as desired by his officials. Prince Tsai-t'ao in 1910 visited Japan, the United States, England, and Europe on a military mission and became a great admirer of Germany's vivacious sovereign.

Through his mother, the baby emperor doubtless inherited many of his finer qualities. His maternal grandfather Jung-lu was an outstanding man, a Manchu whose ability was tested, whose loyalty could not be questioned, and whose foresight was not dimmed by a high sense of duty to his friend and superior in station, the T'zū-Hsi dowager. Jung-lu flouted her command when he deemed her mistaken, as in 1900; but he did so knowing his life might be forfeited. On the other hand, two years earlier, he stood out as her servant, in opposition to the reforming young emperor; but he did so knowing that her position, as well as his own life, was threatened. After the Boxer cataclysm, when he shared in difficult negotiations with the foreign powers, he adopted an attitude in favor of gradual reformation of the empire's political system. He advocated no sudden changes, which he regarded as unworkable; yet he stressed the need of real reforms, especially as to taxation and relief of poverty in the provinces. His death in 1903 was a serious blow indeed to the old dowager-regent, and she was obliged to rely thereafter chiefly on Chinese officials for advice.

Jung-lu's wife also was a favorite of the old dowager; and it has been said that she herself arranged the marriage of her best friends.

It is not surprising then, that she should later arrange the marriage of their daughter to a brother of her nephew the emperor, thus deciding the throne succession, insuring her clan's continued leadership at court, restoring friendly relations between her clan and her nephew's, and cementing her friendship with Jung-lu and his wife. The daughter who married young Prince Ch'un and became mother of P'u-yi was herself a remarkable woman. As the wife of the prince regent and actual mother of the emperor, her social rank was high at Peking; but she was not a woman to restrict her movements owing to social customs. Instead, possessing an independent spirit, a flair for new things, an insatiable curiosity, and a seeming recklessness, she often scandalized conservative court circles and especially her husband, who could not control her, by her interests and escapades.

Poor Prince Ch'un had no easy rôle to play at Peking. His wife was a problem; and his political career was nearly wrecked by feuds within feuds, by court intrigues, by domestic complications, by international disputes. The youthful Lung-Yü dowager, his brother's widow, checkmated him at every turn. She it was who forced him to dismiss two prominent progressive officials, the Chinese Yüan Shih-k'ai and the Manchu Tuan-fang; and, ironically enough, she it was who, in conjunction with Yüan, forced the emperor's father to give up his regency on December 6, 1911, and then, early in 1912, again at Yüan's behest, ratified the Manchu dynasty's abdication. Tuan-fang, meanwhile, in November, 1911, was murdered on a mission for the government to rebellious Szechuan province.

In the brief, troubled regency of his father, the "little emperor," as he was affectionately called by his subjects, spent his childhood in a court ridden by eunuchs and inhabited by relicts of former emperors. No man was permitted overnight in the palace, of course, and the little Son of Heaven had no playmate companions. There is a story that he refused to be comforted when first taken to the palace, because a beggar boy whom he befriended at his father's home, the "little cat" who used to scratch in the garbage, was separated from him. Finally, this lad was installed, properly washed, dressed, and instructed, as a comrade for the emperor; and he immediately ceased crying and welcomed his friend to the strange surroundings.

At any rate, the baby emperor soon adapted himself to his new palace home and was trained strictly by his elders in the ways of oriental majesty. Ceremonials, he found, were an important feature

of his existence; and he had to pay due respect always to the several widows of his two predecessors, the two emperors whose son and heir he had become. When grown, he would be expected to raise two sets of sons in their honor. Not until he was in his sixth year, however, did his formal education commence; the first ancient tutors appointed in the summer of 1911 took him in charge and instructed him in Chinese and Manchu language, literature, and history. Before much progress could be made, the abdication was negotiated. The "little emperor" no longer was Son of Heaven.

After his father's retirement as prince regent, the sturdy, little fellow in the Forbidden City was cut off more than ever from his natural parents. The Lung-Yü dowager was his "mother," ranking lady at court, spokesman for the Manchu imperial family. She continued to receive attention, not only from loyal adherents, but also from Chinese republican authorities; for she was still recognized in her capacity as chief guardian for the *Ta Ch'ing* emperor, in his new rôle of foreign monarch dwelling in the heart of Peking.

Next to her ranked various secondary consorts of the two preceding emperors; and to all of these dowagers the small boy made filial pilgrimages. His tutors, learned men of the classical school, were old enough to be his grandfathers; in their presence he again observed strict rules of etiquette. An imperial tutor had privileges no other man might claim; he was allowed to be seated in his pupil's classroom. Among his elderly grand guardians was a Chinese, Hsü Shih-ch'ang, former viceroy of Manchuria, close friend of President Yüan Shih-k'ai, and later chief executive at Peking. Only occasionally did the little emperor enjoy the company of children; usually women, eunuchs, and learned scholars monopolized his time.

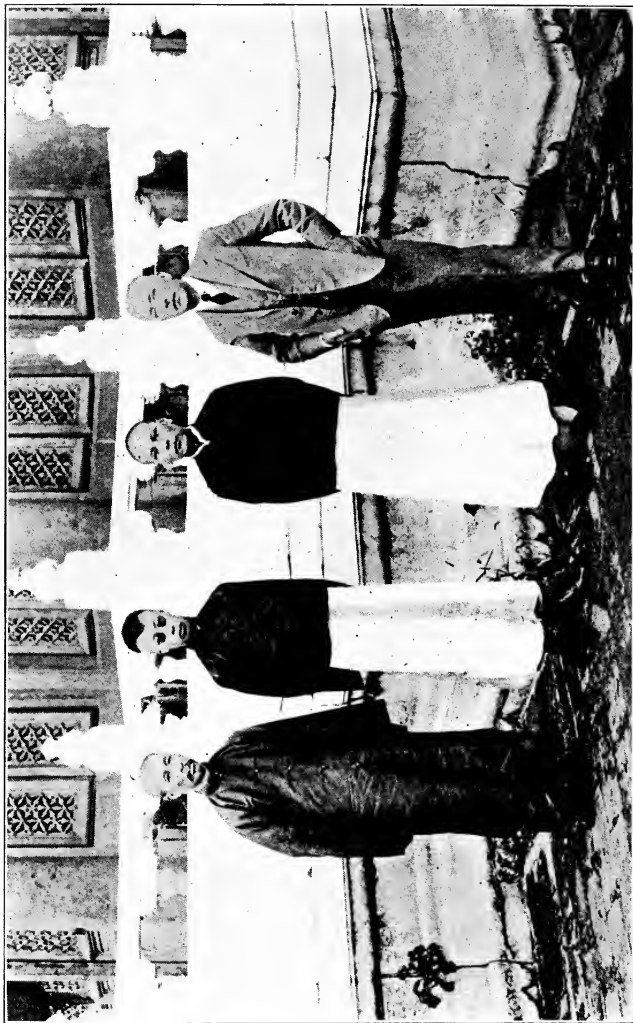
Only now and then, at long intervals, did anything unusual happen to him. Early in March, soon after the abdication, republican troops mutinied and rioted at Peking; flames mounted skyward east of the palace; but the imperial guards protected the Forbidden City. Early in July, 1917—when the emperor was eleven, the republican régime was in shreds, and war waged in Europe—old Chang Hsün abruptly put him back on the dragon throne. For ten hectic days the court was in a state of utmost excitement. Then an airplane bombed the Forbidden City, fighting broke out in nearby streets, Chang Hsün's residence was set on fire, he fled to the Netherlands legation, and all was over. But such interruptions to routine were few and far between. Studying, ceremonials, rituals, audiences, feasts: a monotonous repetition, year after year.

In spite of all this, the boy emperor's inherited characteristics were not wiped out. He did not lose his independence of spirit, his daredevil nature, his incurable curiosity. His intellectual powers were trained in an ancient but rigorous school; his artistic powers were permitted free play in learning how to be an expert calligrapher; and his mental horizon was not confined even to the vast field embracing the Chinese classics, the written and spoken Chinese and Manchu, legend and history. A breath from the great world outside his palace walls came to him; he had a chance to read Chinese newspapers and periodicals; cousins visited him and told him about the chaotic situation in the world beyond his courts. China was disorganized; the foreign nations were fighting bloody battles on land and sea; Japan held Shantung province.

Time slipped by. The Lung-Yü dowager empress died just a year after the abdication; and President Yüan Shih-k'ai gave her a state funeral. The "lustrous" dowager, sister of the "pearl" whom the unlucky Kuang-Hsü emperor preferred, was ranking lady now at court, official "mother" of the boy emperor. He was beginning to chafe; for he was in his teens. In February, 1919, he was thirteen—somewhat older by Chinese reckoning. He did not then realize a new phase of his life was beginning.

The world war was ended; a peace conference, to impose terms on vanquished countries, was in session; the future of Shantung was coming up for decision at Paris. China was still split asunder, with rival régimes at Peking and Canton. The German emperor was exiled in Holland and might be tried for his life; the Russian tsar and his family were murdered by communists, who controlled the former empire; the Austro-Hungarian empire was torn apart, partitioned; the Turkish empire was a republic. But he, the Manchu emperor, lived quietly in his Peking palace, his knowledge increasing year by year; and now, it seemed, a new tutor, a foreigner, was appointed through his guardian, President Hsü, to instruct him.

The imperial court was experiencing a change, indeed, when a Scot, an Oxon, with honors in history, a British civil official, but a Chinese scholar, Reginald Fleming Johnston, from Weihaiwei, Shantung, entered the Forbidden City in March, 1919, without remunerating the eunuch custodians of the gateways, to begin English lessons with the boy emperor. What effect this simple enterprise had, not only on the pupil, but on his court and on China in general, may never be fully known, although the tutor relates part of the story in a fascinating book, *Twilight in the Forbidden City* (1934).



Courtesy of Sir R. F. Johnston, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

AT THE EMPEROR'S TIENTSIN HOME

From left to right: The famous Chinese calligraphist, Cheng Hsiao-hsu; the emperor; a Chinese general; and R. F. Johnston, C.B.E.

All rights reserved.

It did not take long for the eager boy emperor to discover that he had a possible ally in his lonely struggle against stand-pat tendencies at court. While the new tutor did not encourage his pupil to rebel, this meant by no means that reasons for dissatisfaction would continue to be ignored. In time, as the British tutor interpreted western thought and practice through Chinese terms, the boy emperor began to discern differences between his court and other courts, between China and other states, between the Orient and other parts of the world. China was not the middle kingdom, the celestial empire, center of the universe; nor was he the Son of Heaven. As his horizons broadened, naturally he wanted changes in his own narrow sphere; and the opposition to change was practically unanimous among his elders.

Only Johnston sympathized with him; and the next few years made their contacts closer and far more cordial than any the emperor had ever enjoyed. Western influence crept into the conservative court, into the artificial palace routine, into the classical lessons. Each slight change was a step forward for the boy emperor. His foreign tutor, of course, aroused the antagonism of all who favored the *status quo*.

The boy emperor was not allowed to venture forth from his palace gateways except in fancy; but frequently a cousin—a son of Prince Tsai-t'ao or of Prince P'u-lun—shared his lessons, in English or Chinese, with one of the tutors. His brother P'u-chieh was permitted to visit him; occasionally other young guests came to pay their respects. As a rule, the emperor remained isolated; and his British tutor alone gave him an opportunity to talk freely. Yet he had western objects, such as a bicycle to ride within the palace precincts when he tired of dignified, processional walks on his pony. He was not entirely cut off from the outer world, so full of modern contrivances, so constantly beckoning him to break away from customary procedure. By the time he was in his sixteenth year—older by Chinese reckoning—he was consciously desirous of something different.

He was proficient in his Chinese and Manchu studies; he was progressing in his English lessons; but this was not enough for him. His elders—dowagers, tutors, guardians, imperial household entourage—were tentatively considering his betrothal. Hitherto every emperor came of age and married at about sixteen; and marriage might distract the youth from his growing discontent.

Whatever its cause, a tragedy proved the first chance of the boy emperor to flout his anxious trainers by emerging from the secluded Forbidden City. Early in October, 1921, his mother the Princess Ch'un, daughter of Jung-lu, suddenly died. The likeliest explanation was that she committed suicide by taking a customary overdose in protest against the attitude of the ranking dowager at court. Owing to a disagreement concerning the emperor's rights—he refused to accede to the dowager's views and actually declined to visit her as usual—his parents were summoned and lectured on their son's undutiful behavior. His father, shocked by such an awkward state of affairs, promptly fainted; but the emperor's mother kept her senses, returned home, and took the only effective means to answer the "lustrous" dowager. Alive, Princess Ch'un could not compete with her son's official "mother," but her spirit could do so.

When her death was announced, her son realized his own future was at stake; now was the time to declare his independence. Despite all opposition, he borrowed an automobile and drove for the first time in his life beyond the Forbidden City portals to the estate of his parents. He went there to participate in mourning for his mother; and he repeated this step, even motoring at night finally outside the Peking city walls to the summer palace where he knelt at the side of the road when his mother's funeral procession passed by. His mother gave him his first auto ride, his first glimpse of the outer world, his first taste of freedom; and henceforth the youth defended his rights more vigorously, more defiantly, as his elders regarded it.

First of all, he obstinately rejected any proposal that he marry three wives—the traditional number for an emperor, who might have over three score in his harem—and so bitter was the struggle that his betrothal was put off much longer than was desired by his court. Although he adopted the English name of Henry in intimate personal relations with his British tutor and in honor of the first Tudor king of England, who had but one wife at a time, the young emperor insisted on one wife only, his empress. Because compromise seemed inevitable, he eventually agreed to one secondary consort, as he was "heir" to two emperors; but he was in no hurry to be married, nor did he wish the wedding immediately to follow the betrothal. A story has it that a group of photographs of eligible Manchu girls was submitted to him, for the purpose of selecting a bride; that he picked, not the choice of his elders, but the prettiest one whom his



Photograph from Wide World Photos, Inc.

All rights reserved.

THE EMPRESS IN MANCHURIA
A recent likeness in imperial Manchu Dress.

elders did not prefer; and that he yielded to their wishes by assenting to their choice as his secondary consort.

In any case, the betrothal was proclaimed in March, 1922. His bride-elect journeyed at once to Peking with her father and her new

step-mother from Tientsin, where she had lived quietly since her childhood. Her father was created a duke, and she became a princess. The wedding was set for the autumn; and, meanwhile, imitating her imperial fiancé, the young girl commenced studying English with an American, first, Miss Miriam Ingram and, later, her sister Isabel, fresh from Wellesley.

During the next months the emperor testified to his discontent in several remarkable ways, outraging court tradition. He cut off his queue, thus conforming to modern practice, both foreign and Chinese. He had his near-sighted eyes fitted for glasses, thus saving himself much discomfort and pain, but ignoring an age-old assumption that the Son of Heaven had no imperfections. He chose an English personal name for his fiancée again honoring a Tudor sovereign by calling her Elizabeth. He installed a private telephone and bought an automobile. In June, 1922—after a war between rival republicans when his grand guardian President Hsü abandoned his post—the emperor informed Johnston that he had made up his mind to become a private citizen.

The young emperor was emphatic and eager about his plan, recklessly determined to escape from his prison court; he would take refuge at the British legation, he said, and there announce the abrogation of the abdication pact of 1912. He would voluntarily cancel his imperial rights to a useless title, an out-dated court, a large and expensive household, a republican pension far in arrears, and such other antiquated privileges as remained. The Chinese people—meaning the “five races,” Manchus, Mongols, Chinese, Mohammedans, and Tibetans—would then know he had their interests at heart and was not seeking political favors for himself. With the greatest difficulty did Johnston induce his pupil to delay any such abrupt course or action, citing good and sufficient reasons. A wiser policy was advocated instead and reluctantly accepted by the disappointed, restless, impatient heir of the Manchu dynasty. This would mean more waiting, with China in a politically chaotic condition.

After further delays, the imperial wedding was celebrated with pomp and circumstance at Peking, the new republican president participating in the friendly festivities marking the unusual event. No emperor had been married in China in more than thirty years: the populace joined in doing the young imperial pair every honor. The emperor's uncle Prince Tsai-t'ao was in charge of wedding ceremonies; the British tutor arranged an informal reception at the

throne hall for a select group of foreign friends, including the diplomatic corps with families in their private capacities; and the republican régime at Peking sent delegates to congratulate the emperor. Presents were exchanged with the empress before she arrived at the palace during the night of December 1, 1922; she was welcomed there by the secondary consort who preceded her the previous night. The next few days were full to overflowing with rituals, ceremonials, audiences, feasts, theatricals.

At the reception to foreign guests on December 3, the newly-weds were introduced to a long line of representatives of various nationalities, headed by the Japanese minister. The emperor then read a brief greeting in English from the imperial dais and drank to the health and happiness of his guests; they, in return, did the same to the bridal pair. The traditional audience of loyal subjects soon followed, gorgeously robed Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, and others prostrating themselves outside the throne hall to the emperor on his throne within, hidden from their view; and a few delegates of both the old empire and the new republic presented themselves to the emperor. He had come of age; he was now recognized master in his court; and the dowagers retired in favor of the young empress.

But the emperor did not give up hope of discarding court existence; he and his brother Prince P'u-chieh secretly planned another attempt to escape to the foreign legation quarter. In February, 1923, P'u-chieh called *incognito* on the senior foreign diplomat, the Netherlands minister, and confided to him alone the plan of escape, beseeching his aid. He also deposited with the sympathetic envoy some brief-cases containing unspecified articles smuggled from the palace. The court officials and even the British tutor were not aware of this plan; yet it fell through. The emperor was not able to leave his palace unnoticed. The brief-cases, however, were duly put into safe-keeping and probably contained personal property of the emperor.

In the next year nothing more was done, except that Johnston assumed his appointment as warden of the summer palace and prepared to negotiate the emperor's removal from the Forbidden City as soon as possible. The imperial household and the republican authorities were not favorably disposed to this change; and political uncertainties precluded any definite agreement between the emperor and the republic. Still, the emperor and empress did visit the summer palace and its lovely lake where his uncle was kept a prisoner without a view by the old T'zū-Hsi dowager. Meanwhile, the British



Courtesy of the Emperor.

All rights reserved.

MANCHU EMPEROR RECEIVES DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE
The Forbidden City, Peking, 1924.

tutor introduced his pupil to foreign guests who attended informal court gatherings; and even the "lustrous" dowager became reconciled to these social interludes before her death in 1924. The emperor met India's poet-philosopher Rabindranath Tagore and China's literary leader Hu Shih and wrote anonymous poems for the Chinese press; the imperial trio—emperor, empress, and secondary consort—often met together American-fashion with Miss Isabel Ingram, who showed them how to make fudge and other intriguing things; and eventually the emperor proudly owned a full evening dress, foreign-style.

Nevertheless, in the summer of 1923, he gained a victory which increased his popularity with friends of reform in China. One night fire swept through a portion of the Forbidden City, destroying unknown quantities of valuable treasures and threatening the entire court. Ancient red-tape prevented quick action to halt the conflagration; but the emperor sanctioned the help of a fire brigade from the Italian legation. Foreign aid extinguished the flames. The huge staff of eunuchs was held responsible for the outbreak, as many objects of art were found missing; and the emperor seized this op-

portunity, for which he had been waiting, to dismiss most of these palace retainers. Not only would this economy benefit a depleted court treasury, but the reduction of eunuchs would in itself cut out a cancerous growth undermining the Manchu court.

Before Johnston succeeded in transferring his pupil to the summer palace, the dreaded crisis arrived. In October, 1924, a military

coup d'état overthrew the Peking government, and a radical stopgap régime was installed. On November 5 Fêng Yü-hsiang's armed forces surrounded the Forbidden City, demanded an interview with "Mr. P'u-yi," ordered him to countersign a new abdication document, and, when he demurred, expelled him and his court summarily from the palace. The emperor and his two girl-wives were driven under guard to Prince Ch'un's estate, which was kept under strict military supervision for the next three weeks.

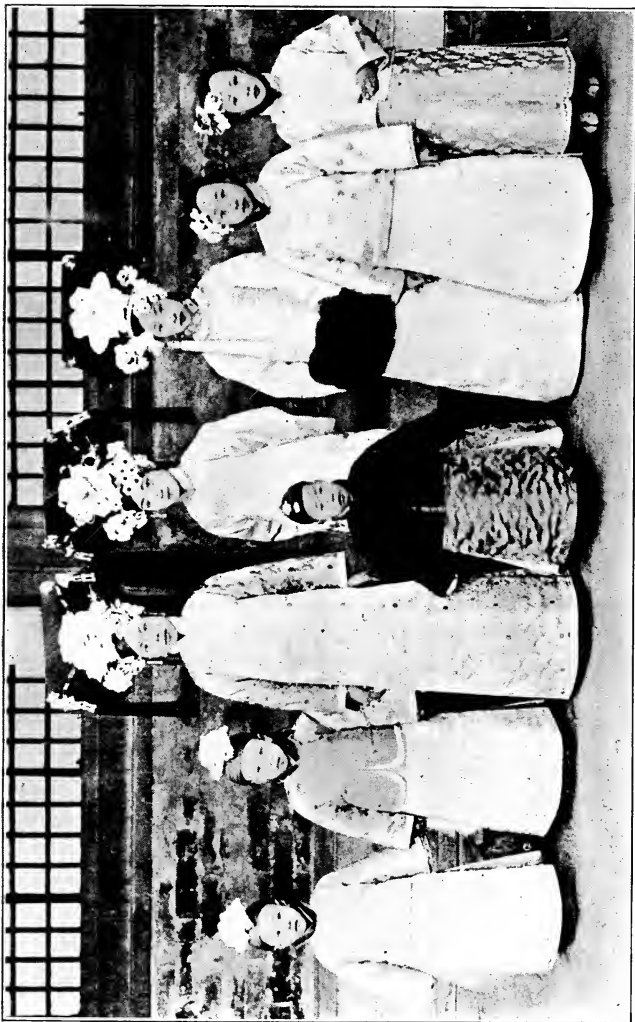
The emperor's property, both personal and dynastic, was confiscated; his title abolished; his court disbanded; his pension reduced. As a matter of fact, the pension soon lapsed altogether, nor was his property restored. This included vast dynastic possessions in land and treasures of art. Not until a fresh political turn at the end of November did the emperor—henceforth called "Mr. P'u-yi"—obtain some



Courtesy of the Emperor.

THE MANCHU EMPEROR

An informal likeness, his favorite, taken in 1924, in the Forbidden City Palace, Peking.



Courtesy of Sir R. F. Johnston, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

A GROUP ABOUT THE EMPRESS

Taken at her home in Tientsin in 1925, showing various girl relatives; directly in front of the Empress is a young brother of her husband.

All rights reserved.

liberty. On November 27 and 29 he received his first foreign newspaper interviewers; on November 28 Johnston took him for a motor drive; and on November 29 the ex-emperor was smuggled into the foreign legation quarter.

Finally he found asylum at the Japanese minister's residence and remained there; his two wives were escorted a few days later by a Japanese legation secretary to rejoin the youthful refugee; and in mid-December the trio were installed in a separate red-brick house in the legation compound. There they stayed, enjoying informal social courtesies with friendly foreigners, until February 23, 1925. On this evening, when Johnston and Miss Isabel Ingram were guests at Washington's birthday festivities, the ex-emperor with a single retainer secretly boarded a railway train—the first in his life—and safely reached Tientsin. On the way the last Manchu emperor, barely nineteen, sat between two soldiers of Fêng Yü-hsiang, but they were totally unconscious of the slender, studious youth's identity. He spent the night at a hotel and next day moved into a rented house in the Japanese concession, where his family joined him.

For over six years, failing to arrange a mutual settlement of his affairs with any republican régime, the ex-emperor resided quietly at Tientsin. His troubles, however, did not diminish. A virulent campaign threatening his very life was waged for several months; his British tutor found it necessary to answer absurd charges in the Chinese press; while the former emperor devoted his time to simple pursuits and avoided politics. He met foreign notables, such as Lord Willingdon, recently Canada's governor-general (now viceroy of India), and Prince George (now the Duke of Kent). He was not able to attend the funerals at Peking of his Chinese grandmother or of dowager consorts of his two predecessors on the dragon throne. Johnston resumed his duties with his own government; and in November, 1925, the Forbidden City was opened to the public at a nominal fee. The emperor's possessions, including personal snapshots, letters, and diaries, were exhibited at a reception to the diplomatic corps and other foreign guests. Dust lay heavily in the bedrooms of the former imperial trio.

In the summer of 1928 a terrible affliction befell the Manchu clans; their emperor's ancestral tombs were ostentatiously plundered northeast of Peking. The bodies of the great Ch'ien-Lung emperor and of the old T'zū-Hsi dowager empress were contemptuously dumped on the ground. The ex-emperor's financial state, which



THE JAPANESE LEGATION

Residence at Peking, December, 1924, where the Emperor and his family
refueged. The author is in the foreground.

obliged him to move into smaller quarters, prevented him from remedying all the damage: but he gave what he could, as he did for famine relief in north China. In 1930, after handing Weihaiwei back to Chinese control, Johnston departed for England to join London University, but before he sailed he took farewell of his affectionate pupil, who saw him off on the steamer and lingered until the last. In 1931, as if to cap the climax, the secondary consort sued her former imperial lord for divorce under recently promulgated republican laws. An unheard of situation in Chinese history developed, for he declared his intention of answering her suit himself in court. But his horrified relatives secured a compromise. The young woman, charging she had never been the emperor's wife, received her divorce and a grant of money; and with this sum she endowed a girls' school at Peking.

The autumn of 1931 proved eventful for the ex-emperor. At their farewell in 1930 he assured Johnston that another year would bring a change; and it did. When Johnston unexpectedly visited



Above: Mr. H. Arita, First Secretary at the Japanese Legation in 1924.
Below: The late Ch'en Pao-chen, the Emperor's Chinese tutor,
third from the left, December, 1924.

him in the autumn of 1931, the ex-emperor had long confidential talks with him. Manchuria was in a ferment; the régime of the Changs, father and son, was collapsing before Japanese arms; agents from the Manchu homeland were urging the last Ch'ing emperor to enter his ancestral domain. In November riots broke out at Tientsin; the ex-emperor found a bomb at his door; he decided it was time to take another step on the tour he once boyishly planned to begin at Peking and to extend to Manchuria, Japan, America, England, and Europe.

Incognito, the twenty-five-year-old ex-emperor and two older companions—his loyal counselor, the Fukienese poet Chêng Hsiao-hsü, and his son—slipped away from Tientsin across the bay to Japanese-leased Kuantung, on the coast of south Manchuria. Subsequently the ex-empress followed her husband to the territory administered by Japan; and together they inspected historic spots. Agents of an independence movement pleaded with him to head a new government, a new state; his cousin P'u-wai, Prince Kung, actively promoted his imperial restoration, with Manchuria a revived Manchu empire. But the Japanese were not ready to support such a step.

Since 1932 the last Manchu emperor once more has been a public figure, although usually dubbed "puppet" or nicknamed "Henry P'u-yi." In February, 1932, the independence of the new state of *Man-chou-kuo* (Manchu realm) was proclaimed at Hsinking, formerly Ch'angch'un; and a committee waited on the ex-emperor to request him to head the new state as *chih-chêng* (provisional chief executive). On March 9, 1932, the former emperor, just twenty-six, assumed the duties of this office at Hsinking; and his wife, who had been a semi-invalid for several years, accompanied him to their new abode, the former salt revenue administration building. There they have resided for more than three years.

Later in 1932 the Lytton inquiry commission called on the youthful head of the new Manchu realm; but on September 15, before its lengthy report was published at Geneva, the Japanese commanding general in Manchuria signed a protocol of recognition and alliance with Chêng Hsiao-hsü, prime minister of *Man-chou-kuo*. Thus officially acknowledged the new state survived the next intervening years of unrest and anxiety; and by March 1, 1934, the Japanese were ready to welcome the former Manchu emperor as emperor of the *Ta Man-chou Ti-kuo*.

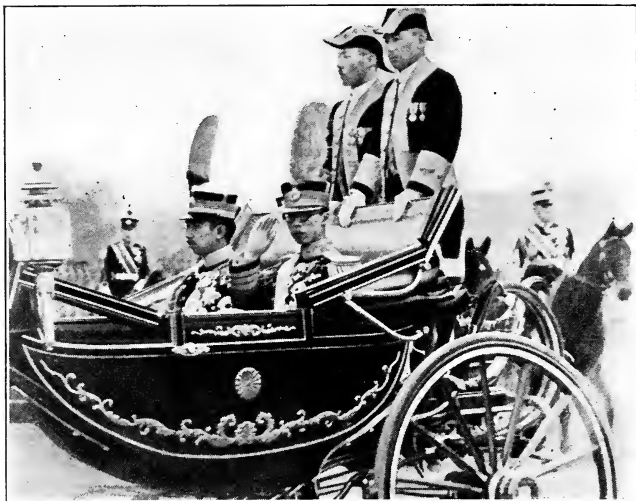
Prospects were brighter, and well might the young emperor hope for a better future. His cousin Prince Kung in 1932 headed a central bank which unified Manchurian currency; his father Prince Ch'un in 1934 visited him at Hsinking; and many relatives, tutors, and loyal followers moved to Manchuria. A sister married a grandson of Premier Chêng and went to England for fifteen months, residing at Sir Reginald Johnston's London home; and there a baby girl was born early in 1934 to Mr. and Mrs. Chêng T'u-k'ai. Another sister married a brother of the empress of *Man-chou Ti-kuo*; and her father, Duke Jung, left Tientsin for Manchuria. Prince P'u-chieh, the emperor's brother, flew from Japan to Hsinking. Not forgetting his British tutor and friend, the emperor urged Sir Reginald to return once more to see him in his new surroundings. Further, in October he paid his first call at his ancestral tombs near Mukden and prayed to the founder of the Manchu dynasty.



Courtesy of Associated Press. All rights reserved.

THE EMPEROR AT TIENSIN
Plain "Mr. Henry P'u-Yi."

Times were changing. Foreign newspapers interviewed him; news reel photographers snapped his picture; travelers came to call. A tiny central American republic, El Salvador, recognized his empire; and in June, 1934, the Japanese emperor's brother Prince Chichibu presented gifts and decorations to the Manchu imperial couple from the Japanese imperial pair. So the young emperor sent his old friend the prime minister to Tokyo and accepted an invitation himself to visit the *mikado* in 1935. As the Japanese foreign min-



Photograph from Wide World Photos, Inc.

All rights reserved.

IMPERIAL EQUALS AT TOKYO

The Manchu Emperor, saluting, with his host, the Japanese Emperor, on a state visit, April, 1935.

ister, in an address to the diet at Tokyo on January 22, 1935, announced:

“Now that the work of laying the national foundations of Manchoukuo has been completed, her future progress will largely depend, I believe on unreserved coöperation between her people and ours. Especially in the economic field it may well be expected that by ministering to each other’s wants we shall be able to achieve an ample measure of mutual well-being and prosperity. In these circumstances one cannot but be moved greatly by the announcement that His Majesty the Emperor of Manchoukuo will visit His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at Tokyo this Spring and thus add to ties of amity between two imperial houses. It is certainly a rare privilege and honor for our entire nation to have the opportunity of welcoming to our shores His Majesty the Emperor of Manchoukuo.”

Nor was this all. In March, 1935, scarcely a year after the young Manchu emperor's enthronement at Hsinking, his minister to Japan and the ambassador there from Moscow signed a sales contract to transfer the Chinese Eastern Railway property from Russian control to the new empire. This, Tokyo circles maintained, constituted *de facto* recognition of the Manchu empire by a member of the League of Nations. An exchange of letters between the young emperor and the president of a small Caribbean island state, the Dominican republic, likewise indicated friendly relations. And the official visit of the emperor in April to Japan, where he was accorded honors due the first foreign ruler ever to be a guest of the *mikado* and his government, doubtless added a finishing touch to the young Manchu's imperial restoration.



WISHING HAPPINESS

The Manchu Emperor at the time of his wedding in 1922 wrote the character for "Happiness" on the occasion of a wedding anniversary of the author's father and mother.

LAW, LIFE AND PURPOSE

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

COMBATING the views of certain leading astronomers and physicists, Dr. Inge, the so-called Gloomy Dean of St. Paul, London, declared recently that "nature needed God much more than God needed nature." It hardly needs saying that the philosophical dean defined neither nature nor God. He felt certain, however, he said, that if the Universe is running down like a clock, obeying thus purely physical law, God would intervene at the eleventh hour, as it were, and wind the Universe up again. Just why he should do this is far from clear. Why not create a new Universe out of nothing? Or why not carry on without any universe?

The answers to these queries, from the viewpoint of tolerably progressive theology, can be easily guessed. God, they hold, is interested in the Universe because of its evolved moral values, which are associated with life, especially with human life. To permit the Universe to run down is to acquiesce in the destruction of the crown of creation—Man. And man is worthy of preservation because of his ideals and standards; his religion, morality and philosophy, his science and his art.

Without belittling the positive and fine achievements of man, one may challenge the dean's assumption that the sum total of these achievements, weighed in the balance, with man's superstitions, follies, cruelties, crimes, and outrages in one of the scales, is sufficient to justify perpetuation of the Universe solely *for his sake*. If the rest of nature is morally valueless, Dean Inge's God would hardly rewind the Universe in order to extend indefinitely man's stay on this little globe of ours. What naive anthropomorphism it is to imagine that God is profoundly interested in man's struggles, successes, failures, and defeats!

Yet this sort of anthropomorphism is by no means confined to Christian Platonists of the type of Dean Inge. We find it, with some surprise, in the lectures recently delivered at Yale by Prof. Arthur H. Compton, distinguished American physicist and a winner of the Nobel prize in his branch of the exact sciences. We shall consider here, briefly, Prof. Compton's views on two subjects—individual immortality and free will.

Science, says Prof. Compton, can give no answer to the question, What will happen to the individual human being after death?

For science concerns itself with the body, the hull, not with the mind or soul within the hull. Of course, there is the theory that the mind is merely another name for a certain function of the brain, and not an independent entity, and that, therefore, the destruction of the brain carries with it, inevitably, the destruction of consciousness. But Prof. Compton says he cannot accept this hypothesis. Why not?

Because, to summarize his argument faithfully, it does not satisfactorily account for human actions. Some of these actions, or the purposes which inspire and determine them, imply a type of thinking that is free from the constraints imposed by the physical and chemical laws governing the brain.

Plainly, Prof. Compton makes an assumption here which many biologists and psychologists will consider to be gratuitous and illegitimate. The connection between the physical and chemical laws governing the brain and the purposes and motives formed by the same brain is not always clear, of course, but *that does not mean that no connection exists*. Human motives are mixed, but it is not difficult for the scientific psychologist to account even for what we call noble and heroic actions. A man, let us say, works unselfishly for a cause; he makes what we call sacrifices in behalf of that cause. Why does he do this? Certainly the laws of physics and chemistry cannot answer the question. But psychology, ethics, and sociology, with the aid of history and common sense, *can and do*. A cause is an idea, a concept, or an emotion which is very dear to one, and it becomes a part of his or her personality. To serve a cause is to express one's own nature, and the demand for self-expression is imperative, brooking no denial. What ideas and sentiments a given person is to entertain and cherish, it is impossible to say in advance. Education, environment, mental and emotional make-up combine to determine that. But we know that it is possible to shape and influence thought and conduct. We build schools, erect churches, establish all sorts of organizations for the purpose of shaping and directing conduct. We know that character can be molded and modified, and that habits can be deliberately formed.

The conclusion from these and like facts is clear—namely, that, while the dance of atoms cannot explain moral and spiritual phenomena, such phenomena are nevertheless subject to perfectly natural laws. There is nothing miraculous or supernatural about them.

Just how forces we call physical and chemical at one end of a process become mental, is still a great mystery, but, be it noted,

a mystery by no means limited to the grander, finer, and more truly human manifestations. Take the simple case of sudden panic—dread inspired by some unexpected, abnormal phenomenon—say the appearance of a wild and savage animal on a city street. There is nothing noble in fear. We are ashamed of cowardice, even when it is instinctive. We feel we *ought* to be brave and self-possessed under all circumstances. Now, what is the emotion of fear, and how does it pass from the physical sensation to the mental state we consider unworthy? We do not know. But the process is precisely the same whether the emotion excited be creditable or discreditable, admirable or morally indifferent.

Man, as has often been said, is half demon, half angel. If we do not require the God hypothesis to account for the ugly and bad side of man's nature, it is impossible to see why we need that hypothesis to explain his better and finer side. Pity is as spontaneous as fear, sympathy as antipathy. And even the animals we affect to despise practice mutual aid and exhibit acts of an altruistic nature. Between animal behavior and human behavior there is no such yawning chasm as some schools of thought have supposed and perhaps still suppose to exist. Mind is not a monopoly of the human race, though it possesses a higher degree of intelligence than any other type of living organism. Does a matter of degree warrant the extraordinary and at bottom meaningless "God" hypothesis?

Prof. Compton says that "when both physical and psychological laws are taken into account, the actions of a living organism such as man may be approximately determined." "*Such as man,*" please note. But the modern biologists and psychologists will not accept this gratuitous limitation. Can physical laws alone account for *animal* behavior—for example, the dog's devotion to man? Does the dance of atoms explain *affection* in the dog? Certainly not. But this dance is translated and transformed by the brain and nervous system into feelings and emotions. Man, as a social animal, needs more than intelligence to live in peace and safety—or, rather, in such relative peace and safety as he has managed to achieve—and his emotional nature is largely a social product. The God hypothesis is superfluous and does violence to the scientific law of parsimony.

But, contends Prof. Compton, if man obeys physical and psychological laws, and is not master of his own destiny, his purposes are ineffective and life becomes meaningless. This does not follow. As Prof. Judson Herrick of the same University of Chicago has argued at length and most persuasively in his book, *Man as Machine*,

man increasingly controls his destiny not by ignoring physical and psychological laws, but by obeying and using them for his benefit. Purposes are formed and made effective by those men who know how to conform to nature and harness its forces. Life is not meaningless, because enlightened and progressive men can *give* it a meaning—a serious and significant meaning.

Ideals that could never be realized would indeed be meaningless. Ideals gradually realized by enlisting for them the support of average bodies of men, by and through education and inspiring leadership, spell positive and genuine progress of the race, and such progress gives our life meaning.

How irrational it is to suppose that men's finest purposes can be achieved in defiance and contempt of natural law! Such a view assumes a complete and impossible chasm between man and the rest of nature. The evidence is all against the existence of such a chasm or gulf. Man is part of nature and dependent on nature's forces and laws.

We turn now more specifically to the question of immortality. Does death end all? Certainly not. Matter is not destroyed by death; it only changes form. Does death involve the destruction of something non-material? The existence of something non-material in man is the very thing to be proved. Is it at all probable that at some stage in the development of a human being a spirit enters the body, while at another stage, called death, the same spirit takes flight and translated, operates somehow, somewhere, without the instrumentality of a body? Such a supposition can be framed *in words*, but does it convey any *idea* to the mind? Are we to imagine disembodied souls in myriads afloat in space-time?

Science, says Prof. Compton, cannot tell us whether something in us does or does not survive death. No: science has no *data* whereon to erect an answer to such a naive question. But the methods, processes and habits of science unite to repudiate the hypothesis of a world or heavenly host of disembodied spirits. What part would such a host play in the drama of existence? What conceivable purpose would it serve? Freed from the ties and limitations of the body or hull, the disembodied spirit would have no passions, no conflicts, no functions and, therefore, no values.

Moreover, science deals with facts, not with fictions of the untrained imagination, and it solves only actual problems. True, science may make strides and leaps as the result of mere accidents in

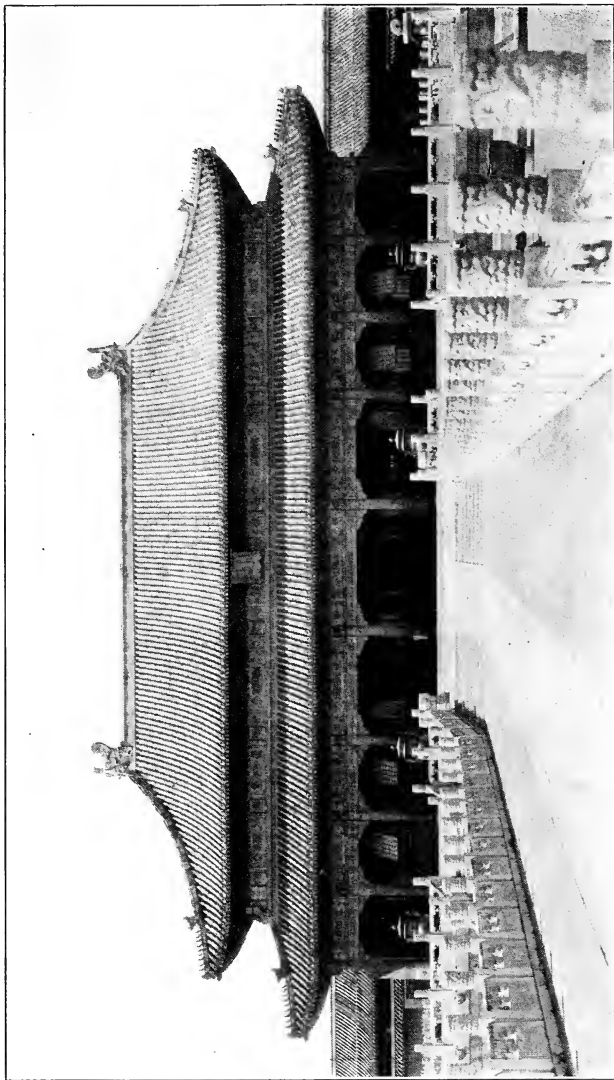
laboratories, but such accidents immediately raise certain problems and call for interpretations.

To talk of disembodied spirits is to raise not actual or significant problems, but such questions as have just been put, questions that point to the childishness of the whole notion.

Finally, there is another important, if depressing fact, which the men of science who toy with the idea of immortality always overlook. That *fact* is the decline in old age of the intellectual and moral faculties of even the most powerful of our thinkers. Second childhood is not by any means limited to the mediocre, the dull, the ignorant. It may come to the philosopher, the savant, the seer and leader. Now, what becomes of the soul or spirit—if it is an independent entity—at or during the stage of second childhood? Does it separate itself from the brain; does it quit the hull or body in disgust or contempt? If so, it is a very poor sport indeed. But the decay and breakdown of the mind may be gradual or slow, and in cases of that sort the thin and improbable theory of a divorce between the soul and the brain completely fails as a last refuge.

No; immortality is not even a decent hypothesis. If science does not stop, or stoop, to reject it, it is because, as I have said, science cannot afford to take notice of, or waste time on idle and ghostly ideas. The burden of proof is upon the proponents of the idea of individual immortality. Thus far they have advanced absolutely nothing worthy of the name of evidence. Why should science or philosophy bother about it?

As for the contention that if man does not live again after death, life is not worth living, and the moral code is deprived of its *raison d'être*, the answer, again, is that the *facts* of human life and human evolution refute that pessimistic view. The individual may not hope for survival, but the race may and does. Humanity has millions of years before it, and each generation can do something toward improving the social organism and the conditions under which it lives. The will to make this contribution, to carry on, to work for social and moral amelioration, is an observed and observable fact. It has no supernatural or mystical elements. It is, like man himself, a social product. And it is a product which can be cultivated deliberately. This or that system or civilization may fail and die, but humanity will continue to live and to advance. It is slowly and painfully *learning* to be the master of its destiny and to create an environment favorable to the growth of the best qualities in its own collective nature.



Courtesy of the Emperor.

THE THRONE HALL
The Forbidden City Palace, Peking.

All rights reserved.

THE NEW ORIENT

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN IRAQ

BY MATTA AKRAWI

THE NEW IRAQ

THE DEVELOPMENT of public education in Iraq in the last fifteen years has proceeded side by side with the growth of the young Iraqi Nation since the Great War. Beginning its new life as an occupied territory conquered by Great Britain, and ruled under a military régime, Iraq succeeded, after a revolution against direct British rule, in securing the establishment of a national government under the mandate of Great Britain. Eleven years later, the mandate régime came to an end with the admission of Iraq to membership in the League of Nations in October, 1932, and Iraq emerged as an independent sovereign state.

During this period which began with the Great War, tremendous changes in the life of the Iraqi people have taken place. The British conquest rudely brought to an end the comparative isolation in which Iraq had been for many centuries and established direct contact with the outside world. Europe and the West, which previous to the World War had been little more than vague ideas to the majority of the Iraqis, now became trenchant realities. The establishment of railway, motor, and airplane transportation, the coming of the wireless and, more recently the advent of the radio coupled with the study of Iraqi students abroad, brought in a powerful current of new ideas which was one of the greatest factors of change in the country. New government institutions were founded, with a king, a cabinet, and a parliament of two houses, together with the usual public services attached to a government. But above all, a wave of national feeling was gathering momentum, and the consciousness of national unity and pride was growing steadily.

It is in this period, which can rightly be termed the period of transition from a medieval to a modern way of life, that the new system of education in Iraq came into being. It is evident that in the circumstances of the birth of a new nation, education is called upon to assume responsibilities of great importance and to play a decisive rôle in the building of that nation upon sound and modern

principles. Of the aims and functions of education in Iraq we shall have more to say later in this article. Meanwhile let us inquire as to how the new educational system in Iraq came to be, and what is the present organization and status of both public and private education.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION UP TO THE GREAT WAR

Centuries of invasions, destruction, raids, and counter-raids, misgovernment and neglect had reduced Iraq into a backward, poverty-stricken and ignorance-ridden country most of which had turned into a desert inhabited by tribes. Of the old tradition of learning, there was little left to remind the Iraqi that his country was once the cultural center of Islam and the Arabs. On the whole, only two types of traditional schools were left: the small *mulla* school in which boys, and sometimes girls, learned the rudiments of reading in the *Qur'an*, writing, and a little arithmetic; and a higher school or *madrassa* in which the Arabic language and Mohammedan religion in their many branches were taught. Both of these types of schools were situated either in mosques, or in special buildings, or even in private houses, and dependent for their support either on endowments or on tuition collected by the teachers, though the higher schools were usually endowed by pious Moslems. Some of the latter schools taught, in addition to religious and linguistic subjects, some Aristotelian logic, mathematics, and astronomy.

When, in the nineteenth century, the Turks wanted to modernize their education, they superimposed a modern secondary, and later an elementary school on the *mulla* school. As time went on, this arrangement did not seem to be successful, and there gradually grew side by side with the old system, a new system of elementary and secondary schools based on European models. In Iraq, in the year 1913, the Turkish public school system consisted of 160 elementary schools containing 6,650 pupils. In addition there were secondary schools in Mosul, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya, Baghdad, and Basra, three teachers' training colleges, and a law school in Baghdad.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

With the coming of the World War, the system established by the Turks crumbled as they gradually withdrew before the advancing British army. It is an interesting commentary on Turkish rule and education in Iraq that they left little impress on the country, aside from some men who survived the Turkish régime, a few

buildings, and some Turkish words in the Arabic dialects of Iraq. This was so true that the British had to begin almost anew and found difficulty in recruiting teachers for the schools which they established. They started the new educational system by opening a few schools in and around Basra in 1915. By 1920-21, three years after the end of the War, their school system comprised 88 elementary schools with 8001 children and 486 teachers. They concentrated their effort mainly on elementary education, considering it unwise to contemplate ambitious schemes in secondary and higher education, before laying down a sound foundation of elementary education. The elementary school was to consist of six years, though in practice schools containing from one to six grades existed. The British authorities wisely decided to make Arabic the language of instruction, and to use the vernacular in localities where languages other than Arabic were spoken. Textbooks were mainly imported from Egypt. The course of study was also drawn up after models of other Eastern countries.¹ At first some difficulty was met in finding the proper teachers for the elementary schools and for this purpose a three months' course was opened for former teachers. This humble beginning formed the nucleus out of which grew the present Teachers' Training College for Men in Baghdad. By 1920, the course had been lengthened to two years, to which graduates of the elementary schools were usually accepted, though the need for teachers often made it necessary to accept students of a lower grade. The British authorities adopted the policy of encouraging private and missionary schools partly because of the lack of educational facilities in the country, and partly, it appears, because of the curious desire to educate the students of the various religious sects separately.² Aside from elementary schools, the British also opened a school for surveyors and government employees, and initiated secondary school classes in the three cities of Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
TO THE PRESENT

Many of the plans contemplated by the British in 1920, were cut short by the national revolution, when the history of Iraq took

¹ Department of Education, *Syllabus of the Primary course of Study*, Baghdad, Government Press, 1919.

² *Review of the Civil Administration of the Occupied Territories of At-Iraq*, 1914-18, p. 59. Baghdad, Government Press, 1919.

a new turn. The National Government took over the Ministry of Education from the British authorities and within the first year the number of elementary schools and pupils almost doubled. Some of this increase was due to the wave of national feeling which prevailed at the time, and some to the fact that a number of denominational schools were taken over by the Ministry of Education. In the following years, the increase in the number of elementary schools was much slower. By 1929, however, the number of elementary schools had risen to 291 in which 30,888 pupils were registered. Of these, forty-four schools were for girls and contained 6,003 pupils. Beginning with the year 1932, the rate of expansion of the elementary school system began to accelerate considerably. In that year and the following, forty-nine and eighty schools were added respectively. More than 100 new elementary schools are being opened in the current year. In the academic year 1933-34, there were 53,393 pupils in 450 schools. Of these pupils 12,708 were girls studying in 87 girls' schools. The initial statistical returns for the current year indicate that the total number of elementary-school pupils will exceed 60,000. The elementary schools enrollment would thus have been doubled in the last five years.

The elementary school course of study includes the subjects of religion, Arabic, geometry, geography, history, civics, object lessons (including some science), manual training, drawing, physical education, and singing. English is taught in the fifth and sixth grades. The course is organized in two cycles: a short cycle including the first four years aiming to give an all-round training for children who usually do not stay in school beyond the fourth grade; and a two year cycle designed mainly to be a recapitulation of the four year cycle for children who stay in school throughout the six grades. This unfortunate division has had the effect of overcrowding the course of study with topics, particularly in the lower grades. A great deal of emphasis is now being laid on physical education, and scouting is encouraged by the Ministry of Education as an extra-class activity.

Side by side with the growth of elementary education, came the expansion of secondary education. From a few classes of secondary grade in Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra, there grew the three complete secondary schools in these cities. The secondary course was at first of four years' duration, but was later increased to five years, the first three of which were made into an independent unit known as the intermediate school. The plan of education in Iraq, then, is a

6-3-2 plan.³ There are at present six complete secondary schools, of which two are for girls, and two are evening secondary schools, of which one is for girls. In addition, there are twenty-four intermediate schools, of which seven are for girls. There were 3,791 students in intermediate and secondary schools, of whom 459 were girls, in the year 1933-34.

The subjects taught in the intermediate schools are: the Arabic and English languages, geography, ancient and modern and Arabic history, general science, physics, chemistry, biology, physiology and hygiene, arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. In addition, athletics and games, art and music are given as extra-class activities. The secondary curriculum includes four parallel courses of two years each; the socio-literary, scientific, mathematical and commercial courses. All these courses have the subjects of Arabic, English, and social science in common. In order to improve the teaching of English, a textbook of one of the content subjects, suitable to each of the courses is studied in each of the two years in addition to the regular study of English proper. The course in social science is intended to give the students in the first year a fair acquaintance with the social, political, economic, and hygienic conditions and problems of Iraq; and in the second year to survey the problems of the Arab movement and some of the world movements and tendencies, such as the industrial revolution, nationalism and imperialism, socialism and communism, democracy and fascism, and the movement for international peace.

There exist only two institutions of higher learning in Iraq, the College of Law and the Royal College of Medicine. The first was established by the Ministry of Justice and was later transferred to the Ministry of Education. The latter was started by the Department of Health and is still under its jurisdiction. The Higher Teachers' Training College which was established in 1923-24 in order to train teachers for the intermediate schools was abolished in 1931. A higher school of divinity which was established in 1923 and which was the first department for the proposed National University, was abolished in 1930, and plans for the university have not been realized.

There were, during the British occupation, four technical (trade) schools in Mosul, Baghdad, Kirkuk and Basra. The last two have

³ A movement is now afoot which aims at changing it to a 5-3-3 plan, thus shortening the duration of elementary education from six to five years.

since been abolished on account of poor attendance while the former have been raised to a standard of four years above the elementary school certificate. The school for surveyors and government employees was abolished and in its place a school of engineering was established. This in turn was abolished in 1931. A school of agriculture of a secondary standard was started in 1926 by the Department of Agriculture and was later transferred to the Ministry of Education. It also was abolished on account of poor attendance.

The course for training teachers for the elementary schools, which consisted of two years at the time of the British occupation, was increased to three, and later, to a four-year course. Since 1929, admission to the Teachers' Training College in Baghdad has been limited to the bearers of the intermediate school certificate, the student being required to pass a three-year course. Aside from the usual academic subjects, this course emphasizes the study of education and practice teaching, manual arts, gardening, and practical instruction in health and hygiene. Beginning with 1922, a shorter course of two years was started for the training of teachers of the lower grades. It admitted students who often were not even bearers of the elementary-school certificate. It was later lengthened to three years but abolished in 1931 on account of its low standard. A new Rural Training College for men was started last year in a rural environment which gives a three-year course above the elementary school. Aside from the subject of education, it emphasizes rural reconstruction, agriculture, manual training, and the practical study of health.

Women teachers are trained at a training college in Baghdad which gives a three-year course above the elementary school. A parallel rural training college for women situated in Diwaniya was opened in 1933. In spite of the difficulty of inducing girls to leave their homes and attend the two training colleges for women, efforts are being made to make students in these institutions as representative of the country as possible. Signs are not lacking which tend to show that this difficulty is being gradually overcome and more liberal ideas about education of women are spreading.

A very important feature of this period is the movement for the liquidation of illiteracy which was started by an association known as the *Ma'had al-Ilmi* (Institute of Knowledge) at the time of the foundation of the National Government in 1921. It received at first substantial grants-in-aid from the Ministry of Education and

was aided for a time by municipalities. Towards the end of the twenties its energy abated, and the movement has since been taken over completely by the Ministry. There were last year more than 10,000 students of all ages studying in evening schools for illiterates. The aim of the Ministry of Education is to have an evening school at least in every locality where there is a day school.

THE MONROE COMMISSION AND THE SUEDHOF REPORT

This brings us to the end of our survey of the history and growth of the educational system in Iraq in recent times. Yet our account would not be complete unless mention is made of the work of the Educational Inquiry Commission which was called by the Iraq Government in 1932, and some of its recommendations are outlined. The Commission was under the chairmanship of Professor Paul Monroe, Director of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University; the other members were Professor William C. Bagley of the same Institution and Professor Edgar W. Knight of the University of North Carolina. Dr. Mohammad Fadhil Jamali, now Director General of Education, was the official Attaché to the Commission. After spending about two months in the country, the Commission submitted a report recommending among other things that an advisory council be constituted under the chairmanship of the Ministry of Education, composed of seven directors of the departments the creation of which the Commission suggested. These departments are: the Department of Tribal, Rural, and Village Education, the Department of City and Town Education, the Department of Intermediate and Secondary Education, the Department of Vocational Education, the Department of Girls' Education, the Department of Administration and Records, and the Department of Research and Teaching Material.

Regarding the improvement of the quality of education, the Commission recommended that the training of teachers be recognized as the major factor in the improvement of teaching, and that measures be taken to train teachers in service and to raise the standards of the existing training colleges and appoint well-trained staffs for them. School principals should be allowed to submit plans, regulations, curricula, and methods which diverge from those laid down by the Ministry, and when these are approved by the Advisory Council, they should be allowed to be put into effect. A new type of elementary village school should be experimented with, and, if successful, should be multiplied. The curricula of the elementary schools should be revised with a view to simplification and to bring-

ing them into closer touch with life. In addition, a kind of peripatetic school should be established for the tribes, and young married couples taken from the tribes should be trained to teach in it. The Commission also recommended that local interest in education be stimulated and legal provisions be made permitting the raising of local funds for schools.

A beginning has already been made in the application of some of the recommendations of the American Commission, though sometimes in modified form. Much more attention is being paid to rural and tribal education than formerly, and special rural teachers' training colleges for men and women have been established. Four of the seven directors recommended have been appointed but with the title of supervisors and with no executive powers. It is hoped that more of the recommendations will be applied in due time.

More recently the Ministry has felt the need for reforming its technical and trade education, and for this purpose invited Dr. Herman Suedhof of the German Ministry of Economics to study the problem. He presented a report recommending that the technical school in Baghdad be developed and made to consist of four sections, each headed by an expert, namely, a building and carpentry section, a mechanical section, an electrical section, and an automobile section. The curriculum should be so changed as to make training more practical in the beginning, leaving the main part of the theoretical work for later years. He also recommended that the school should keep in closer touch with the existing industrial concerns, and to facilitate this, that a board should be created to supervise the work of the school, consisting of representatives of the Ministries of Education and Communications and Economics, and of the important industries.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCING OF EDUCATION

As in other departments of the State, so in education, the administration is highly centralized. At the head is the Minister, who is a political man and rises and falls with the other members of the cabinet. He is supposed to supervise the work of his Ministry, decide on lines of general policy and represent the interests of his Department in the Cabinet. Under him is the Director General of Education who is a permanent official and is the real executive in the Ministry. He issues all the orders and signs all the correspondence which leaves the central office, except the correspondence addressed to the Council of Ministers and to other Ministries. With the Director General are four Supervisors recently appointed. They

are the Supervisors of Elementary Education, of Rural Education, of Secondary Education, and of the Education of Women. They are supposed to be in direct contact with the field, to raise the level of the teachers in service, and improve the methods of teaching, to supervise the training of teachers, and to present their suggestions with regard to curricula, textbooks, and policies connected with their respective fields.

Two councils control the policies of the Ministry of Education: the first, known as the Ministerial Council, meets under the chairmanship of the Minister and is composed of the Director General of Education and the four supervisors. It decides on all matters of general policy, appoints principals and teachers of secondary schools and directors of education, and approves the promotion of teachers. The second, known as the General Education Council, meets under the chairmanship of the Director General and is composed of the four supervisors, the Director of Education of the Baghdad Division, the Principal of the Teachers' Training College for Men, and the Principal of the Secondary School in Baghdad. It decides on matters relating to curricula and textbooks, the opening of new schools and classes, the expansion of the system, and on the deputation of students for study abroad.

Iraq is divided for general administrative purposes into fourteen *liwas* or divisions. Eleven of these have a Director of Education, the remaining three being combined with others. The Directors of Education are under the authority of the Director General. They are put in charge of the administration of education in their respective *liwas*, they supervise instruction, make proposals for the expansion of education within their *liwas* and submit for approval by the Director General the appointment of the staff to each of the schools under their jurisdiction.

All rules and regulations are issued by the central office. So are the courses of study and textbooks for all schools. The questions for the general examinations at the end of each of the elementary, intermediate, and secondary courses are set by the Ministry and the correction of the examination papers takes place under its supervision. The four Teachers' Training Institutions are under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry. It will thus be seen that the Ministry of Education controls all the important factors in the educative process.

On the other hand Iraq is one of the few countries in which almost all the support of public education is born by the central

budget of the State. The local communities and municipalities spend nothing on education, except for occasional subscriptions for school buildings, or small grants to poor school children made by municipalities. In this lies one of the most important problems in Iraq. For if the idea of universal education is ever to be reached, it is inconceivable that the central budget of the State will be able to bear all of its expense. Elementary education is now free for all children. A fee of about \$15.00 is charged in intermediate and secondary schools with full exemption for 35% of the students, and exemptions from one-half of the fee for another 20% of the students.

AIMS OF EDUCATION IN IRAQ

The aims of education in Iraq must be drawn from a study of the conditions prevailing in the country, of the problems that it faces, and of the needs that must be fulfilled in order that the country may progress steadily in its national life.

On the political side we find that a large proportion of the population of Iraq is made up of tribes which in former times were a law unto themselves, recognizing no authority or allegiance beyond the limits of their tribes. Though the majority of the population is of Arabic extraction, yet there are important racial minorities, such as the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turcomans. Sectarianism, while waning, still plays a not altogether wholesome rôle in the life of the country. The tasks which Iraqi educators have set for themselves is to bring up through the schools a generation of united and useful citizens whose allegiance transcends the limits of their tribe, race, or religion, who think nationally, and who are ready to serve their country and their fellow men. At the same time, the Arabs now find themselves largely under foreign domination and have never recognized the régime of so-called mandates imposed upon them by some of the Western Powers. One of the important functions of education in Iraq is to imbue the younger generation with the ideal of the liberation and unity of the Arab Race for which their elders worked during and after the World War.

Health conditions throughout the country are extremely bad. A multitude of diseases unnecessarily carries away a large number of people, and mutilates a still larger number. The majority of the population know almost nothing of the essentials of healthful living. Few mothers know how to bring up their children along modern lines, and child mortality is therefore very high. While fighting the prevailing diseases is a function of the Public Health organization in the country, there is little doubt that the problem is funda-

mentally one of education, as medical authorities in the country have themselves repeatedly asserted.

Education must help to raise the standard of living, particularly in the country districts, by teaching methods of agriculture, by the extension of commercial and industrial education and the creation of a sense of pride in work and habits of thrift and economy.

A drastic change must come into the family. The present patriarchal type of family with the man in almost undisputed authority and with the woman beset by ignorance, veiled or shut in her house, is perhaps the most important reason for the backwardness of Iraqi society. To raise the standard of social life in Iraq, one must educate woman and give her a sense of self-respect and of her place in the life of the country. At the same time one must educate the younger generation of men to regard women as their equals and to respect them as such.

Finally, the impact of Western civilization makes unprecedented demands on education. The introduction of western ideas, habits, and modes of life is striking at the very fundamentals of the old Arabic way of living. Beliefs are being questioned, traditions shaken, industries eliminated, and distances shortened. There is change in all phases of life, material, spiritual, and cultural. Now the Arabs are a proud race, with a proud past, a proud culture, and a proud religion. There is danger that in the rush for innovations some valuable features of their civilization be lost. At the same time the danger is indeed very great that many features of Western civilization be misunderstood. To interpret their own, as well as Western civilization to the Arabs and to try and control the process of interaction between the two civilizations, is one of the important functions of education.

PROBLEMS AND FUTURE PLANS

Perhaps one of the most important problems that the Ministry faces today is that of finding ways and means for the spread of education among all the classes of the population and for the realization of the goal of the universal elementary education. There are now over 60,000 children in the elementary schools. Adding all the pupils registered in all types of schools, public and private, their total number would still be short of 100,000. Yet if we were to suppose that the population of Iraq is approximately three and a half millions and that about 12% of these are children of school age, we are faced with the task of providing elementary schools for no less than 420,000 children. This means that schools have yet

to be provided for more than 320,000 children, or more than five times the number of children now enrolled in the public elementary schools. The problem is primarily a financial one, for, given the funds, it would not be too difficult to lay down plans for the realization of universal education in twenty years at most. One of the methods suggested is the levying of special and local taxes in the name of education. Another suggestion is shortening the period of elementary education to five, instead of six years, in order to utilize the saving thus made for the quicker spread of educational facilities.

A second problem is that of the comparative emphasis which is to be laid on the various types of education. How much public money should be spent on nursery-kindergarten, elementary, secondary, higher and technical education? The opinion of Iraqi educators is now almost unanimously agreed that the main emphasis is to be laid by far on elementary education. There are only eleven kindergartens in the country, and the idea is that the Government cannot afford to embark on an ambitious scheme of kindergarten education. The problem is more complicated with regard to secondary education, because upon it and upon higher education depends the quality of leadership in the country. Are the doors of the secondary schools to be wide open to virtually all those who desire to enter, as is the case in the United States, or is there to be, as in France, a ruthless process of selection, and only the *élite* be admitted? The weight of opinion seems to be gravitating towards the method of selection, though nothing like the French system is contemplated. At the same time, the idea is gradually gaining ground for multiplying the centers of agricultural, commercial, and industrial education on the intermediate (Junior High) and secondary levels, in order to check the influx of students into the purely academic courses and in order to enhance the economic development of the country. Except for the Law and Medical Colleges, the country is dependent for its higher education on institutions abroad. For the last twelve years, the Ministry of Education has been sending a large number of students to Syria, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States to study in their higher institutions. This policy is likely to continue for some time, since it is thought that the time has not yet come for the launching of a big program of higher education.

A third problem lies in the necessity for the improvement of the teaching staff. Starting with a very low standard in 1918, and checked repeatedly by political and financial difficulties, the Depart-

ment, later the Ministry, of Education had to employ teachers of a low caliber and hurriedly to train others. Of more than 2,000 teachers now employed in this system, the present writer estimates that at least 1,400 need further training. In order to remedy this situation, the Ministry is contemplating a program of training in service through special summer and yearly sessions for teachers, through publications, and through supervision. At the same time a new scheme which links promotion and increase in salaries with professional growth is now under consideration.

Curricula have for some time been a vexing problem. They have been repeatedly criticized on almost all sides as too academic, detached from life, and unnecessarily loaded. The blame for the rush of young men to government offices has often been laid at the doors of the schools and the type of "theoretical" education they are giving. Hence there has been a strong demand for more practical courses of study. Yet curricular reform, if not accompanied by a proper training of teachers, would largely be a paper reform. To make curricula more relevant to everyday life also needs a number of years of study and experimentation.

Character education is one of the most difficult problems of education in Iraq. Science as yet knows very little about the psychological processes of character formation. Yet to raise the standard of honesty among children, to reduce the amount of foul language picked up by children from the environment, to imbue the pupils with the ideals of service, and to break the highly individualistic traits of the Arab, and to teach him the method of coöperation are great problems indeed.

Limitations of space do not allow more than a mere mention of some of the other important problems of education in Iraq. Among these are the problems of the method of expansion of the elementary school system, of increasing attendance in the schools pending the time when compulsory education becomes practicable, of examinations, of textbooks and equipment, of the teaching of foreign languages, the teaching of Arabic reading to beginners, and so on.

PRIVATE AND FOREIGN SCHOOLS

The number of local private schools in Iraq is fairly large. The majority of them are elementary schools usually lower in standard than the public schools. A few maintain secondary classes, while the number of the old-fashioned ungraded *mulla* schools is still large. Of the more notable private schools may be mentioned the

Ghary School in Najaf, the history of which goes back to the revolution of 1920, the Tafayudh, Jaafariya and Hussainiya schools in Baghdad. Most of the other schools are Christian or Jewish denominational schools. Of these, perhaps the largest is the Jewish Shamash School in Baghdad. The Ministry of Education annually gives grants-in-aid to various private schools with the desire to encourage them. Some of these grants are quite substantial.

Aside from the Jewish schools of the *Alliance Israélite* in Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra, most of the foreign schools are Christian missionary schools. Foreign schools are more or less looked upon with suspicion, partly because of the natural aversion of the Mohammedan to the idea of Christian proselytizing, and partly because of the fear that they become centers of foreign propaganda. The number of foreign schools in Iraq, however, is far less than in Syria and Palestine. The oldest foreign school is that of the Carmelite fathers founded about the middle of the eighteenth century and reorganized and enlarged in 1858.⁴

There are four American schools. The oldest is that established in Basra in 1910 by Dr. Van Ess of the American Mission. It now has an average annual enrollment of about 225 pupils. Its program covers primary, middle, and junior secondary school work. It draws students from well-to-do families of Basra as well as poor families from the city and the surrounding rural districts. The American School for Boys in Baghdad was founded about ten years ago and grew rapidly until its enrollment reached 425 students. Though at first a missionary school, it is now virtually independent. Instruction in the higher school division is in English. The school is quite a popular one in Baghdad and its student body is almost evenly drawn from the three great religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. The authorities of the school hope to raise it as soon as possible to the standard of a junior college. The American School for Girls is also a popular one; it was founded about ten years ago and draws its students from the three religions. Its enrollment is now 130 students. Finally the American Jesuit Fathers have recently founded in Baghdad a school known as the Baghdad College which they hope to develop gradually into a higher institution.

There are unfortunately no reliable statistics for the private and foreign schools in Baghdad.

⁴ Chiba, Hatib, *La Province de Baghdad*, pp. 105-07. Cairo, 1909.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON EDUCATION IN IRAQ

1. Department of Education, *Administration Report for the year 1919*. Baghdad. Government Press, 1920.
2. Government of Iraq, *Review of the Civil Administration of the Occupied Territories of Al-Iraq, 1914-18*, pp. 58-64. Baghdad, Government Press, 1918.
3. Department of Education, *Syllabus of the Primary Course of Study*, Baghdad, Government Press, 1919.
4. Ministry of Education, *Annual Reports, for the years 1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25, 1925-26, 1926-27, 1927-28, 1928-29, 1929-30, and 1930-33*. Baghdad, The Government Press. (In Arabic.)
5. Ministry of Education, *Syllabus of the Primary Course of Study*, Baghdad, Al-Furat Press, 1926. (In Arabic.)
6. Ministry of Education, *Syllabus of the Intermediate Course of Study (Provisional)*. Baghdad, Al-Adab Press, 1931. (In Arabic.)
7. Ministry of Education, *Syllabus of the New Secondary Course of Study, (Provisional)*, Baghdad, Government Press, 1933-34. (In Arabic.)
8. Ministry of Education, *Report of the Educational Inquiry Commission*, Survey Directed and Report edited by Professor Paul Monroe, Baghdad, Government Press, 1932. (In Arabic and English.)
9. Ministry of Education, *A Memorandum on Technical Training in Iraq*, by Dr. Herman Suedhof. Baghdad, Government Press. (In Press.)
10. Anonymous, "Iraq," in the *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute, 1927*, Edited by Professor Isaac L. Kandel, pp. 215-229. Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City, 1928.
11. Conway, A., "Education in Iraq, 1927," *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Vol. xiv, Part iv, pp. 334-339.
12. Jamali, Muhammad Fadhil, *The New Iraq, Its Problem of Bedouin Education*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University.
13. Akrawi, Matta, *Life and Education in Modern Iraq*, Oxford University Press. (In Press.)
14. *Report on Iraq Administration*, October, 1920—March, 1922, pp. 77-87; April, 1922—March, 1923, pp. 163-170 and 193; April, 1923—December, 1924, pp. 201-220. London, H. M. Stationery Office.
15. *Report of His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Iraq, for the year 1925*, pp. 133-142; 1926, pp. 123-130; 1927, pp. 151-160; 1928, pp. 127-136; 1929, pp. 135-145; 1930, pp. 122-127; and January to October, 1932, pp. 11-12. London, H. M. Stationery Office.
16. *Special Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Progress of Iraq during the Period 1920-1931*, pp. 224-234. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1931.
17. "Ajjan Al Hadid," "Le Développement de l'Éducation Nationale en Iraq", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Année 1932. Cahier III, pp. 331-354. Paris, Librairie Orientale Paul Geuthner.

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF PRE-CONFUCIAN CHINA

BY HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL

SIX YEARS ago a young student of things Chinese spoke to one of the world's greatest Sinologists of a project which he had in mind for the study of ancient Chinese culture, based chiefly on inscriptions on bronze vessels, etc. The Sinologist was almost scornful as he replied, "Study Chinese culture from ancient inscriptions? Why, there is no material!" As sometimes happens even to the great, he was partly wrong. Yet he was largely right—six years ago.

If the same undertaking were spoken of today, one would have to say: "Very well, but you must work fast. For there is so much material, and so many new things come to light almost every month, and the literature of interpretation of the material is growing so rapidly, that it will soon be impossible for any single person to have even a thorough general understanding of the whole field."

To say that the years since 1928 have seen more progress toward an understanding of China before Confucius than any like period in history would be a gross understatement. To say that the last twenty years have witnessed a greater advance than did the two thousand preceding them might seem an exaggeration, yet it would be no more than the truth. While the civil wars and disorders of the last decades have been doing their work of destruction, a very small army of scholars has been patiently at work building a new conception of the beginnings of their people's culture. And it is probable that their work will ultimately prove to have more influence, even on the political fate of China, than all the fighting of the generals.

One of the most important aspects of the Chinese situation is a very wide-spread "defeatist psychology," a tendency to pessimistic, fatalistic resignation. The intellectual basis of this, in so far as it has one, lies in the traditional Chinese philosophy of history, which has held the world to be gradually degenerating from a "golden age" in the remote past. In that glorious period, it has been held, men were naturally good, and all men, even the foreign barbarians, were obedient to the Chinese emperor, appointed by Heaven to rule the world. But the men of the present are not equal to those of the past, and if the foreign nations not only do not obey China, but

even invade and appropriate her territory—well, it is no more than might be expected, according to this gloomy view.

But the new history is changing all this. It holds the “golden age” to be no more nor less than a myth. It depicts Chinese history as a process which has, to be sure, known setbacks, but which has been on the whole a glorious series of achievements, building civilization out of barbarism and welding a nation out of people who were, three thousand years ago, so many warring tribes. Inevitably it turns the faces of its disciples toward the future, not to sigh after but to emulate the achievements of their ancestors by scaling new heights. When this spirit has thoroughly permeated the Chinese people, as it certainly will in time, they will be a different factor in the world situation.

What are the causes which have led to this remarkable activity in historical research, which is bearing its finest fruits in the present decade? They are many, but among the most important are some archeological finds of great moment. The most important is the discovery of the capital city of the Shang state (usually called the Shang dynasty) at Anyang in northern Honan Province. This is the most important excavation ever made in Eastern Asia, and one of the most important in the entire world. Here, under the joint auspices of the National Research Institute (a Chinese government organization) and the Freer Gallery of Art, the city which was the center of Chinese culture from about the fourteenth to the twelfth centuries B.C. has been uncovered by trained archeologists. The foundations of buildings resembling the Greek temples in form, as much as ninety-two feet long and twenty-six feet wide, have been brought to light. Extensive remains of the various industries of these people, including that of bronze casting, have been found. This excavation has proved (what Chinese have maintained but foreign archeologists denied) that the bronze vessels cast by the Shang people were finer, technically and artistically, than those produced in the Chou period, and among the finest work of its sort ever produced anywhere. Associated with these remains were found thousands of records of divination, carved on bone in the oldest Chinese writing known. These contain the genealogy of the Shang kings, give us the chronology of the site, and enable us to correct existing historical records. Patient study of these inscriptions enables us to form a very fair picture of the life, the religion, and the ideas of the people who wrote them.

Within the last two years the National Research Institute has also excavated a number of tombs (also located in Honan) of the rulers of the State of Wei, some of which may be as old as the eleventh century B.C. No report of these discoveries has yet been published, but from the verbal accounts of the excavators it is certain that this work will add tremendously to our knowledge of the period. Until about fifteen years ago it was considered doubtful that Neolithic men had lived in China, but within this period a large number of late Neolithic sites have been excavated by foreign and Chinese archeologists. Their research, which is still in full swing, has thrown a great deal of light on the origins of Chinese culture, and will throw still more.

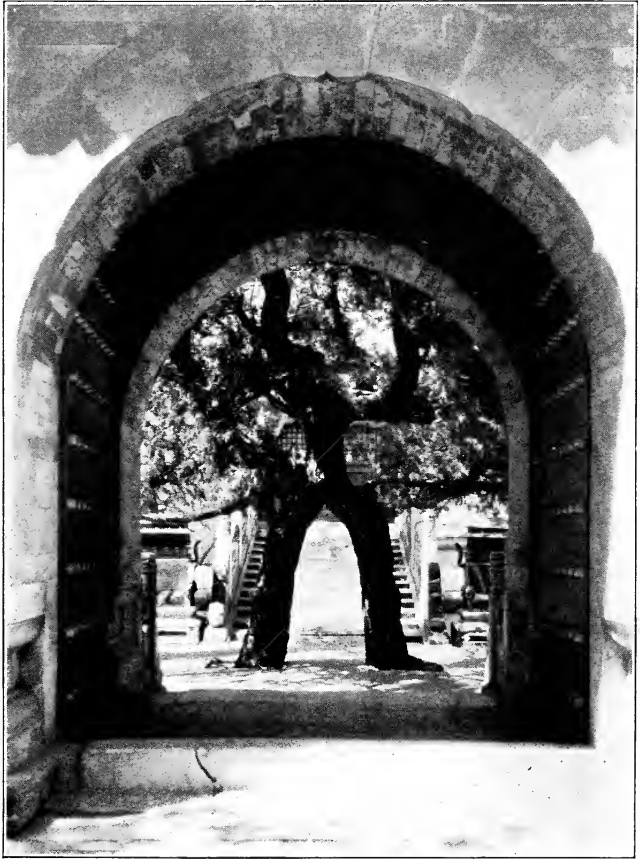
The location of the Shang capital was first made known through the discovery, by farmers, of pieces of the inscribed bone already mentioned, which first came into the hands of scholars in 1899. It is eloquent of the almost insuperable prejudice which opposes archeological excavation in China that no scientific digging was done on the site until almost thirty years later. In the meantime more than one hundred thousand pieces of the inscribed bone and tortoise shell, dug up by peasants, came into the hands of scholars. Forgery flourished, and there are false inscriptions in collections of this material abroad as well as in China. But the trained eye can distinguish, and the scientific excavations at Anyang disposed finally of the contention, made in China and abroad, that none of the inscriptions were genuine.

When these ancient writings were first discovered it was impossible for scholars to read them. The story of their decipherment by the brilliant yet infinitely painstaking labors of many scholars, almost all of them Chinese, during the last thirty-five years is one of the most noteworthy pages in the history of scholarship. But it is only very recently indeed that this work has made the Shang inscriptions clear enough to us so that we can make extensive use of them to study Shang culture. Mr. Tung Tso-pin's paper establishing a method of dating individual inscriptions was published only in 1933. In it, he gives credit for valuable suggestions to Prof. James M. Menzies, a Canadian scholar living in China.

Decipherment of the bone writings would have been almost impossible had some Chinese scholars not already been familiar with archaic characters through study of bronze inscriptions. In China we have had the paradox that there was a large body of trans-

mitted literature, supposed to be from the pre-Confucian period, which could be read well enough but which was of very dubious authenticity, while in inscriptions on bronze vessels there was a large and undoubtedly genuine literature which could not be read sufficiently to make it available as historical material. The number and length of these inscriptions has hardly been suspected by any save a few Chinese specialists. From the Western Chou period (1122?-771 B.C.) alone we have, eliminating forgeries, at least eight inscriptions of from 150 to 500 characters, at least sixteen others of more than a hundred characters, and scores having less than this number but long enough to give very valuable information. Chinese scholars have been studying them for a thousand years, and it was suggested even in the Sung dynasty that they could make valuable contributions to history. But this contribution has been effectively possible, for the most part, only within the present decade.

This delay has been due to various causes, among which the authoritarian nature of Chinese scholarship has been important. There have, it is true, been vigorously original minds from time to time throughout the centuries, and they have been influential. But there has been too much tendency, especially during the Manchu dynasty, to follow blindly the principles laid down by scholars of the Han period (206 B.C.-A.D. 220). Too often these scholars revelled in the most forced and improbable interpretations, and they labored under the handicap of possessing less of authentic material from the very ancient period than we have today. It is only as Chinese scholars in considerable number have come to dare to make their own interpretations based directly on the source materials, contravening tradition if necessary, that marked progress has been possible. Much of the credit for this change must be given to the influence of Western scientific method. But it must be remarked that the most notable achievements in the study of their history have not been made by Chinese who have studied abroad. Almost entirely they have been the work of men who spoke no Occidental language, but who were influenced indirectly by foreign method. It was inevitable that an iconoclastic spirit, opposed to traditionalism but almost equally unscientific, should have been the first fruit of this cross-fertilization. But this is passing very rapidly. In its place there has grown up among a large group of Chinese scholars, during the past five years especially, a truly scientific spirit, intent solely on the search for truth and willing to follow wherever it may lead. This



A COURT GATEWAY
Forbidden City Palace, Peking.

is as yet hardly appreciated outside of China. It has been one of the prime reasons for the present rediscovery of the past.

Even more important than traditionalism in delaying the full utilization of the bronze inscriptions has been the fact that the forms of Chinese characters used in pre-Confucian times were very different from those used during the last two thousand years. How different may be judged from the fact that a celebrated European Sinologist wrote as late as 1923 that a group of scholars who flourished around 200 B.C. changed Chinese writing to something like the form we have now and in fact "created a new, comparatively simple and practical system of writing." Recent research shows that this statement is quite mistaken. Even the Shang bone inscriptions of more than three thousand years ago embody every important principle of the formation of Chinese characters now in use, and the language has developed steadily and gradually from that time. But the gaps in our knowledge have been tremendous—so great in fact that Chinese scholars, studying the bronze writings for a thousand years, have been able, to be sure, to make out the majority of the characters, but were unable to make translations complete and correct enough to make them really available as historical documents.

That the correspondence of ancient characters to modern forms has finally been worked out to a large degree is due to the researches of hundreds of men who have worked patiently, during the centuries, at inscriptions on all sorts of ancient objects: bronze vessels, weapons, coins, seals and impressions of seals, weights, pottery, inscribed stones, and so forth. But their results have lain to a large extent fallow, in books designed for specialists in their various fields. A new impulse to paleographic research, as well as valuable new material, was given by the discovery of the Shang oracle bones. And in recent years a small number of scholars have combined the results of these various lines of approach and brought them to bear, in the light of the new scientific method, on the bronze inscriptions. They have succeeded in interpreting these documents to such a degree that, while occasional characters or phrases or whole sentences still elude us, the great body of this material is perfectly clear and understandable. But that they could be read by specialists did not yet make these inscriptions available as material for the scholar who seeks to reconstruct ancient Chinese culture. For such a one must not only be able to read bronzes; he must also know

the quite different script of the Shang oracle bones, be thoroughly conversant with a large literature and its problems, and be well posted concerning all developments of excavations. He has not time to spend weeks in the study of each of the hundreds of bronze inscriptions with which he must deal, determining whether it is genuine and what is its date, and unravelling the difficulties of its particular text. Only after such studies of each of the most important inscriptions, made by specialists, had been published could this material be considered available for general historical research. And this has been true for only a very short time indeed.

Now that the historian has these inscriptions, what is their value to him? In the first place, they constitute a large number of contemporary records, cast in unalterable bronze—patents of nobility, records of gifts of lands by the kings and other nobles, records of land transfers, treaties, judicial decisions, moral homilies, descriptions of religious ceremonies, memorials of military expeditions, and so forth. Equally important, they provide the only sure touchstone by which the transmitted literature which has been supposed to date from the very early period can be tested. Up to this time the criteria of criticism have been largely subjective, so that the judgments of scholars have varied widely. We are able to determine however, that many of the bronze inscriptions contain verbatim copies of royal decrees, written in the early Chou period. By studying the vocabulary, the syntax, the use of certain prepositions, figures of speech and phrases employed, the range of philosophical and religious ideas and the political institutions reflected in these writings, and comparing them in these respects with the transmitted books, it is possible to determine beyond serious question which books, or portions of them, are genuine and which are not, and to date them within a few centuries. Some of the books are so like certain bronze inscriptions that they might have been written by the same hand on the same day; others, for various reasons obviously forgeries, are as different as they can be.

The net result of all this is that students of ancient Chinese culture now possess, for the first time, a corpus of indubitably genuine, dated materials, consisting of bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, and authenticated books, from which it is possible to reconstruct the culture of pre-Confucian times to a very considerable extent. The new view of antiquity has provided many surprises. The deity T'ien, "Heaven," supposed to be anciently Chinese,

now appears to have been a divinity of the Chou people, who were "barbarians" until they took up Chinese culture and conquered the Shangs, when T'ien became an element of Chinese culture. China itself, as a united state, seems to be no older than the Chou dynasty. Before this time there were only a number of separate, warring states. The Shang and the Hsia, traditionally called Chinese dynasties, might better be called states. Feudalism in China seems to have begun only with the Chou period, and followed a course which is amazingly similar, even down to certain details, to that of European feudalism. Certain types of philosophical thinking which have been supposed to be quite ancient, such as the concepts surrounding the "five elements" (*wu hsing*) and the Yin and Yang, hardly appear in the pre-Confucian period.

Up to the present it has been customary, because we could not do otherwise, to accept the social and political philosophy of the time of Confucius as a *fait accompli*, with little inquiry into its origins and development. Chinese tradition has read it back into the remote ages even of myth and legend. Because this social and political philosophy has functioned as a basic norm for later China, we have tended to think of it as static. The new discoveries have changed all this. We are able now to push our investigation almost a millenium back of Confucius. We know a time, only a few centuries before the sage, when the seats of honor and the reins of power were held, not by scholars, but by military men. We are able to trace the rise of the influence of the literary class, the development of its tradition, and the growth, under its auspices, of humanitarian tendencies. We can sketch the rise of democratic ideas, of the stewardship theory of the Chinese monarchy, and of the doctrine of the right of revolution.

The task of the reconstruction and interpretation of this culture is proceeding at a constantly accelerating pace. At present, and for some time to come, it will be impossible to keep abreast of these developments unless one is living and working in China. An instance from the experience of the writer will illustrate this. It has been mentioned that the deity "Heaven" was unknown during the Shang period. This is contrary to all traditional scholarship, Chinese and foreign; it has been shown only by the Shang oracle bones. For several years this has been a moot question among specialists in the bone inscriptions, because there are certain characters resembling "Heaven" on the bones. No one could take the time to run through

the more than ten thousand published inscriptions in search of this one character. But a Chinese scholar has made an analytic index of about two-thirds of the inscriptions. With the generosity characteristic of Chinese scholars, he made his manuscript available to the writer a year ago. Given this, it was comparatively simple to run through the rest of the material, definitely prove that this deity was unknown to the Shang people, and determine its origin from other sources. This in turn made it possible to direct subsequent research into fruitful channels. But the publication of this index is just taking place as this is written. Had the writer not been in China he would not yet have seen this work, and he would probably have wasted a great deal of time during the last year in following blind alleys. This is merely one of many such instances which could be cited.

From this time forward all students of Chinese culture who must work without a good general knowledge of the new discoveries labor under a more or less serious handicap. It is very unlikely that such a knowledge will be made available to Western students by the Chinese scholars working in the field. For the most part they write no language but Chinese. Even the four volumes of reports of the Anyang excavations are in Chinese, and not even a summary exists in any other language. Even in Chinese, the publications in this field are often highly technical. If this material is to be made available to the Occident generally within the next decade, it will probably have to be done by Western scholars, thoroughly versed in the field, living in China and taking part in this research, and publishing its fruits in Western languages. This is a fact which should engage the serious attention of all those who believe a deeper understanding of the people and problems of the Far East to be either necessary or desirable.

The pre-Confucian period is not of interest merely to antiquarians. Some of the most important contributions which China can make to the West lie in the field of the theory and practice of government and social control, and here we can study these things at their fountain-head. In China the bearing of the past upon the present is unusually great, partly because of conservatism but even more because Chinese culture has not undergone the disruptive catastrophes which have broken continuity elsewhere. It is highly desirable and sometimes even necessary to know this formative period of her culture in order to understand the social and political

forces at work in the China of later times and even of the present day. In it we see part of the origins of Japanese culture as well. And this analysis of the development of Chinese ideas and institutions, when made available, will provide valuable comparative material for students in other fields.

R A M A D A N

BY GERTRUDE R. COLBURN and ARABELLA LARABY

I WONDER what delays Alyia," said my hostess, "I sent word last night that I should need her this morning."

At that moment she of whom we spoke entered. Her mistress gave her a searching look, asked a sharp question, received a low answer, and then said, in English, "I might have known it. She will be good for nothing for a month. Doesn't she know that she has no business to do it?" Then, in a softer tone: "Be seated, my poor dear, my Alyia, rest yourself."

"Alyia doesn't understand English," I ventured.

"Eh? Was I speaking in English?" Then in Arabic to Alyia: "*Uqad, ya maskecny, ya habecbtj, ya Alyia,*" guiding her trembling steps to a low seat.

Understanding only that Alyia was to blame for something, I crept out and away. When I returned Alyia was gone. Her mistress had sent her home to rest.

"This is the beginning of Ramadan," said my hostess, the month of fasting. No religion in all the world has such a fast. The Jews fast one day in the year, some Christians abstain from eating flesh one day in the week: but these Moslems go without food or drink from sunrise to sunset, and keep it up for a whole month. Not even a drop of water passes their lips. Alyia has no business to be keeping that fast. It is enough to kill her. Old women are not required . . ."

"Oh!" said I, in great relief. "Is that what Alyia has been doing? I thought she might have been getting drunk."

She laughed immoderately at the idea of Alyia, or any one else in that village getting drunk. "It simply isn't done," she said. "No, my poor Alyia wasn't drinking but fasting. And it would not matter so much if she had enough to eat to fast properly."

"Enough to eat to fast properly?" I queried.

"Yes, Ramadan has its own special food, different from other times, more nourishing, and things that keep one from feeling thirst. Alyia is very poor. When I am here she earns something. I look after her. I had forgotten that it was Ramadan, and had not given her money enough."

"But the village people would not let her suffer, would they?" I asked.

"They are all very poor themselves. She has no relatives left to look after her. They rely upon me for that. Faithful old Alyia would rather die than tell the village that I had not given her enough. Faithful to me, faithful to her religion, she will not eat until tonight, although this is the third day, and she has not had the proper food for fasting."

"Do you know," said I, "that I should like to keep this fast with Alyia?"

"You!" She was horrified. "You never could stand it. Besides, this is the third day. There is no merit unless you fast the whole month. You are in no physical condition. It would not be good for you."

"I am not doing it for merit, I want to see what it is like, I want the experience. Besides it might be very good for me. It would only be missing the mid-day meal. You said yourself that they eat at sunrise and sunset."

"*Before* sunrise, a long time before; and *after* sunset," she corrected. "And when Ramadan falls in summer it is a very long day without water as well as food. That's what makes it so hard—thirst, burning thirst in the long hot days."

I still insisted that I wanted to try it.

"You will probably last about two days," she said. "Most people last one. Lots of them have tried it right out here, and lasted one day. You may last two."

"Why not try it with me?" I suggested.

No, indeed! She was a Christian, the daughter of missionaries. She respected the Moslem religion, and had no objections to my trying the fast if I wished. She would speak to Alyia, and see what she had to say about it.

"Doesn't Ramadan come at the same time every year?" I asked.

"No, their year is twelve lunar months, and not twelve calendar months, so it falls earlier every year. When it falls in winter, and the days are short, it is not so hard, but in summer it is terrible."

When Alyia came, and was told what I wanted to do, she asked where this person was, and turned in my direction her almost sightless eyes. Having heard my voice, and touched my hand, she explained to her mistress that fasting without prayer had no mean-

ing; that I must also perform the ablutions and prayers. I might pray in company with her. Did I know the prayers? No? Then I might follow her motions: bend when she bent, kneel when she knelt, rise when she did, and she would say the words for both. "Improper enunciation vitiates prayer," said my hostess, acting as interpreter. "You are not to try to say the words. You are to listen, only, and little by little you will learn. "It is very important that each word be pronounced correctly." Alyia was not enthusiastic, and my hostess was inclined to be mirthful over my intended attempt to fast and pray with the Moslems. But I was in earnest.

It was time for the afternoon prayer. Alyia asked if I were clean inside and out—clean enough to pray. There would be no harm she said, this first time, if I were what *I* called clean enough, for I would not be saying the words. We went to my room alone, she and I, for I did not wish my awkward first attempts to be laughed at. My head must be covered; Alyia found a towel and draped it upon me. She spread a mat, and stepped out of her shoes upon it. I did the same, standing by her, as she directed, with hands hanging free at the side. Then she lifted hers out in front, and up and around in a great circle till they came to rest with thumbs against the cheeks in front of the ears, uttering at the same time the familiar call to prayer: *Allahu akbar*. I followed the motion as best I could, and all her motions. Then she stepped back into her shoes, rolled up the mat, and went home without looking at me or saying a word.

"Well," laughed my hostess, how did it go?"

I smiled and nodded. There was nothing to say.

"Of course you will eat your supper as usual to-night. Tomorrow will be the test. I will wake you in the morning when I hear the call."

Out of the depths of fathomless sleep the prodding voice of my hostess pulled me.—"Time to get up! Time to get up and get breakfast! The call has sounded. Ali is up. His wife is up. You will be late."

"What — time — is — it?" I managed, thickly.

"Two o'clock in the morning! Time to be up! !"

"It's not *near* sunrise," I objected.

"It will be before you get your breakfast ready, fire made, and everything."

"F-fire made? Breakfast ready? Me?" I had not thought of that part of it.

"Yes, did you not want to be called? Do you not want to keep Ramadan?"

"N-yes. But I can't eat *now*. I will wait until to-night. I can't eat *now*, can I?" I pleaded.

"Of course you can not, dear. Go to sleep again."

The sun was in the sky when I awoke of my own accord. I had missed the time for breakfast that morning, and would wait for sunset. With that resolution I was content. There was a glass of water by my bed. Should I drink it or not? It was irregular to drink now: It was more irregular not to have taken it with food earlier. Although I was not thirsty then, I drank the water as a precaution against the long day until sunset. Then I dressed, and went to find my hostess. She was at the table.

"*Sabak'l khair!*" (Good morning), I greeted her, in Arabic, proud of the few phrases I could utter.

"*Sabak'l khair,*" she returned, smiling, "There is your breakfast waiting for you," and was very much concerned when she found that I intended to wait until sunset. She left her own breakfast unfinished, apologizing for tempting me with the sight of it.

"But it does not tempt me in the least. Having made up my mind to fast, it does not enter my consciousness," I told her.

"That is strange," said she. "It is what Alyia and Sada say, but I never could believe them. And now you say the same. I cannot believe it. It must tempt you."

Strange, but true! It did not tempt me. I told her of my drinking the water beside my bed, and she told me a story of Ramadan in the time of the Prophet. How he came to a cave in which some of his men had been sleeping, and found them at breakfast, how they were for leaving the food because it was already sunrise, and how he had said to them: "Eat, my men, and finish. I will drive the camel into the mouth of the cave, and it will not be sunrise where you are. Eat! Allah is merciful."

Never having made up her own mind to fast, she could not believe that the simple resolution would guard one from a continual struggle, and would not let me see her eat lest it cause me to suffer. So, after a turn or two in the yard, she said: "Go in and sleep the time away, as the Arabs do. For in that lies the cure '*Ramadan'l Hakeem.*' Ramadan is the doctor, they say."

Limp and languid, I lay in a sort of coma all the hot middle of that day. Then, like turning a leaf, I opened my eyes fresh and strong. The sun was nearing the tops of the mountains, and the air was fresh, as I was fresh. It was a pleasant surprise to find myself so in tune simply with the air I breathed.

"*Massak'l khair* (Good evening)," I greeted my hostess.

She smiled and returned my greeting in the same words. "You look better," she said. "Now you can eat. It is all ready."

"Not till sunset," I smiled. "I am keeping the fast."

"But you have eaten nothing since last night, and it will be an hour before sunset. You have tried your experiment. You know what it is like. Is not that enough?"

Finding that I intended to wait, she took me out to walk in pleasant places, especially to a place on the mountain road where we could get a clear view of the "two horizons," which must be watched to determine when the sun is really set at the level of the sea. "Not till the red has left the eastern sky will a Moslem break his fast," said my hostess.

I was impatient of watching in one direction for the sign that the sun had set in the opposite direction. I was hungry with that good hunger which makes the caged lion roar.

My hostess was enjoying my impatience, saying "You *would* fast, and I intend seeing that you do it properly." Then she led me in and fed me. Yum! Did anything ever taste so good?

Next morning it was the same; I simply could not get up at two o'clock, although later I adjusted myself; and the rest of the month, instead of so much food, I took sleep, and profited by it as the Moslems do.

Not only that, but I found their prayer to be a perfect physical culture exercise. For they say that Allah created man in the best possible way, and it is man's sacred duty to keep that mechanism in the best possible working order. So, five times a day, if they have leisure, or morning and evening if they are employed, or, if they are on a journey, whenever opportunity affords, they wash and take this exercise, which adjusts them physically and spiritually to the business of living. Every changed attitude of body is accompanied by a vocal phrase whose rhythm agrees with that motion of the body. That is why "improper enunciation vitiates prayer."

The last attitude is the *salutation*, where the head is turned to

look over the right shoulder, with the words "*Salam alaikum*" (Peace be upon you). The story goes that it is a greeting to the angel on the right, who records all one's good deeds in a book. Then the head is turned to look over the left shoulder, where all one's evil deeds are recorded by another angel, who must be greeted in exactly the same words—"Salam alaikum." For it is a part of the Moslem code of ethics that politeness be extended to all, even to an enemy.

So say the Arabs, the Moslem Arabs.

THE NEW ORIENT SOCIETY OF AMERICA
MONOGRAPH SERIES

THE NEW ORIENT

Volume I

THE NEAR EAST

With an Introduction by
JAMES HENRY BREASTED

Editors:

A. E. Haydon, Halford Hoskins,
A. H. Lybyer, A. T. Olmstead,
Martin Sprengling

Contents:

The Heritage of Eastern Asia,
Heritage of Western Asia,
Modern Turkey, Egypt, Syria,
Palestine, and Arabia

Cloth. Pages 473. Illustrations 130.
Library Edition \$2.50
De Luxe Edition \$3.50

Volume II

THE FAR EAST

With an Introduction by
BERTHOLD LAUFER

Editors:

Arthur Upham Pope, Berthold Laufer,
Quincy Wright, Walter E. Clark
Martin Sprengling

Contents:

Persia,
Central and Russian Asia,
Japan, India, China,
North Africa

Cloth. Pages 400. Illustrations 65.
Library Edition \$2.50
De Luxe Edition \$3.50

149 East Huron Street

Chicago, Illinois

1935 Officers of The New Orient Society of America

The Society was established for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding between the Orient and Occident, and of promoting the study of the great cultural achievements of the East.

To further this object, a series of monographs will be published yearly under the editorship of American Oriental Scholars.

OFFICERS

Honorary President
PROFESSOR JAMES H. BREASTED
President
REAR ADMIRAL MARK L. BRISTOL
Vice President
PROFESSOR MARTIN SPRENGLING
Treasurer
MR. JOHN PAYNE KELLOGG
Secretary
MISS CATHERINE COOK

DIRECTORS

DR. ALLAN D. ALBERT
MR. EDWIN H. CASSELS
MR. HENRY FIELD
MRS. JOHN ALDEN CARPENTER
PROF. W. ERNEST HOCKING
DR. ARTHUR HUMMEL
• PROF. A. T. OLMSTEAD

The GOSPEL *of*
BUDDHA

Edition de Luxe

COMPILED FROM ANCIENT RECORDS

BY PAUL CARUS

Illustrated by O. Kopetzky

An instructive and impressive exposition of Buddha's Life, his doctrine, and his order. This edition is beautifully illustrated with drawings that reflect the true spirit of Buddhist art.

Boards Binding, \$3.00

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
149 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois