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A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION IN THE HUMANITIES AND THE SCIENCES

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EDITOR'S PAGE

Scholars will understand the importance of bibliographical studies and Professor Donn V. Hart's bibliographical writings on Southeast Asia and the Philippines have been universally well received. We are indeed happy to make available the very valuable bibliography he has prepared on education in Southeast Asia. Dr. Hart, an anthropologist, has lived in the Philippines, studying and participating in barrio life, and his monographs, embodying his findings, have provided significant contributions to our growing understanding of the culture characteristics of this land.

Occasionally the *Journal* republishes important Filipiniana material printed previously in periodicals which do not circulate widely, or at all, in the Philippines. Such is the case with Mr. William Henry Scott's piece on "The Philippine Independent Church in History," which appeared originally in the *East and West Review* for January, 1962. It is reprinted here with permission. We shall read more of Mr. Scott's material in future issues, for some of his exceedingly useful anthropological studies of Mountain Province, published elsewhere, deserve larger readership.

Bishop John A. T. Robinson's book, *Honest To God,* has stirred considerable discussion, much of it heated, in both England and America. Professor Douglas J. Elwood's provocative review helps to clue us in on the debate which doubtless will have its reverberations throughout the Christian world.

It is with deep regret that I announce the sudden death of Mr. Job. R. Villagonzalo, our Editorial Assistant, on May 30, 1964, as this issue was in the press. For a number of years he has, in addition to his other duties in the president's office, undertaken the job of proofreading the galleys of the *Journal,* a tedious task he performed with great skill.

PETER G. GOWING

SOUTHEAST ASIA AND EDUCATION: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION [1]

Donn V. Hart
Syracuse University

THE school is a key institution in the current modernization of Southeast Asia. Besides their usual educative functions, classrooms are crucial in the Philippines and Indonesia for the spread of a national language. In community schools, students are taught better sanitation, health, and agricultural practices—and urged to pass on these new ideas to their parents. No important rural project can succeed without the co-operation and participation of the teachers. In addition to their classroom duties, teachers are involved in a myriad of community projects—and must host all visiting dignitaries. No American familiar with rural Southeast Asia returns home without praise for the teachers' endurance and hospitality.

Yet published information on Southeast Asian schools, other than cursory surveys and formalistic reports, is limited. Even for countries where printed resources are more plentiful, such as the Philippines, meager data exists on the internal functioning of the schools, their effectiveness in innovation, the status and role of the teacher, and the model as opposed to normative practices. Sociologists and anthropologist who have done research in Southeast Asia have taken little interest in the school as a social system or agent of innovation. Limited research has been done on the educational system as an important element in the political life of developing countries—except when the schools have been centers of communist propaganda. Reports by visiting experts of western education often

[1] This bibliographical article is an expanded and revised version of the section on Southeast Asia to be included in *Education in Asian Countries: A Selective and Annotated Reading Guide*, prepared under the direction of Professor Hyman Kublin, Brooklyn College, New York, and to be published by the New York State Education Department, Albany, New York. Reprints of this article are available from The Cellar Book Shop, 18090 Wyoming Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. or the Editor, *Silliman Journal*. The cost per reprint in the U.S. is $1.25 postage included; in the Philippines, ₱1.00.

are based largely on contacts with their counterparts at the national capitals.

Such information on education in Southeast Asia must not be discounted; it is often valuable and highly suggestive. The growth and reorientation of research interest in contemporary comparative education, however, promises greater exploration of some neglected aspects of this challenging area. The purpose of this selected bibliography is to suggest the scope of the existing literature for students of comparative education who may be attracted to Southeast Asia. It should be underlined, at the start, that "education" as used here is usually synonymous with schooling, curriculum organization, teaching methods, or school administration.

Since no attempt was made to compile a complete bibliography on this broad subject, certain factors limited selection. First, only material in English, mainly of the postwar era, was chosen. Second, little attention was given to government reports; these sources often are in languages other than English and difficult of access. Third, theses and dissertations were omitted.[2] Fourth, some sources judged most valuable were liberally annotated. These items might be a wise starting point for those unfamiliar with this region. Fifth, no attempt was made to indicate material on education in books written on broader topics. These sources (e.g., village studies) contain some of the best, if limited in number, accounts of education defined by anthropologist Robert Lowie as "...an induction into the learner's culture."[3]

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[2] Researchers should consult Walter C. Eells, *American Dissertations on Foreign Education. Doctors' dissertations and master's theses written at American universities and colleges concerning education or educators in foreign countries and education of groups of foreign birth or ancestry in the United States,* 1884-1958, Washington, D.C., 1959, xxxix, 300pp. Both theses and dissertations are listed under various Southeast Asian nations, including those presented in a few Philippine universities. For a more complete, and current, list of theses and dissertations (including those on education) accepted by Philippine institutions, see the lists that frequently appear in the *Philippine Journal of Public Administration,* published by the Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, Manila. The first bibliography of theses and dissertations covered the period from 1915 to 1956 (Vol. 1, nos. 1, 2, and 4, 1957); subsequent issues of the *Journal* keep the list current.

[3] Perhaps the best single guide to anthropological literature on education in in Asia (and Africa) is the annual *International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Vol. 1, 1955-), sponsored by UNESCO. References to Southeast Asia in these bibliographies, however, are disappointingly few.

A selection of unannotated references are included for each Southeast Asian country. These items were chosen to illustrate the *scope* of available information on education. For example, an article on teaching physics was selected instead of another article about "problems in education" or established curriculum. Bibliographies and periodical indexes were also searched for articles that suggest the *different types of journals* that sometimes publish articles on education in Southeast Asia.

The quantity and scope of published materials in English on education is greater for the Philippines than for any other Southeast Asian nation. Many books have been published, by both Americans and Filipinos, on administration, community schools, educational history, adult education, etc. For some Southeast Asian countries there is no general book on the educational system. No other Southeast Asian country publishes as many education journals, in English and other Asian languages, as the Philippines. In addition, there are also more research tools for the researcher interested in Philippine education. For these reasons it was almost impossible to present a representative sample of available materials on education in the Philippines and less need for it, considering available bibliographies, indexes, and union lists.[4]

For some Southeast Asian countries recent, and hopefully still available, general bibliographies are listed. For the countries where they are available, these bibliographies include additional references to materials on education, in both the narrow and broad sense. The well-known research guides to education literature are not discussed here. It should be stressed, however, that the popular *Education Index* excludes any journals published in Asia—or Africa and Latin America. This "cultural lag" must be eliminated when the next

[4] Indexes to Philippine journals, including many in education, are the *Index to Philippine Periodicals,* issued annually (1956-) by the Inter-Departmental Reference Service, Institute of Public Administration, under the general editorship of Maxima M. Ferrer, and the "Philippine Periodical Index," compiled by Gorgonio D. Siega, and Eliseo Bañas that appears quarterly (1956, 1958-) in the *Silliman Journal* published by Silliman University, Dumaguete, Philippines. Information on education journals (as of 1957) may be found in Donn V. Hart and Quintin A. Eala, *An Annotated Guide to Current Philippine Periodicals,* Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, second printing, 1961, 116pp. Twenty journals of education are noted in this guide, including a general description of their contents, date of first issue, cost of subscription, etc. Another valuable research guide is the *Union Catalog of Philippine Materials of Sixty-Four Government Agency Libraries of the Philippines,* 1962, also issued by the Inter-Departmental Reference Service.

selection of journals to be indexed is made. Other helpful sources exist, however, that indicate education magazines published in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world.[5]

SOUTHEAST ASIA: GENERAL

Bibliographies:

Hart, Donn V.
"Southeast Asia: A Bibliographical Introduction." *Social Education*, V. 26, No. 6 (October, 1962) 295-300. (For reprints, write the Educational Director of The Asia Society, 112 East 64th Street, New York 21, New York.)

This bibliography was prepared primarily for high school teachers and the non-specialist, listing the best and most recent English language sources on Southeast Asian history, geography, politics, population, etc. In addition, one or two annotated references are made to the basic bibliographies for each nation. An effort was made to list material still in print and easily available in the United States.

Neff, Kenneth
Selected Bibliography on Education in Southeast Asia. OE-14071. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., 1963, iii, 16 pp.

Compiled by an expert on education in Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia, this selected, largely English language, annotated bibliography is the best of its kind. Material is listed under a general Southeast Asia heading and then by individual countries (including North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak.) Includes articles, books, monographs, and official reports by both governmental and international agencies. Also noted are many journals in which articles appear on Southeast Asian education.

Annotated Entries:

Fisher, Joseph
Universities in Southeast Asia: An Essay in Comparison and Development. Ohio State University Press, 1963.
Examines selected universities (Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, and Indonesia)

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[5] For a list of education journals published in 79 different countries, see the *Twenty-Six Yearbook*, America's Education Press, Washington, D.C., 1957, pp. 9-124. Unfortunately, the section on Southeast Asia is incomplete. For information on primary education journals, consult "Primary Education Periodicals," *Education Abstracts*, V. 11, No. 10 (December 1959) 18pp. This guide includes educational journals published not only in Southeast Asia but all of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and the United States. Each entry describes the general contents of the periodical, periodicity, place of publication, date of first issue, etc.

as agencies of change, socialization, social mobility, acculturation, the training of elites, and centers of intellectual activity. The book also discusses the conservativeness of these universities and their lack of consonance with national development.

Franklin, E. William
Survey of the Status of the Teaching Profession in Asia. Washington, D.C.: World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, 1963, x, 149 pp.

A WCOTP study made by submitting questionnaires to members and various ministries and departments of education in Asia. Material is arranged by country, and includes all Southeast Asian nations. This *Survey* is the best, single, up-to-date source for information on this broad topic. Data are given, for elementary and secondary schools, on the academic, economic, and professional status of teachers, including entry requirements, salaries, retirement plans, freedom of association, participation in public life, and degree of public recognition. A wide range of information, often arranged in tabular form, is presented on such topics as teacher training courses, salaries, number of men and women teaching in primary schools, retirement benefits, salaries, leave privileges, etc. Appendices include brief outlines of education systems of countries, questionnaire submitted, and membership roll.

International Yearbook of Education, V. 23, 1961. Published jointly by the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1962, 500 pp. (UNESCO publications may be purchased from the UNESCO Publications Center, 801 Third Avenue, New York 22, New York.)

This excellent annual source book includes accounts of *recent* educational developments in *each* Southeast Asian nation, and gives a roster of leading officials of the ministries of education. Educational statistics (pp. 479-500) are presented on country population, number of teachers, pupils, schools, teacher training, public expenditure on education, percentage of national budget—for both elementary and higher education.

"Primary Education in Asia: Selected References." *Education Abstracts,* V. 12, No. 3 (March, 1960) 16 pp.

This publication is based "on an extensive survey conducted by UNESCO during 1959. . ." and discusses provision of primary education for all Southeast Asia nations, including factors affecting progress in this area, teachers, building and equipment, curriculum, and administration. Brief but authoritative. Tables give statistical data on the increase in the number of primary schools, enrollment, sex ratio of pupils, percentage of enrollment in relation to total school age population, etc.

"Bibliography," (pp. 11-16), unannotated, and largely in English, in-

cludes references on primary education for individual Southeast Asian countries.

Compulsory Education in South Asia and the Pacific. Report of the Bombay Conference, December, 1952. Studies in Compulsory Education - XIII. Published by UNESCO, 1954, 157 pp. Tables and bibliography (pp. 154-57).

Although only Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines were represented at this Conference, the source includes data on Burma, Cambodia, and Malaya. Includes a general discussion of compulsory education, problems that require study, and action desired, and is followed by a brief summary of compulsory primary education in individual countries. Summaries of the main Conference committees are given—1) Administration, Finance, and Legislature, 2) Curriculum, and 3) Teacher Training, including the 90 recommendations adopted by the Conference. Considerable statistical data are presented on the number of primary schools, enrollment, length of primary course of study, total expenditure for education (and percentage of national budget), etc.

Thompson, Virginia and Richard Adloff

Cultural Institutions and Educational Policy in Southeast Asia. Issued in cooperation with the Southeast Asia Institute and the Far Eastern Association. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1948, vii, 86 pp., mimeo.

Based largely on a six-month tour in 1947 of Southeast Asia where the authors visited schools and colleges and interviewed educators and administrators. Includes all the countries of Southeast Asia *except* the Philippines. Each nation's secondary, higher, and adult educational system is examined, including teachers, students, vocational and minority schools, and scholarships. Also discussed as "cultural institutions" are museums, scholarly societies, etc. The concluding, and stimulating, chapter is: "Recent Educational Trends in Southeast Asia."

Furnivall, John S.

Educational Progress in Southeast Asia. Institute of Pacific Relations Inquiry, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1943, xii, 186 pp. Index and tables. With a Supplement on *Training for Native Self-Rule* by Bruno Lasker.

This important prewar survey of educational conditions in all Southeast Asian countries by an outstanding scholar of the region puts greatest emphasis on the colonial nations—for this reason the material on Thailand is limited. The role of education in the region's history and development is examined under "Era of Liberalism—1800-1900" and "Efficiency and Social Justice, 1900-1940." Information is given for each country's educational system, with data on Chinese schools, compulsory education, elementary, secondary, and mission schools, literacy, education and nationalism, universities, and vocational training. Tables present statistical data for most of these topics. Mr. Lasker's Supplement discusses the role education might play to prepare

the countries for eventual freedom. Footnotes include considerable bibliographical references to basic literature on this subject.

"Problems and Promises of Education in Asia." *Phi Delta Kappan,* V. 39, No. 4 (December, 1957). Special Issue.

This Special Issue contains many articles on education in Southeast Asia. "Philippine Education" (Antonio Isidro, pp. 119-23) discusses the role of the community school, school facilities in general, expansion of private education, and government regulation of schools. "The Philippines: Sure Progress Against Odds" (Paul C. Fawley, pp. 124-25) notes both problems and progress in Philippine education, particularly since World War II. "Some Aspects of Education in Vietnam" (Vo Hong Phuc, pp. 133-35) suggests desired changes in Vietnamese educational philosophy, pros and cons of administrative centralization, and the limited higher educational facilities. "America's Part in a Reborn Educational System" (Charles J. Falk, pp. 136-38) discusses the part played by American aid in rebuilding postwar schools in Vietnam. "A Show Case of Democratic Advance in Asia" (Saroj Buasri, pp. 139-41) describes three basic problems in Thai education. "Thailand: A Record of True Educational Achievement" (Willis P. Porter, pp. 142-43) notes the role of American assistance in modifying Thai education. "Education. in Indonesia" (Justus van der Kroef, pp. 147-50) examines the postwar expansion of secondary and higher educational facilities, giving considerable statistical data.

Van der Kroef, Justus.
"The Educated Unemployed in Southeast Asia." *The Journal of Higher Education,* V. 31, No. 4 (April, 1960) 177-84.

This article deals with one major problem of Southeast Asia—the almost region-wide inability to absorb fully and effectively local university graduates and the scarcity of technically trained specialists. The author, a noted specialist on Indonesia, discusses this problem for Indonesia, Philippines, and India, in the light of the traditional European orientation of postwar education, the Southeast Asians' "anti-utilitarian" image of university training, and the "title cult." He states that university graduates face such obstacles to full employment as nepotism and political influence and believes a major shift in educational values and objectives is sorely needed.

Unannotated Entries:

Bells, Walter C.
"Communist Influences on Education In Japan, the Philippines, and Southeast Asia," *Educational Record,* V. 33 (January 1952) 41-70.

Fischer, Joseph
"Universities and the Political Process in Southeast Asia," *Pacific Affairs,* V. 36 (Spring, 1963) 3-15.

Flores, Geraldo
"Education in Southeast Asia," *Philippine Journal of Education*, V. 34 (July 1955) 84-86.

Furnivall, John S.
"Colonial Southeast Asia—Instruction or Education," *Pacific Affairs*, V. 15 (1942) 77-89.

Neff, Kenneth
"Education and the Forces of Change: How to Meet the Immense Challenge of Southeast Asia?", *International Development Review*, V. 14 (March 1962) 22-25.

Preparatory Commission on University Problems. Report.
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, Bangkok, Thailand, 1960, ii, 17 pp.

Robinson, Kenneth
English Language Teaching in South East Asia.
London, Evans Bros., 1960, 271 pp.

Sanders, C.
Universities and Educational Institutions in South East Asia: Report on Standards. Perth, University of Western Australia, (1955), iii, 53 pp.

"South and Southeast Asia," *Institute of International Education News Bulletin*, V. 36 (December 1960) 3-11.

Wyndham, Hugo A.
Native Education: Ceylon, Java, Formosa, French Indo-China, and British Malaya. London, Oxford University Press, 1933, 263 pp. Biblio.

BURMA

Bibliography:

Trager, Frank N., John N. Musgrave, Jr., and Janet Welsh
Annotated Bibliography of Burma. Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, 1956, viii, 230 pp.

One of the best general bibliographies on Burma. The section, "Education, Health, and Welfare" (pp. 206-07) indicates the references in the bibliography on education. Almost entirely devoted to English language materials.

Annotated Entries:

Tisinger, Richard M.
Report of the Mission to Burma. Published by UNESCO, 1952, 92 pp. Maps, photographs, and tables.

A 1950 survey that describes and presents recommendations for the Burmese government on teacher recruitment and training, adult, compulsory, secondary, technical, and vocational education, educational administration and finance. Additional information is given on the external examination system and educational practices and needs in the Shan, Karenni, and Kachin States. Considerable statistical data on number of pupils, teachers, and expenditures for schools.

"Education Developments [in Burma] in 1960-61." *International Yearbook of Education,* V. 23 (1961) 49-53.

An official report, commenting on such topics as administration, school inspection, budget, number of schools, compulsory education, examinations, curricula, current reforms, audio-visual education, textbooks, teacher training, scholarships, children's literature, and educational guidance. Includes some statistical data.

Knoblanch, A. L.
"Objectives of Education in Burma." *Phi Delta Kappan,* V. 31, No. 9 (June, 1955) 351-52.

A somewhat detailed discussion of the basic objectives of education in Burma, based on The Five Strengths (*Bala-Nga-Dan*), i.e., intellectual, physical, moral, economic, and social strength.

Prewitt, Charles W.
"Science Education in Burma and the Fulbright Program." *Science Education,* V. 43, No. 3 (April, 1959) 257-63.

A description of the problems of a secondary science teacher in Burma where textbooks, equipment and well-trained teachers are in small supply. Also discussed are returning Burmese students, educated abroad as teachers, and their problems in adjusting to local school practices and the lack of equipment. Presents a general survey of training of elementary and secondary science teachers, teacher training colleges, University of Rangoon, and a proposal for improving science education. Also outlines some problems an American teacher faces in living and teaching in Burma—and Southeast Asia.

Wolf, Frank E.
"Education in Burma: No Blackboard Jungle." *Science Education,* V. 43, No. 3 (April, 1959) 263-67.

A terse description of Burmese public education in general, and science education in particular, including comments on the basic philosophy of education (also see Knoblanch), public school teachers' schedules and salaries, teacher training, characteristics of Burmese students, relationship of science instruction to the general curricula, equipment needs, and problems of the future.

"Union of Burma" in *Teaching of Art in Primary and Secondary Schools.* XVIIIth International Conference on Public Education. Publication No. 165, Geneva, 1955. Sponsored jointly by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1955. 312pp.

Presents the results of a questionnaire sent to the ministry of education inquiring about such topics as the place of art in the primary and secondary school, aims assigned to art teaching, syllabuses used, teaching methods and materials, and training of art teachers. (Consult this source, for this topic, for Cambodia, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam.)

Unannotated Entries:

Aung Min, U.
"Thoughts on Postwar Education," *The Guardian,* V. 4 (June 1957) 17-19.

———————.
"The Mass Education Movement," *Burma,* V. 7 (January 1952) 41-45.

Christian, J. L.
"Education in Burma," *School Life,* V. 22 (Juan 1937) 312-13.

"Education in Burma: Pictures," *Childhood Education,* V. 38 (March 1962) 325.

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas, pp. 206-08. (For full reference see same title, *Thailand*).

Harrison, R. F.
"Burma Plans for Weekday Classes," *International Journal of Religious Education,* V. 36 (March 1960) 24.

Hatch, D. P.
"Industrial Arts in Burma," *Industrial Arts and Vocational Education,* V. 48 (January 1959) 7-12.

Hillman, Owen
"Education in Burma," *The Journal of Negro Education,* V. 15 (Summer 1946) 526-33.

McNally, Harold J.
"Where the Dawn Comes Up Like Thunder," *The National Elementary Principal,* V. 33, nos. 3 and 4, pts. I and II, 1953, 1954, 26-29; 26-30.

Orata, Pedro T.
"Toward a New School System in Burma," *International Review of Education, (Hamburg)* V. 5 (1959) 38-45.

White, Virginia A.
"Education in Burma," *The Guardian,* V. 4 (November 1957) 21-23. Re-

printed in *Far East Digest*, V. 129 1957) 12-13.

San Shwa, U.
"The University for Adult Education," *Burma*, V. 1 (April 1951) 38-42.

THAILAND

Bibliographies:

Mason, John Brown and H. Carroll Parish.
Thailand Bibliography. University of Florida Libraries, Department of Reference and Bibliography, Gainesville, Florida, 1958, vii, 247pp.

This bibliography contains more than 2300 references to Thailand, many on education. Of particular value is the periodical section (pp. 120-233) that lists largely English language materials, many in such easily available periodicals as *The Atlantic Monthly, Newsweek*, etc.

Education of Thailand: A Bibliography, compiled by The Library Staff, The College of Education, Bangkok, 1963, 41pp. (In English and Thai).
This bibliography has not been examined.

Annotated Entries:

Jumasi, M. L., Manich.
Compulsory Education in Thailand. Studies on Compulsory Education— VIII. Published by UNESCO, 1951, 110pp. Charts and tables.

A brief historical survey of educational policies in Thailand, curricula, advances in compulsory primary education, teacher training programs, inspection and supervision of public schools, textbooks, special problems posed by the Thai Moslem minority, and future prospects. Appendices include names of former ministers of education, chronology of important dates in the history of education, and various tables on national expenditures for education, number of enrolled pupils, their sex ratios, temple (Buddhist) schools, etc.

"Thailand" (pp. 246-48). *Financing of Education*. XVIIIth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1955. Jointly published by UNESCO and the the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, Publication No. 163, 1955, 284pp.

Survey based on questionnaire submitted to Thai government, obtaining information on financial responsibility and main items in budget, financing of primary, secondary, technical, adult, and higher education, teacher training, special ways of financing education, sources of funds, present trends relating to educational financing, increase of expenditures, and general policy and increasing financial demands of education. Copy of questionnaire submitted to governments is included (For similar information, consult this

source for: Indonesia, Cambodia, Philippines, Burma, and Vietnam.)

Franzer, Carl G. F.
"An Educational Frontier in Thailand." *School and Society,* V. 85 (October 27, 1956) 135-40. Photographs.

Description of UNESCO's Fundamental Education project at Ubol, northeast Thailand. Discussion centers on the history and organization of the project, its basic purposes (improvement of health and education), an outline of the 2-year training program for Thai participants, their duties on return to the villages, a visit to a local village school and several experimental villages in which trainees are working. For another source on this project, see Nicholas Gillett, "Rural Improvement in Thailand," *Oversea Education,* V. 30 (July 1958) 69-72.

Matthew, Eunice S.
"Cultural Values and Learning in Thailand." *Educational Leadership,* V. 16 (April, 1959) 419-24, 442. Photographs.

A general discussion of Thai education, recent educational reforms (curriculum, teaching methods, etc.), increasing recognition of Thai children's attitudes and needs in revised courses of study, attitude of people toward teachers and schools, and relation of schools to Thai cultural values.

Sargent, Sir John and Pedro T. Orata.
Report of the Mission to Thailand: February 10 to March 5, 1949. UNESCO, Paris, 1950, 56pp. Bibliography (pp. 44-46), map, photographs, tables, and charts.

Report of the UNESCO Consultative Education Mission to Thailand, indicating schools visited (kindergarten, elementary, secondary, vocational, teacher training, adult schools, and Chulalongkorn University). The *Report* discusses present status as to financing education, certification of teachers, examinations, adult education, and university training. Also described are the main principles of Fundamental Education. Specific recommendations are presented as to school administration, organization, curriculum and evaluation, recruitment and education of teachers, adult education, and student health. The *Report* also contains much statistical data on the above listed subjects.

Unannotated Entries:

Chaiyaratana, Chalao.
"Education in Thailand," *Institute of International Education News Bulletin,* V. 30 (December 1954) 34-35, 58, 60.

Eells, Walter C.
"Educational Progress in Thailand," *School and Society,* V. 76 (August 1952) 102-05.

———.
"Junior College Education in Thailand," *Junior College Journal*, V. 22 (March 1952) 380-81.

Evans, T. H.
"New Approach [to Engineering Education]: The Regional School," *Overseas*, V. 1 (April 1962) 20-24.

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas. 21st International Conference on Public Education, Publication No. 192. International Bureau of Education and UNESCO. Geneva, 1958. See page 198.

Hanks, L. M., Jr.
"Indifference to Modern Education in a Thai Farming Community," *Human Organization*, V. 17 (Summer, 1958) 9-14.

Heiss, E. D.
"Development of a program of Science Education in Thailand," *Science Education*, V. 43 (April 1959) 215-18.

In-Service Training for Primary Teachers. 25th International Conference on Public Education, Publication No. 240, International Bureau of Education and UNESCO. Geneva, 1962. See pages 139-40.

Leesima, R.
"Tools of Thailand," *Audiovisual Instruction*, V. 7 (January 1962) 24-25.

Punyasingh, Temsiri and Maurice A. McGlasson.
A Changing Secondary Education in Thai Culture. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University, 1958, 162pp.

Reum, E. H.
"Home Economics Beginning in Thailand," *Journal of Home Economics* V. 44 (October 1952) 642.

"Research Studies Related to the Improvement of Education in Thailand," *Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University*, V. 35 (May 1959) 1-64. Biblio. (See Schmidt and Fox below).

Rudewild, M. I. and M. H. Lowell.
"Developing Libraries for Higher Education in Thailand: A Cooperative Project," *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, V. 54 (November 1960) 833-43.

Schmidt, L. G. and W. H. Fox
"Development of a Division of Research at Parasarn Mitr College of Education, Bangkok, Thailand," *Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University*, V. 35 (May 1959) 1-10.

Spain, Frances L.
"Teaching Library Science in Thailand," *H. W. Wilson Library Bulletin*, V. 27 (December 1952) 314-17.

Syamananda, Rong
"Chulalongkorn University," *Thought and Word*, V. 1 (June 1, 1956) 42-45.

Yoder, Ray A. "Forestry Education in Thailand." *Journal of Forestry*, 57 (Jan. 1959), 29-32.

LAOS

Annotated Entries:

Lebar, Frank and Adrienne Suddard (eds.)
Laos: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, Conn.. 1960, 294pp. Maps, charts, tables, index, and bibliography (pp. 255-64).

The chapter on "Education" (pp. 77-87) gives a brief survey of traditional education in the Buddhist monasteries, the French system, and recent innovations. Also included are short sections on teacher training, higher education, vocational problems, and contemporary educational issues. Some statistical data on education. Probably the best recent single English language source on this topic.

"Educational Developments [in Laos] for 1960-61." *International Yearbook of Education*, V. 23 (1961) 220-22.

Recent information on private education, finances, number of pupils, new courses, curricula, textbooks, teachers, and teacher training. Statistical data for 1961 are given for certain topics (number of teachers, pupils, schools, etc.) for both elementary and secondary education.

Pathammavong, Somlith
"Compulsory Education in Laos" (pp. 71-111). See Charles Bilodeau, under Cambodia. Author of the section on Laos was a former Director of Foreign Affairs.

Unannotated Entries:

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas, pages 146-48. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

In-Service Training for Primary Teachers, page 90. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

The Organization of Educational and Vocational Guidance, page 97. (For full reference see same title, Cambodia).

Ravet, Ludovic.
"Busman's Holiday in Laos." *UNESCO Features,* 294 (June 23, 1958) 4-6 (Visit of Director-General of Education to rural schools in Laos.)

Wulff, H. E.
"Laos Develops Education for Technology." *Hemisphere,* V. 2 (February 1958) 2-7.

CAMBODIA

Annotated Entries:

Steinberg, David J. (ed.)
Cambodia, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. Revised for 1959 by Herbert H. Vreeland. Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, Conn., 1959, 351pp. Maps, table, charts, index, and bibliography (pp. 301-17).

The chapter on "Education" (pp. 251-58) presents a brief overview of the Cambodian educational system, including comments on elementary and secondary schools, higher education, teacher training programs, and selected educational problems. Scattered references to education (attitudes toward, budget for, recent changes, Western influence, etc.) are found in other chapters in this general handbook on Cambodia.

Bilodeau, Charles, Somlith Pathammavong, and Le Quang Hong
Compulsory Education in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Studies on Compulsory Education—XIV. Published by UNESCO, 1955, 157pp. Tables and bibliography (pp. 155-57).

A short historical survey of Cambodia (pp. 1-67), describing people and cultures, past efforts to establish compulsory elementary education, and present achievements and obstacles. Tables and appendices include statistical data on education in Cambodia, e.g., number of schools, pupil expenditures, sex ratios, etc. The most detailed survey in this study is for Cambodia.

"Cambodia" (pp. 112-13). *School Inspection.* XIXth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1956. Publication No. 174. Jointly published by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1956, 371pp.

As for other sources issued by these Conferences (see *Teaching of Natural Science, Art, and Financing Education*) information was obtained by circulating a questionnaire to the various governments. Reports on the system and scope of inspection of schools, inspectors' duties and methods, appointment, recruitment, and training of school inspectors, and present reforms and trends. A copy of the submitted questionnaire is included. (Consult this source for similar information for: Philippines, Thailand, Burma, and Vietnam.)

"Education Developments [in Cambodia] for 1960-61." *International Yearbook of Education,* V. 23 (1961) 60-66.

A rather complete, if brief, survey of educational administration, school buildings, finances, primary, secondary, higher, vocational, and art education, relationships of education to the Five-Year-Plan, new types of schools, examinations, teaching staff and training, refresher courses for public school teachers, school health programs, and sports.

Hollister, Frederick J.
"Education in Cambodia." *Clearing House,* V. 33 (December 1958) 209-12.

Description of the Cambodian educational system with detailed comments on courses of study for elememtary, secondary (at this date there were only 13 in the country), and technical schools. Information on teacher training, new trends in education, etc. Author was a member of a group that worked in 1956-57 with the Cambodian government to improve the existing educational system.

Unannotated Entries:

Eilenberg, J. H.
"Evolution from the Oxcart," *Overseas,* V. 1 (October 1961) 35-37. (On higher education).

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas, pages 62-63. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

In-Service Training for Primary Teachers, page 23. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

The Organization of Educational and Vocational Guidance. 26th International Conference on Public Education, Publication No. 254. International Bureau of Education and UNESCO. Geneva, 1963. See page 20.

Parry, R. F.
"The Pagoda Schools of Cambodia," *Overseas Education.* V. 10 (1939) 57-67.

Tabellini, M.
"Education de base et problémes de la jeunesse au Cambodge,"*Education de Base et Education des Adultes,* V. 10 (1958) 68-72. Also in English, "Fundamental Education and Youth Problems in Cambodia," *Fundamental and Adult Education,* V. 10 (1958), 62-65.

VIETNAM

Bibliographies:

What to Read on Vietnam: A Selected Annotated Bibliography. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. Second edition, with supplement covering November 1958, to October, 1959, 1960, 73pp.

This annotated bibliography is devoted largely to English language materials, both books, articles, and various reports. This is the best existing guide to current materials on Vietnam, although its efficient use is handicapped by the lack of either an author or subject index. Includes materials on education.

Andreatta, Louis

Education in Vietnam. American Friends of Vietnam, Room 204, 4 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York, 1961, 4pp. mimeo.

A bibliography of English language, relatively recent sources, including reports and articles, often from Vietnamese governmental sources, on education in Vietnam. The bibliography also notes materials available without charge from the office of the American Friends of Vietnam.

Annotated Entries:

Le Quang, Hong

"Compulsory Education in Vietnam" (pp. 115-54). See Charles Bilodeau, under Cambodia.

Vu Tam Ich.

A Historical Survey of Educational Developments in Vietnam. Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, V. 32, No. 2, December, 1959. College of Education, University of Kentucky, 143pp. Photographs, tables, and bibliography (pp. 132-35).

"This study is an attempt to survey the educational developments in Vietnam in relation to the social and political conditions of the country. . . . In the following chapters efforts will be made to present the educational systems that have existed . . . (2) other educative agencies—such as the family, youth organizations. . . . There will be three parts dealing with education (1) in traditional Vietnam, (2) in French-controlled Vietnam, and (3) in present-day Vietnam." Included in this valuable survey are data on the Mandarin system, attitudes toward education, teachers and teacher training, school administration, and suggestions for improving education in independent Vietnam.

Lavergne, D. C. and Abul H. K. Sassani

Education in Vietnam. Studies in Comparative Education. United States Department of health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Division of International Education, Washington 25, D. C. [1955], 23pp. Mimeo.

Discussion of land and people, primary, secondary, vocational, technical, and higher education. Tables include programs of studies in lower and upper secondary classes and for elementary schools. Chart on "Organization of Elementary, Secondary, and Higher Education in Vietnam." 3-page bibliography.

Lindholm, Richard W. (ed.)
Viet-nam—First Five years; An International Symposium. Michigan State University Press, 1959, xi, 365pp. Tables.

"The Challenge of Education" (pp. 141-61, by E. E. Hildreth) presents a brief survey of education in Vietnam, the U. S. role in assisting the reorganization of the system after independence, community school projects, character of secondary schools, agricultural and vocational training programs, higher education. Tables include data on U.S. financial aid to Vietnamese education (1955-57), and the number of schools, pupils, classes, and teachers for both public and private, primary and secondary, university, and vocational institutions.

Unannotated Entries:

Belleval, Roger de
"State Education in Indochina," *Asiatic Review,* V. 31 (October 1935) 701-70.

Cleisz, Gerald
"The Problem of Education in French Asia, Oceania, and Australasia," *The Journal of Negro Education,* V. 15 (1946) 480-93.

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas, pages 235-37. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

Horning, Benjamin A. and Coy C. Carpenter.
Medical Education in Vietnam: Study with Recommendations. [Winston-Salem?, North Carolina, 1956], 56pp.

In-Service Training for Primary Teachers, pages 169-70. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

Jones, P. H. M.
"Vietnam at School: Short Survey of the Country's Secondary and Higher Education," *Far Eastern Economic Review,* V. 26 (April 19, 1962) 131-35.

Pike, Edgar N.
"Adult Education in Vietnam." *The Asia Foundation Program Bulletin,* No. 12 (Sept. 1959) 1-3.

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"Public and Private Education in Vietnam," *Asian Culture,* V. 2 (April-June 1960) 79-116.

"Primary and Secondary Education in Vietnam," *News from Vietnam* (August 29, 1958) 2-10.

MALAYA AND SINGAPORE

Bibliography:

Cheeseman, Harold R.
Bibliography of Malaya: Being a Classified List of Books Wholly or Partly in English Relating to the Federation of Malaya and Singapore. London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1959, xi, 234pp.

This is the best single bibliographical guide to English language materials on Malaya and Singapore. Materials on education are noted in the section, "Education" (pp. 46-65).

Annotated Entries:

Mason, Frederic
The Schools of Malaya. A Background to Malaya Book. Donald Moore, publisher, Singapore, rev. ed., 1957. 39pp. Tables.

Written by a Professor of Education at the University of Malaya, this small book is an excellent general overview of the educational system of Malaya (including Singapore). Discussed are the English, Malay and Chinese schools, both private and public, recent achievements of the educational system (pupil enrollment, financial support, etc.), educational policy, problems related to the education of minorities in the Federation, and teacher training. Various tables present statistical information on these subjects.

Ginsburg, Norton and Chester F. Roberts, Jr.
Malaya. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1958, xii, 533pp. Index, maps, tables, and bibliography (pp. 509-24).

Scattered through this general handbook on Malaya are materials on primary and secondary schools (pp. 155-60), higher education (pp. 161-62) unique educational problems of Malays (pp. 233-35), Chinese (pp. 304-10), and Indians (pp. 346-48). These, and other short sections on education, often include statistical data on enrollment, number of schools, expenditures for education, etc.

Hendershot, Vernon E.
"Malay's Complex System." *Phi Delta Kappan,* V. 31 (June, 1955) 371-76.

Brief description of the country and people, beginnings of English education in Malaya, set objectives and gradual growth of this system, characteristics of present elementary and secondary English schools, higher education (Raffles College, Sultan Idris), and prospects for the future. Author's doctoral dissertation was on the educational system of British Malaya (1941).

Report of the Commission on University Education in Malaya. The Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaya, 1948, x, 150pp. Index.

A joint Commission on University Education in Malaya, composed of British and Malayan members, surveyed the postwar situation in Malaya as related to higher education and made recommendations for future developments. The Report discusses the role of a university in an independent Malaya, such problems as the characteristics of the student body, entrance qualifications, vocational needs, library and research facilities required. Recommendations are made, on the basis of this survey, for the creation of a University of Malaya—now established at Kuala Lumpur. Considerable information is given on various educational institutions visited by the Commission, both in Singapore and the former Federation of Malaya.

Purcell, Victor
"The Crisis in Malayan Education," *Pacific Affairs,* V. 26 (March, 1953) 70-76.

A discussion of the Barnes Report (L. J. Barnes, *Report of the Committee on Malay Education,* Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1951) and the Fenn-Wu Report (William P. Fenn and Wu Teh-yao, *Chinese Schools and the Education of Chinese Malays. The Report of a Mission Invited by the Federation Government to Study the Problems of Education of Chinese in Malaya,* Kuala Lumpur, 1951). The author argues that the official reaction to these two crucial reports was pro-Malay and anti-Chinese (see *Central Advisory Committee on Education. Report on the Barnes Report on Malay Education and the Fenn-Wu Report on Chinese Education,* Kuala Lumpur, 1951). These reports summarize some of the basic problems faced today by the schools of Malaysia —according to the author who is a specialist on the Chinese in Southeast Asia and lived for many years in Malaya.

Unannotated Entries:

Butwell, Richard
"A Chinese University for Malaya," *Pacific Affairs,* V. 26 (December 1953) 244-48.

Comber, Leon
"Living and Learning in Singapore," *Journal of Adult Education,* V. 6 (November 1958) 30-34.

Dale, Martin
"Chinese Education in Malaya. . .," *Far Eastern Economic Review,* V. 35 (February 8, 1962) 325-28.

Dartford, G. P.
"Problems of Malay Education," *Oversea Education,* V. 29 (1957) 33-37.

Dussek, O. T.
"The Preparation and Work of Rural School Teachers in Malaya," *Oversea Education,* V. 1 (1930) 37-44.

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas, page 153. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

Godman, A.
"Secondary School Selection in Malaya," *Oversea Education,* V. 28 (1956) 115-21.

In-Service Training for Primary Teacher, pages 97-98. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

McLean, Sir William
"Education in Malaya," *The Journal of Negro Education,* V. 15 (Summer, 1946) 508-12.

Monteiro, E. S.
"International Cooperation in Postgraduate Medical Education in Malaya," *American Medical Association Journal,* V. 171 (September 5, 1959) 19-23.

"Nanyang University, Singapore." *International Association of Universities Bulletin,* 7 (Feb. 1959) 60-61.

Oppenheim, A.
"University of Malaya in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur," *Far Eastern Economic Review,* V. 20 (1958) 246-47.

The Organization of Educational and Vocational Guidance, pages 103-04. (For full reference see same title, Cambodia).

Robinson, Kenneth
"Recent Developments in Chinese Education in Singapore," *Oversea Education,* V. 29 (July 1957) 60-64.

Seow, George
"Education in Singapore," *Malaya* (May 1958) 28-30.

Spector, Stanley
"Students and Politics in Singapore," *Far Eastern Survey,* V. 25 (March 1956) 65-73.

White, C.
"Audio-Visual Education in Malaya," *Oversea Education,* V. 29 (1957) 73-77.

Williams, R.
"The Malayan Teachers Training College, Kota Bharu," *Oversea Education,* V. 29 (1957) 73-77.

Winstedt, Richard O.
"Education System of Malaya." In *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College,* Columbia University, 1931, New York, 1932, pp. 79-140.

Winter, W.
"Malaya's New Technical College," *Asian Review,* V. 51 (1955) 161-63.

Zainal-Abidin Bin Ahmad
"The Problem of Higher Education in Malaya," *Asian Horizon,* V. 1 (1948) 23-29.

NORTH BORNEO, BRUNEI, AND SARAWAK

Annotated Entries:

North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak (British Borneo). Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, Conn., 1956, xi, 287pp. Index, maps, charts; tables; and bibliography (pp. 271-78).

Brief comments on literacy, general educational systems, including government, mission and Chinese schools, problems of shortage of trained teachers, attitudes toward education—all scattered throughout this general handbook.

Alman, John
"Concerns for Children Are World-Wide—in North Borneo," *Childhood Education,* V. 37 (November 1960) 130-32.

Discussion of elementary education in North Borneo (Sabah), problems of public schools in a plural society (Chinese, Malays, and primitive people), types of schools, textbooks, status of teacher, and classroom discipline.

Unannotated Entries:

Alman, J. and D. A. Price
"Teacher Training in North Borneo," *Oversea Education,* V. 28 (January 1957) 153-57.

Bewsher, R. A.
"The Rural Improvement School of Sarawak; An Experiment in Rural Adult Education," *Oversea Education,* V. 21 (July 1950) 195-97.

"Blackboard in Borneo," *Times Educational Supplement,* 2359 (August 5, 1960).

Chater, W. J.
Statistics of Schools and Enrolment [In Sarawak], Kuching, Government Printing Office, 1958, 53pp. Tables.

A Guide to Education in Sarawak. [Kuala Belait, Brunei Press], 1961, 55pp. Illus.

Hodgson, C.
"Girls' Education in North Borneo and Brunei State," *African Women,* V. 2 (June 1957) 41-42.

INDONESIA

Annotated Entries:

Smith, Bruce Lannes
Indonesian-American Cooperation in Higher Education. Institute of Research on Overseas Programs, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1960, xxii, 133pp. Index and bibliography (pp. 125-30).

This study begins with a survey of the struggle of the Indonesians for independence, their political, social, and cultural heritages, and the state of elementary and secondary education to 1950. Considerable information is given on the development of higher education in the country, aims and general history, policymaking in Dutch colonial and Indonesian universities, the lack of various all-university services (libraries, core curricula, etc.) university education in post-revolutionary Indonesia (material shortage, student life, etc.), Indonesian-American interuniversity relationships and recommendations for future relations. The bibliography is valuable in that it is largely on materials on education, but includes considerable scarce sources—mimeographed, published or prepared in Indonesia.

Embree, Edwin R., Margaret Sargent Simon, and W. Bryant Mumford
Island India Goes to School. The University of Chicago Press, 1934, 120pp. Illustrations, index.

A general overview of prewar life in the Dutch East Indies is presented, describing the land, people, religious activities, music, and the coming of the West to the archipelago. A favorable assessment is made of Dutch educational policy, and different types of elementary, secondary, and vocational schools are described. Considerable statistical data are given on education as of 1931-32. The conclusion offers various recommendations for improving education as related to the language problem, higher education, vocational training, etc. Discusses what should be "Aims of Native Education" by colonial powers. A background source on Indonesian education during prewar period.

Hutasoit, Marnixius
Compulsory Education in Indonesia. Studies on Compulsory Education—XV. Published by UNESCO, 1954, 111pp. Charts and tables.

The basic purpose of this report, according to the author, is "to explain . . . the extent to which Indonesia is lagging behind in the field of education, the reasons for this, and the efforts of the young Republic to make up the leeway." Describes educational practices before the arrival of the Dutch, under the Dutch, and during the Japanese occupation, discussing such topics as types of schools, school personnel, minority groups, etc. A large section is devoted to the reorganization and expansion of secondary and higher education after independence, including administration, curriculum revision, Moslem and Chinese educational policies, and problems faced in establishing compulsory education for the first six grades.

———.
Problems and Potentials of Indonesian Education. The Twenty-Eighth Annual Sir John Adams Lecture at the University of California, Los Angeles, Delivered March 22, 1961, 22pp.

The author, formerly Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ministry of Education (1949-59), briefly sketches the Dutch record in the field of education and states the basic educational aims and philosophy of the Re-

public of Indonesia. Discussed are such problems of current Indonesian education as expansion versus quality, unbalanced growth of the present system, administrative centralization, buildings and educational equipment, budget and leadership issues. As for potential, author indicates great desire of Indonesians for education, lack of discrimination, current curriculum revision, and foreign assistance by the U.S. and other sources.

Neff, Kenneth L.
National Higher Technical Education in Indonesia. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Government Printing Office, OE-14052, 67pp. Bibliography (p. 31).

After a short survey of past achievements in education, this report discusses the organization and administration of several higher educational institutions (Gadjah Mada, Bandung Institute of Technology), describing courses of study, equipment and facilities, and examination procedures. Also discussed are handicaps faced by Indonesians seeking technical training at home. Included are established programs, listing various courses, for students pursuing degrees in both architecture and engineering (different types).

Thomas, R. Murray
"Concerns for Children are World-Wide—in West Java." *Childhood Education,* V. 37 (April, 1961) 377-81. Photographs.

Discussion of elementary education in West Java (Bandung) by American exchange professor, with comments on character of Indonesian children, recreational activities, curriculum, language problem, school facilities, mass education movement, teachers, and outside aid to Indonesian schools, including that of the U.S.

Unannotated Entries:

Bancroft, R. W.
"Indonesian Teacher's Group Directors Discuss Problems, Plans and Hopes," *New York State Education,* V. 47 (April 1960) 28-29.

Creutzberg, K. F.
"Education in the Netherlands East Indies," *Asiatic Review,* V. 4 (1934) 118-21.

"The Development of National Education in Indonesia," *Indonesian Review,* V. 1 (December 1951) 393-99.

Dicksinson, William C.
"Teaching Physics in Java," *Physics Today,* V. 10 (February 1957) 18-25. Illus.

Emerson, Rupert
"Education in the Netherlands East Indies," *The Journal of Negro Education,* V. 15 (Summer, 1946) 494-507.

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas, page 125. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

Finkelstein, L. S.
"Education in Indonesia," *Far Eastern Survey,* V. 20 (1951) 149-53.

Hanau, Richard
"A Further Report on Physics Teaching in Java," *Physics Today,* V. 11 (November 1958) 4-26. Illus.

In-Service Training for Primary Teachers, pages 75-76. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

Irwin, G.
"Educational Problems in Indonesia," *Australian Outlook,* V. 2 (1957) 3-10.

Lewis, Reba
"The Struggle for Education in Indonesia," *United Asia,* V. 10 (December 1958) 440-46.

Little, M.G.
"Establishment of a System of Education in Indonesia," *Educational News,* V. 4 (October 1954) 11-13.

Moerdowo, Raden
"Educational Problems in Indonesia", *Asian Review,* V. 54 (1958) 62-65.

_____.
"Higher Education in Indonesia," *Eastern World,* V. II (June 1957) 23-25.

Ong, S. L.
"Physical Education in Indonesia." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation,* V. 30 (November 1959) 57.

Sardjito, Mas.
The Development of the Universitas Gadjah Mada. [Jogjakarta], Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1957, 18pp. Illus.

Soemarjono, J.
"Experiment [Home Economics Education] in Indonesia," *Home Economics,* V. 54 (January 1962) 47.

Thomas, R. M. and A. Sjah
"Draw-A-Man Test in Indonesia," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* V. 52 (October 1961) 232-35.

Timmer, W. J.
"Agricultural College Education in Indonesia," *Economic Review of Indonesia*, V. 1 (March 1947) 49-50.

Van der Kroef, J. M.
"Educational Development and Social Change in Indonesia," *Harvard Educational Review*, V. 24 (Fall 1954) 239-55.

Wal, Simon Lambertus van der
Some Information on Education in Indonesia Up To 1942, *With a Bibliography*. Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation. The Hague, 1961, 2nd ed., 23pp.

PHILIPPINES

Bibliographies:

Eggan, Fred (ed.)
Selected Bibliography of the Philippines, Topically Arranged and Annotated. Preliminary edition, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven Conn., 1956. vi, 138pp.

The most recent general bibliography on the Philippines with materials arranged under a variety of categories, including education. Contains an author index and deals primarily with English language materials.

Houston, Charles O., Jr.
Philippine Bibliography I. An Annotated Preliminary Bibliography of Philippine Bibliographies (*Since* 1900). The University of Manila, Manila, 1960. 69pp. Index, printed separately, includes both subject, author and title indexes, 21pp. (Both may be purchased from the Cellar Book Shop, P.O. Box 6, College Park Station, Detroit 21, Michigan.)

Best existing guide to bibliographies of English language materials on the Philippines. This source includes numerous references to the literature on education.

Annotated Entries:

Carson, Arthur L.
Higher Education in the Philippines. Bulletin 1961, No. 29, OE-14065. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961 xiv, 251pp. Photographs, tables, charts and bibliography (pp. 224-33).

The best, and latest, general survey of the historical development of private and public higher education in the Philippines, including information on elementary and secondary schools. Also discussed are the land and people, curriculum organization, college and university development, accreditation, teacher training, outside aid (U. S., U. N., etc.), and basic educational and

philosophical problems. Attention is directed to the unannotated bibliography and the organizational charts of educational administration and various tables of statistical data (college enrollment, public and private, number of schools, 1958-59, of teachers, etc.). Author was formerly President of Silliman University, Philippines.

Isidro, Antonio, Juan C. Canave, Priscilla S. Manalang, and Matilde M. Valdes. *Compulsory Education in the Philippines.* Studies on Compulsory Education—IX. Published by UNESCO, 1952, 84pp., tables and bibliography (pp. 82-84).

Brief history of compulsory primary education and its present status in the Philippines, including information on curricula, teaching of language (Tagalog, or Pilipino), social studies, the place of the community school movement in national development, and a statement of problems ahead in compulsory primary education—economic, administrative, linguistic, etc. Tables on extension classes, pupil survival rates, public expenditures for education, etc.

A Survey of the Public Schools of the Philippines—1960. By a staff of Americans and Filipinos chosen by the International Cooperation Administration of the United States and the National Economic Council of the Republic of the Philippines. Published by the United States Operations Mission to the Philippines, Carmelo and Bauermann, Inc., Manila, 1960, 594pp. Tables and charts.

A recent and comprehensive survey of the education system of the Philippines, including extensive data on elementary and secondary curricula, personnel, school plants and equipment. Outlines existing problems—and presents recommendations—as to the public schools, language problems, vocational and teacher education, school organization, administration and financing. Data are based on extensive interviews with Filipino educators and questionnaires distributed throughout the Republic. This survey follows in the tradition of an earlier examination of the Philippine public schools by Paul Monroe: *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippines,* Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1925, 677pp.

Aguirilla, Amado L.
Adult Education in the Philippines. R. P. Garcia Publishing Company, Manila, 1952, xiii, 361pp. Index, and appendices.

A general survey of the history of adult education in the Philippines, through the Spanish, American, and independence periods. Topics discussed are the programs organized to advance adult education, private and public, aims and purposes of Filipino adult education, literacy health, home life, cultural programs, program administration, instructional materials prepared and various teaching methods. Each chapter includes bibliographical references to selected readings. Appendices include the various acts establishing adult education programs and a statistical summary of adult education activities (1952-53).

Bernardino, Vitaliano

The Philippine Community School. Phoenix Press, Manila, 1958, viii, 318pp. Index, appendices, charts, and bibliography (pp. 269-82).

A comprehensive source on the Philippine community school—a model for Southeast Asia—and includes an historical background to the movement, various approaches developed, training of personnel, curriculum organization, use of the *purok*, evaluation of progress achieved, and case studies of community schools in different parts of the Republic. Appendices reproduce community school forms and legislation related to the movement.

Fresnoza, Florencio P.

Essentials of the Philippine Educational System. Abiva Publishing House, Manila, 1957, 564pp. Revised ed. Index, charts, and tables.

An introductory textbook for Filipino college students of education with topics devoted to the history of education during the Spanish, American Japanese, and independence periods, nature and scope of the educational system, educational philosophy, administration (Department of Education, Bureau of Public Schools, etc.), basic curricula for elementary and secondary schools, instruction and supervision, teaching personnel, ethics of teaching, finances, adult education, community schools, and various appraisals of the educational system (Monroe, Quezon, Prosser, UNESCO, Bell, etc.). Extensive bibliographical references are made to existing literature, almost entirely in English.

"Philippines" (pp. 156-58). *Teaching of Natural Science in Secondary Schools.* XVth International Conference on Public Education Convened by UNESCO and the I.B.E., 1952. Jointly published by the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, and UNESCO, 1952, 213pp.

Based on distributed questionnaires to government agencies, the study reports on the place of natural science in the curriculum, aims of program, principal questions treated in syllabus for each class, teaching methods, training of teaching staff, up-dating of their knowledge, recent books and current trends. (For similar information on this subject for Thailand, see "Thailand," pp. 177-79).

Pecson, Geronima T. and Maria Racelis [Hollnsteiner]. *Tales of the American, Teachers in the Philippines.* Carmelo and Bauermann, Inc., Manila 1959, xv, 254pp. Photographs.

A stimulating reprinting of articles written by, or about, early American teachers in the Philippines, describing the problems faced in teaching in isolated rural communities, the nature of the educational system, attitudes of Filipinos toward education, achievements, and statements by Filipinos about these early pioneers in the Philippines.

Unannotated Entries:

Aguilar Jose V.
"Community Schools in the Philippines." In *Education for Better Living,* U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C., Bulletin No. 9, 1957, pp. 47-63.

Angeles, F. Delor M. and Bonifacio Reyes Angeles
"The Birth of the Philippine Educational System," *Silliman Journal,* V. 3 (January-March 1956) 1-19.

Arens, Richard, S. V. D.
"Philippine Education in Transition," *University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies,* V. 7 (January 1958) 89-100.

Bernardino, Vitalino
"The Modern Philippine High Schools," *Education Quarterly,* V. 5 (December 1957/March 1958) 203-212.

Calderon, Cicero D.
"Silliman University and Its Mission," *Silliman Journal,* V. 9 (July-September 1962) 209-17.

Clark, William F.
"Student-Farmers Earn While They Learn." *School Executive* 78 (Dec. 1958) 52-54. (About Central Luzon Agricultural College's program.)

Facilities for Education in Rural Areas, pages 173-77. (For full reference see same title, Thailand).

Fenn, William P.
"The Role of Christian Higher Education in Asia," *Silliman Journal,* V. 9 (July-September 1963) 218-24.

Gapuz, M. M.
"The Nature and Scope of the Philippine School Crisis," *Philippine Journal of Education,* V. 39 (October 1960) 284-85, 325.

Glenn, E. R.
"Science Education in the Philippines," *Science Education,* V. 43 (April 1959) 207-14.

Gonzales, Gonzalo W.
"A Critical Survey of Legal Education in the Philippine," *Philippine Law Journal,* V. 22 (April-June, 1957) 54-78, 102-135.

Gregorio, Herman C.
"Recent Trends in School Administration and Supervision," *Silliman Journal,* V. 8 (July-September 1961) 198-204.

Hanna, Paul R.
"Philippine Educators Show the Way," *Education*, V. 76 (June 1956) 601-10.

Hernandez, D. F.
"The Status of Science Education Research," *Educational Quarterly*, V. 9 (January 1962) 31-46.

In-Service Training for Primary Teachers, see pages 117-18. (For full reference see same title, Thailand.)

Juan, V. C.
"Up-Grading Agricultural Teacher Education in the Philippines," *Agricultural Education Magazine*, V. 32 (May 1959) 12-13.

Laubach, F. C.
"Key Method of Teaching Illiterates," *International Review of Missions*, V. 25 (April 1936) 235-49.

Lim, Manuel
"Philippine Education Faces Tomorrow." *Fookien Times Yearbook*, 1959, (Manila), 131-144.

Lucio, William H.
"A Design for Teacher Education in the Philippines." *Educational Record*, V. 39 (April 1958) 180-191.

Marquardt, W. W.
"An Unparalleled Venture in Education," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, V. 4 (1945) 135-39.

Morales, Alfredo T.
"Is Education Geared to Barrio Progress?", *Educational Quarterly*, V. 2 (March 1955) 9-14.

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THE OTHER SIDE OF PARADISE: SATIRE IN F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

David V. Quemada

DEFINING the art of Fitzgerald in *The Far Side of Paradise*, Arthur Mizener calls attention to "an important insight for an understanding of Fitzgerald the talented novelist." He says: "His [Fitzgerald's] nature was divided. Partly he was an enthusiastic, romantic young man. Partly he was what he called himself in the 'General Plan' for *Tender Is the Night*, 'a spoiled priest.'"[1] Fitzgerald himself wrote to his daughter about a year before he died: "Sometimes I wish I had gone along with [Cole Porter and Rodgers and Hart and that gang], but I guess I am too much a moralist at heart, and really want to preach at people in some acceptable form, rather than to entertain."[2] Four decades after the age which he labelled "The Jazz Age," Fitzgerald can probably be enjoyed best and his stature and dimensions as a writer be defined with justice if we look at his works in terms of his criticism of his age.

A writer who expects to live beyond his age and be read by the future with both seriousness and delight must be able to give a sense of having captured the totality of his world in particular moments, individuals, and places with their distinctive sounds and gestures. If Fitzgerald thrives today more securely than he did at the time of his death, it is because he succeeded in capturing in his works and in his life the distinctive spirit of his age. Neither his life nor his performance was consistently distinguished, but probably his vision of his age in his works is more honest and moving than that of any of his contemporaries because he saw and remembered with more compassion. There is a "deeply felt quality" in all his works which creates in readers an awareness of his world not only in terms of its "hum and buzz" but also its heartbeat. His characters are "hauntingly and embarrassingly real,"[3] and if we feel that they are "exas-

[1] Arthur Mizener, *The Far Side of Paradise* (New York, 1959), p. 65.
[2] Mizener, p. 67.
[3] Mizener, p. 116.

perating *poseurs*" (*The Times Literary Supplement*, June 23, 1921) or phonies as we would say today, we accept them nevertheless because they are real phonies" like Truman Capote's Holly in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. No matter how immature or melodramatic his major characters are they all live and never fail to attain an intimacy with our intense experiences whether remembered or imagined. This intimate reality of his characters is probably the result of Fitzgerald's writing out of his immediate experiences. No American writer of this century was probably more involved in his characters than he was, and it is a wonder how he succeeded in creating individuals in spite of his apparent and acknowledged lack of distance from his characters. "You've got to sell your heart," he wrote Frances Turnbull on November 9, 1938, ". . . In 'This Side of Paradise' I wrote about a love affair that was still bleeding as fresh as the skin wound on a haemophile."[4]

His criticism therefore of his world with tenderness and compassion beyond that of any other writer after 1914 gives Fitzgerald a unique satirical voice in contemporary American literature and marks the brilliant verisimilitude of his style. That he was a romantic in the peculiarly American sense and tradition of romantic can be easily discerned,[5] but that he was an important critic of his age is often not realized and therefore should be made more evident. As J. B. Priestley observes in his introduction to *The Bodley Head Scott Fitzgerald*: ". . . his unique talent is very difficult to describe, classify, assess. As so many good American critics have proved to us, Fitzgerald's an elusive subject for just criticism. Too many things, including his own legend, get in the way. . . . But in truth all his best writing is about something else, something a long way removed from his legend and popular reputation: it is about 'wanting better bread than can be made out of wheat' and then finding each loaf rotten with decay, about the corruption beneath the glittering surface, about the soul of man in a society bent on dissolution."[6]

The glittering surface of the world of the rich is Fitzgerald's major theme and object of satire from *This Side of Paradise* to

[4] Mizener, p. 68.

[5] Richard Chase in his *The American Novel and Its Tradition* gives special attention to *The Great Gatsby* as a notable book in the American tradition of romance and pastoral in American novels. We might add that all of Fitzgerald's novels have the romantic quality in them.

[6] J. B. Priestley, introduction to *The Bodley Head Scott Fitzgerald* (London, 1958), pp. 10, 13-14.

The Last Tycoon. It is his territory as Oxford, Mississippi is Faulkner's. He peopled his territory with characters from real life as Faulkner did and located them with an "acute sense of time and place."[7] While Faulkner portrayed the decay of the old South, he portrayed the faults and frivolities of the rich and the aspirers after or pretenders to riches. Faulkner however achieved his purpose in involved and obviously mannered prose while Fitzgerald achieved his with a simple, scintillating language very complementary to the concept of the world he sought to dissect and understand. Yet while Faulkner's most memorable characters brood in timeless tides of consciousness and speak with oracular wisdom as they move "with movements and knowledge older than themselves,"[8] Fitzgerald's representative characters seem to be strictly Ivy leaguers incapable of existing without having gone to Princeton or Paris, the Riviera and Hollywood, and always remind us in their thoughts, speeches, and songs of a world with the "strains of 'Charleston' in the background."[9] In spite of this initial impression of being dated, the works of Fitzgerald as a whole and on second reading achieve a criticism of life which, as Max Perkins probably would have said it, "should not belong to any particular time, but to all time . . . (they) transcended what (Fitzgerald) called the Jazz Age, and many people did not realize this because of the very success with which he wrote of it."[10]

The source of Fitzgerald's strength in transcending the age which he wrote about with success is the spirit of satire and comedy that informs all his works. It was the spoiled priest in him and not the romantic young man that gave his works roots in great literature and vitality to survive the songs and clichés of his age. If half a million readers fell in love with *This Side of Paradise* when it appeared,[11] it was mainly because probably it was the best satirical novel on the younger generation in America since Mark Twain. *Main Street* which appeared in the same year (1920) is a more artistic novel, more complete in its satire, but comparatively sluggish. *This Side of Paradise* still charms readers today because of its delightful

[7] Priestley, p. 14.

[8] The quotation is from Faulkner's "The Bear."

[9] Frances Fitzgerald Lanahan, introduction to *F. Scott Fitzgerald, Six Tales of the Jazz Age and Other Stories* (New York, 1952), p. 9.

[10] Lanahan, p. 11.

[11] John O'Hara, introduction to *The Portable F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York, 1949), p. vii.

criticism of the young in love and in college in eastern America during the first quarter of this century. The other novels of Fitzgerald, no matter how seriously he took himself and his craft while he envisioned them, contain comic characters, scenes, and situations which add dimension and life to the totality of each work. *The Beautiful and Damned* glitters with some of the wittiest dissections of a "literary man" in an obviously literary manner, in spite of its failure to achieve its avowed purpose of revealing "with devastating satire a section of American society which has never been recognized as an entity—that wealthy, floating population which throngs the restaurants, cabarets, theaters, and hotels of our great cities."[12] *The Great Gatsby*, aside from its compelling and controlled comment on a way of life that was truly a great dream, is rich in satirical descriptions of the people and vices of a society which makes possible such a romantic as Gatsby with his gaudy and essentially vulgar dream. *Tender Is the Night* may give the impression of sustained seriousness lacking in Fitzgerald's earlier works, but it also has sharp if brief pictures of denizens of Paris night life (especially the expatriates) and of mental patients and their parents—all of whom give the novel a roundness in tone and feeling which it lacks in point of view. In the finished parts of *The Last Tycoon* Fitzgerald achieved his best balance in tone and language, an achievement shaped in large measure by the expression of his satire in two dimensions. In it he satirized in both the level of representative reality, seen in the descriptions of characters who live and have their being in Hollywood, and the level of symbolic reality portrayed in the relationships among the characters because of Hollywood—relationships which echo the muses of human tragedies in all forms of empire building. Probably it was his seriousness of purpose, his belief in himself and his craft which made Fitzgerald write of his life and the people he knew as if he wanted to say, "This is fun, so what?" or "This kind of life could be great, it makes one live to the hilt, but it inevitably leads to a crack up." Beneath the captivating brilliance of his works which never fail to entertain us because of the precision with which he captured the nuances of loving and wanting to be loved and of the suffering involved in the process there is a conscience that makes us look and learn after we laugh.

Fitzgerald acknowledged the influence of Compton Mackenzie

[12] Mizener, pp. 152-153.
[13] Mizener, pp. 107-108.

and Wells and Tarkington in *This Side of Paradise*.[13] But we can go back as far as Fielding and the sentimental novelists and find roots of his comic methods, attitude, and vision in their works. This is not to claim that he actually read and was influenced by them. Probabilities in such a conjecture are less important than the fact that he possessed and used skillfully the weapons of satire which never change even if they vary in material and form. To relate Fitzgerald to Fielding may sound strained if not risky. But as in Fielding, one of the springs of Fitzgerald's comedy, especially in his early works, is "affectation" which according to Fielding proceeds from vanity or hypocrisy. "From the discovery of this affectation arises the ridiculous, which always strikes the reader with surprise and pleasure."[14] Amory, Beatrice Blaine, Isabelle, and Eleanor in *This Side of Paradise* amuse us with their "affectation" even as we see in them a criticism of life.

Aside from affectation, however, the satire of Fitzgerald had other springs and expressed itself in various forms like invective, irony, parody, and travesty. He can also caricature with a line or burlesque with a few well-turned phrases and metaphors, and when necessary, he could employ melodrama with devastating effect. (It is in melodrama however where he also fails most often as an artist—failing in it by abundance.) In at least one instance, in "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz," he raised his satire to almost the proportions of a myth.

A pleasant passage to begin a consideration of satire in Fitzgerald's works is the first two paragraphs of his first novel, *This Side of Paradise*:

> Amory Blaine inherited from his mother every trait except the stray inexpressible few that made him worthwhile. His father, an ineffectual, inarticulate man with a taste for Byron and a habit of drowsing over the *Encyclopedia Britannica* grew wealthy at thirty through the death of two elder brothers, successful Chicago brokers, and in the first flush of feeling that the world was his, went to Bar Harbor and met Beatrice O'Hara. In consequence, Stephen Blaine handed down to posterity his height of just under six feet and his tendency to waver at crucial moments, these two abstractions appearing in his son Amory. For many years he hovered in the background of his family's life, an unassertive figure with a face half-obliterated by lifeless, silky hair, continually occupied in "taking care" of his wife, continually harassed by the idea that he didn't and couldn't understand her.
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> But Beatrice Blaine! There was a woman! Early pictures taken on her

[14] Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (New York, 1948), pp. xxi-xxii.

father's estate at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, or in Rome at the Sacred Heart Convent—an educational extravagance that in her youth was only for the daughters of the exceptionally wealthy—showed the exquisite delicacy of her features, the consummate art and simplicity of her clothes. A brilliant education she had—her youth passed in renaissance glory, she was versed in the latest gossip of the Older Roman Families; known by name as a fabulously wealthy American girl to Cardinal Vitori and Queen Margherita and more subtle celebrities that one must have had some culture even to have heard of. She learned in England to prefer whisky and soda to wine, and her small talk was broadened in two senses during a winter in Vienna. All in all Beatrice O'Hara absorbed the sort of education that will be quite impossible ever again; a tutelage measured by the number of things and people one could be contemptuous of and charming about; a culture rich in all arts and traditions, barren of all ideas....[15]

Beginning with direct ridicule in a tone of sophisticated boredom consistent with his satiric intention, Fitzgerald introduces his hero and gives his family history and cultural heritage. After a quite obvious caricature of the father by both direct and indirect invective, he rises to irony as he shifts to Beatrice Blaine, the mother. This shift to irony, a more subtle and deadly satiric device, prepares us in a way for the major role which Beatrice plays in the novel and in her son's life. Stephen, "the ineffectual, inarticulate man with a taste for Byron and a habit of drowsing over the *Encyclopedia Britannica*," is battered into shape with the club of less artistic satire—invective. Badly bruised at the start, he is left to bleed his ineffectual life away while his protagonist son and "brilliantly educated" wife move on into a life of the rich, full of confusion, deception, and emptiness, acquiring whatever natural growth comes after the pains and blunders and disenchantments of youth as well as the exaggerated fears of useless middle age.

Fitzgerald does not have a memorable travesty that can compare with Hemingway's travesty of The Lord's Prayer in "A Clean Well-Lighted Place," a stroke of genius indeed in the latter artist. But in *This Side of Paradise* he has a number of attempts at travesty especially in his verse interludes, like Amory's poem on the Victorians which is a travesty of Swinburne[16] and the couplets before that poem which are travesties of Tennyson. I have a suspicion that Monsignor Darcy's "A Lament for a Foster Son, and He going to the War Against the King of Foreign"[17] is a take-off on Mac-

[15] F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (New York, 1920), pp. 3-4.
[16] Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, pp. 165-166.
[17] Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, pp. 173-174.

pherson's *Ossian,* and Amory's poem on his going off to war is a parody of some Georgian war poets.[18] But whether it be form or content that Fitzgerald ridicules, he succeeds with ease and delight. We might even say that all of *This Side of Paradise* is an exercise in various forms of satire and Amory Blaine its hero a splendid achievement in caricature narrowly escaping from being a grotesque because of our knowing him not only in terms of externals but also in terms of his inner life.

It is in characterization therefore where the satiric gift of Fitzgerald rises to its best in *This Side of Paradise.* The following passage, for instance, shows double characterization in the best satiric tradition. While telling about Amory's growing pains and peccadillos, Fitzgerald also characterizes Beatrice with trenchant satire:

> She fed him sections of the "Fetes Galantes" before he was ten; at eleven he could talk glibly, if rather reminiscently, of Brahms and Mozart and Beethoven. One afternoon, when left alone in the hotel at Hot Springs, he sampled his mother's apricot cordial, and as the taste pleased him, he became quite tipsy. This was fun for a while, but he essayed a cigarette in his exaltation, and succumbed to a vulgar, plebian reaction. Though this incident horrified Beatrice, it also secretly amused her and became part of what in a later generation would have been termed her "line."
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> "This son of mine," he heard her tell a room full of awe-struck, admiring women one day, "is entirely sophisticated and quite charming—but delicate—we're all delicate; *here,* you know." Her hand was radiantly outlined against her beautiful bosom; then sinking her voice to a whisper, she told them of the apricot cordial. They rejoiced, for she was a brave raconteur, but many were the keys turned in sideboard locks that night against the possible defection of little Bobby or Barbara....[19]

As Fitzgerald draws his characters and holds them up to ridicule, however, we sense that beneath the smile (often turning into a sneer) that he wears as he writes he has the greatest sympathy for his characters. This sympathy makes his characters live. It makes them attain life and breath, dream our dreams, and suffer our defeats and pains. And if Amory, Son of Beatrice, lives and grows in our consciousness as we read, grows from a caricature into a fellow human being with wounds and scars of living and becoming, it is because Fitzgerald had the capacity to love his characters first of all, to feel and to love them deeply, and when he laughed at them it was with the clearest understanding. When Amory cries defiant-

[18] Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise,* p. 174.
[19] Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise,* pp. 5-6.

ly at the "Crystalline, radiant sky" at the end: "I know myself... but that is all," we feel that we too have known him, and as Clifton Fadiman said of Holden Caulfield in *The Catcher in the Rye*, "that rare miracle of fiction has again come to pass: a human being has been created out of ink, paper, and the imagination."[20] Amory Blaine and Holden Caulfield are basically the offsprings of similar bewilderments and environments. They both are indictments of the milieu that creates and confuses them. In both, the satiric attitude, the essence of which is style and idiom, generate that sense of life which comes from a cry of protest and despair.

Aside from characterizing in the satiric vein through direct description, Fitzgerald is often at his satiric best in dialogue. The following passage etching Isabelle and Amory with the acid diction of young people playing adults by talking "smart" is a brilliant piece of dialogue:

> (. . . ROSALIND finished her hair and rises, humming. She goes up to the mirror and starts to dance in front of it on the soft carpet, she watches not her feet, but her eyes—never casually but always intently, even when she smiles. The door suddenly opens and then slams behind AMORY, very cool and handsome as usual. He melts into instant confusion.)

HE: Oh, I'm sorry. I thought—
SHE: (Smiling radiantly) Oh, you're Amory Blaine, aren't you?
HE: (Regarding her closely) And you're Rosalind?
SHE: I'm going to call you Amory—oh, come in—it's all right—mother'll be right in—(under her breath) unfortunately.
HE: (Gazing around) This is sort of a new wrinkle for me.
SHE: This is No Man's Land.
HE: This is where you— you— (pause)
SHE: Yes—all those things. (She crosses to the bureau.) See, here's my rouge—eye pencils.
HE: I didn't know you were that way.
SHE: What did you expect?
HE: I thought you'd be sort of—sort of—sexless, you know, swim and play golf.
SHE: Oh, I do—but not in business hours.
HE: Business?
SHE: Six to two—strictly.
HE: I'd like to have some stock in the corporation.
SHE: Oh, it's not a corporation—it's just "Rosalind Unlimited." Fifty-

[20] Clifton Fadiman, from the blurb on the dust jacket of J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (New York, 1951).

one shares, name, goodwill, and everything goes at $25,000 a year.

HE: (Disapprovingly) Sort of a chilly proposition.

SHE: Well, Amory, you don't mind—do you? When I meet a man that doesn't bore me to death after two weeks, perhaps it'll be different.

He: Odd, you have the same point of view on men that I have on women.

SHE: I'm not really feminine, you know—in my mind.[21]

One of the talents of Fitzgerald is picturesque description of character with startling metaphors that invariably ring with satire. Maury Noble in *The Beautiful and Damned* is introduced to us with devastating diminution as follows:

> Maury Noble is like nothing so much as a large slender and imposing cat. His eyes are narrow and full of incessant, protracted blinks. His hair is smooth and flat, as though it had been licked by a possible—and, if so, Herculean—mother-cat. During Anthony's time at Harvard he had been considered the most unique figure in his class, the most brilliant, the most original—smart, quiet and among the saved. . . . Maury Noble behind that fine and absurdly catlike face is all but purring. . . .[22]

Fitzgerald has a penchant for epigrammatic pictures of prematurely decayed women ("She was a faded but still lovely woman of twenty-seven"[23]) and ineffectual husbands whose greatest tragedies are the infidelities of their insatiable wives like Mrs. Wilson in this scene from *The Great Gatsby*:

> His voice faded off and Tom glanced impatiently around the garage. Then I heard footsteps on a stairs, and in a moment the thickish figure of a woman blocked out the light from the office door. She was in her middle thirties, and faintly stout, but she carried her surplus flesh sensously as some women can. Her face, above a spotted dress of dark blue crepe-dechine, contained no facet or gleam of beauty, but there was an immediately perceptible vitality about her as if the nerves of her body were continually smoldering. She smiled slowly and, walking through her husband as if he were a ghost, shook hands with Tom, looking him flush in the eye. Then she wet her lips, and without turning around spoke to her husband in a soft, coarse voice:
>
> "Get some chairs, why don't you, so somebody can sit down."
>
> "Oh, sure," agreed Wilson hurriedly, and went toward the little office mingling immediately with the cement color of the walls. A white ashen dust veiled his dark suit and his pale hair as it veiled everything in the vicinity—except his wife, who moved close to Tom.[24]

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[21] Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, pp. 186-187.

[22] *The Bodley Head Scott Fitzgerald*, Vol. 4, p. 25.

[23] F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Crack Up*, ed. Edmund Wison (New York, 1945), p. 88.

[24] Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York, 1953), pp. 25-26.

The epigram could be a very effective weapon in the arsenal of satire. Fitzgerald does not indulge in epigram for its own sake in his novels, but in his notebooks he does, as if he hoped or enticed people to quote him. Many of his individual sentences in his novels and short stories can be quoted easily for their terse and pungent wit and imagery. As we can see in his revisions of his novels and in his notes for *The Last Tycoon,* he labored hard over the image and flavor and sound of his sentences. He worked on his prose like a careful poet which he was in a very real sense. (He himself declared that "the talent that matures early is usually of the poetic [type], which mine was in large part."[25]) He first started out as a poet and went into the short story, the play, and then the novel only afterwards. It was the poet in him that took care to make each chapter, episode, or even sentence or word[26] ring original and true. He might have been careless in his spelling, punctuation, and grammar but he certainly was a careful craftsman in the sound and image of his sentences. His notebooks give us a glimpse of his passion for collecting and polishing sentences, sentences that were his own and which occurred to him at odd moments. These he preserved in his notebooks for their own individual sakes or to be used later on in his novels and stories. If we try to note the individual sentences in his notebooks that ring with satire as they capture a face, a moment, a feeling, a situation, or an idea, we will find out that the satiric sentences are more in number than any other kind of sentence. C. E. Vulliamy in *The Anatomy of Satire* contends that "the primary intentions of satire are purely descriptive." If we accept this statement, we can say that such intentions are always present in Fitzgerald's satire of manners and men, whether in a sentence or a whole novel. The following excerpts from his notebooks give an idea of the satirical voice in his epigrammatic sentences:

(From Epigrams, Wisecracks and Jokes)

"Show me a hero and I will write you a tragedy."
"Optimism is the content of small men in high places."

[25] Fitzgerald, *The Crack Up,* p. 305.

[26] In his introduction to *Tender Is the Night* in *The Modern Standard Authors* edition of Fitzgerald's works, Malcolm Cowley tells about how Fitzgerald wrote to Bennett Cerf about a new arrangement for the novel and other minor changes in it, for according to Fitzgerald, "sometimes by a single word change one can throw a new emphasis or give a new value to the exact same setting or scene."

"Debut: the first time a young girl is seen drunk in public."

(From Descriptions of Girls)

"Her body was so assertively adequate that someone remarked that she always looked as if she had nothing on underneath her dress. . . ."

". . . They talked from their hearts—with the half truths and evasions peculiar to that organ, which has never been famed as an instrument of precision."

"Women having only one role—their own charm—all the rest is mimicry."

"Men get to be a mixture of the charming mannerism of the women they have known."

Melodrama is one of the major weaknesses of Fitzgerald's works, especially in *This Side of Paradise*. Sometimes it seems as if he could not resist piling on dialogue or action to crush his character to a ridiculous ooze. Often he gives us the impression that he loves doing so like "certain racehorses run for the pure joy of running."[27] Amory no matter how convincingly human he finally becomes gluts our palates with his abundant, intense, indeed exhausting performances. The novel itself of which he is the hero finally gives us the feeling that its melodramatic episodes could stand a good deal of pruning. But perhaps Fitzgerald wanted to achieve the effervescence of youth in the profusion of melodramatic episodes in the novel. If that were his intention, he certainly succeeded in producing what he wanted—an adolescent book on adolescence.

The Great Gatsby is more adult in spite of it's hero's teen-age idealism. The melodrama in it is more controlled and selected and therefore more successful. Gatsby still walks about as if he were an Amory. He has shaved more, and has been nicked more, but he still is an Amory who always seems to be conscious of people's eyes on him. Sometimes eyes may make him a bit uncomfortable, like the disconcerting eyes of Daisy. Most of the time, however, he struts about as if the world were his stage and it has always a spotlight focused on him. All the scenes where he appears or plans to appear seem to be neatly plotted and controlled by him. When unpredicted circumstances occur, he suffers from stage fright; finally he makes his exit because of the unforeseen entry of a murderous madman into the scene. Nevertheless Gatsby is more mature in his melodrama than Amory and the book as a whole is quite effectively

[27] Paul Rosenfield in "F. Scott Fitzgerald," *The Crack Up*, p. 307.

subdued in dramatic enthusiasm because of its rendition through an objective central intelligence.

Tender Is the Night, the novel which Fitzgerald intended to be the best novel of his time[28] is not melodramatic and can probably be appreciated more if we think of it as Fitzgerald's noblest and most deeply felt satire. If people did not receive it as they received *This Side of Paradise* and *The Great Gatsby*[29] the reason was probably because they did not see in it the flamboyant satirical tone and style of the former and the detached ridicule of idealism and wealth in the latter. But *Tender Is the Night* is Fitzgeral's greatest work and his best satire because it has the greatest compassion for its characters and is the most convincing in its portrayal of life among his novels. The decay of Dick Diver from a young man with the promise of a destiny "like Grant at Galena" to a shiftless, ineffectual husband and alcoholic is one of the most tragic comments on life in American literature. Its tragic roots may be in the Jazz Age but the sour fruit that is its criticism of talent prostituted to wealth and wild parties in the Rivieras of life—such fruit is edible for all time. Not Gatsby, nor Stahr, nor Amory, but Dick Diver approaches most closely the dimensions of the classic tragic hero. If he does not attain the proportions of a tragic hero, it is not difficult to see Dick Diver as another *l'homme moyen sensual,* an ordinary, weak man who "though he did not always act rightly, yet he never did otherwise without feeling and suffering for it," a man who "though his heart is in the right place, his instincts are not always in his control."[30]

The motley crowd around Dick and Nicole Diver is a caricature of expatriate Americans in the Mediterranean in the 1920's and even today. Expatriates who flock to the sun and the holiday glow of Italian seascapes and landscapes bent only on the pursuit of experiences that titter on the brink of the unconventional or affairs that would be damning back home but exciting and "harmless" in the anonymity of the foreign setting. Most of them are artists newly arrived or drawing on bankrupt reputations, all seeking for "material" and the "proper mood," the inspiration that may come either in the frenzy of illicit loves, the limbo of drink, or the painful awakenings to life's truths after dissipation and regrets. McKisco,

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[28] Malcolm Cowley brings out this intention of Fitzgerald in the introduction mentioned in Footnote 26.

[29] Mizener, p. 275.

[30] Walter Allen, *The English Novel* (New York, 1958), p. 54.

no matter after whom he was patterned in Fitzgerald's life, is a fine caricature of a writer with a meteoric past but is suffering from cramps at the moment (at least at the beginning of Rosemary episode). Abe North is a memorable satiric achievement with his "controlled despair and self-destruction. . . which forms a quiet anticipatory parallel to Dick Diver's destruction."[31] Tommy Barban whose roundness is in one note is an engaging prototype of the man whose achievements and best offerings can come only from his physical powers and attributes. The minor women characters are caricatures of the predatory, title-seeking or even just soft-bed-seeking females and of women whose existencies depend only on the personalities or achievements of their husbands, women who sap their husband's vitalities with their mediocrity, their gossip, and their possessiveness. Offsprings of these expatriates can be seen today in the more recent works of Tennessee Williams (*The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone*) and Irwin Shaw (*Two Weeks in Another Town*) where they are more opulent and daring, hence more intense and vulgar in their lust for life.

The Last Tycoon, after the high seriousness and more diminished melodrama of *Tender Is the Night,* is probably the most unmelodramatic in over-all tone and rendering. This statement may sound false, especially because of the setting and characters in it which is Hollywood and movie people. Yet it is precisely the atmosphere of the setting and the preconceived ideas we have of the characters in such an atmosphere that make us accept melodrama in the novel as the norm. Even the earthquake fails to jolt us to a melodramatic plane. After all, natural calamities are expected to be rather strange and unpredictable. And certainly a flood that comes after an earthquake and carries away a Hollywood idol with two women on it, floating down the current of "an impromptu river," is not very spectacular compared to other Hollywood extravaganzas. Neither can it be really melodramatic satire because it is not intended to be so in its context. Both the earthquake and the flood are intended to advance the action of the novel, not to satirize any character or idea. The only truly melodramatic scene in *The Last Tycoon,* as Fitzgerald has left it, is that where Cecilia discovers Birdy Peters, her father's secretary, stark naked in a closet of her father's office. The scene is satirical melodrama because it comments on the dege-

[31] Mizener, p. 265.

nerate and confused life of Hollywood tycoons which is the main theme of the novel.

Upon further consideration therefore, *This Side of Paradise*, even if it shows Fitzgerald as failing sometimes in his use of melodrama because of excess of it, is paradoxically the same novel where he uses melodrama most effectively as a weapon for satire. All Fitzgerald novels because of their preoccupation with the rich are generally more melodramatic than those of his contemporaries. But it is only he who has succeeded because of and in spite of his melodramatic quality. What to others was a curse became almost a blessing to him, and *This Side of Paradise* illustrates his rare success in handling that capricious daughter of satire—melodrama.

The greatest satirists, like Rabelais, Voltaire, and Swift used fantasy to communicate their best and most universal and enduring satire. Fitzgerald in "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz" used fantasy to express his major theme—his awe as well as his criticism of the rich and riches. The story is successful as a story but a failure as satire in the level of fantasy. It shows quite pointedly that Fitzgerald was not primarily a satirist but a story teller. He tried his best to be the spoiled priest, but the romantic young man in him refused to kneel before he went to sleep after a great dream. "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz" fails as satire because the symbolic elements in it are confused and not realized. The twelve men of Fish, very promising as symbolic vehicles at the beginning of the story are completely forgotten after their meaningless observation of the hero on his way to diamondland. Other elements in the story—the characters and their names, the town, Hades, and the school, St. Midas, the imprisoned pilots, the destruction of the diamond mountain, the diamond mountain itself—these do not attain the symbolic dimensions they promise. And since satire rendered through fantasy succeeds only if it attains symbolic dimensions, the failure of these elements to grow into symbols makes the story fail as satire in its genre.

We do not quarrel with a writer who entertains us with a story on a fantastic level if he wants to do so; we question his performance however when he makes it obvious that he wants to preach at the same time and then fails to establish meaningful correspondences between his entertaining and his preaching. At the end of the story, Fitzgerald probably realized that he got so carried away by his fantasy that he forgot to say what he wanted to say. He therefore states

neatly through John what he wants to preach: "There are only diamonds in the whole world, diamonds and perhaps the shabby gift of disillusion." In spite of the failure of the story as satire, it contains some of the most memorable scenes in Fitzgerald, such as the bribing of God with a huge diamond by Braddock Washington and the final scene of John, Kismine, and Jasmine, falling off to sleep, penniles and cold with nothing but "the shabby gift of disillusion". If the story is a failure as satire, it is nevertheless a magnificent failure.

In his other stories, Fitzgerald's satire exposes a wide variety of human failings. The objects of his satire in the stories included in *Flappers and Philosophers, Tales of the Jazz Age, All the Sad Young Men,* and *Taps at Reveille* range from southern provincialism and eastern smugness ("The Ice Palace") to expatriate irresponsibility and dissolution ("Babylon Revisited"), from misdirected mob idealism and individual self-destruction through libidinous indulgings ("May Day") to the prostitution of talent in Hollywood ("Crazy Sunday"). No matter how many facets his satire in his short stories may have, they mirror most often and most sharply the affectations and predicaments of the rich whom he tried to copy and rebuke most passionately. His middle-class stories, however, usually succeed better than those he wrote about the rich. As John O'Hara said, "Actually most of [Fitzgerald's] work was about the middle class, your family and mine."[32] So easily does the legend of Fitzgerald's being the "official chronicler" of the rich predetermine our critical expectations that we often forget he wrote more convincingly about "your family and mine" and with the superior and detached sureness that comes from "having been there." What can be more involving than "Absolution" in its portrayal of the confusions and pains of growing up in a highly ritualized world of belief where cruelty is motivated by "good intentions"? And what can be more truthful in its portrayal of unpredictable childish quarrels among the young and the old over trifles than "The Baby Party"? It is in stories like these where we feel that Fitzgerald's genius as a writer derived largely from his fidelity to the usual things like Trollope who, as Henry James said, "felt all daily and immediate things as well as he saw them; felt them in a simple, direct, salubrious way, with their sadness, their gladness, their charm, their comicality, all

[32] O'Hara, int. to *The Portable F. Scott Fitzgerald,* p. xiv.

their obvious and measurable meanings."[33]

"Fitzgerald was no satirist," says John O'Hara in *The Portable F. Scott Fitzgerald.* "If he was being a satirist, as has been claimed, I don't get it, and I am no dope."[34] John O'Hara is no dope; it is just possible that he has other definitions of satire, a kind of criticism of life which he also dramatizes quite ably in some of his later works. To say that Fitzgerald is an important novelist in spite of his failures and faults is to be trite; but to deny or be unaware of his being a satirist is to be nearsighted. A novelist who tries to capture the sounds and mannerisms of his age cannot escape being a satirist in one form or another. And if he is a novelist who specializes in externals, like Fitzgerald,[35] he will be inevitably comic and consequently satiric in his rendition of life. The fact that Fitzgerald also specialized on the young or on adults who somehow never really mature adds vigor to his satire. The young are apt to be comic because their bewilderments and behaviour have not yet mellowed into the tragic awareness and hopelessness of the old. Fitzgerald's characters are as real as martini and onion, sharp and intoxicating, but they lack the tragic soberness of a mind after a hangover.

Satire like comedy attains greatness in proportion to how vividly and meaningfully it illuminates the discrepancy between illusion and reality, between what seems to be and what is. Like great comedy, satire of the finest vintage should have the taste of tragedy with it. Fitzgerald's satire is mixed with romance and served with love and grace. If with a casual sip we do not detect the flavor of tragic awareness of the human predicament, it is there nevertheless, no matter how lacking in age and mellowness. Laugh as we may over his characters, all his stories leave a sad taste in our consciousness, a sadness coming after what Mizener defines as "a feeling of exposure, of a revelation of the commonness and weakness and even smallness of what we all are."[36]

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[33] Allen, p. 231.
[34] O'Hara, p. xv.
[35] Mizener, p. xix.
[36] Mizener, p. xx.

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ARTISTS AND CLOWNS

Albert Faurot

SINCE time began there have been clowns, men with an irresistable urge to make other men laugh. By elaborate, exaggerated antics, they show men the humor and folly of their own actions. Early in history their skill at this won for them a place in society, and they became professional entertainers, jesters, comedians.

Another group of men, as old as time, became the artists, men with an irresistable urge to record in sound or word, color or stone, their impressions of the world around them. Like the clowns, they were able to make from this urge an art and a profession. Less popular than clowns, and easier to ignore, they also sometimes made themselves beloved or feared for their comments on mankind.

It must occasionally have happened that clowns produced laughter at the expense of their awkward cousins, the poets and artists, though more often they probably respected the kinship. About a hundred years ago an interesting development took place when artists began turning their attention to clowns, making them the subject of poems, paintings, and music. This attraction of artists to comedians, which has continued down to our own time, is of interest for the double viewpoint it gives on mankind, the world being viewed at the same time through the mocking eyes of the clown, and the serious eyes of the artists.

The clowns who most attracted nineteenth century poets, composers and painters were figures from the Italian *Comedia del Arte.* These popular entertainments, combining drama, dance music and town of Bergamo where the masque oringinated. Clowns were a stock town of Bergamo where the masque originated. Clowns were a stock part of these bands of travelling players who trod all over Europe during the Middle Ages, and were later formed into professional guilds. The plots of the plays which they performed were writ'en down, but the dialogue was improvised each night, and the humor of the clown, often timeless and universal, but sometimes timely and local, was always an important part of the play. Often his improper jokes and personal quips were outside the dramatic development,

and directed as asides to the eager audience.

Certain types of clowns appeared in each play. There was Pierrot, freakish and unpredictable, rousing laughter with his cunning or his stupidity or his shamelessness. He was recognizable by his white costume and starkly white face under a black skull-cap. Harlequin, in a gay motley costume with large diamond-shaped checks, was the scheming servant, always capering about. There was Scaramouche, the ne'er-do-well, and Pantalon, forever courting Columbine, and forever being rejected. There were many other stock clowns, and in each country they took new names—the Grand Guignol in France, Til Eulenspiegal in Germany, Punch and Judy in England. Closely related to *Comedia del Arte* characters, and equally popular with nineteenth and twentieth century artists were circus clowns, court jesters, jugglers and acrobats. Always they provoked man's laughter by miming his foibles and frustrations, whether in love or in skills. They made themselves the butt of jokes and tricks, and the scapegoat; but always the deeper meaning of the clown's antics was man's own failures.

Ever since the middle ages these clowns have made frequent appearances in serious works of art; but it was the nineteenth century Romantics who first began to take an interest in them as individuals. They found the contrast between the professional gaiety and the drab, sordid tragedy of the clown's private life of deep interest. In 1830 Victor Hugo dramatized the contrast in a play called *Le Roi S'amuse* (The King Amuses Himself"), which, twenty years later became the basis for Verdi's popular opera, *Rigoletto*. Here the court jester, a hunchback, ugly and revolting but ruthlessly witty, is shown to be the tender devoted father of a beautiful girl. The romantics also revived the Mediaeval legend of the *The Juggler of Our Lady*, turning it into drama, poetry and opera. Here the one who knows only how to entertain with his juggling of balls is shown to be devoutly pious, and wins a smile from the statute of the Virgin when he performs for her in the sanctuary.

The contrast of professional humor and private tragedy became even more explicit in the *verissmo* opera at the end of the century. In Leoncavallo's opera *Il Pagliacci* ("The Players"), before the curtain opens, the clown in his motley comes before the audience. He explains that while, in the old days, "the Prologue" assured the audience that all the terrors and passions of the play were feigned and not real, he wishes to warn them that the actors are real men

and women, and that their sorrows are as genuine as those of the audience. A *Comedia del Arte* troup is then seen arriving in a village, where the wife of the clown, Canio, has an assignation with a lover. Just before the play that evening, Canio learns about the lovers, and sings his famous aria, *"Vesti la guibba"*.

> To act, with my heart maddened with sorrow!
> I know not what I'm saying, or what I'm doing.
> Yet I must face it. Courage, my heart!
> Bah! Thou are not a man; thou'rt but a jester!
> On with the motley, the paint and the powder.
> The people pay thee, and want their laugh, you know!
> If Harlequin thy Columbine has stolen, laugh Punchinello,
> The world will cry, "Bravo"!
> Go hide with laughter thy tears and thy sorrow.
> Sing and be merry, playing thy part.
> Laugh Punchinello, for the love that is ended,
> Laugh for the pain that is eating thy heart.

Playing the frustrated lover in the insipid classical farce, Canio suddenly becomes the real-life husband, and in rage stabs his wife and her lover.

To heighten the contrast between the real and the acted, the composer here has used the device of a play-within-a-play, so that the audience views another audience viewing actors who are acting out, at the same time, a symbolic play, and the scenes of their own lives. This removal four times from reality, far from objectifying the story, only seems to intensify it. Leoncavallo's sentimental music underlines the emotion to the hilt.

An even more involved frame-work is devised by Stravinsky for his ballet of the clown, *Petrouchka*. Not only is the clown a character in a play; he is also a puppet. From the moment the curtain rises, the clown rouses the pity of the stage audience, as he is kicked into his room, and the door slammed. Conflict begins when the puppet ballerina appears and the uncouth clown is smitten and makes love. His rival, the blackamoor, pursues and finally kills him with a huge sword. To this the stage audience reacts with violent anger, some of them rushing off to find the police. The puppeteer appears to reassure them that it is only a play, and the characters only puppets, at which they are mollified. However, the ballet ends with the ghost of the clown reappearing to haunt the puppeteer.

In the twenty years between Leoncavallo and Stravinsky, the

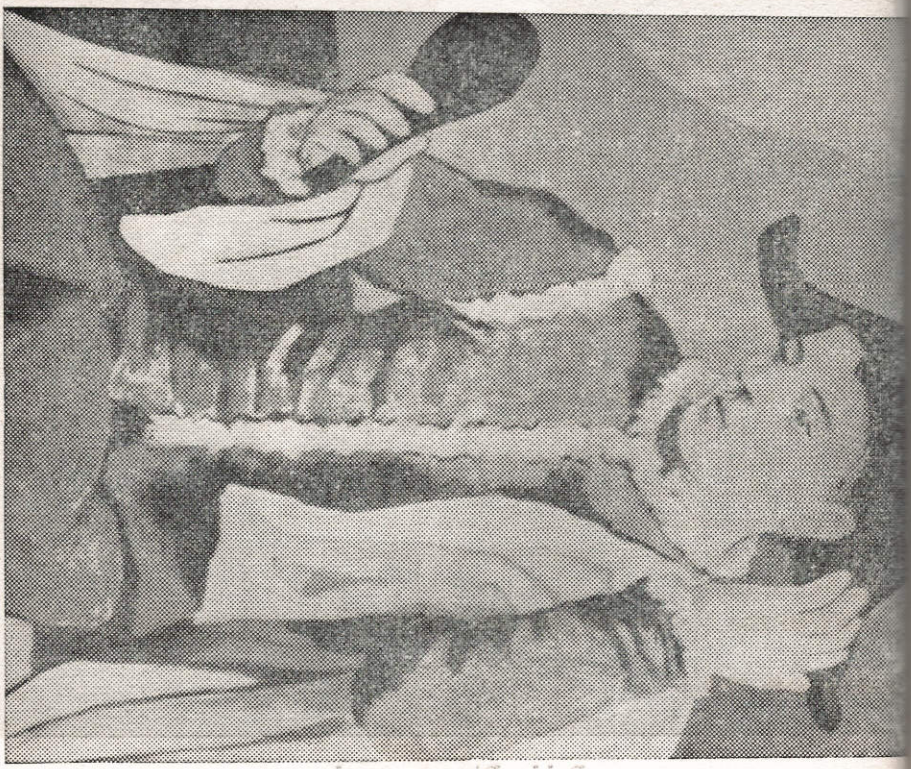
arts had moved away from the realism of *verismo* opera toward a more impressionistic, symbolic art. Stravinsky was outspoken in his purpose to banish from music the arousing or depicting of emotion. Therefore the *Petrouchka* story is set for the most artificial of all arts, ballet, in a framework thrice removed from reality. Its effect is often mesmeric and incantatory, with a quality of liturgy and ritual. In spite of the composer's avowed purpose of eliminating feeling, the ballet *Petrouchka* has a powerful emotional impact. The message that man, like the clown, lives two lives, both of which are manipulated, is inescapable.

Paris, just before and after World War I, was a veritable cauldron of artistic activity. Debussy was the grand old man of music, with Ravel, Satie and many other French composers at work. Foreign-born composers, Stravinsky, Prokofiew, deFalla, Albeniz, Bartok, all spent longer or shorter periods in Paris. The great impresario, Diaghalev, brought the Ballet Russe there, and engaged the services of composers as well as painters, writers and musicians. Writers of the period included the Frenchmen Andre Gide, Marcel Proust, Paul Claudel, Jean Cocteau; and the expatriates James Joyce and Gertrude Stein. Painters, many of them foreign-born, at work in Paris at the time, included Picasso, Gris, Braque, Rouault, Matisse. Modigliani, Vlaminck, Urtillo. Stravinsky's resounding success with *Petrouchka* must have stirred them all, and helped to popularize the clown theme.

Debussy's unique impressionistic music was often used to evoke the world of clowns. An early Suite for Piano called *Bergamasques* includes the now-hackneyed "Clair de Lune", tribute to Pierrot's preoccupation with moonlight. Among the twelve *Preludes* for piano are two about comedians. The "minstrels" of *Prelude Number Twelve* are not the mediaeval troubadors, but negro entertainers who were having a vogue in Paris at the time. Syncopation and the rhythms and harmonies of the blues and ragtime are Debussy's means of evoking this world, in which black-faced comedians spoof the antics of white men. Another Prelude takes its name from a famous American soldier-clown, "General LaVine, Eccentrique," who was enthralling people with his performances at the Marigny Theatre in Paris, in 1910. The threatre manager, perhaps sensing Debussy's fascination with the clown, whose act included mock-fights, juggling, props and costumes, proposed that the composer write music for the entire show: but the Prelude was all that en-

Pablo Picasso as clown

Three clowns
Rouault 1917



Harlequin with a looking Glass
Picasso 1923

sued. It is a musical portrait, amusing and subtle, finely distinguishing the sophisticated satirical art of this clown from the rustic folk-humor of the negro minstrels.

The characters of Italian comedy, Pierrot and Pierette, Harlequin and Columbine, appear in numerous songs and piano pieces of Debussy's. Music with such titles as "Masques," "Fetes Galant", "La Serenade Interrompu", are full of the tinkling of mandolins and muted laughter. It was only at the end of his life that Debussy turned from impressionistic music with suggestive titles to the more abstract art of the classical sonata, writing three works in this form for piano and strings. Yet even here one hears the same devices to suggest clowning; and the middle movement of each sonata is called "Harlequinade". To one of these sonatas, Debussy at first gave a title, *Pierrot lache avec la lune,* (Pierrot fed-up with the Moon). It is as though Debussy here confessed his own dissatisfaction with masks and phantoms. His comments on the work are significant. "It is frightfully melancholy, and I do not know whether one should laugh or cry. Perhaps both. Rude and beautiful music, never false. How necessary it is at first to discover, then to suppress, in order to arrive at the naked flesh of emotion." Here is saying in words, and in music, what the painters ought to show with their pictures of clowns unmasked, "the naked flesh of emotion."

The figure of Pierrot held a special attraction for many late nineteenth century artists. They interpreted him as a willful, perverse, unpredictable clown, who delighted in shocking people with his actions. Side by side with his moroseness and his melancholy moon-gazing, they placed sudden moods of puckish exuberance, a fondness for teasing, and a foppish preoccupation with dress. This was the period when "Dandyism" reached its height, and some artists transferred to Pierrot their own love of costume. It is the period of Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley in England, of Huysman's perverse novels, and a re-discovery of the Marquis de Sade.

A Belgian poet, Albert Giraud, brought many of these interests together in a set of poems called *Pierrot Lunnaire,* poems which would probably be forgotten today, were it not for the the musical setting of them made by Arnold Schonberg, in Berlin in 1911. The poems are very decadent and *fin de siecle,* subtly amoral or deliberately shocking, full of hints of sadism and masochism, and gory with blood.

From the first poem, the poet indentifies himself with Pierrot,

as he grows drunk on moonlight. The third poem pictures "the taciturn dandy from Bergamo" making up his face by the light of the moon. In another, the dandy, Pierrot, strolls forth in his finery only to find his coat stained with white, which he tries vainly to brush off, for it is only moonlight. In one poem, the moon is described as a deadly scimitar, with Pierrot below awaiting the sudden hiss and swoop of the blade on his guilty, outstretched neck. In "Red Mass", Pierrot is the priest approaching the altar in the flickering candle-light. Suddenly he tears his robes and holds up to the frightened communicants, the host, his heart, in bloody fingers. The note of sadism is suggested with grim humor as Pierrot bores a hole in the bald pate of the screaming Cassander, and stuffs it with rare tobacco to smoke. In another, the new moon becomes his fiddle bow, and Cassander's bald pate his fiddle, as he plays a gruesome serenade.

Here the poet is not concerned with the contrast between the public and the private lives of the clowns; but rather with the clown's capacity to shock. Identifying himself with Pierrot, the poet is able to satirize man's religion, his dress, his fears and foibles. The decadence and amorality of Giraud's verses is somewhat mitigated by an elegant and formal verse pattern, and the entire work is raised to a high level by the magnificent musical setting of Schonberg, for small ensemble and "sprech-stimme." The curious highly-styled speech-patterns which Schonberg has devised for the "speaking voice", with their sudden swoops and scoops, their whispers and shouts and intoned chants, succeed in evoking the perverse clown in a remarkable manner. The work was recognized as a masterpiece at its first performance in Berlin, and is still considered one of the great works of a period of revolution in the arts.

Circus clowns became a favorite subject for the French school of writers, painters and musicians gathered in Paris, early in the twentieth century. Apollinaire, Pablo Picasso, and Max Jacob used to make weekly visits together to the circus. Bufoonery and clowning became a form of expression for many artists, both in their lives and in their art. The poet Max Jacob, who was born a Jew but became a devout Catholic, reminds one of the *Juggler of our Lady* with his irrepressible comic genius and his ubiquitous crucifix. His death in a concentration camp has an element of the tragi-comedy of life so often featured in the circus school of art. Picasso, likewise, is an inveterate tease, mimic and entertainer; so much so that one is

never quite sure which of his paintings were done with tongue-in-cheek. The brief art movement which called itself *Dada* was an acting out in art of the clown spirit, featuring the incongrous, the irrational, the banal.

The circus became and remained a dominant theme in French art for many years. Yet it is a curious fact that few artists succeeded in recording the actual glory of the clown's profession, his laughter-making fun. Exceptions are the gay, brilliant paintings of Toulouse-Lautrec, and occasional works by Seurat, Signac, Degas, Dufy and Mattise. Popular as the circus was with artists, it is the clown *sans masque* who is the subject of their greatest art.

Around the circus figures which he saw each week at the Cirque Medrano, Pablo Picasso wove a private life of his own imagining. In a series of paintings in the soft blue and rose colors of his early periods, he showed circus families in varied groupings: a mother combing her hair, while a father in clown suit looks on, holding a tiny child; a seated acrobat watching his little girl spin a ball with her feet. The figures are invariably sober, often sad, and succeed vividly in contrasting professional gaiety with private gravity. On the one hand are the symbolic costumes, bright and varied even when mellowed to the prevailing rose or blue. On the other hand are the painfully attenuated figures, suggesting near-starvation, the stark, immobile, emotionless faces, without masks or make-up.

One of these paintings, called *Saltimbanques,* inspired the German poet, Rainer Maria Rilke, to compose his famous fifth Duino Elegy. The picture shows a family of acrobats standing rather awkwardly about in a moment of repose that is heavy with fatigue and futility. Rilke asks, "But tell me, who *are* they, these acrobats, even a little more fleeting than we ourselves?" The grim harshness and futility of their lives is his theme. He compares their rigid training to mankind's experiences in life, which make up "the full emptiness of life, and lead to the empty fulfillment of death." He longs for a place where these may find rest from their climbing and leaping, their towers and ladders, their empty grins, and knows that there is none.

Circus figures soon disappeared from Picasso's paintings, but *Comedia del Arte* clowns continue to appear down to the present time. One of the earliest pictures is called "Harlequin's Death Bed." Here it is the beauty of the scene, rather than the tragedy, which

informs the dainty, elegant picture. The dying clown lies calmly and gracefully in his lozenged tights, hands folded in prayer, while wife and child look on. A soft radiance, almost like a halo, surrounds the three figures.

Harlequin plays a peculiar role in the Picasso ouvre. He recurs frequently throughout the almost fifty years of painting, and always he is treated in a conventional, representational manner, no matter how wildly distorted the other paintings of the period may be. All the harlequins have a dignified composure quite out of keeping with the traditional character of the original naughty, scampering clown. They are among the most beautiful paintings, restrained yet glowing in color, with firm, elegant line. Many of them are actual portraits of Picasso's friends or his children. It is said that he keeps a harlequin suit on hand and dresses his friends up in it for sittings. The sadness of the early clowns is gone, and the sly humor of the cubist paintings and the sculpture are entirely absent. It is as though Picasso, the incorrigible comic, here wished to show the world that, though his appearance was clownish, he was at heart a courtly, kindly gentleman.

Second only to Picasso as a clown painter was the late Georges Rouault. Almost as prolific as Picasso, Rouault was such a perfectionist that he destroyed hundreds of his own works. What remains is all the more valuable. The pictures are not only few in number; they are small in size, glowing like jewels with vivid colors. Rouault was a skilled worker in stained-glass, and the heavy black lines and intense colors of leaded windows characterize all his paintings. Like many other modern French artists—Claudel, Jacob, Mattise—he was a devout churchman, and religious themes alternate with clowns in his work. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a figure in white is an angel or a clown. To Rouault, this did not greatly matter, since he wished to show the inner manhood of both. Though the bold simple outlined figures lack the fine characterization of Picasso's more detailed portraits, they are unmistakable in their mood. It is always a mood of sadness, for reasons which Rouault makes clear in his biographical statement:

> One day I noticed how, when a beautiful day turns to evening, the first star shines out in the sky. It moved me deeply—I don't know why—and it marked the beginnings of poetry in my life. A gypsy caravan halted at the side of a road, a weary old horse nibbling stunted grass, and old clown patching his costume—the contrast, in fact, between the brilliance and scintilla-

tion of laughter and the intense sadness of life itself. That was how it began. . . . Then I enlarged it all. I saw quite clearly that the clown was myself, us, all of us, almost... The gaudy spangled dress was what life gives us. We all wear a spang'ed dress of some sort, but if someone catches us with the spangles off, as I caught that old clown, oh! the infinite pity of it! I have made the mistake, (if it is a mistake—certainly it causes me suffering beyond description) of never allowing people to keep their spangles on. King or emperor, it's all the same. I want to see through to his soul, and the more the world thinks of him, the more I fear for his soul.

Many other artists in all areas, too many to mention, have treated the clown theme; and others will continue to do so. The similarity of the art of clown and poet is strong and inescapable, the art of showing man his own unbelievable image. Though the clown may seem like a naive country cousin of the sophisticated artist, the latter feels the kinship with a magnetic pull. Every artist must at one time or another recognize himself, "myself, us, all of us", in the clown, and long to record him in word or wood, in color, sound or stone.

THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENT CHURCH IN HISTORY *

William Henry Scott

THE Republic of the Philippines occupies a unique place in history as an oriental nation so westernized that neither its own people nor its visitors recall that it is an oriental nation. Equally unique is its place in Church history as the only oriental Christian nation, that is, a country whose congressmen, officials and public leaders are pre-dominantly professing Christians. But even more significant historically is another unique feature of the Philippines, its possession of a Catholic church separated from Rome and seeking reform 450 years after the Reformation. The church is the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (Philippine Independent Church), and its existence gives pause for thought to any historian who sees God as a God of History both able and willing to direct the course of all human events.

The Roman Catholic Church has a long and generally noble history in the Philippines; for centuries it maintained an enlightened attitude toward a native population helpless in the face of exploitation by civil officials. It has left the modern Filipino with a vigorous folk devotion in the villages and a vigorous intellectual life in the capitals. Yet, human nature being it is, i.e., sinful, the Spanish colonial system which identified Church and State put into the hands of the religious a tempting power which bore within it the seeds of abuse and corruption. By the nineteenth century the Spanish friars enjoyed such a suffocating monopoly on farmland that they became the main target of that revolutionary literature which finally united the Filipinos in armed rebellion in 1896.

Within the Church itself there were demands for reform, and Filipino clergy agitated against both the arbitrary power of the foreign friars and what we would nowadays call racial discrimination, e.g., native clergy always occupied second-rate positions and were never elevated to episcopal rank. Three Filipino priests who

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were executed on trumped-up charges in 1872 for having taken a too actively anti-friar stand on the centuries-old question of turning the parishes over to secular clergy served as martyrs in the revolutionary cause. The charge was also levelled against the friars that their educational system doomed the Filipino people to a superstitious kind of folk Catholicism. It was, therefore, inevitable that when hostilities finally broke out, the Church would be inextricably involved.

After fighting began, the leading patriot priest—Victor Heiser remembered him as part of the "brains" of the Revolution—was Father Gregorio Aglipay of Ilocos Norte. He was appointed Vicar General of the Revolutionary Army by General Emilio Aguinaldo when Dewey's arrival in Manila Bay revived the stalemated Filipino-Spanish hostilities. Three weeks later Spanish Bishop José Hevia Campomanes, a prisoner of the Filipino forces, named him Ecclesiastical Governor of Nueva Segovia, a huge episcopal see covering all of Northern Luzon. In this important position, Aglipay was able to make immediately clear his intention of reforming the Church and of directing it into full support of the nationalist movement.

Aglipay acted on the reputation which the Church had for being wealthy at the expense of the Filipino people by issuing circular after circular directing the clergy to give financial support to the revolutionary government. He ordered them to make contributions and to float loans, warning that if the independence movement failed, the friars were sure to come into possession of the church properties again—a prophecy all too soon to be fulfilled. He directed that incense should only be used in solemn masses, "in confirmity with Roman decrees", and tried to stop the parading about of holy images for the soliciting of alms. He enveighed against preachers who were "trite and dreary" by comparing them to "those friars of unhappy memory who, not knowing the language of the region, pushed themselves forward to preach, taking with them some ridiculous sermon, composed desultorily, with horrible pronounciation and atrocious grammar".

In February, 1899, Filipino nationalists, disabused of the hope that American forces would give them their freedom, took up arms against the new invaders. Two months later Aglipay was excommunicated on the technicality that he had exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction before his official appointment. In October he called a

meeting of patriot priests in Paniqui where they establised a provisional council to take charge of ecclesiastical affairs until such time as a settlement of Spanish abuses could be made directly with Rome, and then joined the guerrilla forces. The revolutionary government at Malolos, meanwhile, tried to open negotiations on this same issue, and in 1901 appointed a commission of Filipinos resident in Spain to petition the papal nuncio there to present their grievances to the Pope. The outcome of this meeting Aglipay himself later described as "an unjust insult inflicted by the Roman Pope on the whole Filipino people when the delegates of Aguinaldo's independent government petitioned that the orders of the Council of Trent be complied with, by which the bishops of the Philippines would be natives, and he answered that the Pope would never agree to it even if we beheaded the imprisoned friars which we held in our power because Filipinos were not capable of episcopacy"!

That same day, the Filipino delegates announced their withdrawal from the Roman Church in the Spanish Press, and the issue of nationalism and Church reform were more strongly identified than ever. In the Philippines the slogan was soon heard, "An independent church in an independent Philippines". The double-headed aspect of this independentist movement was resolved the following year with dramatic suddenness. In May nationalist ambitions were at least temporarily quashed by American military might, and in August one of the irate delegates to the Spanish papal nuncio broached the matter of religious independence before a meeting of the first Filipino labour union. "I am fed up with the arrogant attitude of the Vatican towards all demands from our people for justice toward the Filipino clergy," he cried. "I solemnly and without any reservations declare that today we definitely secede from the Church of Rome and renounce allegiance to the Vatican and, relying on God's aid, proclaim ourselves members of a Christian, Catholic, Independent Church, to be ruled and administered by Filipinos!" Those present then proceeded to elect seventeen "bishops" and Gregorio Aglipay as "Supreme Bishop" (*Obispo Maximo*). Thus was the *Iglesia Catolica Filipina Independiente* finally and officially born.

The fiery founder of the Philippine Independent Church was Don Isabelo de los Reyes, journalist and folklorist, labour organizer and free-thinker, and a member of the Imperial and Royal Geographic Society of Vienna. He was the son of the Ilocana poetess, Leona Florentino, and father of the present Supreme Bishop of the

Independent Church. It was natural that the new church should turn to Aglipay for leadership. But this great Filipino churchman was priest as well as patriot, and could not immediately accept so irregular an ecclesiastical appointment. He went into retreat for a time in a Jesuit convent, during which the independent Catholics in the Ilocos appointed another chief, who resigned as soon as Aglipay accepted. The choice must have been an expensive one for the conscience of a Catholic priest, but it must also have been inevitable that he accept the logical outcome of his own leadership over the preceding years. The new "bishop" therefore approached the Old Catholics in Europe and the Episcopalians in the United States with the hope of receiving consecration at the hands of an historically valid episcopacy.

The summer of 1902 was hardly an auspicious time for an independent church to find favour with Americans in the Philippines. The last of that armed resistance which had cost over 4,000 American lives and three hundred million dollars had only been put down three months before, and the ban on pro-independence political parties was not to be lifted until 1905. It had been less than three years since the Vicar General of the Philippine Army and Ecclesiastical Governor of Nueva Segovia, costumed as a revolutionary general, had ordered his priests to wear military uniforms and urged his people to "shed their last drop of blood before submitting to the slavery of the insolent North American invaders". *The Churchman* in November described the situation with dignified restraint as follows (italics added):

"Father Aglipay, an excommunicated native priest, celebrated mass on October 27, in defiance of Roman authority, and in an address on that occasion definitely denounced it by saying the new Church would maintain practically all the religious forms of the Roman Church. Aguinaldo sent a letter saying he was too ill to attend, but approved the movement, which is supposed to have the sympathy of Katipunan secret society and of native labour organizations. It is said that Aglipay will have associated with him fourteen junior 'bishops' and a large lay council. *In some quarters in Manila it is thought that the new movement will seriously disturb the present political situation.*"

Aglipay continued his fruitless negotiations with Catholic non-Roman churches for two years, but meanwhile began to turn his attention towards Unitarianism, from which quarter came friend-

Independent Church. It was natural that the new church should turn to Aglipay for leadership. But this great Filipino churchman was priest as well as patriot, and could not immediately accept so irregular an ecclesiastical appointment. He went into retreat for a time in a Jesuit convent, during which the independent Catholics in the Ilocos appointed another chief, who resigned as soon as Aglipay accepted. The choice must have been an expensive one for the conscience of a Catholic priest, but it must also have been inevitable that he accept the logical outcome of his own leadership over the preceding years. The new "bishop" therefore approached the Old Catholics in Europe and the Episcopalians in the United States with the hope of receiving consecration at the hands of an historically valid episcopacy.

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ship and encouragement. This was especially true in the case of Governor-General William H. Taft, who was appointed Honorary President of the Independent Church before he left for the States in 1903. Aglipay continued to preside over a church that celebrated masses, venerated saints and dedicated buildings to the Holy Trinity, but he made public profession of his Unitarianism for the next forty years. Both he and Don Isabelo set their hands to publications which made this position clear, literary oddities that seem to have had little influence either inside or outside the Independent Church. A glance at these works reveals the intellectual path which these late-Victorian reformers trod. Disgusted with a Church that tolerated an abjectly superstitious folk religion (Don Isabelo had said in his founding speech, "Our adoration shall ever be given to God alone and not to any of His creatures"), they moved from denial of those miracles ascribed to local religious images to denial of the miracles recorded in Scripture. Finally, caught up in the contemporary intellectualism which hailed a promising science as the arbiter of all truth, they reached a near-pagan deism expressed by Aglipay when he received the degree of a Doctor of Divinity in Chicago as follows:

"When in 1902 we separated ourselves from the Pope for his injustices to the Filipino clergy, begging humbly for guidance to build a Church worthy of Him and of the progress of the day, we did not make off with all the dogmas and ancient traditions, for they were obviously the capricious creations of the infantile intelligence when man had just acquired the use of his reason; and with the help of God we delve into the broad fields of Astronomy to seek the origin of the Universe instead of believing the absurd legends of the Bible."

It is, of course, impossible that those millions who rallied behind the patriot priest in the heat of the Revolution could or did follow these flights into the rarefied atmosphere of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom. Up until the present time, these multitudes have maintained the Pan-Latin piety which expresses itself in private prayers in public places. Even Don Isabelo himself has left a reputation behind in his staunchly Romanist home town of Vigan for having spent pious hours on his knees in the cathedral, free-thinker and modernist though he was. It is hard to find an *Independiente* layman today who knows what the first *Obispo Maximo's* Unitarianism meant

and Roman Catholics who had their children christened by an Aglipayan priest in the absence of a Roman cannot remember whether they were baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity or not. Indeed, there is a certain quaintness in the description of the Aglipayan churches in 1939 by the President of the American Unitarian Association assuring his readers that the clouds of incense and brocaded vestments which all but obscured the *"Biblia y Ciencia, Amor y Libertad"* inscribed on altars were but empty, pretty ceremonials.

Although the original issue of the Filipino demands was acceptance of native bishops—Don Isabelo was enough of a student of church history to remark "as has happened in other countries in times past"—other areas of reform were also taken up. Both the founder of the Independent Church and its first Supreme Bishop expressed their intention of modelling the national church on Anglican precedent, and their priests were permitted to marry. This was a fairly obvious reform for the Philippines, for Juan de la Cruz (the Filipino "John Doe") maintains an often impertinent scepticism about sacerdotal celebacy. The mayor of a certain municipality once boasted of his four wives before a gathering of the Knights of Columbus with the comment that this was less hypocritical than the practice of the *padres,* and street gossip calls it "common knowledge" that the late President Manuel Quezon was the son of a Spanish friar.

An obvious area of reform was the use of the vernacular in public worship, but this was reduced to comparative insignificance by a number of other circumstances. Neither Aglipay nor Don Isabelo were Tagalogs, whose dialect was to become the "national" language of the Republic, but Spanish-speakers in the Spanish-oriented culture. Spanish thus became one of the first "vernaculars" to be used, and remains to this day a language of prestige expected of people like archbishops and supreme court justices. Language reforms meant little to the average worshipper, however, for he generally occupied himself with telling his beads or private devotions while the mass was mumbled in the sanctuary or, at best, celebrated as a dialogue between priest and choir. It is possible today to speak with Aglipayan laymen who do not know what language is spoken at the altar of their own parish church.

The financial corruptness to which all totalitarian organizations are prone was another concern of *Independiente* reform, although neither English-style establishment nor American-style capitalism

was available as a solution. In the Philippines, as in other oriental nations, people who enjoy steady salaries constitute a select minority, and priests have traditionally found it necessary to collect "stole fees" for individual services. Aglipayan clergy sought to avoid abusing this practice by serving the poor free and by asking reasonable sums at all times. Examples can be cited in which a coffin, stopped at the door of a Roman church for want of the demanded fee, was taken across the street to an Independent church where the funeral was conducted at half-price.

Evangelical or liturgical reform was not an early concern of the new church, and as time went on its major Evangel became an appeal to the patriotism of its supreme bishop and attacks on that church against which this patriotism had expressed itself. But as an enlightened Roman policy began to place missionaries from half the nations of Europe and the Americas under the jurisdiction of native bishops and archbishops, this Gospel of nationalism began to lose its force. Yet even today, a day which finds a Filipino Cardinal enthroned in Manila, it frequently serves as the text of an *Independiente* sermon which offers vague historic generalities as an apologia, pours invective upon the other church, and speaks little of the Love of a Lord who created all mankind.

When two million or more Filipinos joined Aglipay in his revolt against the Roman Church, they retained possession of the buildings in which they had been worshipping. Under the American régime however, a court settlement handed all such properties back to Rome completely dispossessing the *Independientes* and throwing them upon their own resources for the construction of makeshift churches. An American missionary who has been a guest in Aglipayan homes and preaches in their churches in their own language has suggested that to appreciate their position we might picture what the Anglican Church would have been like in the seventeenth century had the Spanish Armada successfully landed in England and turned all the church properties back to the Roman Church. One needs to add to this the picture of an Anglican Church without a Cranmer or Melancthon or Hooker, without any colleges or universities, without even a printing press. The new Filipino church could not hope to reproduce those magnificent Spanish cathedrals that had been constructed over the centuries out of the sweat of the people. Zaide's standard text on the social history of the Philippines comments: "It has no beautiful churches to impress the imagination of the people, and no

rich benefactors to endow its activities."

Being "the poor Filipino's church" put the *Independientes* at a stifling disadvantage in a predominantly Roman land where the traditional church boasted a well-organized vitality, some of the greatest educational institutions in the country, and an impressive roster of scholars of many nationalities. Communications are still so poor in the sprawling Independent Church that it cannot state its own numbers accurately, and Jesuit writers have ridiculed the fact that its officers have issued mutually contradictory membership figures. There were and are no church-operated colleges for its youth to attend, and those who enroll in the great Roman schools tend to apostasy. The most debilitating effect of *Independiente* poverty, however, was its inability to provide itself with a well-trained clergy, and native Roman priests with a decade of philosophical and theological study behind them or advanced training in Italy or Spain amused themselves by comparing notes on Aglipayan competitors who knew no doctrine or who mumbled Latin phrases without knowing what they meant. Indeed, the Independent Church and its friends have often resorted to pointing out that the Apostles were uneducated working men, as an apologetic.

The Independent Church has, by and large, been spared overt persecution by the dominant Church both because of an American-introduced concept of free speech and freedom of religion, and because the Roman Church has itself pursued a new policy since the removal of the Spanish friars early in the American period. But as a kind of poor relative in the Philippine religious scene, the Independent *padre* at public affairs often sits in the pit while his Roman, or even *Protestante*, opposite number pronounces the Invocation from the platform. Potentially more devastating, however, is the Roman tactic of conducting scholarly research on Aglipayanism itself, taking as a premise the traditional Catholic faith of the Independent members and extending them a sympathetic welcome to "come home" after having been led astray by their leaders. A number of priests, and at least one archbishop, have presented theses on the subject, and two Jesuit scholars are presently publishing a two-volume work characterized by exhaustive scholarship, careful documentation, subtle bias and a graceful style.

In the face of these difficulties, the young Church's mere survival—let alone retention of two million members over this half century—is remarkable. A Roman author has recently predicted that

there will be no Philippine Independent Church in another ten years. It is an unlikely prophesy. An historian would take a long, hard look at an institution with such staying power. And "staying power" has been the major characteristic of this church, for while it has enjoyed no great glories or prestige, it has been an omnipresent part of the Philippine national scene. For forty years its white-maned *Obispo Maximo* was one of the grand figures out of the Revolutionary past, a confidant of Aguinaldo, and one of the people's candidates in the first presidential election. When he died, the President of the Philippines laved the hands of his successor in the installation ceremony. Moreover, there are a few areas—notably the province of Ilocos Norte where every Roman priest but one defected in 1902—where the Independent Church is financially competent and politically influential.

Nationalism was the vitality that held the Philippine Independent Church together through its many trials and setbacks. Religiously, the average Aglipayan lost nothing and gained little: he gave up worship in the beautiful churches of his forefathers, but he continued to hear a generally unreformed mass, and he enjoyed the intensified fellowship of a minority church and a clergy less susceptible to corruption than in a wealthier body. But only recourse to the political vitality of nationalism explains how these Catholic laymen and priests continued to rally behind an apparent Unitarian. Although Aglipay's earliest statements of faith were traditionally Trinitarian and Catholic, as early as the 1902 Doctrine and Constitutional Rules intellectual touches of Don Isabelo's hand can be discerned, e.g., Catholic faith was to be accepted in all that "did not contradict the Word of God, the natural law and the judgment of reason", and the human conscience was to be emancipated from "error and unscientific scruples contrary to natural law". He still felt apologetic about his orthodoxy before the Convention of Unitarians in America in 1931, writing: "When we proclaimed the Philippine Independent Church we were confronted by a seeming insurmountable obstacle—the state of blind Catholic belief sustained with incontestable power by Catholic agencies in the government and in the courts, and for that reason we could not openly proclaim the true principles of our Church."

There was always a small hard core of zealous leaders in the Independent Church, including urbane *caballeros* of whom Swiss Bishop Hertzog would not have written, as he did of the Obis-

Maximo in 1904: "I understand perfectly that Señor Aglipay is not a good Oxford family." From this group came those churchmen who, after Aglipay had died and World War II totally discredited the modernistic illusions of the few Unitarian members, turned their hopes back to that historic Christianity from which they had been cut off for forty-five years. At the time of their church's founding, an American journal had commented: "A national Filipino Church might indeed be theoretically an improvement on a church united with Rome, but practically it might attain a level only a little higher than the Church of Abyssinia." Whether or not the new leaders ever read that remark, they could look about them and see the danger. As soon as the war was over, their Supreme Bishop approached the Episcopal missionary bishop in the Philippines on the subject of valid historic consecration, presenting documents signed by the Supreme Council of Bishops attesting the trinitarian orthodoxy of their faith.

A new day dawned for the Philippine Independent Church with the laying-on of hands in 1948 by three American bishops of the Episcopal Church on the *Obispo Maximo* and two other Filipino bishops, who, in turn, subsequently passed this succession on to all others of their bishops and presbyters. Not only was the young church brought back into contact with historic Christianity, but the Episcopal seminary in Manila opened its doors to *Independiente* candidates and undertook the training of the indigenous Filipino church, while American liturgical scholars offered advice on the formulations of a new prayer book and liturgy. Episcopal permission was immediately given for intercommunion in special cases like the Seminary and the chaplaincies to hospitals, universities and prisons, and twelve years later, when an Anglican-based liturgy had been published, the Philippine Independent Church formally petitioned the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America for a concordat of full communion. During 1960-61, American and Filipino Episcopalians—bishops, priests and laymen—visited Independent parishes from one end of the Philippines to the other, some raising Protestant eyebrows at practices like band music at the elevation of the Elements, others ferretting out in Catholic indignation the Spanish texts of the early leaders' Unitarian adventures—probably making the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* the only church in history to be simultaneously suspected of being non-Catholic and too Catholic. On 22 September, 1961, then, at the Sixtieth

Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church, this deeper Christian fellowship implicit in the earlier bestowal of Apostolic Orders was officially concluded, the House of Deputies rising to express both their affirmative votes and to greet with moving affection the Supreme Bishop in person.

The leadership of this Supreme Bishop, Mons. Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., son of the founder and an intimate associate of the first Supreme Bishop, is one of the brightest spots in this new Christian dawn in Southeast Asia. A cultured and sagacious Christian statesman, he is remembered by his grade-school classmates as a brilliant, pugnacious student who was usually head of his class—or, as the Jesuits had it, "Emperor" of the "Carthagenians". He is a man who brings patience and understanding to the problem of clarifying the doctrinal vagaries of two million churchmen, for he has experienced a deep spiritual pilgrimage himself. Imbibing the heady intellectualism of his father and his senior bishop, he accompanied Aglipay on his 1931 visit to the Unitarian churches in the United States, and made use of his ready command of English to publicize the current Aglipayan theological position. But he attributes his own failure to be swept away by these modernist views to his position as a parish priest constantly in touch with a congregation of Catholic faith and their spiritual needs.

Being the head of a minority church and having to bear criticism of his own theological changes of heart have done nothing to turn the edge of the *Obispo Maximo's* personal courage. As a guest preacher of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, whose parent bodies had been frankly proselytizing American missions, he recently said: "The early American missionaries, far from joining hands with Filipino reformers, concentrated themselves in planting little colonies of their particular denominations and discouraged, if not actively opposed, all movements for religious or political self-determination." Presiding over a church which is now a part of the historic Catholic Church, a member of the World Council of Churches and of the East Asia Christian Conference, and a supporter of the Philippine Bible House, Bishop de los Reyes writes on stationary headed *"Iglesia Catolica Filipina Independiente"*, but at a dedication service for a Protestant Bishop he referred to his chuch as "a National Protestant and Apostolic Church".

Now that its candidates for holy orders are provided for in St. Andrew's Theological Seminary and its entire membership is in full

communion with the Episcopal Church the immediate needs of the Philippine Independent Church have been expressed by its Supreme Bishop as schools, a college* and a printing press. The Philippines is a nation so interested in academic attainment that the major newspapers carry a daily educational page, and the Roman Church has traditionally been the supporter of fine schools and scholarly publications. The Independent Church will have a hard time either setting its own house in order or exerting a reforming influence upon Philippine Christianity generally if its members are not able to compete in this field. Yet these educational needs are but symptomatic of the Church's larger need to be brought back, not simply into Apostolic Succession and communion, but into the quickening ferment of the intellectual and spiritual mainstream of world-wide Christendom.

This need of the Philippine Independent Church for fellowship with historic Christianity is certainly one of the most vital Christian challenges of the twentieth century. It was with such a vision of mission that the Rt. Rev. Norman S. Binsted made that appeal which his earlier predecessor, Charles Henry Brent, would not, for the bestowal of valid orders upon this independent wayward church. Those who know Bishop Binsted best believe that he was motivated solely by a sense of granting a grace freely given, unimpeded by any conditions or bargaining or strings attached. Sooner or later, all reformed Christians who profess membership in a body whose parts are committed in holy stewardship one to the other will be called upon to reject or embrace this same missionary vision. If 1902 was an inauspicious year for considering an "independent" church in the Philippines, 1962 certainly ought not to be. One half of all the people in the world live in a triangle described by Jerusalem, Tokyo and Columbo, and it is not a Christian half. Christianity today is showing a gradual awareness of the arrogant folly of having attached such vital significance to the history and welfare of a mere fraction of the world's past and present population. As what Occidental historians have called "the sleeping giant of Asia" struggles to its feet and into the arms of Baal, western Christians may well tremble before the God of All History in the realization that those they have treated as mere factors in a post-Malthusian formula are in fact their brothers, creatures all of a common Creator. Against this

* Since its purchase in 1963, Trinity College in Quezon City, operated jointly by the Episcopal and Independent Churches, has supplied that need—Ed.

background, may not the Grand Historian in His omniscience be recording the preparation of a fertile seedbed off the coast of Southeast Asia whence a hybrid Reformation will send forth its branches into the most barren corners of a pagan hemisphere and provide fruit for a hungering mankind that could never feed itself?

SPECIAL REPORT:
AN ASIAN INSTITUTE ON CHURCH HISTORY

THE Fifth Theological Study Institute, sponsored by the Association of Theological Schools in South East Asia and financed by the Board of Founders of the Nanking Theological Seminary, was held at Trinity Theological College in Singapore, Malaysia, from July 29 to September 3, 1963. The general theme of the Institute this year was "The Study, Teaching, and Writing of Church History in Asia". Thirty delegates from ten Asian countries met in what was probably the first gathering of Church history teachers in this part of the world. The Philippines was represented by Dr. Gerald Anderson of Union Seminary, Dr. Agustin Masa of Central Philippine University, and Dr. Peter G. Gowing of Silliman University. Dr. Bonar Sidjabat of the Sekolah Tinggi Theologia, Djakarta, Indonesia, served as Dean and Dr. John R. Fleming, Field Secretary of the Nanking Board and Executive Director of the Association of Theological Schools, served as Director of the Institute. The Rev. Clayton Chu of the Methodist Theological School in Sarawak was the Chaplain. Two distinguished Church historians, Bishop Stephen C. Neill and Professor James Hastings Nichols, comprised the faculty.

The program of the Institute centered around four principal activities: lectures by the faculty, a critical self-evaluation of Church history teaching in Asia, the preparation of an outline syllabus of Church history in Asian countries, and pursuit of individual research and writing projects.

Professor Nichols, of Princeton Theological Seminary, offered illuminating lectures on aspects of Church history in modern Europe and America. He concentrated on the Church's experience with such phenomena as the development of the secular state, the growth of nationalism, the emergence of modern science and the new cosmology, the challenge of industrialism, and the rise of vigorous new social and political philosophies (e.g. Socialism and Marxism). Though the situation of the Church in Asia today is greatly different from that of the Church in modern Europe and America, and though the forms of nationalism, political and social change, industrialization and so forth, are also quite different in Asia, at certain points

important parallels are seen and the experience of the Church in the modern West is instructive for the Church in the modern East. In his final lectures, Professor Nichols presented a blistering critique of Church history writing in the English-speaking world, lamenting the fact that the best one-volume text is still a revised edition of a work 50 years old and that English-language Church historians continue to be dependent on the superior scholarship of Germany.

Bishop Neill, now Professor of Missions at the University of Hamburg in Germany, traced the development of secular and ecclesiastical history writing and stressed the importance of the scientific historical method of Lord Acton as a pattern for all writing of history. He then turned his attention to the growing literature relating to the history of the "younger" churches, written by both insiders and outsiders, and pointed to the really great amount of research and writing which remains to be done. The Bishop's concluding lectures dealt with his views on the structure and content of the Church history curriculum in Asian theological schools. He emphasized the importance of world history as a background for Christian history, and he outlined what he felt to be the major points to be stressed in each period of the Church's history from early to modern times. Believing that Asians generally have no developed historical sense and have short historical memories, Bishop Neill argued for what he called an "existential approach" to Church history teaching—start where the students are and work "up and out" from there. He affirmed his conviction that the *first* course (after a good course in world history) should be a study of the Church in the students' own country and should stress the denominations to which the students belong, with particular attention to the confrontation with other Christian groups and the non-Christian religions. The Bishop believes that the seminar method, wherein the students present the fruits of their own research, is the one most conducive to interest and learning.

Early in the Institute, the delegates were asked to hand in statements concerning the needs, defects, and aspirations of Church history teaching in their respective schools. They were also asked to outline the Church history curricula and teaching methods of their schools. These statements were collected by an editorial committee and an over-all report was prepared and discussed. It was found that Asian seminaries face many of the same problems and needs: students who fail to see the relevance of Church history to their

future work as ministers and who are poorly prepared in general history and geography; lack of adequate teaching staff in the discipline and deficient graduate training in Church history of available staff; overburdened staff resulting in little time for research and writing; need for texts written by and for Asians in the local languages which ask and answer questions relevent to the Asian scene; and need for improved library and research facilities. There was general agreement that the basic aim of Church history teaching is to convey to the students (and through them to the people in the pews) something of the significance and sweep of history as God's realm of revelation.

The delegates were also asked to prepare an outline of the history of Christianity in their respective lands, to be incorporated into a loose-leaf workbook or syllabus which might be used as a guide for courses in Asian Church history. The outlines submitted included such features as a skeleton of the natural periodization of the history; an introduction to the historical, cultural, political, and social background of the country; a discussion (where applicable) of the development from mission to independent Church; a statement of the contemporary situation of the Church; a statistical summary; and a short, critical bibliography. The syllabus as prepared also contains essays on the early Christian missions in East Asia and on the general scope of Portuguese, Spanish, French, and British colonial and mission enterprises in this part of the world. It is hoped that, as the syllabus is tried and tested, it will be improved and perhaps someday made available in more permanent form.

Delegates were told in advance that considerable time would be set aside during the Institute for work on individual research and writing projects. Some of the brethren were in the midst of preparing general treatments of Christianity in their respective lands, some continued research in preparation of denominational histories, and still others worked on bibliographical, biographical or other specialized studies. If all the projects worked on at the Institute eventually find their way into print, Asian Church history writing will be considerably advanced!

The schedule of the Institute was carefully worked out to provide a splendid balance of listening and learning, study and writing, fellowship and recreation, and prayer. Lectures were confined to the morning hours with afternoons and evenings free for work on projects, though, occasionally, special seminars were held to hear and

discuss papers or pursue provocative issues raised in the lectures.

The Rev. D. A. Christadoss, of Serampore College and a minister of the Church of South India, celebrated the closing service of Holy Communion according to the rite of his Church. The service was a fitting benediction to a sense of genuine communion of interest and commitment which the Fifth Theological Study Institute succeeded in generating among Church history teachers from 10 countries and 21 theological schools in Asia.

PETER G. GOWING

BOOK REVIEW:
J. A. T. Robinson, Honest To God
Westminster Press, 1963, 143 pp. $1.65

First published in England by SCM Press, this little paperback has enjoyed the largest sale of any new book of serious theology in history—350,000 copies within five months of publication. Both the secular and the religious press in Great Britain heralded the publication as a major event. It has aroused so much discussion in the United States that a commentary, *The Honest to God Debate,* is soon to appear from Westminster Press. Already a full rejoinder has appeared in England by O. Fielding Clarke—the Berdyaev expert—under the equally startling title *For Christ's Sake* (Religious Education Press). The Archbishop of Canterbury has also replied, at first gently and later with firm rebuke in a pamphlet titled *Image Old and New* (SPCK).

The tremendous publicity given the book cannot be explained by its content, for it says nothing new to anyone who is already familiar with current theological debate. The explanation lies rather in the fact that it was written by an Anglican bishop, and bishops are supposed to guard and defend the Church's official doctrine, not question it! But there is the further fact that Bishop Robinson has since been accused of heresy by some of his fellow bishops and rebuked by the Archbishop himself. Add to this the fact that Tillich, from whom he draws most of his inspiration, is still a relatively new voice to the British public.

The sensationalism associated with the appearance of this modest book dramatizes a fact we have all known to be true, that a great distance separates the thinking of professional theologians from the actual teaching done in the churches. Evidently the ideas about God which Robinson honestly considers outmoded are widely taught in the churches. Otherwise, how could we account for the charges of heresy from his own constituency? My own professor, Paul Lehmann, comments in a recent review that "the impact of this little book is due in no small measure...to the plain, if unflattering, truth that neither in the Church nor out of it does one readily associate a bishop with being honest to God. When one comes along who tries to be, it is an event of *first* rather more than of flamboyant impor-

tance."

Robinson's book is a tract for our times, calling believers and unbelievers alike to re-examine the integrity of their positions—believers because they have not dared to be intellectually honest about traditional orthodox interpretations of the faith; unbelievers because they have not bothered to inquire whether the particular form of Christianity they have rejected is the only alternative. Hailing Tillich, Bonhoeffer, and Bultmann as the prophets of the new age, the bishop sets out with them to reinterpret what has become meaningless in order that once again the Christian message can be communicated to the world. In doing so he is not always aware of the subtle difference among the three "prophets," but his concern is an important and urgent one. Perhaps it is expressed most succinctly in these words of Tillich: "True communication of the Gospel means making possible a definite decision for or against it. . . . There is always a genuine decision against the Gospel for those for whom it is a stumbling block. But this decision should not be dependent on the wrong stumbling block, namely, the wrong way of our communication of the Gospel—our inability to communicate. What we have to do is to overcome the wrong stumbling block in order to bring people face to face with the right stumbling block and enable them to make genuine decision" (*Theology of Culture* pp. 202, 213).

The bishop is not rejecting the Gospel. "I have never really doubted the fundamental truth of the Christian faith," he says, "though I have constantly found myself questioning its expression" (p. 27). Aware of how the revolutionary development of modern physics and astrophysics have profoundly affected our ideas of God in relation to the world, he points out that we can no longer think of God in the sky above the earth because there is literally no "above". But neither can we expect the astronauts to locate God in outer space. This whole way of thinking is a vestige of an outmoded world-view. God is not so much "up there" as "down here," and not so much "beyond man" as "between man and man." "The projection of God *from* the world as a super-Individual is no more necessary an expression of transcendence than is mileage upwards from the earth's surface" (p. 131). So far, so good. But at times his language borders on Humanism, as when he implies that God "within us" and "between us" cannot at the same time be "outside us." Yet, we doubt that the bishop would espouse the humanist formula that "God — humanity = 0." Tillich's concept of God as the

"Ground" of our being, to which Robinson is greatly attracted, means that Divine Being encompasses humanity and *infinitely more* besides.

With a characteristic missionary passion for the communication of the Gospel in the modern world, Bishop Robinson makes this plea: "If Christianity is to survive, let alone to recapture 'secular' man, there is no time to lose in detaching it from this scheme of thought. . . ., and thinking hard about what we should put in its place." We share the bishop's concern and agree that there is no time to lose. It remains to be seen whether, since the publication of this book we have gained or lost valuable time. One can sympathize completely with the concerns of the author and share most of his insights, yet question his discretion in publishing the book at this preliminary stage of his rethinking of the Christian message. In a much too brief treatment he tries to popularize subtle and controversial distinctions which the Tillichs and Bultmanns are still debating. The result is that the book ends with no clear alternative image of God or of Christ or of the Christian ethic to replace the image we are called upon to discard. Furthermore, the book is too hastily put together to do justice to any one of the three theologians on which it is based. In short, the author does not succeed in reinterpreting what has become meaningless to modern man.

It is true that Robinson announces in the preface that his work here is highly tentative and exploratory, but this does not clear him completely of the charge of indiscretion. The task of reconstructing theology in our time is a slow and painstaking process, but the process is going on. The main question is: Should a bishop broadcast his intellectual doubts to the general public before he has worked out a satisfactory alternative? Is this the way to communicate the Gospel effectively? Is honesty the only virtue required of us? Does "speaking the truth in love" (Eph. 4:5) not require of us empathy for the naive believer as well as for the honest unbeliever?

Certainly there is an important place for this kind of scrutiny, but it is more appropriately the theological journal and the seminary lecture hall. The bishop admits to experimenting in this tract, "trying to see at certain fundamental points of faith and practice what it might mean to question one whole set of presuppositions and feel towards another in its place." But is it appropriate—is it honest—to use the general public for this kind of an experiment? "I am well aware," he says further, "that much of what I shall seek to say will be seriously misunderstood." Yet he gropes forward.

The permanent value of the book, nonetheless, will doubtless be found in the fact that it does raise the right questions and that it is now stimulating discussion of theology in the English-speaking world, more than any other book since the appearance of Barth's commentary on Romans in 1919. More important, it provides a spur to a very necessary process of rethinking the Christian message for our time. It also introduces readers to the master minds of theological reconstruction today and thus they may be encouraged to read the sources for themselves. We recommend beginning with Tillich's *The Shaking of the Foundations,* Bonhoeffer's *Prisoner for God,* and Bultmann's *Jesus Christ and Mythology*.

DOUGLAS J. ELWOOD

SELECTED

Philippine Periodical Index

July–September, 1963

By Gorgonio D. Siega and Eliseo P. Bañas

PUBLICATIONS INDEXED

CCJ	*Coffee & Cacao Journal*
CM	*Chronicle Magazine*
CT	*Catholic Teacher*
ERJ	*Economic Research Journal*
EC	*Education Currents*
EQ	*Education Quarterly*
ES	*Esso Silangan*
FA	*Filipino Athlete*
FF	*Filipino Farmer*
FCL	*Filipino Child Life*
FT	*Filipino Teacher*
FAN	*Flying "A" News*
FW	*Free World*
IP	*Industrial Philippines*
JES	*Journal of East Asiatic Studies*
MM	*Marcelo Magazine*
MST	*MST English Quarterly*
PA	*Philippine Agriculturist*
PCC	*Philippines Caltex Circle*
PEB	*Philippine Economy Bulletin*
PEF	*Philippine Educational Forum*
PGJ	*Philippine Geographical Journal*
PJE	*Philippine Journal of Education*
PJN	*Philippine Journal of Nutrition*
PJP	*Phil. Journal of Public Health*
PL	*Philippine Labor*
PS	*Philippine Studies*
PFP	*Philippines Free Press*
PHM	*Philippines Herald Magazine*
Sc Rev	*Science Review*
SJ	*Silliman Journal*
SR	*Statistical Reporter*
SN	*Sugar News*
STM	*Sunday Times Magazine*
WG	*Weekly Graphic*
WW	*Weekly Women's Magazine*
WH	*Woman and the Home*

EXPLANATION

COLLEGES and universities

The University of the Philippines
and national development, by
O. D. Corpuz. CM, Jul 27 '63.
V. 18, No. 30, p. 12-13.

The above entry shows that the article, "The University of the Philippines and national development," by O. D. Corpuz, is to be found in the CHRONICLE MAGAZINE issue of July 27, 1963, Volume 18, Number 30, pages 12-13.

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STM, Sep 22 '63. p. 11-12.

ZUBA, D.
Conducting with zip! STM, Sep 22 '63. p. 11-12.

ZUMEL, A.
Maybe it's the lack of cops. PHM, Sep 14 '63. p. 24-27.
No Philippine flag at Marathon. PHM, Aug 3 '63. p. 8-9.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

DONN V. HART is an old friend of the *Journal;* he serves as Associate Professor of Anthropology at Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York. Dr. Hart's books and articles in the area of Philippine studies have been widely noted. He has taught at the University of the Philippines, as a Smith-Mundt Exchange Professor of Anthropology, and in the Southeast Asia Program, Yale University.

DAVID V. QUEMADA, an Associate Professor of English at Silliman University, is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Washington. His article deals in part with the subject of his doctor's dissertation which is now in progress.

ALBERT L. FAUROT, a Presbyterian fraternal worker, is Professor of Music at Silliman. He enjoys an international reputation as a concert pianist and lecturer on music and the fine arts.

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT serves as Director of the Aglipay Institute in Laoag, Ilocos Norte. Since 1954, Mr. Scott has been in the Philippines as a lay missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His anthropological studies of the people of Mountain Province are well known.

DOUGLAS J. ELWOOD has contributed to previous numbers of the *Journal*. A Presbyterian fraternal worker, Dr. Elwood has been on the Silliman campus since October of 1961 and serves as Associate Professor of Philosophy of Religion and as Head of the Department of Religious Studies.

GORGONIO D. SIEGA is the Librarian of Silliman University and ELISEO P. BAÑAS serves as Head of the Processing Section of the University Library.