

teams have success at the English championship meeting a little time ago? The Berlin Rowing Club claims it has the best 'eight' in Europe outside England, and is under the severe discipline of Sullivan, an Irishman from New Zealand, once champion sculler of the world, who was genially interned during the war. When at the Armistice he removed himself to another country a unanimous invitation from the wealthy Berlin Rowing Club brought him back to Germany.

It would be easy to pile up figures,

running into hundreds of thousands, of Germans who belong to mountaineering, touring, motoring, swimming, and other clubs. The great point is that 'this summer Germany has 'gone crazy' on athletics and out-of-door life. It is all very strenuous and serious. One gets the impression that behind it all is a recognition of national duty. Germany must not have a great army, but there is no clause in the Versailles Treaty of Peace prohibiting Germany's determination to be the healthiest, strongest, and most physically fit nation in the world.

THE GERMAN YOUTH MOVEMENT¹

BY MARCEL RAYMOND

A FORMER Wandervogel remarked to me the other day: 'Some books have been written on our movement, but so far they've missed the point. The authors have omitted its essential element — our sentiments, joys, hopes, the things that count for most and yet are hardest to define.' When questioned about these things a Wandervogel usually becomes vague and confused, his eyes glow, and his manner betrays a certain exultation of spirit. He is evidently moved by some powerful ideal, more difficult to analyze than to accept, which lifts him to a higher plane of feeling.

The Wandervogel movement began about 1908, when a few young Germans decided to break away from organized society, to reject the generally accepted standards of values, and to escape the fetters of 'education by their elders.'

¹ From *La Semaine Littéraire* (Geneva Liberal weekly), June 18

This last point is still strongly stressed by the true Wandervogel. It may be expressed as follows: 'We are not understood by those who assume to instruct and guide us. The education they would force upon us was perhaps all right when our fathers were young, but it won't do for us.' These young people, seeking freedom from intellectual bondage, fell under the influence of advocates of open-air schools, who were then attacking what is called 'the philological spirit' in Germany. Adopting the idea of a return to nature, the first Wandervogel, mostly musicians and singers captivated by the delights of retirement and solitude, lived in the open fields. These groups were recruited from middle-class families, and they openly objected to military service and militarism — a rare thing at that time.

Then came the war, revolution, and chaos. Those who had expected victory

up to the end changed sides overnight. Those who had unwillingly donned a uniform now dreamed only of forgetting the past and finding a new reason for living. The adolescents who had emerged from the war period haphazardly brought up and educated were recalled to systematic studies. It was at this time that the youth of the country definitely adopted the Wandervögel idea and organized their earliest mixed bands. First in Thuringia, then in other provinces, young people took to the open road, seeking adventure to the accompaniment of violins and beribboned guitars. At night the enchantment continued: there were encampments in the moonlight, sentimental walks, school songs, tender tears at the side of running brooks. The Wandervögel addressed everyone as *du*, for all were brothers. Few young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty could resist the widespread enthusiasm.

What did these knights with bare legs and bare heads seek? Was it pure country air, physical exercise, liberty, the joy of living, virile friendships, and other more or less ennobling experiences? No doubt many individuals found all this, but they really sought in their own way to regain happy hearts and to recover forgotten joys. It was necessary to flee from the towns in order to triumph over the mob, society, conventional illusion, and, last of all, over civilization. For the German draws a clear line between civilization and culture, the first being the product of material progress, the second the blossoming of the cultivated mind and spirit. They sought this inner happiness in nature, among their boy and girl companions, and in the forest, where one might discover, they believed, the great secret of the world, the *Weltseele*, the Oversoul, the divine fire. This desire for mystical posses-

sions drove the Wandervögel to reject the superficialities of civilization for an exalted, lyrical life.

Nothing is more diverse and vague than the mysticism of the Wandervögel. It ranges from the purest pantheism to Christian spiritualism. All true followers, however, cultivate a romanticism which they regard as the instrument through which mankind may be regenerated. Some Wandervögel regard Rousseau as their great guide. Others idealize certain episodes of the Thirty Years' War. But most of them hark back to the Middle Ages, and strive to renew the tradition of the *Burschen* — the mediæval journeymen who wandered through the country seeking work. The connection is more artificial than real, for these modern wanderers have created a Middle Ages of their own out of their own imaginations. I know a facetious Wandervögel — a very rare type — who read some truly mystical poems of the fourteenth century to his comrades one day. Their disappointment, as may well be imagined, was intense.

Such readings are very popular as a rule, however, and the members attach great importance to them. I shall not stop here to describe the curious Wandervögel catechisms and handbooks, or their collections of naïve, inspirational tales. A much more curious fact is that certain learned and aristocratic poets whose abstruse work would apparently interest only a very limited élite have been adopted by the Wandervögel. Even in their larger gatherings, which include many young people of the working class, we may hear read Carl Spitteler's lofty strophes, the plaintive melodies of Maria Rilke, or the poems of Stephan Georg. But the real textual meaning of these works is entirely secondary to their liturgical or devotional effect, which makes their most obscure passages the most sug-

gestive. Words that provoke tears represent the supreme height of literature for the initiated. The symbolical imagery of Stephan Georg, it has been said, is particularly appreciated for this reason.

There has been much talk, of course, about the inevitable excesses and immorality which have threatened at times to discredit the entire Youth Movement. The exceptional has been emphasized; and such unpleasant aspects were at any rate largely confined to the first few troubled years following the war. To-day the devotees of *Schönheit* are scattered, being found more often in the cabarets and music halls, where they are getting back their old jobs. A movement of such amplitude, and drawing from all social types, unavoidably collected both pure and impure, the tares with the wheat.

Now as to the present status of this agitation. I really should have spoken in the past of this strange 'religion,' for a state of mind of this type can only be developed in a time of anarchy. Although the civilization of 1927 is not one to stir men's admiration, its downfall appears less imminent to the eyes of a new generation. Enthusiasm cannot be kept at a high key by propaganda and education. Days of privation are past, moreover, and one prefers to take the railroad. The students of those years have settled down to regular careers; they have become engineers or teachers. Idle apprentices and workmen have found jobs, and no longer infest the highways from Italy to Norway.

But if faith has weakened, and old-timers talk of treason, the Wandervögel are still numerous. The young workmen of to-day have regular employment, but they make up parties every Sunday to seek the freedom of the fields and forests. Many teachers

still recall their earlier inspiration and instruct their students in the Wandervögel catechism. During the summer vacations they convert their school-rooms into dormitories for these youthful strollers. Towns have thrown open their old barracks and castles as shelters for these bands of pilgrims. Foot travel is immensely popular, and during good weather entire families take to the road with knapsacks on their backs. I know a university professor who recently walked with his wife and four children from Leipzig to Bamberg, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles.

One important observation in conclusion. The Wandervögel have not sworn allegiance to any political creed. In 1920 they were distinctly anti-political. Although there are sections actually attached to parties, — mostly Socialist, but also Communist, and even Nationalist, — when those of different opinions gather in any place the ancient faith of the Wandervögel forms a common bond which all recognize. Nonpartisans are the most numerous to-day, and among these independents, who still regard the State with distrust, one finds the young Germans who are most attached to liberty.

Unfortunately, many a Wandervögel of 1927 renounces, not only civilization, but also culture, and fancies that pleasing transports of emotion can take the place of solid knowledge; or if free from such fanaticism, he often becomes no more than a good fellow laughing and joking with his comrades. I believe, nevertheless, that the moral and intellectual élite of Germany during the years immediately ahead will include among its members a goodly number of recruits from the young collarless, cravatless boys who sought so strenuously just after the Armistice to rediscover the higher joys of life.

THE CRUCIFIXION¹

BY ÉDOUARD DUJARDIN, OF THE SORBONNE

[THE author, who has written several books on early Christian history, has in preparation a work entitled *Le Mystère du dieu mort et ressuscité: Histoire du dieu Jésus*, of which the article that follows is apparently a summarized fragment.]

SCHOLARS who have studied the history of Jesus have been divided up to the present into two schools — those who believe that the Crucifixion was an actual sentence inflicted upon Jesus by the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate, and those who believe that it is a myth. A study of other mystery religions contemporary with the beginning of Christianity leads us to suggest a third hypothesis — that the Crucifixion, while a historical fact, was not the infliction of a court sentence, but was the accomplishment of an antique sacrificial rite derived from a very ancient Palestinian religion which recognized Jesus as its deity and which, after lying latent for centuries in the shade of Judaism, suddenly revived during the first century of our era.

This hypothesis assumes, as do most scholars to-day, that Christianity revealed itself to the Græco-Roman world less as a regenerative social and spiritual movement than as a doctrine of redemption based upon the expiatory sacrifice represented by the death of Jesus. M. Alfred Loisy says: 'What conquered the Græco-Roman world was the mystery of salvation founded

upon the death of Jesus conceived as the Redeemer.' M. Maurice Goguel expresses the same view: 'The outstanding feature of apostolical Christianity was the doctrine of redemption by the death of Christ.' M. Charles Guignebert, Director of Christian Studies at the Sorbonne, expresses himself to the same effect. Most Bible critics, and in fact substantially all Roman Catholic and Protestant Biblical scholars from the most orthodox to the most liberal, agree in this opinion.

That raises the question whether this doctrine of atonement by sacrifice existed from the very birth of Christianity. Was it a part of the earliest and most primitive teaching of the original Church, or is it a later development? Rationalist critics of Christian tradition believe the Crucifixion was an ordinary judicial sentence carried out by the Jewish or Roman authorities, which was later interpreted as an expiatory sacrifice. Roman Catholic scholars declare that the Crucifixion was simultaneously a judicial execution and an expiatory sacrifice. But there is a third possible hypothesis — that the Crucifixion was actually a ritual expiatory sacrifice, which was later conceived as also the infliction of a judicial sentence.

This brings us to the question, Which of the four Gospels is the earliest? Better said, Which of the authors of the Gospels first put into writing the oral tradition of Jesus' life and death, and thereby fixed to some extent the narratives of the three others? For a long

¹ From *Grande Revue* (Paris Liberal literary monthly), June