Commemorating Education: Recollections of the Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918-1948

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Until recently, modern Palestinian history has almost exclusively been written as a political history, one that details the events, negotiations, and activities leading up to the destruction of Palestine in 1948.[1] This political component of history has been utilized as the major explanatory tool to describe the absence of a Palestinian state, the existence of a diaspora composed of millions of Palestinian refugees living outside of Palestine in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, and the unwillingness of the international community to implement United Nations resolutions that provide Palestinians with land, rights, and compensation. While the political landmarks of the struggle over Palestine, of course, define Palestinians' lives today, Palestinians also recognize that their history and struggle lies in more than just the political forces and events that led up to the destruction and depopulation of the land.

In contrast to the formal histories that rely on the written documentation of the British Mandate Gov ernment and the nascent Palestinian national movement, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed a surge in "new" types of histories on Palestine, such as autobiographies, village memorial books, and oral history collections.[2] Many of these works offer personal recollections and collected documentary material from the period prior the destruction of 1948, and focus primarily on personal and local concerns, set within a larger framework of Palestinian political realities and national identification practices. These recollections of the past envision a new history of Palestine, a type of history that Raphael Samuel calls in his *Theatres of Memory*, "a social form of knowledge: the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands." [3] One possible explanation for the appearance of these new histories is that Palestinians live in a number of different countries and they have no state of their own; thus, no one particular group or institution can assert an exclusive hegemonic position over a historical vision of the past. Instead, as Swedenburg notes, "specialized bodies devoted to the preservation, collection, and dissemination of memories of the past have come to play a crucial role in a wider Palestinian struggle to articulate and sustain a national and cultural identity."[4] Often collectively conceived and composed as documentary projects to preserve specific types of knowledge, memorial books and oral history collections emerge to both challenge and complement the overarching narratives of Palestinian collective history, in the process of recording what are peculiarly local histories about individual families, villages, institutions, and events.[5]

The power of these texts lies in the specificity of the experiences described: late summers spent harvesting wheat, illicit cigarettes smoked beyond the watchful eyes of family, the farming and grazing of land that had been known by names now on the verge of being forgotten,[6] village-and family-origin stories, the building of the family house, and memories of the first day of school. Through these stories, new histories of pre-1948 Palestinian life reveal what were once the known, mundane details of everyday life and existence, and which, following the destruction of Palestine in 1948, have become a powerful subject of nostalgia and inspiration for continued struggle. These memories are part of a growing documentary historical production that seeks to make the everyday life of the past a known commodity. This article addresses the topic of modern Palestinian historiography and the subject of historical memory by exploring the history of the Arab College in Jerusalem and the written recollections of former instructors and students that were published in the 1990s. In particular, this article examines two issues related to our understanding of history: first, the intersection of first-person accounts with the more general histories about education under the Mandate; and second, the role of the Arab College in the national struggle for Palestine as seen through the eyes of its former pupils and teachers.

In 1991, a group of Palestinians living in Jordan began a campaign to revive the Arab College, a secondary and post-secondary teacher training college that had stood on Jabal al-Mukabbir in Jerusalem prior to 1948.[7]

These former students and teachers of the Arab College, a public school under the jurisdiction of the Mandate government, felt that it had been a unique educational institution for the top students of Palestine and Transjordan, as well as a symbol of national pride.[8] They published an appeal to "all who are sympathetic to the intent [to re-establish the College] and who want to contribute to its future implementation, in repayment of their obligation [*wafa' lil-dayn*] and in recognition of the College's service."[9] In presenting their case, these former teachers and students published a volume commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Arab College, which included historical documents and photographs from the period between 1920 and 1948, a copy of the Arab College magazine from 1933, and recollections of former teachers and students.[10] The material for this publication was largely gathered and presented through the efforts of a young researcher, Walid Raghib al-Khalidi, who had published much of it previously in nineteen installments in *al-Quds al-Sharif*, a monthly periodical of the Jerusalem Arab Municipality-in-exile in Amman, Jordan.[11] These works by al-Khalidi, in addition to a number of accounts by former pupils or instructors of the college, provide an important body of material not only for the history of the Arab College and its role as an Arab educational institution during the British Mandate, but also for the historiography of education under the British occupation.

Prior to the activities of those who sought to re-establish the Arab College and their concomitant publications in the 1990s, the history of the Arab College was accessible in scholarly histories and well-informed, general accounts. Early works from the 1950s on education under the British Mandate by A. L. Tibawi and Abdulqadir Yousuf offer a variety of perspectives on that system of education based on both documentary material and their own experiences, always couched within a neutral and scholarly language.[12] Mahmud Abidi's nine-page historical overview of the college's history includes the names of teachers and students, descriptions of the buildings, and the different certifications offered. Despite the fact that he was a student at the college, the account is written in the third person with no personal details or stories.[13] Similarly, Hisham Nashshabeh wrote an important article on the Arab College that includes references from the unpublished diaries of Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, the director of the college from 1925 to 1948.[14] In the late 1990s, more autobiographical accounts began to appear, such as Nicola Ziadeh's description of his experiences as both a student and teacher at the college and Sadiq Ibrahim 'Odeh's combination of historical summary and personal stories.[15]

While the majority of Palestinian projects on oral history and popular memory have focused on rural refugees,[16] the Arab College commemorative works, by contrast, focus on an elite, largely urban, experience shared by young men from all over Palestine. These students spent the formative period of their youth in the college and received a well-regarded education that prepared them for positions in education, banking, and government service, among others. The Arab College was the most prestigious public educational institution for Arabs, and the only one offering education beyond the matriculation exam. Herbert Samuel, the first high commissioner, had envisioned (and promised) that it would become an Arab university, a plan that, unfortunately, was never implemented. The former teachers and students readily found prestigious employment throughout the Arab world and beyond, particularly after 1948.

These individual accounts presented in the commemorative works offer us the opportunity to examine the Arab College's history as portrayed by students and teachers, who themselves recount the past through their personal experiences. Their recollections of the environment where they were educated and taught and the political and nationalist activities that surrounded them contrast with and complement the more formal and political histories of education during the Mandate period. With the publication of these personal stories of the past, we have a rich body of first-hand accounts of the pre-1948 Arab College to supplement more generalized forms of history. Thus, this article will discuss the historiography of Palestinian education in light of these new personal sources of history in two specific events in the Arab College's history: the student protests against the British in 1925 and the Latin language requirement for the intermediate certification.

Arab Education Under the Mandate[17]

The Arab College, called the Men's Teacher Training College until 1927, grew out of the British military administration's restructuring of the governmental school system that followed the British occupation of Palestine in 1917-18. Colonial policy advised British Mandatory officials to leave all existing systems in place (adopting a *status quo* position), although the administration did change the language of instruction in the governmental schools for Arabs from Turkish to Arabic.[18] Due to this amendment, the department found a dearth of what it perceived as teachers qualified to teach in Arabic.[19] The department immediately established teacher-training colleges in Jerusalem for both men and women.[20] The problem of the lack of teachers was further compounded by a new British educational goal, set by the authorities when Palestine was transferred to a civil administration in 1920, that "every child in Palestine would have an opportunity of attending school" after four years of the civilian administration.[21]

Throughout the Mandate, the Palestinians and the British struggled over the types of education, content, funding, and control. The British Mandate Department of Education was under the direction of two British officials, Humphrey Bowman, followed by Jerome Farrell, who enforced the educational practices that they and their British and Arab assistants developed.[22] Tibawi notes that the struggle between educational policymakers focused on those who advocated high standards of education for a few versus others who believed in mass education of lower quality for more people. Thus, while some aimed to "discover and educate an *elite* class," others worked at "keeping the peasants on the land by teaching their children farming, together with the three R's."[23] The implementation of these two different priorities resulted in the Department of Education organizing the new governmental educational system for Arabs around separate education for boys and girls and separate syllabi and standards for towns and villages. The division they created between town schools and village schools determined the different curricula and standards for teacher selection, among other issues.

While the Arab College was almost exclusively concerned with educating the most outstanding male students in Palestinian schools, selected to enter the college based on exams and interviews, the number of students trained to be teachers was limited by facilities and government commitment.[24] Of course, the limited scale of teacher training had a profound effect on the ability to develop the educational system. Between 1921-22 and 1932-33, the number of teachers increased by only 188, an average increase of 17 per year.[25] In the same period, the number of students increased by more than 7,000, and almost half of those who wanted to attend school were regularly turned away: in 1932-33 only 57 percent of applicants to the rural government schools were accepted, as were 45 percent of town school applicants.[26] Thus, in the early period of the Mandate, the limited teacher education training programs in addition to the Mandate Government-imposed budget cuts severely restricted the growth of education.

In the 1930s, the Department of Education implemented expansion schemes that resulted in a huge increase in the number of teachers.[27] In 1935, the Rural Training Center for Women in Ramallah offered two (and later three and then four) years of post-elementary training for women teachers for the rural schools. The Kadoorie Agricultural School in Tulkarm was established in 1931 and later included a year of teacher training for selected male students to become teachers in the rural schools.[28] Despite the growth in the number of teachers and the expansion of facilities, the Mandate government still turned away students and never achieved its goal of universal education; by 1944, it succeeded to insure that only 32.5 percent of the Arab school-age population (ages five to 14 years) was in school.[29]

Tibawi and Yousuf are particularly keen to note that despite any successes of the Mandate educational system—and the Arab College was one of them—the entire educational enterprise was constantly under attack by Arab educators and nationalist leaders. This was particularly true of the three directors of the Arab College, Khalil al-Sakakini (1919-1920), Khalil Totah (1920-1925), and Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi (1925-1948), who adopted different positions when negotiating the rough political waters that enveloped Palestine at various times, as will be discussed below. From the outset, Palestinian Arabs struggled with the British over control of the education system, particularly given that the British Mandate Department of Education granted the Jewish community complete charge of its public schools.[30] According to Tibawi, the major flaw of educational administration during the Mandate was the lack of Palestinians in the departmental administration.[31] Therefore, while Arab students were taught by Arab teachers and supervised by Arab inspectors, those formulating the curriculum and educational policy, albeit with input from Arab employees of the department, were British. The lack of fundamental and significant Arab participation in the decision-making and policy formation remained a highly contested issue by the Palestinians throughout the Mandate.[32]

In a Palestinian public educational environment characterized by large numbers of students unable to attend schools, lack of facilities, budget cuts, and personnel and administrative limitations imposed by the government and the Department of Education, the Arab College functioned as the elite institution for the education of Arabs in Palestine. Since students were accepted into the college on merit rather than social status, education provided opportunities for social and economic mobility and the formation of a diverse intellectual cadre that joined the ranks of the nationalist leadership.[33] As will be explored below in the discussions of the events of 1925 and the teaching of Latin, the personal memories and recollection of stories about the Arab College reveal the importance of national Palestinian Arab sentiment in remembering the past. Specifically, these accounts reveal the national consciousness of students and teachers, their nationalist activities, and their reactions to the limitations and restrictions of the Department of Education.

Colonial Education and the Student Strike of 1925

The national character of the struggle for Palestine was mirrored in the early history of the Arab College. The first Palestinian director of the Arab College (when it was still called the Men's Teacher Training College)

was Khalil al-Sakakini, appointed in 1919. Active in many of the intellectual pursuits of the time, he was a visionary educator, debated politics with other Palestinians in a number of forums, founded literary clubs, and took part in the leadership of the Arabization movement within the Greek Orthodox church.[34] His diaries, edited and published by his daughter Hala shortly after his death in 1953, provide us with the only Palestinian accounts of education from this very early period.[35] In the following excerpt from November 1919, al-Sakakini describes his meeting with Legge, the Assistant Director in the Department of Education in which al-Sakakini sought to change the curriculum of the college:

> I also suggested to Legge that we add music and singing to the school program, and he was pleased with that suggestion. As for a teacher for this subject, if we cannot find a special teacher, I myself can do it since I take special lessons at the music school in violin and voice for two hours a week. I also suggested that we teach natural philosophy and metaphysics (*al-falsafa al-tabi`iya*) and he asked me to prepare a list of the equipment necessary for such a class. In addition, I provided him with a long list of the various sports equipment we need. There were many other things I presented him and he accepted them pleasantly […][36]

While we do not know the reaction of the authorities to al-Sakakini's proposals, it is clear that he did not see himself as merely a figurehead of the college and subordinate to the British Department of Education, but instead actively promoted his own agenda for education. Despite this promising first year, he resigned to protest the appointment of Herbert Samuel, both Jewish and a Zionist, as the high commissioner for Palestine in 1920.

The director appointed in his stead was the immanently suitable Khalil Totah who had a master's degree in education from the Teacher's College at Columbia University in the United States. Under his tenure from 1920 to 1925, Arab College educational standards advanced greatly: the teacher training period was raised from two to three and then four years, and a preparatory class for students from the village schools was opened.[37] Like al-Sakakini, Totah was intent on improving the educational possibilities for students.[38]

Rather than directly protesting the British policies as al-Sakakini had done, Totah tried to negotiate between the colonial administration and Palestinian desires for national independence. The Arab College had the prestige of being the best Arabic educational institution in Palestine at the time, and thus, according to Tibawi, " this College had been considered by the Arab national leaders as an excellent field for their operations. Several members of the staff, notably the history lecturer, were ardent nationalists actively in contact with those leaders."[39] Totah's successful tenure, however, witnessed a number of "unsettling events," as Abidi describes them.[40] Totah was directly involved in one incident when he and 'Umar Salih al-Barghuthi wrote a textbook on the history of Palestine that Herbert Samuel banned. Totah did not make full disclosure of the story until 1937, when he says Samuel banned the book due to the following statement in the text: "Sir Herbert Samuel endeavoured to make the Arabs see the Jewish point of view as regards Zionism and failed."[41] That Totah (and al-Barghuthi) did not go public with the incident reveals that Totah, unlike al-Sakakini, sought to smooth over the conflicts between the colonial sensibilities and Palestinian national sentiments; his success in avoiding confrontation with the British, however, was short-lived.

The end of Totah's tenure as director of the college came as a result of Palestinian demonstrations against the Mandate Government in 1925. Historical sources recount the events in 1925 with varying levels of detail and style, among them personal accounts of people who were affiliated with the Arab College. Lord Balfour, the founder of the eponymous Balfour declaration, came to Jerusalem that year at the invitation of the Zionist movement to inaugurate the opening of the Hebrew University.[42] The Palestinian Arab population marked the occasion with demonstrations and strikes, school students among them, including members of the Arab College. The Government closed down the Arab College for several weeks and only agreed to open it again after the Arab Executive Committee intervened and students signed agreements to "conform to college discipline."[43] However, if one reads Tibawi, the most comprehensive account of education under the British, there is no mention of Khalil Totah in the section on the 1925 student strikes; Tibawi only notes that Totah "voluntarily resigned his post" in a separate location in the book, with no reference to why he might have resigned nor the year.[44] Yousuf mentions the 1925 strike as one example of "effective and important strikes" by educational institutions, but does not discuss its effect on the tenure of Totah.[45]

Despite the importance of the strikes and their effect on the leadership of the college, neither Tibawi, as the most authoritative scholar on Palestinian education, nor numerous other sources detail the exact events and participants in the 1925 strikes. Even Nicola Ziadeh's recollection of his time at the Arab College, where he studied from 1921 to 1924, does not mention the events of 1925. Ziadeh began teaching in Acre following his commencement, although, he writes, "I maintained a relationship with the Teacher's College after my graduation, and I corresponded with Khalil Totah and Darwish Miqdadi and some of the students who were behind me."[46] The only comment he makes about Totah's resignation is when describing the many changes that had taken place following his return visit to the Arab College

in 1926: "the most important of which was the resignation of Khalil Totah, and the deputization of Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi as the director in 1925."[47]

In a few personal accounts we find some suggestion as to why Totah submitted his resignation. Mahmud Abidi, a student at the college at the time, explains that

> Totah's position as principal became very delicate: he could neither discourage nor encourage the students. As a Quaker he was against violence. He was unjustly suspected of sympathy with the government (which his evidence before the Royal Commission twelve years later proved unfounded). Accordingly he resigned, and the government decided to close down the college and send the students home….[48]

Similarly, Nashshabeh's historical account, relying on the diaries of Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, who succeeded To tah as director of the college, suggests that the British were responsible for Totah's resignation. After the strike, certain students were punished and the remainder were allowed to return to school in June of 1925; the students however, "renewed the spirit of resistance" and refused to go to classes. Nashshabeh reflects that the British then saw the students as the most radical in the country, because only the students were still striking. Unable to get the students to return to the classroom, Totah resigned. According to Nashshabeh this put the Department of Education in an embarrassing position and they asked Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi to step in for Totah while he was on "medical leave" for six days.[49]

By all accounts Totah was successful and well liked; thus, in these histories of the Arab College, the variety of explanations, or lack thereof, for his resignation, particularly from people who were present during that period, suggests their contemporaneous confusion over the exact course of events. One possible suggestion for the silence on this issue comes from Abidi's insinuation that Totah was seen as sympathetic to the administration. Thus, in retrospect, to preserve Totah's reputation, no one comments on his role in 1925. This explanation concurs with the recollection of the events by 'Abdulrahman al-Habbab,[50] a student who entered the college in 1924. He maintains that Totah told the students not to demonstrate, but they went onto the grounds and street anyway, among them Mustafa al-Tahir and Radi 'Abdulhadi who gave speeches.[51] Given the students' behavior, the director was seen by the British administration as being unable to control the students and thus was fired, along with a number of teachers who were supportive of the strike: George Mu'ammar, Jallal Zurayq, and Darwish al-Miqdadi ("an ardent nationalist").[52] Al-Habbab's account stresses a very different understanding of Totah's role in the strike—Totah discourages the students but does not prevent them from demonstrating (appropriate to both his position as director of the college and national sentiments as a Palestinian). Al-Habbab is the only one who believes that Totah was dismissed for his actions; this interpretation of his resignation is in keeping with a Palestinian national role Totah is seen retrospectively as maintaining, particularly following his testimony in 1937. Abidi suggests that there was some confusion over Totah's actual position, and thus, not mentioning this period of his life may be the best way for all those who wrote about or recalled this period of protecting Totah's nationalist credentials. Tibawi's only mention of Totah occurs when he quotes a number of times Totah's 1937 testimony to the Palestine Royal Commission on behalf of the Arab Higher Committee. His testimony clearly indicates his nationalist position on Palestinian education, particularly through his opening statement: "The major grievance of the Arabs as regards education, is that they have no control over it."[53] Without the actual documentation, people's accounts and memories leave room for a wide range of possible outcomes, motives, and interpretations.

In fact, Totah's own version of events, recounted much later, bears out some of the reason for the historical silence, as he did stand against the prevalent nationalist opinion.[54] He gives a very clear account of why he refused to support the strike, which is not reproduced or even captured in any of the above accounts:

> My attitude to Arab strikes, which are too frequent and usually futile, was negative. I preached strenuous toil for the Arabs and not strikes, if they wished to stand up to the Zionists. I told them that every day's loss of work was permitting the Jews to get ahead of them by just that much. I would not join in the noisy mob in the streets nor march with the demonstration.[55]

His lack of enthusiasm for the strike was not about his lack of support for the nationalist cause, but was instead about rejecting striking as a viable nationalist action. However, in the heat of the moment, his nuanced position seems to have been overlooked. He presents the complications of nationalists' interpretations of his position and his bitterness over the ultimate outcome:

> The mob was after my scalp as a traitor to the Arab Cause. Like Pontius Pilate, the British authorities let me down in order to appease the crowd who cried, "crucify him, crucify him!" That was my reward for sticking to my principles, for faithfulness to real Arab interests and incidentally for loyalty to Government orders which were issued to its officers in writing forbidding the strike. But of course, that was not an unusual performance on the part of the British politicians or politicians of any other country either.[56]

Totah seems to lay the majority of the blame for the resulting upheaval in his life not on the nationalist activists who mistook his position, but on the British who failed to support him and the fact that he was actually

following their orders by refusing to participate in or condone the strike. Totah says he then resigned and went to America where he finished his Ph.D., later to come back and head the Friends' School in Ramallah.

Incidentally, as can be seen in all of the aforementioned accounts of the events of 1925 at the Arab College, Totah is never cast as being sympathetic with the British government, neither by historians nor by people who were students at the time, even though it is clear that he did not want the students to strike. While he may have been penalized in 1925 for his position, history has not exposed him as anti-nationalist. Instead, historical memory has sheltered him and the details of what was his controversial position, both through the vague accounts of historians who sweep past the details, and the eyewitness accounts of students at the time, who see him either as following his religious convictions or as a victim of British colonial policy.

While in all of these accounts Khalil Totah is not connected to the strike and bears almost no responsibility for it or the students' behavior at the time, a number of people name Darwish al-Miqdadi as one of the instigators of student sentiment. Abidi describes him as "an inspiring teacher, and his extra-curricular activities were as extensive and stimulating as his teaching. His talks at the Debating Society were very popular, and his organised tours of historic sites in and around the city were most exciting and illuminated by his well prepared expositions."[57] In addition, he was "as popular with the Arab leadership outside the college as with the students inside."[58] A graduate of the American University in Beirut, Miqdadi had been hired by the Arab College in 1922 to teach history and geography. Nicola Ziadeh's account of this period fails to describe what happens to Miqdadi in 1925, but does mention one other teacher, George Mu'ammar, whom al-Habbab described as among the three who were fired. According to Ziadeh, Mu'ammar, also a graduate of AUB, had just joined the college after Ziadeh's graduation, "but only taught there for one year."[59]

Likewise, Miqdadi's past in the Arab College is rarely mentioned in biographical information about him. For example, in Choueiri's recent book on Arab nationalism, he reports that Miqdadi was educated at the Ottoman Islamic College and the American University of Beirut, where he studied history, literature and sociology.

> He was to spend the rest of his life in various posts associated with teaching and educational administration. After his graduation (1922), he first worked in Jerusalem before moving to Iraq in 1927 where he joined the Teachers' Higher Training College. He was involved during this period in propagating nationalist ideas, working in close cooperation with Sati' al-Husari who dominated the Iraqi education system at the time.[60]

There is no mention of his nationalist activities and clash with authorities in Jerusalem. Furthermore, Ya'qub al-'Awdat, whose encyclopedic reference work *Min A'lam al-Fikr wa al-Adab fi Filastin* (From Among the Scholars of Thought and Literature in Palestine) contains biographies of the most significant and influential Palestinian men from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, reports that Miqdadi taught at the Arab College from 1922 to 1925, but attributes another cause for his departure; in this account, Miqdadi submitted his resignation because of a clash with British authorities over a scout group he had established named after Khalid ibn al-Walid, the early Arab Muslim military leader who headed the Muslim armies in their conquests of Iraq and Syria. The British asked Miqdadi to do one of the following: terminate the troop's existence, make it part of the Baden-Powell Scouts, or resign from his work. Miqdadi is said to have shouted in the face of the British Director of the Department of Education, "Will the Scout troop of Khalid ibn al-Walid, the great hero who was never defeated in his life, be canceled? No, no, it will not be rescinded, and it will not join the British Baden-Powell Association. Here is my resignation."[61] Al-'Awdat, like many others, does not give a source for this information, although presumably he gathered it either directly from Miqdadi, who died in 1961, or from those who knew of the incident. The text of the letter Miqdadi wrote is quoted in al-'Awdat as having appeared in the newspaper *al-Ittihad al-'Arabi*, issue 38, on 17 Rajab 1344/30 January 1926.[62]

> To the Honorable Director of Education in Palestine
>
> The Assistant Director of the Teacher's College informed me that you will not allow the establishment of an Arab Scouting group independent of the English Baden-Powell Scouts at the Teacher's College.
>
> I believe that we are Arabs in an Arab country, and we want to have an Arab slogan and Arab flag. We also want to have an Arab Scout [organization] outside of the English Scouts, which we do not agree with on some issues because there is no doubt that it is foreign to us, colonialist in spirit (*isti'mariyah fi ruhiha*), and English in its slogan and flag.
>
> I believe that we should have an independent Arab Scouts, as is the situation in the Jewish schools where the Scouts are independent of Baden-Powell Scouts and carry a Zionist slogan and a Zionist flag.
>
> Our Arab Scouts are valuable to the students after the failure of the English Scouts at the Teacher's College. For these reasons, I stand by the Arab Scouts because I fully believe that its presence is greatly beneficial to the students and the teachers.[63]

Al-'Awdat then details that Miqdadi resigned from the Arab College and was appointed as a history teacher at the Islamic College that had been established by the

Higher Muslim Council in Jerusalem.[64] Abidi also notes that Miqdadi's history as a nationalist activist begins with the scout troop incident: "His first clash with authority was concerning his attempt to organize an Arab Scout Group independent of the Baden-Powell Association of which the British Director of Education [Bowen] was county commissioner and Samuel the chief scout."[65] Whether Miqdadi resigned over the independence of the scout troop or was fired for his role in the 1925 protests, his experiences in Jerusalem during this period prefigure his later history and writings as a staunch Arab and Palestinian nationalist. In many people's recollections of the events, he was a catalyst for nationalist action in his short tenure at the Arab College.

We find, therefore, in this short but eventful history of the Arab College in 1925, that an individual's participation in nationalist activities and resistance to British control over education clearly has an important place in people's memories, but fails to achieve any mention in texts more focused on generalizing histories of Palestine. For example, Totah's part in the 1925 strike only comes out in the individual accounts, as does Miqdadi's name. Tibawi, as the chronicler of Arab education under the Mandate, fails to mention why Totah resigned. Nor does he mention the names of the teachers who were fired. Tibawi's reluctance to name names (throughout the book and not just in this case) is perhaps in keeping with his desire to protect the reputations of his informants, friends, and former colleagues.

The multiplicity of the accounts of the events of 1925 at the Arab College exposes the concerns of historians about the reliability of memory and oral sources.[66] Wary of the interested nature of colonial accounts and lacking other documentary evidence, scholars find themselves with people's memories of the past as the only information available on some subjects. However, with so many plausible accounts, how do we know what really happened? The question may be answered in other ways. For example, the events of Darwish Miqdadi's life in 1925 are so muddled in the multiple accounts of his fate that it seems more productive to understand the claims of the different accounts rather than to try and find the "truth." Miqdadi's resignation, rather than his firing, suggests a nationalist agency and mirrors the precedent of Sakakini's resignation to protest Samuel's appointment as high commissioner. Like wise, Miqdadi's firing is equally plausible, and certainly the most corroborated of the accounts. And it is undoubtedly possible that he was both fired and that he also resigned. Thus, these "histories" of his experiences must be read through the hegemonic nationalist forces that mold and form personal memories.[67]

Scholars who work extensively with oral histories appreciate the non-conformity of individual accounts to the dominant, overarching narratives. Alessandro Portelli's work, collecting oral histories of the Italian resistance to fascism and the Nazi occupation, has brought him to believe that people telling their stories are "more articulate and credible historians than those professional writers and administrators of history…."[68] These conflicting accounts of the Arab College in 1925 also reflect Palestinians' direct confrontation with the hegemonic methods of historical recollection. In contrast with the generalizing, distant historical accounts, the new methods of recording the past that Palestinians have embarked upon—memorial books, autobiographies, and oral history collections, such as the compilation accounts of the Arab College—give authority to individual memories. As such, their discussions of classmates, funny incidents that happened, the strict and the kind teachers, school subjects, martyrs, important people, and their own nationalist activities, reshape our knowledge of the past.[69] Through exhibiting this encyclopedic and intimately detailed knowledge of their subjects, the authors are claiming the authority to know about their subject. At the same time, such information must be seen as an act of recording for posterity, and a way to tie personal stories and remembrances to a larger Palestinian identity and consciousness. Further reflection on these issues appears in the student reminiscences of the required study of Latin at the Arab College.

The Intermediate Certificate and Memories of Latin

While the students and teachers at the Arab College struggled with the British Mandate administration in demonstrations and street protests, at the same time they protested the educational policies that they were subjected to by the Department of Education. A keen example of student reaction to these policies is in the teaching of Latin at the Arab College. In 1939, the Arab College added a fifth and sixth year, which were considered college-level, post-secondary education. Completion of this two-year course—on either a science or a literature track—resulted in being awarded an intermediate certificate. Jerome Farrell, the director of education from 1936 to 1946 , was crucial in establishing this certificate and determining its curriculum, which he envisioned reflecting his own British school upbringing.[70] The intermediate certificate thus included the study of English and Arabic for both the science section and the literature section; in addition, the science students studied theoretical and applied mathematics, and the literature students studied philosophy, classical history, and Latin.

Numerous authors have commented on the very alien curriculum imposed by the British on Arab students, in which "direct teaching of contemporary history was excluded from the official syllabus."[71] In light of the

events taking place in the country, Palestinians strenu ously objected to the fact that the educational curriculum downplayed the Arab and Islamic past in favor of more "universal humanistic" (i.e., British) subjects. The imposition of Latin as part of the only higher education available to Palestinians was seen as yet another colonial mechanism to distance the best students from their national heritage. According to Yousuf,

> One of the main reasons for the introduction of Latin and Greek in the syllabus of the high school and the matriculation was the fact that one of the Directors of Education, Jerome Farrell, had the taste and appreciation for these two languages. He even volunteered to teach the interested students himself and went far to establish with the Department's money scholarships for Latin and Greek students in British Universities.[72]

Yousuf adds that "Many students anxious to have college educations studied Latin and Greek in order to satisfy the Director and secure scholarships. Thus, instead of initiating professional studies in agriculture, engineering, medicine, health, and other technical subjects necessary for the life of the Arabs of Palestine, Farrell's policy was to produce amateurs or experts in Latin and Greek."[73] Yousuf's scholarly account of the inclusion of Latin and Greek into the intermediate syllabus reveals a general dissatisfaction with the courses, but also shows the interested nature of people's compliance with the regulation. In writing a generalizing history of the policy, despite its critical tone, he consequently overwrites the possibility of actual enthusiasm for the subject or dissent by student or faculty. In understanding the Greek and Latin requirement and its influence on student's lives, personal accounts provide a less orderly and more contested understanding of the implementation of the new intermediate syllabus. Some students excelled in the study of the classics. According to former student Khalid al-Sadiq:

> The London Intermediate started at the Arab College in 1947. I was among the first group of students to apply to it. So I left the Rashidiyah school and entered this class, based on preparation for the Baccalaureate system which at that time was limited to the Hebrew University. The Arab College had adopted a gifted student named 'Irfan Qa'war who began preparing to obtain the Bachelor's degree in Latin from the Arab College as a unique case. He was placed under the supervision of the teachers, among them George Hourani. Qa'war almost never left the library in order to achieve the equivalent of the first university degree from London …[74]

Another student of the Arab College, Ahmad 'Anani, tells of his refusal to study Latin and Greek within the nationalist context that surrounded the college.

> Mr. Farrell wanted to send me on a scholarship to complete my studies in Greek and Roman history, but I refused at the time. I now see this as a big mistake that I clung to this position out of my desire to study Islamic history, because even if I had gone and studied Greek history, I could have studied what I wanted to afterwards. […] But I was a passionate and zealous young man at that time and in 1940 I felt that excelling in Greek and Latin in our culture was a war against Islam.
>
> I put my opinion on the board in the corridor of the College to the effect that no students wanted to study Latin. I had stopped studying Latin around the time of graduation in 1941, and I was getting books on Islam from the library to study other than Latin. Al-Khalidi [the director of the Arab College] intervened and convinced the administration of the Education Department to solve this issue and so I graduated with the grades I had got for the first part of the year.[75]

In his narrative, 'Anani figures as something of a rebel against the British authority, although his retrospective regrets over his action figure prominently into the story. 'Anani's account reveals his willingness to follow his personal conviction and nationalist feelings, as well as al-Khalidi's fundamental sympathy to his stance. 'Anani's recounting of this story, in addition to his later re-evaluation of his situation and revelation of his thoughts that he did the wrong thing, reveals a significant element of his individual thoughts and feelings, as well as shows his intellectual and political development in the context of national identity and resistance to colonialism. He cites his opposition as an objection to the obscuring of the national/religious history of Palestine, which he equates as part of his own personal history.

Moreover, 'Anani offers another story that justifies his nationalist and anti-colonialist stand. A visitor from South Africa came to the Arab College with the head of the department of education to inspect the school. In the Latin class, 'Anani stood and read the material that he had prepared for the occasion. He then continues,

> The guest, an older man, voiced a word of criticism openly to the class and in front of the shocked Mr. Farrell. He said, with the experience of a world expert and unfettered scholar, "You give the Jews technology and other practical matters, but as for the Arabs, you prevent them from more useful things. Teach them, Jerome [Farrell], what will be of use to them because these are the cream of the crop in Palestine. Do you have any technological institutes?" Farrell replied no, but that the Rashidiyah school works in complement to the Arab College. The guest replied, "By God I have seen this same scene before in Algeria. They concern themselves there with teaching Moliere and

> Racine, in total absence of anything of practical importance. If you would teach them how to make soap it would be of more benefit to them and their country."[76]

'Anani's successful attempt to seek validation for his actions in national and personal contexts is complemented by the views of the visiting professor who complains of the worthlessness of an education in Latin to these boys and to their country. 'Anani's interpretation of the visitor's comments leads one to think that the visitor is advocating the teaching of more valuable (i.e. technical) educational material to these boys. To me, however, the nature of the visitor's comments is not exactly clear. It is certainly possible to understand the visitor's comments as a derogatory criticism, given the colonial context in which they occurred—that teaching Latin to such people is a wasted endeavor, and that if the Palestinians made soap, they might improve themselves by being cleaner. Unbeknownst to the visitor it seems, Palestinians were expert soap-makers, who had long been exporting soap outside of Palestine.[77] 'Anani's account of studying Latin and the visitor's comments and suggestion of a technical education uncover the struggle of colonial educational projects between two approaches towards education: practical education to help develop the country versus intellectual education to create an educated elite that could embrace the modern world. Both approaches were steeped in views of the inferior nature of indigenous education and the inability of local peoples to govern their own administrative and educational systems.

The publication of 'Anani's recollections of his refusal to study Latin prompted a response from a former classmate, revealing that memory of events and occurrences of the past are not uncontested material. In fact, their written publication makes them appear in a form that can be easily debated, argued over, and have their accuracy called into question. In the next installment of the Arab College series, Ahmad Hussein al-Hajj submitted the following reply to 'Anani:

> I noticed that all of the previous articles that have been written on the Arab College in Jerusalem have come from memory and lack any documentation. What Ahmed al-'Anani wrote caught my attention because of its lack of evidence, and the mistakes in it must be corrected. What I remember from the Arab College in this context is the following:
>
> 1) the class of 39-40 and 40-41 was made up of 14 students, 9 from the arts and literature section […lists names, among them 'Anani…]. A Jordanian student named Muhammad Salim 'Abdulwali (May God have mercy on him) was excused from studying Latin. However, Latin was an essential and required part of study of the arts and literature section. Four students were in the science section […lists names, among them his own …].
>
> 2)
>
> 3) In addition to the shared courses that we all had to study—Arabic, English, Logic, and Pedagogy—the arts and literature section studied Latin, Philosophy, and History while the science section studied mathematics, practical mathematics (mechanical), and the history of mathematics [science?].[78]

Despite his protests about the reliance on memory, al-Hajj presents his own corrections to 'Anani's story in the form of his own memories. Interestingly enough, al-Hajj was in the science section and not part of the literature section which had to study Latin, a fact which causes one to ask on what basis he discredits 'Anani's story. He concludes his letter with the following comment: "It is important to me to read articles about the Arab College that are well-documented and tied to the development of the college from the time of its establishment, discussing the curriculum that was taught at each stage, and the teaching staff that worked in it each year. My respect and appreciation to the *al-Quds al-Sharif* and its administration."[79] Al-Hajj turns from an indirect criticism of the style of the information being presented as unreliable, to praise for the magazine for its work.

The student recollections of studying Latin at the Arab College reveal the contentiousness inherent in the imposition of the colonial Mandate curriculum. The students were caught between nationalistic and personal desires to learn about the Arab, Islamic, and Palestinian past and their drive and desire to succeed in the only educational channels available to them. The personal accounts of this period show us that students took both paths. In the absence of written records about the Arab College, which hopefully will surface some day in an Israeli archive (or elsewhere), memory, photographs and individual documents are all that remain to tell these stories. The struggle over the "correct" memory is part of a larger struggle in Palestine over remembering the past, as skillfully spun in Ted Swedenberg's *Memories of Revolt*, which details the recollections of former Palestinian participants in the 1936-39 revolt. What Swedenburg terms "oppositional memories" of former fighters counter the dominant Palestinian accounts of the revolt.[80] Similarly, the Arab College history that emerges from oral histories and personal recollections of individual memories takes on a new role in creating collective and national histories and influences the various coercive and hegemonic powers that create a specific vision of the past.

Conclusion

In their efforts to commemorate the past of the Arab College, the former students and teachers of that insti-

tution have provided us with the opportunity to understand the specific actions and reactions of students and instructors to the nationalist activities that surrounded them and the Mandate government policies. Their memories enrich our historical vision and provide us with a chance to see the creative agency in people's individual lives and their relation to authority. These personal accounts also record information that history writers rarely include. Al-Habbab recalls from the 1925 demonstration the following chant:

Allah-u akbar la nurid al-Tura fa-inkas 'ala 'aqbayka ya Balfoura

(God is Great and we don't want al-Tur [the location of the High Commissioner's residence], so turn on your heels and go, [Lord] Balfour)[81]

According to al-Habbab, these lines were part of a poem written by an Islamic College pupil who shouted them as he was carried on the students' shoulders marching towards the government headquarters. Identifiable to the events of 1925, this chant reminds us of the specificity of individual memory and the contribution each person makes to creating the whole. By examining the contradictory and complementary accounts of the Latin Intermediate Certificate requirement and the events of 1925, we can appreciate the role that personal testimony plays in undermining dominant narratives and in clarifying interpretations, motives, and reactions of participants and their memories as we reconstruct modern Palestinian history.

NOTES

[1]See, for example, Izzat Tannous, *The Palestinians: A Detailed Documented Eyewitness History of Palestine Under British Mandate* (New York: I.G.T. Company, 1988); Abd al-Wahhab al-Kayyali, *Tarikh Filastin al-Hadith* (Modern History of Palestine), 3rd ed. (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 1973), English translation published as *Palestine: A Modern History* (London: Croom Helm, 1972); Constantine Zurayq, *Ma'nah al-Nakbah* (The Meaning of the Disaster) (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm lil-Malayin, 1948), among many others.

[2]See, for example, the projects of Birzeit University's Center for Research and Documentation of Palestinian Society, which includes a series on destroyed Palestinian villages and a series of oral histories/autobiographies, http://www.birzeit.edu/crdps (27 March 1999); Amin Hafiz al-Dajani, *Jabhat al-Tarbiya wa-al-Ta'lim wa-Nidaluha Dad al-Isti'mar -- al-Baramij wa al-Manahij wa -al Mu'allimun wa-al-Tullab 'abr Arba'a 'Uhud* (The Battlefront of Education Against Colonization: The Program, Curriculum, Teachers, and Students Over Four Decades) (n.p.: n.p, n.d); Rawan al-Damin and Dima al-Damin, *Al-Tahjir fi Dhakirah al-Tufulah: Shahadat Filastiniyah Hayyah* (Exodus in the Memory of Childhood: Living Palestinian Witnesses) (West Bank: Al-Lajnah al-wataniyah al-filastiniyah lil-tarbiyah wa-al-thaqafah wa-al-'ulum, 1997); Imtiaz Diab and Ziyad Fahum, *Hikayat Qaryah: Qura Filastin al-Mudammarah 'Am 1948 fi Mintaqat al-Quds* (The Story of a Village: Palestinian Villages Destroyed in 1948 in the Jerusalem Area) (Beirut: al-Mu'assasah al-'arabiyah lil-dirasat wa al-nashr, 1990); Orayb Aref Najjar and Kitty Warnock, *Portraits of Palestinian Women* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); Julie Peteet, *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement* (NY: Columbia, 1991); Susan Slyomovics, *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Ted Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt: The 1936-9 Rebellion and the Struggle for a Palestinian National Past* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995); and Adel Yahya, *The Palestinian Refugees: 1948-1998 (An Oral History)* (Ramallah: Palestinian Association for Cultural Exchange (PACE), 1999).

[3]Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), 8.

[4]Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt,* 19.

[5]Rochelle Davis, "The Attar of History: Palestinian Narratives of Life Before 1948." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2002); see also Susan Slyomovics' excellent discussion of this subject in *Object of Memory.*

[6]For example, al-Walajeh village contained *khilat al-tha'lab, 'iraq abu sa'd, abu zalat, tif abu 'adas.* These names mean, respectively (from the sources I consulted), the "concave plain of the fox," "the marsh[?] of the stork," "the place of pebbles," and a reference to lentils. From Aziz Abu Khiyarah et al., *Al-Walajeh Hadarah wa Tarikh* (Al-Walajeh Culture and History) (Amman, Jordan: al-Walajeh Cooperative Society, 1993), 34. Because the terms used to describe the land are so regionally and locally specific, it is not always clear to someone from outside the village or the region what the names mean (if anything) and what type of land the designations suggest. Consequently, with the removal of the people from the land, the names of places are no longer in use and are being forgotten. See also Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[7]The Arab College was called the Men's Teacher Training College until 1927, when its name changed to the Government Arab College. Throughout the article, I will refer to it as the Arab College to avoid the confusion of referring to the same institution with multiple names, despite the historical inaccuracy of the usage. In Arabic it was called *Dar al-Mu'allimin* and later *al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah.* Jabal al-Mukabbir is known in English as the Hill of Evil Counsel and lies south of the Old City on the road to Bethlehem, and was also the location of the new British Mandate High Commissioner's residence (what now houses the UNTSO headquarters).

[8]*Khamas wa Saba'un Sanah 'ala Ta'sis al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds* (Seventy-five Years Since the Founding of the Arab College) (Amman: al-Bank al-'Arabi, 1995), 11.

[9]*Khamas wa Saba'un Sanah*, 57, from a reprint of a 1991 announcement issued by a committee of teachers and students of the Arab College. The committee included Hasan Sa'id al-Karmi, 'Abdulrahman Bushnaq, Fathi As'ad Qaddura, Jamal Muhammad Badran, 'Ali Hasan 'Odeh, and Badr Sa'id al-Fahum. Walid Raghib al-Khalidi, a much younger man, was involved in the documentary aspects of the project from the beginning.

[10]*Khamas wa Saba'un Sanah* (see note 8 for full citation). The reprint of the magazine covers pages 63-119 of the book.

[11]The first installment was in issue 78, from September 1991, and the nineteenth installment appeared in issue 96, March 1993. The magazine's last issue was 97.

[12]Tibawi's study on Arab Education under the Mandate is by far the most comprehensive study, and also the most well-known treatment of the subject. In fact, almost all current scholarship on Palestinian education uses Tibawi as its primary reference for this period. This status is well deserved, and the limits of his study will be discussed below. His work examines Arab education explicitly within the colonial framework established by the British, based on British Mandate statistics and reports, while critical of many aspects of the British Department of Education and its policy (of which he himself was a part). A.L. Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac and Co, 1956). The work by Abdulqadir Yousuf is his Ph.D. dissertation written during the same period as Tibawi's book. See Abdulqadir Mohammad Yousuf, "The British Educational Policy in the Arab Public Schools of Palestine during the Mandate" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1956).

[13]Mahmud Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture,* vol. 3, Mohamed Taher, ed. (New Delhi: Ammol, 1997), 204-213. The article originally appeared in *Arabic and Islamic Garland Presented to Abdul-Latif Tibawi* London: Islamic Cultural Center, 1977), 28-35.

[14]Hisham Nashshabeh, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiya fil-Quds (The Arab College in Jerusalem)," in *Dirasat Filastiniyah: Majmu'at Abhath Wudi'at Takriman lil-Duktur Qustantin Zurayq* (Studia Palaestina: Studies in Honour of Constantine K. Zurayk), Hisham Nashshabeh, ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyah, 1988), 127-153.

[15]Nicola Ziadeh, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds (The Arab College in Jerusalem)," in *Dhakirat al-Quds: Buhuth wa Dirasat Muhdah li-dhikra Kamil Jamil al-'Asali* (Memory of Jerusalem: Research and Studies in Memory of Kamil Jamil al-Asali) (Amman: University of Jordan Press, 1996). Note that Ziadeh's name in Arabic should be transliterated as Ziyadah, however, his many publications in English spell his name as Ziadeh, and so to avoid confusion I have chosen to transliterate his name as he chooses to spell it in English. Sadiq Ibrahim 'Odeh, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds 1918-1948: Ma'lumat wa-Dhikrayat (The Arab College in Jerusalem 1918-1948: Information and Memories)," in *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyah*, 40 (Fall 1999): 170-188. See also Hasan Sa'id al-Karmi, *Al-'Ilm wal-Ta'lim wal- al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds* (Knowledge, Education and the Arab College in Jerusalem) (Beirut: n.p., 1995).

[16]See Rosemary Sayigh, *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries* (London: Zed Press, 1979); and for an especially comprehensive discussion of Palestinian oral history see *Al-Jana: File on Palestinian Oral History*, special volume edited by Rosemary Sayigh (Beirut: Arab Resource Center for Popular Arts, 2002).

[17]Arab education is discussed separately from education generally because Jewish public education remained relatively independent of the department, although Zionist organizations did receive grants and a supervisory position in the department. See Tibawi, *Arab Education*, 255-267; Nardi Noah, *Education in Palestine* (Washington: Zionist Association of America, 1945); *Commission of Enquiry into the System of Education of the Jewish Community in Palestine* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1946), among other sources. The private schools (of all religious communities) remained private, although the Muslim *kuttab*s were considered "public" schools and subsumed into the education department.

[18]See Article 15 of the Mandate. As under the Ottomans, the private schools remained autonomous.

[19]*His Majesty's Government Report for Palestine and Transjordan* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1929) says "In general it may be said that the public schools in the Turkish provinces were ill-organised and the methods of instruction unsatisfactory. The use of Turkish as the medium even in elementary classes, added to these defects, made the schools largely ineffective. The foreign missionary institutions, though they enjoyed a comparatively high reputation and performed a notable service by paying some attention to Arabic, also made the mistake of employing a foreign medium. Thus, when Arabic became the official language of instruction after the War, it was found that teachers with any knowledge of general subjects were weak in Arabic, and that those Moslems who had received the traditional religious education, even if adequate in Arabic, were ignorant in all other branches of knowledge" (63).

[20]While much has been written by Palestinians and historians about the Men's Teacher Training College (the Arab College) almost nothing other than the British Mandate reports exists on the Women's Teacher's Training College, also established in Jerusalem. In 1927 it had 64 students (35 Muslim, 28 Christian, and 1 Bahai). Unlike the Arab College, the principal and vice-principal of the Women's College were British, in addition to a few of the teachers. In 1927, 17 students passed the diploma examination and were appointed to government schools along with two students who didn't pass, but were appointed at a lower salary, *His Majesty's Government Report for Palestine and Transjordan* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1927), 31. R.D. Matthews and M. Akrawi, *Education in the Arab Countries,* (Washington, D.C: American Council on Education, 1949) discusses the subject on page 49; see also Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 203, although he also cites Matthews and Akrawi. In reference to the Women's College, Tibawi only mentions the nationality of the staff and that it was the only secondary public education for girls until the early 1930s (Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 47-48, and 50).

[21]*An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine,* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1920-21), 51, quoted in Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 156. See also Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, who wrote in his memoir, "This was a matter (i.e., Arab education) to which I gave special attention, initiating a scheme under which the Government would pay the cost of a teacher for any village which would itself provide a school building …. When the offer was made in December 1920, a keen competition followed for the teachers and grants that were available. For three years new village schools were opened at the rate of more than one a week. Then a period of severe financial stringency obliged us to suspend further expansion" (Viscount Samuel, *Memoirs* [London: Cresset Press, 1945], 163, quoted in Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 156). The department of education has traditionally taken much credit for the expansion of education in Palestine. However, the rural

education expansion was predicated on the villages providing the building and the equipment for schools. The government was to provide the teacher and his/her salary. Given these provisions, the large contribution of the villagers towards building up education in their communities has yet to be adequately addressed in any of the studies on education under the Mandate, although Tibawi and others briefly discuss the issue. In fact, the statistical evidence reveals an amazing commitment by the villagers towards education. For example, "from April 1941, to the end of August, 1945, Arab villagers raised $1,300,480 for educational purposes. Of this sum $485,580 was spent on school buildings; during this period the central government spent only $94,880 on village school buildings. … In January 1946 there were 346 public school teachers among a total of 2,156, paid by village and town local authorities. In addition many hostels for elementary and secondary school students were maintained by the people" (Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 130-1, citing Matthews and Akrawi, *Education*, 223). Furthermore, if less than half of the money that villagers raised for educational purposes was used in school buildings, it is not clear how the remaining $800,000 of villagers' contribution to education was used. Given the substantial role of the Arab community in funding the education of their children (during which time they were also paying taxes from which the department of education received its funding), particularly in light of the huge numbers of children who applied to school but were turned away, a fundamental reassessment is required of the conception of the British as the providers of education to the Palestinian Arabs.

[22]For more on these two men see Humphrey Bowman's autobiography *Middle East Window* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1955); Tibawi, *Arab Education*; Yousuf, "British Educational Policy"; and Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948* (London: John Murray, 1999), in particular the chapter entitled "Patching up Palestine." Bowman, the first director of education and a graduate of Eton and Oxford, had been inspector of schools in Egypt and the Sudan, and director of education in Iraq. George Antonious, an Arab educated at Victoria College, Alexandria, and at King's College, Cambridge, was appointed assistant director in the nascent Palestine Department of Education. According to Tibawi, the appointment of Jerome Farrell, a graduate of Cambridge, as a second assistant director in 1923 eventually brought the downfall of Antonious, who was often absent, working as a negotiator/translator on behalf of the British with other Arab states. Farrell was then promoted over Antonious, who eventually resigned. Farrell became the director following Bowman's retirement in the late 1930s, and remained until his retirement in 1946 (Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 28-29).

[23]Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 79-80.

[24]In 1927, for example, there were 78 students in the Arab college (57 Muslim, 20 Christian, and 1 Bahai), in five classes. In that year, 43 students from the fourth and fifth years passed the matriculation exam and teaching diploma exam. Three students were sent on scholarship to Beirut, and the remaining 40 were appointed teachers in the government schools (*His Majesty's Government Report for Palestine and Transjordan for 1927*, 30).

[25]Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 270. Of course, more teachers than 17 per year entered the workforce, if you take into account that they were replacing teachers who retired or died or changed work. See footnote 23 for the details for one year.

[26]Only a small fraction of school-age children, however, were actually attending school in 1922-23: some 19,331 students out of a total Arab school-age population of 168,000. For 1921-22 there were 311 schools, and the students numbered 19,639 and the teachers 639; while for the year 1932-33, when there were only 299 schools, the students had increased to 26,691 (out of more than 215,000 school-age Arab children) with 827 teachers (Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 270). In 1932 public town schools accepted 1,702 of 3,738 applicants, and rural public schools admitted 3,766 of 6,555 applicants (*A Survey of Palestine Prepared for the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry* [London: HM Stationery Office, 1946], II: 648).

[27]A five years' expansion scheme for the department of education was introduced in 1933-34 (Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 161-171). Given the small number of teacher training institutes, the department of education also recruited teachers who were graduates of foreign universities or who passed teacher examinations (Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 252). New education schemes were put into place and between 1932-33 and 1944-45 the number of teachers rose to 1,872, totaling 1,045 new teachers, an average of 87 new teachers per year. By 1947, the total number of teachers was 2,700 a jump of almost 1000 teachers in three years and an increase in the Arab student population from 71,662 to 103,000 (over 31,000 new students) (Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 270). According to Yousuf, "the shortage of well trained teachers was a prevailing condition in Arab public schools to the extent that the Department started in the thirties the policy of appointing hundreds of teachers with junior high school standing and even elementary" (Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 252).

[28]The Kadoorie Agricultural School, which opened in 1931, was built from a donation by an English-Iraqi Jew, Sir Ellis Kadoorie. According to Shepherd, Kadoorie donated money for the education of Arabs and Jews in "Palestine or Mesopotamia." Rather than establish one school, Samuel relented to pressure from Zionist leaders who wanted "to unite the various elements of Diaspora Jewry by using the Hebrew language" and established two separate agricultural schools, one in the Galilee for Jews and the one for Arabs in Tulkarm (Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand*, 161-162). Yousuf mentions that in 1946 (at the end of which the teacher training classes were eliminated) there were eleven students in the teacher training class, and fifty-one students in two agriculture classes (Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 194-5). Yousuf also discusses the failure of the education system to train people in practical education, as well as failure of the agricultural school, which was largely formed to help keep farmers on the land (Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 190-200).

[29]Of 300,000 potential students, only 97,400 were registered as attending school (Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 171). In large part, this was due to the failure of the government to certify teachers and establish more schools. There was no lack of desire on behalf of the potential students or their families

to study: In 1938, for example, only 11,552 Arab children were accepted out of 23,031 applicants; in 1939, only 13,222 were accepted of some 25,488 applicants (Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 165-166 citing the *Annual Report* for 1938-39, 4). The statistics were kept for both town and village schools (see, for example, *A Survey of Palestine 1946*, II: 648-650). In 1944 only 54 percent of applicants were accepted in town schools (4,721 of 8,716), and 69 percent were accepted to rural schools (9,574 of 13,789). Tibawi comments on the disingenuous government displays of its successes in opening schools, and the falsely passive role of the population who were "receiving" the blessing of being incorporated into the governmental system and the enlightenment that followed. In addition, the increase in the number of students and teachers in the existing schools suggests that the communities were sending more children to school, expanding their existing school buildings to hold more students, and petitioning the department for more teachers (see, in particular, Tibawi, *Arab Education*, Chapter 8).

[30]The topic of nationalism and political struggles in Palestinian education is well covered in Betty S. Anderson, "Political Education in Palestine: The Mandate Period," unpublished paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 2002; see also Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," in addition to Tibawi, *Arab Education,* and Yousuf, "British Educational Policy."

[31]With the resignation of George Antonious in the early 1920s, Tibawi sees the end of any Arab participation at the level of policy and administration until the late 30s. Farrell tried to take into account Arab considerations in the midst of the 1936-9 Arab revolt when he appointed two Arab assistant directors subordinate to the British deputy director. Only one position was approved from above, and thus there remained only one Arab assistant director until the 1940s when the second position was approved, along with a Jewish assistant director, a British assistant director for technical education, and a British assistant director for female education.

[32]See Anderson "Political Education"; Tibawi, *Arab Education,* chapters 7 and 8; Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," chapter 7.

[33]Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 244-45; Anderson, "Political Education," n.p.

[34]Khalil Sakakini and a number of others like him founded the *Dustur* school in 1909 based on principles of secular education. The first merit of the school in Sakakini's eyes was that "it gathers together students of different faiths, and for the first time in the history of our country they are in one school without regard to their religious beliefs." Khalil al-Sakakini, *Kadha Ana Ya Dunya* (Such Am I, Oh World) (Jerusalem: n.p., 1955), 51. For Sakakini's early life, see Salim Tamari, "A Miserable Year in Brooklyn: Khalil Sakakini in America, 1907-1908," *Jerusalem Quarterly File,* no. 17, (February 2003); and "Khalil al-Sakakini" in Ya'qub al-'Awdat, *Min A'lam al-Fikr wa al-Adab fi Filastin* (From Among the Scholars of Thought and Literature in Palestine) (Jerusalem: Dar al-Isra', 1992), 273-284.

[35]Al-Sakakini's complete and unedited diaries have been released by the family and are currently being prepared for publication in eight volumes by Akram Musallam for the Institute of Palestine Studies and the Khalil al-Sakakini Center.

[36]Sakakini, *Kadha Ana,* 189, entry for November 21, 1919. Also quoted in Walid Raghib al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds I (The Arab College in Jerusalem I)," *Al-Quds al-Sharif* 78 (1991): 44-45.

[37]Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 206-7.

[38]Totah continued the student publication and the library that Sakakini had started, among other things. See Sakakini *Kadha Ana,*186-196 for more details, as well as Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 207.

[39]Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 200.

[40]Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 208. The first incident involved a poem by Ma'ruf al-Rusafi, a teacher from the Arab College who was originally from Iraq. In 1920, he recited a poem in a public lecture in Jerusalem that was seized upon (and misinterpreted) by High Commissioner Herbert Samuel as praise of his leadership, which compromised al-Rusafi's already indelicate political stands. Background on al-Rusafi, the situation of the delivery of the poem, Samuel's reaction, the uproar in the press, and the responses and counter-responses are all dealt with in Safa Khulusi, "Ma'ruf Ar-Rusafi in Jerusalem" in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture,* vol. 4, Mohamed Taher, ed. (New Delhi: Ammol, 1997), 154-161 (originally published in *Arabic and Islamic Garland Presented to Abdul-Latif Tibawi* (London: Islamic Cultural Center, 1977), 147-152.

[41]Totah's testimony in Palestine Royal Commission, *Minutes of Evidence Heard at Public Session, Colonial No.* 134, (London: HM Stationary Office, 1937), 352 quoted in Tibawi, *Arab Education*, 198. See also Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 208, for his version of the account.

[42]Lord Balfour was the British foreign secretary who wrote a letter to Lord Rothschild in December 1917 expressing support for a Jewish national home in Palestine that became known as the Balfour Declaration. The Palestinians held strikes every year on November 2, marking the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

[43]Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 200.

[44]Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 198 is where he mentions that Totah resigned after describing him for the first time in the book and in reference to his appearance before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937; Tibawi discusses the 1925 strike in a separate section of the chapter on pages 199 and 200. Al-'Awdat's entry on Khalil Totah only mentions that Totah was the director of the Arab College, and that after his "disengagement" (*infikak*) from the college, Totah completed his Ph.D. in education from the US (al-'Awdat, *Min A'lam al-Fikr,* 386).

[45]Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 243.

[46]Ziadeh, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds," 128-9.

[47]Ziadeh, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds," 129.

[48]Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 209-210. While 'Abidi was indeed a student at the college in 1925, he does not tell his account of the Arab College from the first person perspective.

[49]Al-Khalidi, who at the time was a general inspector for the department of education, emphasizes his reluctance and initial refusal to accept the position, and that he did so only on the condition that he be free to do as he saw fit (Nashsha-

beh, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds," 139).

[50]The person's name is spelled (h-b-a-b) and the initial vowel and any diacritical marks such as shadda are absent. Thus I have rendered his name "Habbab" but it could be "Habab" or "Hibab" among other possibilities. Walid Raghib al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds I," 47-51. Al-Khalidi's system of attribution makes it particularly difficult to figure out where all of his material comes from, despite the fact that he makes references to the material he includes from published sources. In the absence of attribution, I am assuming that the material is from a personal account.

[51]Al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds I," 41. Al-Habbab recounts that the students wanted to demonstrate in 1925 to protest the Balfour declaration on November 2 and not Balfour's visit to open Hebrew University, which took place on April 1, although all of the rest of the details remain similar to the other accounts including the resignation of To tah and the firing of the other teachers. Undoubtedly, students demonstrated on both occasions. Al-Habbab's section of the article is rather confusingly labeled as "Abdulrahman al-Habbab, Strike of 2 November 25/11/1925."

[52]Al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds I," 41.

[53] Palestine Royal Commission, *Minutes of Evidence of the Palestine Royal Commission*, 351-352, quoted in Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 205. Totah's testimony is quoted in Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 198, 205, and 235.

[54]PASSIA (Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs). "Dr. Khalil Totah (1886-1955)." 2 April 2003. http://www.passia.org/images/personalities/totah-khalil/kahlil-text.htm The original source for the three-page autobiographical account is not given at this website, although it is clear from the first-person voice that it was written by Totah. The final thing he documents is his term as executive director of the Institute of Arab American Affairs in New York City (from 1946 to 1950), therefore it must have been written some time between 1950 and his death in 1955.

[55]PASSIA, "Dr. Khalil Totah", n.p.

[56]PASSIA, "Dr. Khalil Totah", n.p.

[57]Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 209.

[58]Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 209.

[59]Ziadeh, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fil-Quds," 131.

[60]Youssef Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism: A History. Nation and State in the Arab World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 33. See also Reeva Simon's "The Imposition of Nationalism on a Non-Nation State:The Case of Iraq During the Interwar Period, 1921-1941," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East,* Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, eds. (NY: Columbia University Press, 1997). Also located at Columbia International Affairs Online. 31 March 2003, http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/jank05.html. Simon mentions Darwish Miqdadi, when he was a teacher in Iraq, as one of the mentors of the student demonstrations of 1927 that took place outside the ministry of education in Baghdad. Those responsible, including Miqdadi, were expelled, although later reinstated (Simon, "Imposition of Nationalism," n.p.)

[61]Al-'Awdat, *Min A'lam al-Fikr*, p 592.

[62]Al-'Awdat says that he found the text preserved in the papers of the historian Mahmud al-Abidi.

[63]Al-'Awdat, *Min A'lam al-Fikr,* 592-593.

[64]Al-'Awdat, *Min A'lam al-Fikr,* 593.

[65]Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," 209.

[66]As sources, all of the material concerning the Arab College examined in this article have ultimately been published in written form; however, almost all come from people's memories of events as they experienced them, or from second-hand accounts. In some instances the form that the information takes—as part of a collection of reminiscences, an autobiographical account, a dissertation, or a brief overview of history—plays a significant role in the types of information provided.

[67]As Ted Swedenburg's *Memories of Revolt* suggests, individual memories compete with the larger political context and national narrative, and contribute to the rewriting of history. See Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt,* especially Chapter 4.

[68]Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Guilia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 139.

[69]While this article does not provide me with the opportunity to discuss many of these issues, one student's memory, triggered by the names of al-Sakakini, al-Miqdadi, and Totah, must be given here. "Two of the teachers at the Teachers College, Khalil Totah and Darwish al-Miqdadi, used a rigorous and harsh method of teaching. I experienced this myself through their students who taught me. They were strict, serious, and had a love of sports. One of the things that we heard about Totah and al-Miqdadi is that they forbade the students to wear anything under their pajamas when they went to sleep. They were emphasizing the Spartan method of teaching and learning. This was in contrast to Khalil al- Sakakini who was flexible, tolerant, and easy to talk to, and was well-known as a friend to students. When he was appointed as an Educational Inspector he also became a friend to the teachers. At the same time he was a tireless critic of the situation in Palestine. The British control over the government departments, particularly the department of education, did not please him, and he would express his disapproval with this openly to his friends." Husayn al-Yusuf in Walid Raghib al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds II (The Arab College in Jerusalem II)," *al-Quds al-Sharif* 79 (1991), 37. Al-Yusuf obviously was not aware that al-Sakakini was in the habit of taking cold showers daily (year-round) and that he also imposed this practice on the students while he was head of the Arab College. For example, al-Sakakini writes in his diary on Friday, 26 March 1920: "I have infused the students with the spirit of activity and accustomed them to cold show ers. One of the teachers trains them in calisthenics every morning before breakfast" (al-Sakakini, *Kadha Ana*, 190). Al-Sakakini's nationalist, anti-colonialist stand, however, was well known to this student.

[70]One of the ways this was accomplished was by tying the Palestine certifications to the British certifications. Hasan al-Karmi recalled the time when the Palestine Intermediate was granted the equivalency of the London Intermediate: "In 1946 I accompanied the group of students sent by the Palestine Department of Education to Britain. When we arrived, the director of registration for the University of London approached me and offered me his felicitations. 'Congratulations, Mr. Karmi, we have granted the Palestinian Intermedi-

ate at the Arab College the equivalency of the London Intermediate.' So I cabled this news to the Department of Education where Mr. Farrell in his delight told everyone that he saw." *Khamas wa Saba'un Sanah*, 17.

[71]Tibawi, *Arab Education,* 196.

[72]Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 186-7.

[73]Yousuf, "British Educational Policy," 187.

[74]*Khamas wa Saba'un Sanah*, 18. 'Irfan Qa'war is now the scholar 'Irfan Shahid, who teaches at Georgetown University.

[75]Walid Raghib Al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds: Sanah Ula Intermediat (Arab College in Jerusalem: First Year Intermediate)." *Al-Quds al-Sharif* 86 (1992), 47-48. This story is an oral account told to al-Khalidi for the purpose of the Arab College project, and transcribed and published.

[76]Al-Khalidi, "Sanah Ula Intermediat", 48.

[77]See Bishara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), especially Chapter 5 for a discussion of soap-making and the Palestinian economy.

[78]Walid Raghib Al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds: Untuq Ayuha al-Saqr Untuq (The Arab College in Jerusalem: Speak Hawk, Speak)." *Al-Quds al-Sharif* 88 (1992): 39-49, letter from Ahmed Husayn al-Hajj, 48-49.

[79]Letter from Ahmed Husayn al-Hajj in Al-Khalidi, "Untuq Ayuha al-Saqr," 48-49.

[80]For example, former fighters explicitly discussed local contributions to the revolt, the details of local systems of taxation and justice, and their independence from and antagonism toward the urban elite, revealing the grassroots level of the revolt and the large degree of local-level mobilization.

[81]Al-Khalidi, "Al-Kulliyah al-'Arabiyah fi al-Quds I," 48.