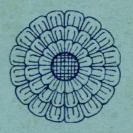


THE NEW LANKA

QVARTERLY REVIEW

Vol. I. JANUARY 1950 No. 2



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The World At Large

Victor Lewis

This England

Sir Charles Collins

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C. 1. Eliezer

Social Climates in Education

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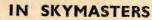
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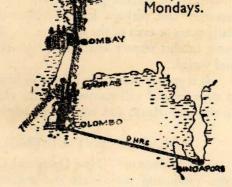
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THE NEW LANKA

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

LET THE CRITICS SPEAK

"OF A DISTINCTLY HIGH STANDARD"

A. C.S. ("Ceylon Observer"): There is always an ear-impelling note in the sound "Vol. 1, No. 1." And when the "nova" swims into our ken under the alluring title: "The New Lanka," what should we do but stare and scan with a glad surprise? . . . In offering their magazine to the public, the Editors say their project is less ambitious than Juvenal's; Quidquid agunt homines. . . However that may be, this issue is of a distinctly high standard.

"SOMETHING NEW AND WELCOME"

V.L. ("Times of Ceylon"): This week there appeared something new and welcome to our contemporary literature. It came in the form of "The New Lanka," an erudite and high-toned (without being "long-haired") quarterly review edited by Sir Francis Soertsz and Mr. G. L. Cooray. . . The range of subjects is fascinatingly wide. This is an enterprise which deserves well. There are many fine writers and more fine minds in our midst. Their vehicle is now at hand.

"FILLS A LONG-FELT WANT"

G.J.P. ("Ceylon Daily News"): It affords a forum for the discussion of current problems and the interchange of ideas in a more leisurely and perhaps less impassioned atmosphere than that of the daily press or even of the weeklies. "The New Lanka" fills a long-felt want in this respect and fills it admirably. . . . Its contents are rich and varied.

It is greatly to be hoped that this lusty infant will receive the support it deserves and will survive to a ripe old age to play an important part in the journalistic and intellectual life of the New Lanka.

"REMINISCENT OF ENGLISH PRODUCTION"

The Statesman ("New Delhi and Calcutta"): Ceylon has recently been producing periodicals and magazines whose technical standards put India's and Pakistan's to shame. "The New Lanka," a political, literary and general review reminiscent of English production is an interesting and, in some respects, an intimidating example.

THE NEW LANKA

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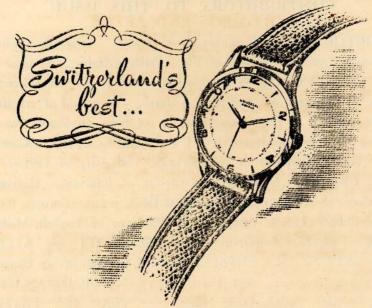
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THE NEW LANKA

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COLOMBO—AND AFTER

By Victor Lewis

THE peaceful transformation of a centrally controlled British Empire into an informal and yet effective partnership of independent nations is one of the most remarkable events of a half century of violence in world affairs. And there could not be any more opportune moment than this to scrutinise the partnership and examine the future. As this review appears, a full dress conference of leading Cabinet Ministers of the Commonwealth is, for the sixth time since the war, in session—in Colombo. Foreign Ministers of that partnership of independent nations are, within the shores of the most newly independent, discussing

the whole field of foreign political and economic affairs.

Let it be said firstly that the mere fact that the conference is being held in Ceylon is, of itself, the Commonwealth's tribute to a country emerging most admirably from the first two years of its separate, independent, existence. And let it be said, secondly, that the honour which was, on the eve of the conference, bestowed upon the Prime Minister, was also an honour conferred upon the people of Ceylon who, in their good sense of national responsibility, and under sound guidance, have shown the world how to prize independence and freedom without eschewing those by whose co-operation and understanding that great gift was made possible. I write as I please. But I write as an Englishman proud to have the privilege of sojurning in a country which has set so fine an example.

It is difficult to write of this Conference while it is current for, from day to day, its events may need the reshaping of words. It must suffice to say at this stage that there were from the start indications that this conference could become one of the most important of its kind. Not only was the possible range of subjects unusually wide. There were other unusual features which may, in time, lead to

radical changes in the very structure of the Commonwealth.

The agenda of conferences of this nature must inevitably be somewhat loosely designed and the outcome of the discussions somewhat confidential. But it is known that, directly or indirectly, the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers, and the political and economic advisers, discussed the problem of how to fence off 600 million people of the Eastern Commonwealth countries from the spreading menace of

Communism. It is known that they dealt with the question of how to deal with Communist China once the Communist Government was recognised. There was, too, the problem of what specifically Commonwealth interests should be covered in the peace treaty with Japan; there was the question of the continuing dollar shortage; and what to do about the sterling credits which all the Dominions now hold in London.

This wideness of subject matters is, of course, important and the decisions of the Conference may be far-reaching. Yet this of itself does not seem to this writer to be the most important thing about Colombo 1950. A more important thing seems to be the steps taken to frame a joint Commonwealth policy on each subject. If the attempt is successful—and at the time of writing there was every indication that it could be—then for the first time since the war the Commonwealth can speak and act in unison on virtually the entire range of foreign

economic and political matters.

But there has been an even more important feature of this Conference which, in the presence of two of the Dominions' Prime Ministers, rather took on the appearance of a Commonwealth Cabinet Meeting. Part of the Secretariat of the British Cabinet was seconded to assist the Ceylon Government officials to form a secretariat for the Conference. One is aware, of course, that someone has to do the detailed organising of these conferences; that someone has to see that the right documents go to the right people; that decisions reached are passed on to those who have to implement them. But in so far as I am aware it is something new in Commonwealth conferences for a definite secretariat to be appointed. Hitherto Senior Civil Serv nts of the "host" country looked after the immediate needs of the conference. But that was all. This time there have been, to me, signs that the officials concerned are part of a much more definite secretariat—something on the lines of the senior administrative staff of a ministry.

This idea of a Commonwealth Secretariat is, of course, not new. Many people have toyed with the idea. But for one reason or another it has never proceeded beyond the theoretical stage. A former Prime Minister of Australia—I believe it was Mr. Curtin but I cannot trust my memory and have no immediate way of checking—was strongly in favour of the idea. He saw in it a means of convincing the outside world of Commonwealth solidarity—as well as a simpler, more practical method of co-ordinating the work of individual Dominions than the current rather unwieldy system of Commonwealth consultations. It is too early yet to say whether what I regard as the experiment of Colombo will result in the setting-up of a Commonwealth Secretariat. But at

least by the time the Conference concludes we should have some idea of its possibilities. If the experiment works, allied to the determination of the Dominions to frame a joint policy (the many hints of which suggest a complete change of approach to Commonwealth matters), the foundations will surely have been laid for a much more closely knit Commonwealth than before.

I am reminded of the recent words of Mr. L. S. Amery in an article in "The Times of Ceylon". . . "What is today a series of scattered units, each vulnerable and each too weak to meet its own local strains, will then encircle the globe with an unbreakable girdle of peaceful strength. With increasing consultation and co-operation on every aspect of policy the constitutional method will solve itself on the basis of the principles of equality in freedom and in responsibility which have brought us thus far. Developed on these lines the British Commonwealth can once again reassert its leadership in the world for freedom and peace. It might even, with its flexible constitution and its racial comprehensiveness, prove some day, when the world has grown tired of the futility of paper schemes for world unity, prove the nucleus and centre of an organically evolved world order."

AFTER STALIN ?

To examine the Commonwealth future, particularly in the East, without some regard to the Communist future would be like planning the flowers for one's garden without examining the soil.

Just before Christmas Stalin had his 70th birthday and the Kremlin was flooded with gifts from Stalin-worshippers in every Communist state between the Elbe and Vladivostock; between Archangel and Shanghai. There has been no cult like the cult of Stalin, at least in the west, since that of Divus Augustus. But with it all there is a new spate of speculation. What will happen when Stalin dies? Who will be his successor? What changes will be made in the Kremlin regime: in the international policy of the Communists?

Stalin is said to believe his system will go on after him. He is supposed to have settled the question of an heir. Closest men to Stalin to-day are Molotov (in his sixties), Chief-of-Police. Beria (over 50) and Stalin's 47-year-old protegé, Malenkov. Informed belief is that Malenkov will be the successor but that if Stalin died soon, Molotov might take over for a short while. The apparent argument behind this belief is that if, by propaganda, the Politbureau was able to build up the Stalin legend, they can build up a Malenkov legend and thus not disrupt the continuity of the present regime.

But the problem is probably not so simple as that. For almost 30 years Stalin has been looked upon as the sole cause of all Russia's achievements. An entire generation believes they owe everything to him. For longer than any dictator in the past century and a half he has held supreme authority over 170 million people. It is beyond believing that his death will produce nothing more than a faint ripple on the surface of the Communist regime. Even if he has selected his heir, there is no guarantee once Stalin is dead that the propaganda chiefs would agree to extol the same person. A crisis seems inevitable. Whether it will lead to the breaking up of Communism is a different matter.

FUTURE OF INDIA

WE in Ceylon naturally watch closely the trend of events in India and as the centre of gravity of Commonwealth moves east it is as well to examine her position. Two years after the grant of freedom, India may proudly record a successful changeover to self-government. But I doubt if any responsible member of the country's administration would claim that the problems arising from independence have been solved. India took over a going concern. There was a first class civil service to hand. The general administrative machine was working well. On her own India has contrived to integrate the princely states within the framework of United India—with a surprising lack of trouble. She has even found work for her dispossessed rulers. Yet, in the field of economic development, what progress has she made?

This vast sub-continent is still unable to feed itself: her 337 million people are still largely dependent on imports for essential food. In food grains alone she has had to spend £ 150,000,000 abroad in two years. The problem seems unsurmountable. Tremendous efforts have been made to increase food production. But the yearly rise of approximately 5,000,000 in the population all but negatives the effort. Big farming schemes are planned by the Government but it would seem that vast fleets of heavy tractors will be necessary to carry through the plans. Similarly it seems certain that the Government will have to embark on a large scale education programme to persuade—and, if necessary, compel—the peasant farmers to throw away their antiquated farming methods. That a tremendous bid is being made to cope with this great problem can be seen from the five enormous irrigation schemes—which will add 25,000,000 acres to existing cultivated areas—which are actually in hand.

In this brief survey of two years' work it would be unfair to refer only to the problems with which the country is grappling. What of the achievements? In the industrial field the progress is real, and encouraging. Working to a three-year plan forty-two industries are scheduled for expansion and the early stages look good. Cars, bicycles, cement, chemicals, ceramics, glass, machine tools, matches, paper, plastics, rayon, rubber, shipbuilding and silk all come within this expansion programme. But these and other capital projects—such as the planned spending of £ 18,000,000 over five years on roads; and the £ 11,000,000 dock improvement schemes at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Cochin—will mean an enormous strain on the already unbalanced budget. Also must be taken into account the huge plan to take electric light into 700,000 villages, ambitious education and health schemes and new defence needs. India's problem is tremendous and the student of eastern and world affairs will watch the next two years' progress closely.

But the problems are not all industrial. Though the division into India and Pakistan was made without war—despite the great suffering of millions of refugees from both countries; though the annexation of Hyderabad was not followed by civil strife, the dispute over the ownership of Kashmir has not been settled. We cannot turn a blind eye to the possibility of a real clash if the dispute remains long

unsettled.

AFRICAN OUTLOOK

A S self-government for the West African colonies approaches, recent trouble in Nigeria focussed attention on the largest of the British colonies there. Self-government on a regional basis for Nigeria will be one of the early events of 1950. Indications are that the constitution will divide the country into three geographic regions (north, west and east). And it is probable that the Cameroons, at present administered as part of Nigeria, will become a separate region. From what is known it may be expected that each region will have autonomy over its internal affairs and that Nigerians will hold the ministerial posts with the heads of departments under them as civil servants. What the powers of the Governor will be seem uncertain; but it is probably safe to predict that he will not have any power of veto except in matters of defence or external affairs. The other colonies of West Africa have not advanced to anything like the same extent as Nigeria. But there is plenty of evidence that they are, slowly, working toward the same degree of self-government.

Within the Commonwealth and Colonial Empire, West Africa has tremendous possibilities. It can, in increasing quantities, supply everything from cocoa to ground nuts, palm oil to coal, tin and manganese to diamonds. There are great possibilities in the cattle industry. For years animal sleeping sickness ruined its chances. But with the fact proved that the drug antrycide can wipe out this scourge, there seems no reason why West Africa should not expand to such an extent that it will in time become one of the large exporters of meat and hides.

The case of Nigerian progress has been an interesting one. The country has its hot-heads, of course (what country hasn't) but it has shown quite clearly that it is capable of moving forward to freedom democratically and peacefully. As the routes across Africa are developed, the West African colonies will come to play an increasingly important part in the world strategy. They can assume the role of the natural outlet for produce over the whole vast bulk of the central continent—and equally the vital inlet for the manufactured goods from the west which the people will want as their living standards are improved.

While we are studying the African scene it must be admitted that for those who share the half-century-old dream of Cecil Rhodes, the set-back to the project of an "Eighth Dominion" in Central Africa is a great disappointment. Union of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland under a Federal Parliament and with responsible government is more than a logical development for this era. Indeed, it seems a necessity. The world badly needs the increased production which would result from the opening up of the whole of Central Africa to agriculture and industry—and remote—control rule from Whitehall, whatever its merits in other respects, and however useful it may have been in earlier stages, is hardly conducive to rapid progress.

The difficulty which brought to an end the Victoria Falls negotiations has been described by Sir Godfrey Huggins, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, with the words "I gather that Britain wants representation of Africans by Africans . . . Africans are not ready for the responsibility." The point here is that the British government regards itself as the trustee for the native peoples, whose cause, it will be recalled, Cecil Rhodes himself had at heart.

According to Mr. Roy Welensky, leader of the elected members of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, the projected "Dominion of Capricorn" would have a combined revenue of £30,000,000 a year and would be capable of meeting extensive developments of railways, airways and educational facilities. Certainly there is wealth theregold, diamonds, coal, chrome ore, mica, asbestos, iron, tin. Northern Rhodesia also has a huge production of copper but feels the need for agricultural development. Nysaland is planning to bring many acres of Tsetse-fly-infested land, formerly improductive, under the plough.

PERSIA'S FEARS

THE Shah of Persia's recent visit to America was said to be a pleasure visit. But that did not fool anybody. It was undoubtedly connected with the development of the country's resources of oil and minerals—and with the possibility of American aid in the event of Russian aggression in the North. Soviet Russia is actively developing its border provinces in the Caucasus where lie the great oilfields of Baku, Grozny, Tbikisi and Maikop, and its manganese and hydro-electric power. In the Caucasus the Russians are building up a strong base from which, if they wished, they could launch a full-scale attack on Persia and Turkey.

But though the Soviet Union is strong in this region and Persia is weak, there would be obvious disadvantages in the base if a world power, particularly one possessing great air fleets and the atom bomb, was ranged on the other side of the border. Hence the Turkey and Persian interest in American aid. From bases in Persia or Turkey the Caucasus oilfields could be rendered useless and the hydro-electric projects brought to a stop in short time by determined air attack.

It would be idle to suggest that the Soviet Union has not the strongest cards, however. With their short supply lines from the manufacturing areas to the north, and the long desert hauls which would be forced upon any army defending Persia, the Soviet Union would have a decided advantage in any struggle. Even the greater power of Turkey would be nullified more easily by a power possessing command of the Black Sea; which Russia undoubtedly has. Any defending force would need to force a passage of the Dardanelles to be able to provide really effective aid. The British Navy and Army know full well the difficulties that lie in the way of such an attempt.

And so Persia must develop its northern area in the same way as has Russia its southern territories. And for that, full-scale American financial and technical aid is essential. The Persian government has a vast seven-year plan for the development of communications and industries but this is hanging fire because of shortage of finance. It may be that the United States will agree to back the plan in return, possibly, for a share in the northern oilfields, and discussion of something on those lines was probably the reason for the Shah's visit.

TROUBLE SPOTS

OIL is, of course, continually news. There is little which excites the interest and cupidity of nations more than the prospect of rich supplies of oil in their territories. The latest point of interest is Shabwa, ostensibly in the Aden Protectorate, but in that part of the Rub'al

Khali (or Empty Quarter) where frontiers have never been properly determined. Shabwa, now a small village, was once the capital of the ancient Kings of the Hadramaut. With the prospect of rich oil strikes being made in the Shabwa region, it is not surprising to find that the Yemen, which abuts on the West Aden Protectorate, also claims the old desert town.

At the time of this writing the British Political Agent at Makalla, on the Southern Arabian Coast, has given permission to two prospecting parties, one British and one American, to carry out tests at Shabwa. And there the matter rests. But if a rich strike is made there is little doubt that the most vociferous demands for possession of the territory will be made by the Yemen. Rumours of the possibility of gold in the area have also aroused cupidity, though they seem to be based on nothing stronger than the finding years ago of ancient gold ornaments

among ruins buried in the sands.

On the other side of the Red Sea from the Yemen is Eritrea, where there has been increasing violence against Italians in recent weeks by "Shifta" bands, called variously bandits and patriots, according to who is describing them. Behind these attacks lies the quite large-scale demand in Eritrea for union with Ethiopia. Italian sentiment in the former Italian colony is for independence. Britain, apart from continuing to administer the country, has done little other than appeal to both sides for moderation. It is essential to the Western Powers to have a settled Middle East. But all the time Communist propaganda is stirring up new trouble. Lately Communist intrigue has been reported in the Sudan, where the governor has had to point out that Communism can flourish in Moslem countries by reminding the sceptics that there are 22,000,000 Moslems in the Soviet Union. Oil and Communism, though they may be poles apart, can still be the biggest trouble makers in the world today.

10th January, 1950.

THIS ENGLAND

By Sir Charles Collins

WHEN after more than thirty-eight years in Ceylon, the time arrived to consider our work there completed, and to prepare for retirement, we had to face the question of where that retirement should be spent. We were in good health, and had enjoyed to the full our life in Ceylon. We had many good friends, and could no doubt have spent the remainder of our lives very happily and profitably in that delightful country. But the call from across the water was loud and insistent. England was our home. We had children and grand-children, and other relatives there. The call of the homeland could not be ignored, and though our regrets at leaving Ceylon were strong and sincere, the partings had to be made. We did not go directly to England however, but spent first six months in the beautiful Island of Hong Kong.

I had not spent a long leave in England since 1939. I had made a stay of several months in 1947, but more than half of that was spent busily in London on special work in connection with the new Ceylon Constitution, with the consequence that I did not have much time to see the country and study the changes that had come over it. The present occasion however was different. This was no casual visit—we had come expecting to settle down, and were no longer treated as

visitors, with all the privileges of visitors.

It has occurred to me that, particularly in view of the happy relations which exist between the two countries, happier now perhaps than ever before, it might be of interest to readers of the "New Lanka" if I gave them a brief account of the impressions we received on arrival

in England, and in the early days of our settling down here.

We arrived in England about the middle of May, 1949. Our introduction to England was pleasant, Customs and Immigration officials being all that could be desired, and we got away to our temporary home in the country, not far from London, by taxi, with all the luggage

we had brought with us on the ship.

This first journey of some thirty miles was itself of great interest. The first part of the route lay through the East End of London, and took us through dockside areas which had suffered in the bombing of London. Much had already been done to rebuild devastated lands, but there were very many gaps, and London here, though very busy,

was still looking very dingy and drab. It will be many years before the scars of the war disappear from the East End of London. Our way then took us through the City—the centre of London—and past the great Church of St. Paul's. Here again, great areas of what was and still is some of the most valuable land in the world stood empty and waste. The debris had all been cleared away, and all was neat and tidy. In some places building operations were going on, but there are open spaces all round St. Paul's, which stands miraculously, almost uninjured, in the midst of those empty acres.

London is so vast that the bombed areas only form a fraction of the whole, but one cannot travel far in London without coming to bombed churches and buildings, and to car parks where once had been important and busy offices. The traffic in London is as dense as ever, but we got through it easily, crossed the Thames, and were soon in

the southern suburbs and the open country.

The weather was delightful, a foretaste of the summer that was coming, and I doubt whether we shall ever forget that ride through the commons and open lands, and through the countryside to the south of London.

Ceylon is a beautiful country, which can hold its own with any country in the world, but its beauty is the beauty of the tropics, of bright sunlight on green trees and fields and hills. Penang and Hong Kong are lovely Islands, whose beauty is that of the mountains and the sea. The beauty of the English countryside in the Spring of the year is of a more gentle type, very restful and very pleasant. So there was one thing at least that we found, even on the day of our arrival, had not changed, the loveliness and calm peacefulness of the English countryside in the Spring.

Our welcome home was thus a very pleasant one. Would these first impressions remain? Would the beauty and quiet of the landscape be countered by the difficulties of present day life, by the rules and regulations and the restrictions that we had been told to expect on

our arrival?

Our early contacts with the ordinary people of England, with the tradesmen, the people in the food and other public offices, the bus drivers and conductors, did not induce any feeling of pessimism. We found them invariably helpful, and they seemed to be making the most of life.

In any conversation however, it was seldom long before one heard of difficulties of one sort or another. The housewife in particular was obviously finding life much different from what it had been in the old days. Perhaps the most noticeable thing of all in regard to domestic life was the position regarding help in the home. The days had gone when large houses kept many servants, and when even houses of moderate size had one or two maids for domestic help. Some of these houses still had servants, often recruited from abroad. Assistance a few mornings a week however is usually obtainable, and much of the work formerly done by full time servants is now being performed by the housewife

with the help of this part time assistance.

Shopping was a further difficulty, as fats, bacon, eggs, milk, meat and cheese are rationed as are soap, tea and sugar. Much of the ordinary things of life, such as sweet biscuits, tinned fruits, tinned meats, and the like are on "points." A certain number of points only are available each month; it is always a problem to make these go as far as possible, and yet obtain the articles most wanted. Some of these are of course of high value in "points," and the purchase of some goods, such for instance as of some kinds of tinned meats, require almost the whole

of the month's points on one person's ration book.

After we had been in England a short while and had completed the formalities of registration, obtaining ration books, and the like, we began the task of searching for a house for our permanent occupation. This was no easy matter, as there is a great demand for the kind of house we wanted, which had to be large enough to entertain the "family" and yet not too large for economical working; in the country, yet not too far from a town, and within comfortable reach of London. It took us about six months to find the house, and even then we had to pay much more for it than we had intended. At the moment we are settling in, and struggling with the further difficulties of furnishing.

Transport is another difficult matter. The roads appear to be as full or fuller than ever of cars, lorries and public vehicles, but the basic petrol ration for the private motorist is at the moment only 90 miles a month, though it was doubled during the summer months. A very good case has to be made out before any supplementary

allowance above the basic ration is allowed.

Cars are very expensive. There are three ways of acquiring a car. One can order a new car. This usually means a wait of perhaps two or three years for the more popular models, and payment of a heavy purchase tax. Another method is to buy a used post-war car, but these generally speaking cost more than new cars. The third method is to purchase a pre-war car. The price of these if in good order is usually slightly above the original new price, but if one is prepared to choose with discrimination, and take a certain amount of risk, one can still get quite a good car at a fairly reasonable price in this way.

Private transport is thus a matter of considerable difficulty, but the development of public road transport is one of the features of modern life which must strike one as remarkable. If one can spare the time, one can travel almost anywhere by public service vehicle, generally very comfortably on longer journeys, and at a considerably lower cost than by rail. Short distance travel however, whether by rail or by public vehicle, particularly in the "rush hours" in the towns, is usually not very comfortable or cheap, the trains, trams, buses and the "Tubes"

(underground railways in London) being very crowded.

Thus the England of today is very different from the England of the pre-war period, and still more different from the period before the first world war. Life is much harder, taxation is very heavy indeed, and many of the things one would like to buy (if one had the money!) are available for export only. The position is accepted and the people of England are carrying on valiantly hoping for the dawn of a better day. It is well understood that the country is not large enough to support its great population without imports, particularly imports of foodstuffs and of raw materials, and that these have to be paid for. Before the war the difference between the values of imports and of exports was made up by Britain's "invisible" exports, which included profits on British capital invested abroad (as for instance in American Railways), returns for overseas services such as shipping services, insurances and the like. Britain had to bear the brunt of the early period of the war, and had to part with much of her overseas capital, to provide the funds to pay for munitions of war, etc. Consesequently she has now to face a very different economy. She still must import the articles she requires and cannot provide at home, and she has to pay for these. Britain has still very considerable "invisible" exports, but she has to make up with greatly increased exports of manufactured articles, and of a certain quantity of raw material of which she is an important provider, such as coal. At present America is helping by "Marshall Aid"-a wonderful system carrying great advantages for America as well as for all the countries benefitting from it, but this can only be a temporary expedient. In the face of such conditions the country is plodding on, and there is on all sides a hope and a determination to win through.

The spirit of England is still sound. I heard this well expressed at the time of the Revaluation of the Pound in terms of the Dollar. We were then staying at Torquay on the South coast of Devonshire. A man came to the house to sell logs of wood for fires. He started to discuss devaluation, and expressed some doubts of the policy, and some criticism of the Government. He summed it all up, however,

by saying "They can cut off our heads, but they cannot kill our

spirit."

Meanwhile most people seem concerned with personal and household matters to a degree that would probably not have been understood before the wars. I was recently talking by telephone to another retired Ceylon civilian. He was a man of parts, who had reached a position of eminence in the Island before he retired a few years ago. Our conversation at first took the more or less usual line of discussing what mutual acquaintances in Ceylon and in England were doing, changes in the Ceylon services, etc. He then got on to domestic affairs, and the remainder of the conversation was taken up with a description of how he was himself redecorating part of his house, and the enjoyment he was getting from this work. Incidentally I have since seen the work he has done. It is very good indeed.

This then is in brief our modern England. The country is going through trying times, but she means to win through and she will. England is a friendly country—her friendliness is perhaps greater now than at any time of her past history, and she will give a warm welcome to her visitors, particularly to visitors from the Commonwealth countries.

We still feel the parting from Ceylon and from the East, but we also feel that we have yet had no cause to regret coming home.

WHITHER SCIENCE?

By C. J. Eliezer

DURING the last fifty years there has come about a marked change in the attitude of a great many people towards science and its technical applications. At the beginning of this century there was the universal hope that the knowledge gained through science should inevitably and unquestionably bring happiness to the human race; but to-day, there is a wave of scepticism and frustration among many people, they fear that the world is moving fast towards a greater and more unimaginable tragedy than experienced in the last two world wars. It is the purpose of this article to analyse briefly some of the reasons that have led to this reversal of outlook and to assess as far as

possible what hopes one may confidently have for the future.

The nineteenth century was the golden age of optimism in science. The scientists of that age were so overwhelmed by the phenomenal achievements of the scientific method and the growing recognition of its impact on the affairs of the world that they felt that it was just a matter of time before the world would be ordered and harmonised by the agency of science into an Utopia and a millenium. that the knowledge of man and the universe as revealed by the scientific method was absolute, final and all-embracing, that they tended to ignore what other branches of knowledge had to say on the nature of man and the magnitude of his problems. The doctrine of evolution was interpreted to mean that the human species was an improvement of the lower animals, that the direction of evolution pointed towards progress and advance, that man himself was getting better and better, and indeed could not help getting better and better as the movement of evolution followed its majestic course. The romances of H. G. Wells typify the kind of world envisaged by the scientific humanists of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. But H. G. Wells lived long enough to witness the fate of homo sapiens and to write a book of despair.

There is yet another sense in which the expectations of the nineteenth century scientists were not fulfilled. They had supposed that the laws of science as developed by the work of Galileo and Newton in the field of mechanics and astronomy, and of Faraday and Maxwell in the field of electromagnetism, were universal in character and would apply to all situations in the universe. All that remained was the appropriate

extension of these laws in their applications to more and more complicated phenomena and wider and wider fields. This outlook was strengthened by the numerous experimental realisations of theoretical predictions. For example, the French mathematician, Leverrier, was able to predict from some data on the path of the planet Uranus the existence and position of the then unknown planet Neptune, which prediction immediately received experimental confirmation. Similarly, the existence of electro-magnetic waves was predicted by Maxwell purely from theoretical considerations some thirty years before their existence was experimentally demonstrated by Hertz. These and other successes made one bold to dogmatise, to assert the all-embracing scope

of science, and to be over-optimistic about its possibilities.

This outlook, however, has proved to be mistaken. Science is essentially an empirical scheme and there is no logical reason why its laws should be valid outside the domain in which they have been experimentally verified. Experimental evidence accumulating about the end of the nineteenth century made it clear that physical theory based on the Newtonian laws of mechanics was inconsistent when applied to (a) fast moving systems and (b) small dynamical systems. What a shock to those who had thought that Newtonian mechanics would apply not only to the whole material world but also the biological world including the human species! Out of this disagreement between physical theory and experiment have arisen the two theories that have caused a great revolution in theoretical physics, namely the theory of

relativity and the quantum theory.

The theory of relativity came in two stages. First, the special theory, and then the general theory, as they are now called. These dispense with the notions of absolute time and absolute space. Space and time are not independent but inter-connected in such a manner that the velocity of light relative to any co-ordinate frame is always the same, a feature which experiment indicated and which conflicted with the predictions of Newtonian physics. The general theory of relativity is necessary for dealing with gravitational fields, and is seen to lead to some corrections in the results of the Newtonian theory of gravitation, and these predicted corrections have been confirmed experimentally in some cases. It pictures gravitation as caused by the warping of space-time. The curvature ascribed to space-time makes it possible to picture space as finite and not of indefinite extent, and some interesting cosmical models of the Universe have been suggested by Einstein and de Sitter. Despite the many successes of the general relativity theory it is not a fully accepted scheme. But the special theory of relativity, which is applicable when gravitational fields are negligible, as for

instance in the important region of atomic physics, is now a fully accepted scheme. This theory brings out the equivalence of mass and energy. This equivalence was first indicated by Einstein and provided the first concrete suggestion that a great deal of energy should be obtainable by the conversion of matter into energy, a process now realised

in the atom bomb and other atomic energy devices.

The second development I referred to earlier is the quantum theory, which opens up the vastly important field of atomic physics. It has brought to us much understanding of what goes on in the interior of the atom, of the interaction of matter and radiation, and of the elementary particles of physics which are the bricks out of which all matter is made. In this field of physics we encounter many new features not met with in ordinary physics, and its foundations are markedly different from those of Newtonian mechanics. It is an abstract mathematical scheme developed by Prof. Dirac of Cambridge, in which the mathematical representations of physical entities are postulated to obey a complicated algebra. The Heisenberg principle of indeterminacy shows up the existence of certain limits to the accuracy with which an atomic system may be experimentally observed. The paradoxical property which experiments on light had revealed that light sometimes behaved like a stream of corpuscles and sometimes like a system of waves was only resolved by means of this abstract mathematical scheme of quantum mechanics. Many experimental phenomena, such as the spectrum lines of atomic systems, which could not be described by the older mechanics are successfully described by the quantum theory. These new ideas have opened up vast fields of research, such as the study of atomic nuclei and of cosmic radiation, which are now in progress, and which may be expected to have very important consequences for science and the world.

But if the fruits of science are to be available for the service and betterment of mankind there is not the slightest doubt that we need a corresponding advance in morality and ethics and a wider appreciation of the status of man in the world than that provided by the crude materialistic outlook of the nineteenth century science. For the enormity of the perversions of science we have witnessed in recent years, scientists may attempt to put the blame on politicians and dictators and big business, but there can be no doubt that a share of the blame also falls on those scientists and scientific thinkers who have used their learning to foster degrading interpretations of man and the Universe. Instead of interpreting nature in terms of the highest, they interpreted it in terms of the lowest, of matter and not of the mind, of mechanism and not of organism, of life-force and not of the human

spirit. To such interpretations may be traced directly the origin of the various ideologies that divided mankind into armed camps and caused the unrest which has led to the world wars and which continues during this uneasy peace. For example, the doctrine of the struggle for existence, which came into popularity with the theory of evolution and which was used to glorify war and to justify policies of ruthlessness and grab, clearly ignored the uniqueness of man in the chain of evolution and the significance of man's characteristically human attributes. The doctrine of the *Herronwolk* and of Nordic superiority derive directly from certain lopsided interpretations of Darwin's theory of natural selection. Communism, the doctrine of economic man and totalitarianism are based on extrapolating what is plausible in a limited

field to the whole field of experience.

What is urgently wanted is a philosophy which takes into account the findings of science and the lessons provided by other branches of knowledge such as history and religion. Without this there is little recognition of purpose and direction in the activities of the human race, and little appreciation of the status and destiny of man in the world. Men of good will in many parts of the world are in search of such a philosophy. But they seem to get very little help from the scientists. The scientists are apparently too much engrossed in their own exciting specialist fields of research to worry about these larger issues. For scientific research to succeed it is inevitable that it should be departmentalised into narrow portions, and the problem tackled in a narrow domain. But when a large volume of knowledge in each of these narrower domains becomes available, it is only proper that an attempt should be made to fit them into a coherent whole. It is at this point that science would encounter these larger issues, and it is here that a large gap becomes noticeable. Some distinguished men of science like Eddington and Jeans have attempted to study the philosophical implications of the modern developments of science, such as the relativity theory and the quantum theory, which have been outlined earlier. Their writings suggest that they find no essential conflict between science and an idealist interpretation of the Universe, and their efforts obviously require following up. The teaching of history and philosophy of science, a hitherto neglected subject in most Universities, is now beginning to be regarded as important in many British Universities. For example, the University of Cambridge has recently recommended that a compulsory paper on this subject should be a part of the Natural Sciences Tripos.

In the development of science two requirements that have to be kept in mind are (a) the need to bring science and its fruits to the large majority of people in the world and (b) the need for a philosophical integration of the sciences with other branches of knowledge. With regard to (a) what has been achieved in Ceylon is disappointing. There has not been a proper appreciation of the fact that the Ceylonese, like all Eastern people, are essentially a nation of village dwellers, and that science should be developed to apply to a village setting, to enrich village life rather than uproot it. The advantages of modern agricultural equipment, cheaply manufactured fertilisers, improved methods of animal husbandry, modern sanitation and lighting, modern methods of carpentry, etc., these are not in any appreciable measure available to the majority of our population. Instead, the boys and girls of the villages are provided with an education which takes them out of villages into the towns, in search of white collar jobs. Scientific knowledge should be and could be used to better and enrich the ordinary day to day life of the villager.

With regard to (b), may we hope that Ceylon with other Eastern countries famed for their Oriental wisdom may study the science of the West and so help to evolve a philosophy equal to the desperate need of the human race in these critical days! The physical, biological and medical sciences can and will advance if along with it there also

advances the science of living.

SOCIAL CLIMATES IN EDUCATION

By T. L. Green

IT has always been recognized that the focal point of education lies in the relation between teacher and pupil, in the contact between two minds—a reaction about which we know surprisingly little though we make many surmises. This must not blind us to two points, that learning is finally an individual phenomenon in the mind of the learner, and teaching an individual job carried out in the solitary confinement of the classroom. We seldom see others teach and we never welcome their presence when we are teaching. Despite this judgments about teaching ability are frequent, we praise or condemn our colleagues and we are frequently involved in examining students-in-training or

reporting on teachers-in-service.

The fact that we know so little about something so important as the teacher-learner relation arises partly because it is a complex relation, which is difficult to study, and partly because we have, for a very long time, deluded ourselves with a false belief. We have come to look upon teaching as synonymous with education, we have forgotten what was so obvious to the Greeks, that education is a social process in which the teacher is but a single agent. In thinking of the teacher as disciplinarian or leader we have invested him with an educative function which, in truth, belongs not to him but to society as a whole. This abrogation of our responsibilities has had many consequences, in particular it has divorced education from reality by removing the social motives of learning. It has made imitation and social learning difficult, if not impossible, by constructing artificial societies of members as nearly alike as possible. And it has brought about conditions in which the teacher has had to be invested with the authority which should reside in society. These conditions have become crystallized in the problem of what we call discipline—a further evidence of our capacity to misunderstand-for what we are then concerned with is the imposition of order by an individual. Discipline does not reside in an imposed authority but is the function of a social situation. Having constructed an artificial society in the classroom we have brought into being an artificial problem concerned with order. To get back to discipline necessitates getting back to the educative situation of a society.

One of the most interesting and fruitful fields of study, which has been explored experimentally in the last ten years or so, is this educative situation, a complex of many factors which are conveniently summed up as a "social climate." The investigations which have been made,

nearly all of them in America, have had two main aspects, on one line they have been concerned with the teacher, on the other with the class. The objective of course has been the same in both cases, a greater understanding of the response of the learner to the conditions, imposed by the teacher. These studies have their origin in several combined causes, in the increase of juvenile delinquency, in the criticisms of educational procedures in terms of their products, in the rediscovery of the social factor in education, in the application of anthropological concepts to new fields, in the heightened awareness of democratic attitudes, in the problems of military training, in the acceptance of the frustrationaggression hypothesis, in the continual search for new fields for the application of an ever-growing virtuosity in research methods and in the realization that studies of intelligence alone are concerned with only part of the individual's make-up. Past studies in education based on measurement, such as intelligence testing, have been concerned with the limitations of the individual's capacities; the new approach is social in outlook and is concerned instead with potentialities. origin of this new work, in America, is itself a point of sociological interest; for America, where all men are born equal by constitutional right, has in the past been most active in the development and use of tests concerned with showing the inequalities between people.

Studies of the teacher have been made on the basis of long-term records of the opportunities which he gives to his class to respond by integration, as opposed to the giving of directions which enforce by domination a response of submission. In a situation of domination the class may be extending their knowledge at the moment, but there is also likely to be built up a dislike of the subject which will prevent growth of interest so that effort is minimized and learning eventually reduced. In intellectual terms an immediate gain has been chosen at the expense of remote gains which, because they would occur at a later age, were likely to have been of greater importance. In social terms the pupil has been restricted in his attempts to co-operate, his questions have been dismissed, his problems left unsolved and he has been left with those feelings of frustration which are the first step towards aggression. Thus the teacher who, probably in good faith, set out to impose a discipline first, finds that his disciplinary problems are in fact multiplied-though unfortunately many teachers fail to realise this. By long-term studies of teachers in the classroom it is now becoming clear that effective learning is linked, not with domination but with those practices which, while accepting a less rigid standard of class order, are offering the pupil the chance to participate through integration

with the teacher.

The other chief line of approach has been through artificially constructed social climates, a device which has been made more possible in the light of the understanding of integration and domination just described. A tradition has for long existed that the classroom situation must be one of the dominance by the teacher and submission by the pupil. This is the discipline which is most commonly sought in schools, an authority imposed because it was believed that in no other situation could work be done. To many people the only alternative to this would be the chaos and licence which they predict would result from any kind of laissez-faire policy offering "freedom." This attitude has always had its critics and it has now been subject to experimental investigation in which the classroom situation has been envisaged as having three possible social climates, authoritarian, democratic and laissez-faire. By simple practical methods it is possible to ensure that a group activity is conducted under one or other of these conditions and also to arrange for a complete record of all that happens in terms of verbal and social action, work done, and so on. By complex statistical argument it is possible to evaluate the results of these three kinds of social climate.

In the first, the authoritarian climate, all policy is decided by the leader, the techniques and activities are decided and dictated, step by step by him, he decides who shall work with who, he dispenses personal praise or blame and he remains almost completely apart from what is being done. This, of course, is the basic methodology of class-

room teaching.

In the democratic climate leader and pupils plan policy together, techniques and activities are worked out as a whole and co-operatively, pupils work with those they like as far as possible, evaluation is directed to the work and not to the individual and the leader makes himself one of a team. This is the kind of situation which exists in the conduct of well-organised Project Studies.

In the laissez-faire climate the leader gives complete freedom to the group, he only helps in planning or execution of plans when asked

to do so and is a non-participant onlooker.

The construction of the artificial climates is not difficult, the recording of the results is laborious but their analysis is comparatively simple. The general results are that more and better work is done in the democratic situation, that pupils learn more quickly and show more desire to continue such work also, and that frustration and aggression are reduced in the democratic set-up where co-operation replaces competition. So far as the laissez-faire climate is concerned these findings merely codify what experience has already shown, that freedom and

licence are two different things. The findings in regard to democratic social climates, however, offer support to an ideal which has had to make headway against authoritarian attitudes which, while sanctioned by

tradition, are criticised by these experimental results.

This kind of work is of importance in many ways. It offers confirmation for those pioneers in educational theory who have always championed the positive approach of mutual co-operation as against the negative one of authoritarianism. It offers the beginnings of an understanding of why the one approach is more successful than the other by building the frustration-aggression hypothesis into the web of social relationships in educational practices. It stresses the need to think of the results of education as being more than gains in knowledge by showing that, for every educational procedure, there are also remote social effects. It offers to the teacher a positive and practical method of minimising the all too common problems of discipline. It contributes to the personal-social development of the individual by giving him a status commensurate with his intellectual and social abilities which can grow as they grow. It recognises that the child, as learner, has motives of his own which, properly used, can contribute to the process of maturation. Above all it offers a new ground for considering the social significance of present educational practice in terms of future social attitudesand it points the way for shaping people who can combine a sturdy individualism with a sense of social responsibility.

If such things can be of interest to the older societies of England and America, where social fixation is more marked, they should be of even greater interest in Ceylon where social conditions are in some ways more fluid, and in others even more deeply rooted in cultural traditions. There have, as yet, been no studies in this field in Ceylon, though the need for them is manifest. It is seen in the need to overcome the distinctions of caste and creed, in the need to produce people who put service before self, who are less concerned with exploitation and more anxious to achieve co-operation, in the need to attack the existence of bribery and corruption. ("The canker which must be treated as a serpent and got rid of "-the Minister of Justice in a speech at Ananda College on November 1st, 1948), and in the need to replace intolerance by tolerance and physical attack by verbal argument. To those who come to Ceylon at present one of the most outstanding and revealing of all social phenomena is the readiness to import the expert because of unwillingness to accept the leadership of one's fellow-men. From the view of modern educational sociology and social psychology this is the most sensitive index of the lack of a feeling of security and

of a sense of self-confidence.

In Ceylon there are people who are aware of this present defect in the personal-social development of the Ceylonese both as individual people and as a nation. Some ascribe it to "three centuries of foreign domination." This has undoubtedly had much to do with it, but regretting the past will not mend the future. This too does not go unrealized but, while each urges others on, it is difficult to discern a pattern of advance which has been planned with knowledge and accepted after critical consideration. Home-life and school procedures, from the earliest ages, place a premium on submission to authority and a regard for social "mores" which continue to call for inhibitory responses in a world which demands initiative, determination and the power to "take it." Some people, usually insensitive extraverts, think these come only from sports-and those of Western type. Ceylon had great men before the coming of cricket, they sprang from qualities of spirit, not merely of body; and the spirit-the mental world of the individual-whatever its genetic basis, still depends upon the intangible web of experience which we call the social climate. Moulding the men and women of the future demands starting with the boys and girls of to-day. If we can give to them the right kind of experiences, if they can grow up in the right kind of social climate they will grow up to be of the right spirit. Failing that, whatever their bravery, prowess or courage they may still follow what is unworthy or anti-social. Youth is always being urged to higher things, such admonition forms the backbone of platform addresses, especially at school Prize Days, and of the "uplift" talks which children so expressively call "pi-jaw." Social learning and imitation and the effects of social climate are far more effective factors in influencing behaviour. The inhibitory authoritarian regime which is typical of school life, even at its best at present, is a negative approach to a situation which demands, above all, a positive approach. Discipline, even though it may have prevented from evil, has seldom impelled to good. Domination must be replaced by social integration and we have in some way to learn that the mechanics of social relationships need an entirely new approach. The tradition which we have held so dear and stuck to so tenaciously rests on theories which research proves to be erroneous, and which experience has already proved to be ineffective-had we but wit to see and courage to admit it.

The cure is to be sought in practice, but the practice must be based on experiment, not on prolepsis. This is no time to fight for purely individual theories, however sincerely propounded, unless they rest on, and can be subject to, rigorous criticism. Nor is this a time for seeking inspiration by looking backwards at a remote past while

stumbling blindly into a tangled and complex future. Whether it be rash, difficult or presumptious for a foreigner—and a new-comer at that—to point where a cure may be found need not be debated. The plain fact is that here in Ceylon the new trends in educational thought are not yet known, but it is in them that search must be made for the ideas on which to build for the future. Of all these ideas those concerned with the effects of the social climates of education are most likely to provide a lead for educational reconstruction. They alone look at education as the function of school and society, and they alone realize that the purpose of education is not only to teach how to live

but also to construct a society fit to live in.

Their acceptance will not be easy. People will have to accept responsibility for what they never yet thought of as their affairs. Education will have to be planned and directed in the light of research instead of those enthusiasms and personal "hunches" which, even if often successful, are always haphazard. It will be necessary to consider and replan the education of young children and to do this in terms of the needs, opportunities and culture of Ceylon. It will be necessary for the status of the teacher to be raised and for the teacher to be better trained and far more aware of the implications of modern educational trends. In brief, it will require effort and a re-orientation of ideas. Above all it will be necessary to believe that the seeds of Freedom will take root only in the rich soil of human sympathy and blossom only in the pure air of understanding and that the real test of education lies not in what children do in school to-day, but what they grow up to be and what they can offer to the New Lanka of the future.

THE NEW AMERICAN LITERATURE

By Argus John Tresidder

URING the past year, two great American literary publications have celebrated their 25th anniversaries: The Saturday Review of Literature and The New York Herald Tribune Book Review. These, together with the older, more austere New York Times Book Review, have had tremendous influence on writing in the United States, charting the course of letters and guiding discriminating readers. Both are weeklies, devoted principally to book reviews, with increasing emphasis on general articles about writers, literary criticism, and the other arts (particularly The Saturday Review, which is fast becoming the most popular intellectual magazine in America). The 25th anniversary issues of these publications, The Saturday Review, on August 6, The Herald-Tribune, on September 25, deserve careful study. They briskly present short histories of American literature during its richest, most kaleidoscopic period. The handsome anniversary edition of The Saturday Review (a limited number of copies of which may be obtained at the American Embassy Library in Colombo) has become a collector's item; so great was the demand for it that it is being printed in book form.

Let us examine for a moment the development of American letters during the quarter century covered by the two reviews. It is still fashionable in some quarters to be scornful of American writers, to speak of them as provincial and imitative, and to dismiss the whole body of American literature as superficial and second-rate. A distinguished British critic, writing about English fiction, quoted recently in one of the Ceylon papers, passed up all Americans but Henry James (died 1916) and Herman Melville (died 1891). A new anthology of English prose, whose purpose is to give the finest available examples of prose style, does not include a single author of the past twenty-five years and only grudgingly admits a small number of 19th century

American writers.

This captious attitude towards American literature is part of a rapidly dissipating disdain of all cultural manifestations from the United States. The American theatre, for example, represented by such playwrights as Eugene O'Neill, Tennessee Williams, and Maxwell Anderson, is finding high place in world drama; American music, architecture, painting, and, in spite of manifold weaknesses, the cinema

are well-established as art forms widely admired for their own merits, quite apart from older European influences. The American language itself has become identified as an independent medium, brilliantly classified in the monumental Dictionary of American English on Historical

Principles and in H. L. Mencken's excellent studies.

I shall not venture here to revive old controversies about the importance of American literature before 1900. The new nation, struggling to establish a new concept of federal government, hampered by a series of costly wars, political convulsions, and the necessity to conquer a great wilderness, had little time to encourage literary endeavour. Perhaps it is a just charge against the eager, practical, young America that genius does not wait for national security and prosperity. The England of Chaucer and Milton was far from peaceful and unafraid of the future. Indeed, we should expect that great events should call forth great men, not only leaders of the people, but interpreters of the ideas. It is true that America during her first vigorous growth did not produce a Tolstoi or a Keats or a Goethe or a Voltaire. Yet out of the Revolution came the writings of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, and out of the turmoil of the 19th century came men like Edgar Allan Poe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Herman Melville, and Henry James. At the beginning of the present century new influences, characteristically American, some of them vastly disturbing to critics rooted in the past, began to appear. In fiction, in poetry, in criticism, in drama there was an outburst of vitality, which matured and changed during the ensuing quarter century.

Suppose we start this review of American literature in our time with poetry, which has lost ground recently. There is today little of the excitement about poetry that was widely felt during the first twenty years of this century, when such movements as imagism and expressionism were making inroads into the conventional modes of the past. Tennyson's skilful measures had suddenly become bourgeois and revolutionaries were at work, ignoring meters, inventing bold new figures, simplifying or making more complex emotions recollected in or out of tranquility. We are in an unpoetic age,—or maybe it is we who are unpoetic. More of us are content to leave to the small magazines of poetry and the not very enthusiastic publishers the discovery of new lyric talent. The cocktail parties of today do not fall silent as a fashionable young poet recites his verses, and no one waits up all night to be the first to read a Byron's newest ironies or share

in a Shelley's delicate fancies.

It would be difficult indeed to pick out a poet who might be called the spokesman of our time. Our spokesmen to-day, unhappily, talk

in terms of economic rehabilitation and cold wars and nuclear fission rather than in divine poesy. Mark Van Doren, himself a poet and professor of English at Columbia University, has attempted to name a poet-spokesman who would be for our time what Dryden and Pope were in theirs and Samuel Rogers or Thomas Campbell or Walter Scott in 1820. His choice is Robert Frost, the good gray poet of New England, whose collected works have just been published. He admits that others will prefer Ezra Pound or T. S. Eliot. And he goes on to mention more names which are interesting because there are so many of them-even in our age of utilitarian prose: John Crowe Ransom, Allan Tate, Hart Crane, Wallace Stevens, W. H. Auden, William Carlos Williams, E. A. Robinson, Robinson Jeffers, Archibald Mac-Leish, Stephen Vincent Benét, Conrad Aiken, Edna St. Vincent Millay. "Since the seventeenth century," says Mr. Van Doren in The Herald Tribune, "English verse-and now American verse-has wanted body and deep luster. A disease in the vineyards has impoverished the wine. So Eliot, Tate and many other critics and poets of the last quarter century have striven to thicken and enrich the texture of the contemporary line. The seventeenth century poets appear to have done with ease what now requires enormous effort-and still, unhappily, is not done. For, as Mr. Eliot for one well knows, it is not a merely technical matter. When verse is both lustrous and deep, both intelligible and substantial, the reason is that the poets writing it share with their times a sense of what is more and what is less important."

William Ross Benét, in *The Saturday Review*, thinks back over twenty-five years of poetry and finds some hope, though he is fearful that we may reduce poets to propagandists in this era of warring ideologies. He says, "I have seen various kinds of poetry flourish and go to seed. I have observed much experiment, frequently excruciating. I have seen certain ones elevated to excessive pedestals and others defamed. I have seen some rare and delicate work comparatively neglected and some honest and expressive work scorned in favour of the more epileptoid. But I have also read much vigorous and genuine poetry." His list of leading poets is headed by Robert Frost, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, and Edgar Lee Masters; he adds that America has produced more good women poets than any other

country.

The novel has developed in America more significantly than poetry. Novelists now express the mood of the times, revealing more sensitive insight into the complex problem of modern society than the poets, who are more remote from affairs than they used to be. The novel itself has added functions that Defoe and Fielding and Austen never

envisaged, carrying, with its basic story, criticism of social institutions, political purpose, history, medical theory, or any other special burden that the author wishes. Other generations have read novels, mainly to pass the time or to live vicariously in interesting imaginary society (though of course Thackeray, Dickens, and many others have ground axes in their novels). So with us, and most novels are intended only for readers without purpose beyond that of being entertained. Of greater importance are the many serious interpretations of America and American ideas by thoughtful novelists. What the great dramatists were to Greece and France, and the poets were to Italy and England

and Germany, the novelist is today in most countries.

Lloyd Morris, author of Postscript to Yesterday, an account of American social and intellectual life since 1896, in The Herald Tribune, describes the disturbing changes in American fiction during the early twenties when it began in outspoken books to indict the false standards in the American way of life. "Though material prosperity had steadily increased, the quality of existence, for most Americans, had as steadily deteriorated. Something had gone profoundly amiss in our civilization, for its social ideals were being negated by its social practice. These were the charges brought by the novelists who ushered in the literary renaissance of the 1920's. In one or another form, our serious novelists have continued to reiterate them. The 'modern movement' in American fiction has been, primarily, an expression of conscience." He goes on to show how such novelists as Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, James T. Farrell, and John Steinbeck attacked the cynicism and mechanization of spirit that had undermined the earlier splendid idea of democratic liberalism.

It is interesting to note that the novelists mentioned by Mr. Morris and others up into the present have been ironically or bitterly or evangelically critical of the things that are wrong in their country. Our best writers, in short, do not hesitate to expose the faults which all but our most obdurate nationalists are aware exist in the United States. No one who reads Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath or John Dos Passos's U. S. A. or Sinclair Lewis's Main Street can doubt that some Americans do not insist on Stephen Decatur's misguided slogan, "My country,

right or wrong."

Sinclair Lewis, for example, whose work is known throughout the world (though his recent books have fallen far short of the standard set by Arrowsmith and Dodsworth), has long preached against the spiritual impoverishment of materialism, evident in Babbitt, the go-getter businessman, in Elmer Gantry, the venal clergyman, and in others,

doctors, teachers, politicians, who sought success, like Faust, at the price of their immortal souls. Dos Passos, like the early Hemingway, at first condemned the established social order; both have changed their minds about the value of collectivism. Scott Fitzgerald, whose books have enjoyed a current revival, was contemptuous of social decadence. Farrell and Steinbeck were ruthless recorders of the Great Depression. The young novelists of the post-war period have continued to speak as social critics. Among these are John Hersey, James Michener, Irwin Shaw, and Norman Mailler (author of the controversial *The Naked and the Dead*, which is unfortunately banned in Ceylon). The depression, the war, and the defeat of fascism in Europe and Asia have brought changes to American fiction, of course. The new writers, as *The Saturday Review* describes them, wish "to explore, and often extol, a rediscovered America."

The most significant development in American letters during the last 25 years has been that of literary criticism. There is little doubt that a culture has matured (and even grown over-ripe!) whose writers spend more time evaluating other writers than in new creative composition. The enormous popularity of the review, apparent in the two publications whose aniversaries we are celebrating, is in some respects a sign of lost vitality, no matter how brilliant the critics. Howard Mumford Jones, himself a distinguished critic, says in The Saturday Review, "The malady of American writing is the exaggerated importance with which present modes of literary training and interpretation humorlessly discuss 'writing'." And Malcolm Cowley, poet and critic, writing in The Herald Tribune, says, "Where the earlier period was distinguished by its experimental novels and poets, the later period is largely and perhaps in its essence critical. Criticism has moved into new territory, while fiction and poetry went over the ground that was covered before. Criticism has discovered new tools: symbolics, semantics, the search for and recognition of myths and rituals. It has become the fashion to write long critical essays explaining the internal relationships to be discovered in single short lyrics. Indeed, the critical essays, in the hands of men like John Crow Ransom, R. P. Blackmur, and Cleanth Brooks, has become an art form in itself, perhaps absolving its authors from the duty of writing poems or stories." Cowley goes on to regret this tendency in young Americans not to run risks, not to go ahead and damn the torpedoes of clever criticism. He says, "I am sorry to see this malady spreading from politics, where it is often justified by results, into the literary field."

In historical literature America has made distinguished progress. The historical writing of the early part of our quarter century was,

like the fiction of the time, strongly critical of American social and political phenomena. It was the period of "debunking," when historians expressed their disillusionment by attacking what they considered the stupidity and immorality of the past. Charles and Mary Beard's Rise of American Civilization belongs to the early period, along with satirical and cynical books by Rupert Hughes, W. E. Woodward, and Thomas Beer. The depression brought to an end much of the skepticism and disillusionment that had marked the post-World War I years. During the 30's came a revaluation of American institutions and a new appreciation for our historical past. According to Henry Steele Commager, the eminent historian, writing in The Herald Tribune, the turning point came as early as 1927 and 1928 with the publication of the first volume of Vernon Louis Parrington's Main Currents of American Thought, Stephen Vincent Benét's John Brown's Body, and the launching of the Dictionary of American Biography. He goes on to show how important in this revival of undistorted interest in our past was the remarkable development of biographical writing. Among the fine biographies were Carl Van Doren's study of Benjamin Franklin; Allan Nevins's books about Grover Cleveland, Fremont, and Hamilton Fish; Marquis James on Andrew Jackson; Claude Bowers on Jefferson; Carl Sandburg on Lincoln.

Another interesting aspect of recent historical writing is what Commager calls "the revival of the great tradition of history as literature." He ascribes this return to Bancroft and Prescott, Motley, Parkman, and Adams, who were good writers as well as historians, in part to the rise of the academic and professional historian and to the supplanting of English by German standards of historical writing. "Certainly no other body of scholars," he says, "neither the economist nor the sociologists, the lawyers nor the political scientists, not even the literary critics-can boast a group of artists to compare with Carl Becker, S. E. Morison, Carl Sandburg, Carl Van Doren, Douglas Freeman, Van Wyck Brooks, Marquis James, or Vernon Parrington. It was Parrington who combined, more fully and more skilfully than any other, the various strands that have distinguished recent historical literature-pride in the American past, an economic interpretation that stemmed from native rather than foreign sources, a concept of history that embraced the whole of human activities, and a style of real brilliance. No other historian of our time, not Turner or Beard, has exercised such influence over the mind of his generation as Parrington, and no influence has been more liberating."

These notes could be extended to cover the drama, the scientific writing, political and economic commentary, and so on. But enough

has been said to show that the last quarter century has been a period of intellectual excitement in the United States, that our literature has taken a respectable place among the world's records of cultural achievement, and that the people of America are doing a great deal of reading. Apropos of this last fact, The American Booksellers' Association, which, of course, is primarily interested in the number of books of all kinds sold by its members, points out in a very interesting advertisement that in 1924, 112 million Americans, each of whose annual earnings was \$613, bought 200 million books; in 1949, 145 million Americans, earning \$1,040 each, bought 400 million books.

For fear that these statistics about fine books published and widely read by a prosperous people, whose 40-hour work-week gives them ample leisure time, may seem boastful let us quickly admit that the picture is not all rosy. There is a sad tendency towards superficiality: too many books are being written by too many people who have little or nothing valuable to say. On the other hand, though a vast amount of reading is being done, much of it is wasteful: we are suffering from what Clifton Fadiman calls "the decline of attention." He feels that though excellent books are being consistently produced and eagerly read, the great appeal to mass reading is by magazines and books characterized by "brevity, superficiality, simplification, the emphasis on timeliness (with its corollary, the conscious neglect or unconscious ignorance of the past), planned non-literary English, the avoidance of abstract ideas, the compartmentalization of life . . . , the emphasis on 'personalities' as well as the avoidance of personality, the exploitation of the 'column' as against the discursive essay, the preference of the wisecrack to wit . . . , the careful exploitation of certain not highly cerebral interests, mainly in the areas of vicarious sex, criminality, violence, 'inspiration,' gadget-worship, and the idolization of contemporary gods, such as cinema stars, sport heroes, and clean-faced high-school girl graduates." Mr. Fadiman's devastating indictment of American popular writing is demonstrably too often deserved.

Carrying out this theme of criticism of current trends in American writing, Henry Seidel Canby, Chairman of the Editorial Board of The Saturday Review and a well-known author, is greatly disturbed by the prevalence of vulgarity in the new books. By vulgarity he does not mean indecency or bawdiness, but baseness of spirit, insincerity, coarse commonplaceness. He is also convinced that most novels about the war by American writers are products of journalism, rather than of art and suffer from "the disease of journalism, which is overemphasis." Our war novels, like our detective stories, tend to be monotonous. Finally, he feels that American novelists, even the most promising

of them, do not have the discipline of effective form, and know too little about the technique of their own art. "This is a time of confusion in standards as in morals," he says, "and it requires a firm grasp upon the tradition of good writing to draw out the significance, to stick to the significant in a period of doubt when materialism is often confused with reality and observation with understanding."

Here, then, stands American literature in the second half of its century of new vitality. There is no longer doubt that America has literature, original, dynamic, often brilliant. That this literature has many defects, to which its critics are bitterly attentive, cannot be denied. Neither can it be said that any poet has reached the stature of a Wordsworth or a Dante, though much of our poetry will stand up beside the second-flight verse of any other country. No novel which can be compared with Anna Karenina or Great Expectations or Don Quixote has yet appeared in America, but plenty of fine novels are being written. In other fields we are more than holding our own. Those who are skeptical of this perhaps too enthusiastic report on the progress of American letters are asked to read some of the new books for themselves and to evaluate them in the light of our times, without the scholarly critic's overwhelming inclination to judge the new by the old, with the approving glance more backward then forward!

RAIN AT ROSAWATTA

By Elise Aylen

T

The wide red cones of the pagoda plants Sway against the swinging winds, And from the tips of their innumerable blossoms The raindrops fall Like a chime of imaginary bells, Dripping with crystal sound Down to the rock-cleft gully Where the stream flows In clarion baste By the wild ginger And the spider lilies, Where the dove-orchids hang from the trees, · And tall flowering grasses Quiver to the water music; It lifts itself over the pale edge Of long-worn stones Or slips curtly by narrow chasms, Leaping Like the hunted Or the hunter Down desperate steeps To the darkening valley, The low thatched houses And tall, leaning palms, The curved lines of the rice fields, Their shrill green tempered by shifting mists, As the clouds spread and close On the desolate hills Where alone I stand listening To the ringing of the rain at Rosawatta.

II

The convolvulus surrenders to darkness And the black lily bides itself in night, While softly with lisp and rustle The rain comes and goes As the wind comes, And sinks again, Ebbing and flowing On soft tides of air. From the flat blade of the cactus vine, Twining on the porch-roof, One moonlight flower, Single as the heart of the Beloved, Opens its unknown petals, That softly for the space of night Lives its brief life in beauty And in beauty closes, Sealing its mystery Against a wondering world. From that secret heart The soft incense of its passion Breathes on the fainting air Rising and falling With its quivering breath, And the beat of its beauty Keeps time To the rhythm of the rain at Rosawatta. III

Like a giant approaching Wind and rain rise bigber, Thunderous on the roof And shrieking in the valley, Staggering through a jungle Of bent tumultuous leaves And naked thrusting stalks Of nameless bloom. The streaked scorpion orchids Uncurl themselves to the tempest, The red claws of deadly nightshade, The white, gaping mouth of the devil's trumpet; And the buge cups of the monsoon lilies Are brimmed with savage wine. The giant stride comes nearer By bill and torrent, The brutal stroke of the lightning And the mocking thunder, Splitting the darkness with light and sound. A bird screams like a maniac, And the shattering waters Of the livid stream Fill the night with flood And with sullen triumph; The sky is anger And the earth is menace, All life confounded In passion and terror To the roar of the rain at Rosawatta.

THREE POEMS OF BAUDELAIRE

Translated by Jayanta Padmanabha

I. SEMPER EADEM

"Whence that strange melancholy of yours," you said, "like the sea breaking on rocks black and bare?"—When the heart's vintage is once harvested, living is pain. That grief, known everywhere, that simple mystery of suffering, is clear as your own gay untroubled brow. Leave, lovely seeker, your vain questioning, and though your voice be sweet, be silent now.

Be silent, ignorant spirit, fragrant breath, lips of a laughing child. We are bound by Death, more than by Life, in subtle bonds and strong. Drunk with illusion, let my heart plunge deep in your dark eyes, as in a dream, and sleep in the shadow of your lashes all night long.

II. MOON MELANCHOLY

Tonight the moon dreams in more indolent reverie like a young beauty who on numerous cushions rests, caressing with light fingers absentmindedly, before falling asleep, the contour of her breasts. The satin avalanches she reclines on lend her body so prolonged a swoon she seems to die, and her eyes follow the white visions that ascend like blossoms flowering in the azure of the sky.

When from the idle languor of her sphere afar a stealthy tear falls earthward like a falling star, a poet, sleepless in devotion to his art, piously takes it in the hollow of his hand, pallid and iridescent as an opal, and hides it away from the sun's eyes within his heart.

1. SEMPER EADEM

"D'où vous vient, disiez-vous, cette tristesse étrange, Montant comme la mer sur le roc noir et nu?"
—Quand notre coeur a fait une fois sa vendange, Vivre est un mal. C'est un secret de tous connu, Une douleur très-simple et non mystérieuse, Et, comme votre joie, éclatante pour tous. Cessez donc de chercher, ô belle curieuse!
Et, bien que votre voix soit douce, taisez-vous!

Taisez-vous, ignorante! âme toujours ravie!
Bouche au rire enfantin! Plus encore que la Vie,
La Mort nous tient souvent par des liens subtils.
Laissez, laissez mon coeur s'enivrer d'un mensonge,
Plonger dans vos beaux yeux comme dans un beau songe,
Et sommeiller longtemps à l'ombre de vos cils!

II. TRISTESSES DE LA LUNE

Ce soir, la lune rêve avec plus de paresse; Ainsi qu'une beauté, sur de nombreux coussins, Qui d'une main distraite et légère caresse Avant de s'endormir le contour de ses seins, Sur le dos satiné des molles avalanches, Mourante, elle se livre aux longues pâmoisons, Et promène ses yeux sur les visions blanches Qui montent dans l'azur comme des floraisons.

Quand parfois sur ce globe, en sa langueur oisive, Elle laisse filer une larme furtive, Unë pote pieux, ennemi du sommeil, Dans le creux de sa main prend cette larme pâle, Aux reflets irisés comme un fragment d'opale, Et le met dans son coeur loin des yeux du soleil.

III. THE FOUNTAIN

Beloved, you are weary: close, without a movement, your dark eyes; remain long in the careless pose where pleasure took you by surprise. The fountains that all day and night ceaselessly in the courtyard sing softly converse with the delight I have in love this evening.

These waters, lulling all their thousand flowers where moonbeams keep the small and gleaming hours, leap, falter and let fall their grief in showers.

So your bright spirit, set on fire and troubled with voluptuous sighs, is quick and eager to aspire towards the vast enchanted skies; and when it dies, the overflow down by a hidden way apart falls, a cascade of languid woe, into the bottom of my heart.

These waters, lulling all their thousand flowers where moonbeams keep the small and gleaming hours, leap, falter and let fall their grief in showers.

O you whom night makes loveliest, I love the everlasting plaint that, as I lean towards your breast, sobs in the fountain soft and faint. Moon, watermusic, blessed night, trees whispering round us and above, your pure and melancholy light is the reflection of my love.

'III. LE JET D'EAU

Tes beaux yeux sont las, pauvre amante!
Reste longtemps, sans les rouvrir,
Dans cette pose nonchalante
Où t'a surprise le plaisir.
Dans la cour le jet d'eau qui jase
Et ne se tait ni nuit ni jour
Entretient doucement l'extase
Où ce soir m'a plongé l'amour.

La gerbe d'eau qui berce Ses mille fleurs, Que la lune traverse De ses lucurs, Tombe comme une averse De larges pleurs.

Ainsi ton ame qu'incendie L'éclair brulant des voluptés S'élance, rapide et hardie, Vers les vastes cieux enchantés. Puis, elle s'épanche, mourante En un flot de triste langueur, Qui par un invisible pente Descend jusqu'au fond de mon cocur.

> La gerbe d'eau qui berce Ses mille fleurs, Que la lune traverse De ses lueurs, Tombe comme une averse De larges pleurs.

O toi, qui la nuit rend si belle, Qu'il m'est doux, penché vers tes seins, D'écouter la plainte éternelle Qui sanglote dans les bassins! Lune, eau sonore, nuit bénie, Arbres qui frissonez autour, Votre pure mélancolie Est le miroir de mon amour. These waters, lulling all their thousand flowers where moonbeams keep the small and gleaming hours, leap, falter and let fall their grief in showers.

NOTE

The French text of these poems is that edited by Y. G. le Dantec for the Bibliothèque de la Pléiade and published by the Nouvelle Revue Franscaise (Oeuvres Complètes de Baudelaire 2 vols., Paris, 1935).

Semper Eadem and Tristesses de la Lune are nos. XLI and LXV in

Les Fleurs du Mal.

In the text of Le Jet d'Eau (no. VIII in Les Épaves) there are several variant readings, the most important being an alternative version of the refrain. The text here printed, which is that adopted by Debussy in his setting of this poem, appeared in La Petite Revue (8-7-1865); the other version, adopted as canonical by le Dantec, reads:

La gerbe épanouie En mille fleurs, Où Phoebé réjouie Met ses couleurs, Tombe comme une pluie De larges pleurs.

My translation of this refrain is a very free rendering and draws upon both versions of the text.

Baudelaire has seldom been fortunate in his English translators. The only versions known to me which do him any kind of justice are James Elroy Flecker's translation of Don Juan aux Enfers and Aldous Huxley's of Les Femmes Damnées. The well-known translations of Arthur Symons are, as someone says of the Mardrus version of The Thousand and One Nights, "unfaithful to an extensive degree;" and traduttori traditori has been the keynote of more recent renderings, which I forbear to name.

The prayer on every translator's lips in attempting this impossible task should be the final words of the prose poem of Baudelaire which Rilke loved—A Une Heure du Matin: "Et vous, Seigneur mon Dieu! accordez-moi la grâce de produire quelques beaux vers qui me prouvent à moi-même que je ne suis le dernier des hommes, que je ne suis pas inférieur à ceux que je méprise."

La gerbe d'eau qui berce Ses mille fleurs, Que la lune traverse De ses lueurs, Tombe comme une averse De larges pleurs.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

1

By the Very Reverend Father Peter A. Pillai, O.M.I.

In 1945 a Select Committee of the State Council was appointed "to consider and report on the steps necessary to effect the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil with the object of making Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of the country." This was in pursuance of a resolution passed in May, 1944, to the effect that various specified measures should be taken to make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of the country. The Select Committee issued its report in October, 1946, and its chief recommendation was that Sinhalese and Tamil were to be the official languages, ten years from then i.e. in January, 1957. Since that report was issued, the State Council has passed away and the new Parliament was inaugurated in 1947. Up to the date of writing, no official pronouncement has yet been made, but as a decision cannot be far distant, it is urgent that sober and prudent counsels should make themselves heard and a healthy public opinion created.

It is worth noting that the resolution of 1944 has no real binding force; it did not even bind the State Council, for only a law has the force of obligation. Numerous resolutions have been passed in the State Council that have been relegated to the limbo of forgotten antiquities. If the resolution did not bind even the State Council, much less can it be said to have laid an obligation on the present Parliament. The question can therefore be considered afresh in the light of our new political status and also in the light of the experience we have gained since the change-over to the national languages as media of instruc-

tion in the Primary School.

The reasons that have been put forward for the adoption of Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages are manifold. It is argued that unless they become official languages, nothing can stop their deterioration. The prestige of English is such that anything less than the elevation of our national languages to the status of the languages of administration will inevitably, so it is said, lead to the neglect and eventual rejection in practice of Sinhalese and Tamil. That these two languages should on the contrary occupy an ever increasing place in the life of our country is thought to be too obvious to need elaboration. Our history is enshrined in our national languages. If we do not know these languages

we shall lose continuity with our past. As for the present, since the great majority of our people think and express themselves through the medium of Sinhalese and Tamil, the English-speaking minority will be cut off from vital connection with the mass of their countrymen. Nor will our future be any better for we shall not be in a position to make any important contribution to culture, as we shall be using a borrowed

language which we can never fully make our very own.

It is pointed out that English literature is an exotic growth, that it is steeped in English history and that it is wholly dependent on the English way of life. Very few Ceylonese have so far achieved distinction as authors in the English world of letters. It is true that many Ceylonese write English correctly and well. The Ceylonese for example who proceed to the English Universities do not as a rule find themselves at a disadvantage in the use of the language in comparison with their English fellow-students. But there is all the difference between competency and distinction, and in a higher order between talent and genius. Our past record does not lead us to hope that we shall ever produce much creative work of value through the medium of English. The evident corollary seems to be that unless we can make Sinhalese and Tamil the vehicle of thought and expression of the élite of our country, we shall be doomed to literary sterility.

There are those who would go so far as to say that English must be dethroned from its present position if social justice is to be established in the country. For the privileged position of English as the official language confers on the few who have had an English education economic advantages that are denied to the majority of their countrymen. These latter have to be content with being hewers of wood and drawers of water, simply because they had not the means to go to an English school while those who could afford to pay for an English education received the plums of office and had all the doors of the professions open to them. It is maintained that nothing short of the abolition of the official status now given to English will remove this inequality and destroy this

injustice.

On the other hand the advocates of English, better English, and more English point out that we have been fortunate to have received the heritage of the English tradition, as it is to us an instrument of progress. The abundant literature available in English on all subjects makes it the channel by which we can receive all branches of knowledge. There is absolutely no comparison between the richness of the fare which English provides us with and the poverty of what our national languages enable our minds to feed upon. If we had never known English, we might have been content to remain satisfied with what

Sinhalese and Tamil offer us. But it is unthinkable that having tasted of the fruits of the tree of English we could ever go back to the comparative barrenness of our national languages. It is through English that we shall acquire the technical knowledge by which our agriculture will be improved scientifically and by which we shall industrialise our country in the required measure. It is through English that we shall possess the key to world literature and to the best thought of every

country in education, politics, law and social study.

In a small country like ours it is difficult to see how we can establish intimate relations with other countries, except through a world language such as English. On the one hand we cannot expect the people of other countries to undertake the study of Sinhalese and Tamil, especially of Sinhalese. On the other if we are to take our rightful place in the comity of nations, we must be proficient in English or a language of similar stature. The days of narrow nationalism are over. We are moving towards international groupings. We are already a member of the British Commonwealth. Other regional groupings such as the South-East Asian Confederation, etc. are in the offing. And we are undoubtedly progressing towards some better organized form of World Order than the U.N.O. This is certainly the moment to throw away our greatest asset, viz. the English language by which we can step out into the world pattern and to shrink into our little national shell by a purely sentimental and exclusive attachment to Sinhalese and Tamil which have hardly any significance for the rest of the world. It should not also be forgotten that ours is an export economy and that it is a matter of life and death for us to maintain our contacts with the outer world.

There is a further reason for retaining English to which many do not seem to have paid sufficient attention. Owing to the presence of two language groups, the jettisoning of English would bring about a cleavage between the two. There would be very little in common between the Sinhalese and the Tamils when English is abolished or relegated to an inferior place. Theoreticians have thought that it would be possible to make the Sinhalese learn Tamil and the Tamils to learn Sinhalese. This would mean that every one would have to learn three languages, for hardly any one desires to throw out English altogether. It is generally agreed that English must be at least a second language. It will now become a compulsory third language. Moreover as Sinhalese and Tamil are of unequal standing in Ceylon, it would be hopeless to expect equal treatment for both languages. Few Sinhalese would want to learn Tamil as it would not confer on them any economic advantage of importance. Some Tamils would learn Sinhalese because

of the financial benefits to be gained from a knowledge of that language, but whether this desire to learn Sinhalese would become sufficiently general is doubtful. Compulsion is not a sure remedy as a law that is generally unpopular can hardly be enforced. In Belgium for example, the attempt to compel the French-speaking Walloons to become proficient in Flemish has not met with outstanding success as I know from personal experience, having lived a year in Belgium with both

Flemings and Walloons.

The problem therefore that faces the country is how English and the national languages can both be given their due place in the life of the country. There are two extreme solutions as already indicated viz. (a) that only English should be the official language while Sinhalese and Tamil are given as high a status as possible and, (b) that Sinhalese and Tamil should be official languages while English should only be a second language, compulsory for certain purposes and optional in most cases. The first proposal has the disadvantage that the prestige of English is at present so great that Sinhalese and Tamil will gradually lose their importance. We can in fact see this process in action under the Kannangara scheme. The moment free English schools were opened under different names such as central schools, senior secondary schools, junior schools, etc. the children from the vernacular schools flocked to them in order to learn a little English. And the last state in regard to the vernaculars was certainly worse than the first.

The second solution is unacceptable because the knowledge of English it provides is insufficient for the objects previously mentioned. The English learn French as a second language and some of us have ourselves learned it in the old days. General experience confirmed by my own is that, in most cases, the knowledge thus acquired is

insufficient for the purposes that have been detailed above.

The true solution in my opinion, is to adopt all three viz. English, Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages. The usefulness of English and the claims of the national languages will be safeguarded at the same time.

The chief criticism will be that owing to the prestige of English, Sinhalese and Tamil will in fact be neglected, although they be given official status. The answer is that a great deal will depend on how the proposal is put into effect. Every person seeking public employment should be expected to be at least bi-lingual in that he will be obliged to know English as well as one of the national languages. The staffing, equipment and amenities of our Sinhalese and Tamil schools will have to be raised to a much higher level than they have now attained, while the curriculum of the English secondary school could be progressively

so modified as to make the students almost equally proficient in English and Sinhalese or Tamil.

The other criticism is that the inevitable confusion brought about by the adoption of two official languages will be even worse confounded by our taking on an additional third and that an intolerable burden will be laid on public officers who have to conduct business in three different languages. The answer is that only a very few have to be proficient in all three languages. The great majority need know only two. Even at present when only English is the official language, many are expected to know both Sinhalese and Tamil, and this require-

ment has never been considered to be a hardship.

Switzerland is a remarkable example of a country having more than one official language. It really has four state languages, German, French, Italian and Romansch. But the last-named can be neglected as it is spoken by only one per cent of the people. German, French and Italian are the official languages of the Federal Government, and all Federal laws and decrees are published in all three languages. I have been to Switzerland to study the educational organisation in that country in relation to the language problem, and I can say without hesitation that the system works very smoothly indeed and that in spite of the numerical preponderance of the German-speaking Swiss—they form 72 per cent of the population—the harmony and concord that exist in that country would be significant even in a country without the racial and linguistic differences of Switzerland. I see no reason why we cannot do likewise.

It is probable that much of the instinctive opposition that the proposal to have three official languages is likely to provoke is due to a feeling that the adoption of English as one of the languages of administration is derogatory to our self-respect. It is thought by some that we must demonstrate to the world that we are a free and independent nation by removing from English its official character. But it is when we were a subject nation that English was a badge of servitude. Now that we are free, all the world knows that if we retain English as one of the official languages, it is by deliberate choice and that it is in no way forced upon us by an external power. Pandit Nehru, who has fought England all his life, has led his great country into the Commonwealth simply because the interests of India demanded it. Although he has spent a fair portion of his life in prison, to which he was sent by the British rulers, he has not permitted that circumstance to poison his relations with Great Britain. With regard to the use of English itself in India, the initial attitude of uncompromising hostility has now been modified by the cold logic of facts into one of cautious experimentation. Our problem is of course much simpler than that of India.

As an immediate solution, we might set up a term of 15 years, during which all three languages will be regarded as official. At the end of that term the whole question can be reviewed. We are passing through a period when so many political changes are taking place that we do not know in what political set-up we shall find ourselves in the not distant future. Our final relationship with India for example has yet to be defined, and there is no doubt that our language problem will be gravely affected by the nature of that relationship. It is therefore a measure of elementary prudence not to make far-reaching changes at the present moment, if further modifications have to be introduced a few years hence. An early decision on the question is desirable if the disturbed condition of our schools is not to turn into utter chaos.

LANGUAGE THE PROBLEM

II

By Julius de Lanerolle

SELECT Committee of the State Council was appointed on

20th September, 1945

"to consider and report on the steps necessary to effect the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil with the object of making Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of the country."

This Committee held their first meeting on 25th September, 1945. and took just one year to finish their task. After covering a wide field of inquiry they issued a very comprehensive report, which was published

as Sessional Paper XXII of 1946.

Before making their recommendations they visited Hyderabad, Mysore and Madras, considered all shades of opinion on the subject and studied various methods of transition adopted by other nations. They examined as many as 381 Memoranda, of which 89 were from Heads of Government Departments. Among those whose evidence they recorded were academicians, lawyers, doctors, merchants, industrialists, bankers, planters and printers. A number of Literary Associations and Associations of teachers and Government servants, as well as a few political bodies, too, placed their views before the Select Committee.

The Select Committee visualised an interim period of ten years at the end of which English should cease to be the official language of the country and Sinhalese and Tamil should take its place. They

recommended that this interim period should be divided into two equal stages of planning. They expected that, if their subsidiary recommendations were properly carried out, there would be at the close of the first five years a considerable number of students leaving our schools sufficiently equipped with a knowledge of the national languages to join most grades of Government Service. They also thought that at least the pioneer stage of the work they recommended for the necessary development of the national languages would be brought to a successful conclusion by that time. At the beginning of the second five years, according to the Select Committee's recommendations, a Commission of Inquiry was to be appointed to review the progress made during the preceding stage and to make proposals for the fuller use of the national languages thereafter.

The programme of transition was to commence with the appointment of a Commissioner of National Languages and the establishment of a Translation Bureau as well as a Research Institute. The creation of Training Centres in Government Departments, the compilation of Glossaries, the rapid production of text books, and a host of other

things were then to follow.

The proposals made by the Select Committee are sound and of a very far-reaching nature, but the Government has been slow in adopting them. The soundness of the recommendations was doubtless due to the industry and foresight of the Committee's Chairman, Mr. J. R. Javewardene, who has now declared that English should be retained as an official language until such time as the national languages are able to hold their own. This declaration, it will be seen, is somewhat opposed to one of the fundamental requirements suggested by the Select Committee, which demanded that the Government should make clear its policy by declaring that exactly at the end of ten years English shall definitely cease to be the official language of the country. But, in point of fact, the difference between the two is not very great, because if the national languages could be made to hold their own, in ten years, as was visualised by the Select Committee, English would then, even according to Mr. Jayewardene's new suggestion, cease to function as an official language. Only, it embodies a security measure which, in the light of later experience, must be considered as a highly desirable one. For, if by any chance the national languages failed to develop with the same speed as was presumed by the Select Committee, the absence of English would then put a severe strain on the Administration. And there is good reason for this apprehension.

In a Memorandum submitted to the Government Parliamentary Group, recently, Mr. Jayewardene is reported to have said that the ten-year limit for supplanting English, though justified in the context in which it was proposed, was admittedly a drastic step. The great enthusiasm displayed by those who gave evidence before the Select Committee was itself a source of sufficient justification for the short time-limit fixed. But there were other reasons as well. For one thing, there was at that time a strong uproar amounting to a public demand that English should be immediately replaced by the national languages. In the face of what eventually followed, however, it can hardly be denied that the step recommended by the Select Committee has proved to be a little too drastic for a country like ours.

The Committee's report was published in all the three languages, and that was three years ago. During this comparatively long period there has been no intelligent response, either from the established institutions or from any responsible individuals, with regard to the drawbacks and difficulties which for the first time the Committee brought to light. The enthusiasm gradually died down and the clamour proved for the most part to be more emotional than otherwise. The authorities responsible for the efficient administration of Government had naturally in these circumstances to be cautious and careful in effecting drastic

changes.

Of the two national languages, Tamil has very few problems and hardly any of the difficulties which Sinhalese finds itself called upon to face at this juncture. Though Sinhalese has for long flourished as a school subject, it has never been treated as one related to the daily life of its native speakers. In no secondary school has it ever been treated as a living language. And the University, too, where it is even today taught through the medium of a foreign language, has never been an exception. It is mainly owing to this negligence that Sinhalese has all along been lagging behind and gradually losing its vitality. No language can be hopeful of its very existence, let alone its development or progress, if it is not used for practical purposes of every-day life. It is not only in the administration of Government that Sinhalese has no important part to play. It is also inactive in all other principal activities of the country—commerce, industries, transport, communications, planting, organized agriculture and the like.

It is true that there have been outbursts of enthusiasm and excitement with regard to the improvement and well-being of the Sinhalese language. But they have always been nothing more than ephemeral. This transient nature of the people's enthusiasm is mainly due to the indifference of the so-called educated classes. For otherwise there is a genuine awakening in the country, though it cannot of course be compared with the national consciousness that brought about the

linguistic revival in England in the sixteenth century or that in Bengal in the last century.

It is one of our common experiences to see that nearly every Sinhalese who can speak English prefers to get through all his or her daily business with the aid of English, to the deliberate exclusion of Sinhalese. This is as true of those who are genuinely interested in the progress of the Sinhalese language as those who are indifferent. In Sinhalese-owned business houses accounts are almost invariably kept in English. Sinhalese-owned Estates accounts and Check Rolls, as well as monthly reports, are kept mostly in English. A certain class of Sinhalese scholars, who cannot be accused of any knowledge of English at all, sign their Sinhalese documents and Sinhalese letters invariably in English. On the whole, there seems to be an inferiority complex developed by the Sinhalese with regard to their national language. This, however, need not be labelled as a new tendency. From very early times Sinhalese has not been used for many of its legitimate functions. For long centuries, the Sinhalese have neglected their mother tongue and have used classical languages for their religious and scientific studies. This becomes quite clear from the fact that, after more than two thousand years of Buddhist activity in this country, we do not still possess an adequate Sinhalese translation of the Buddhist Scriptures; and that, except for one or two medical works, we cannot boast of any scientific literature in Sinhalese as compared with Sanskrit. Further evidence can be cited in abundance. But no such expatiation is necessary for the present purpose.

The indifference of the Sinhalese towards their mother tongue in former times did not produce any disastrous results, especially because in those days no other spoken language appeared in the field as a rival. But today conditions are different; and Sinhalese has to contend against the on rush of such a powerful and penetrating language as English. It must be remembered that English, having first come to England as a conqueror's language, crowded out all the Celtic dialects which were natives of the country at the time. It must also be remembered that, after the Norman conquest, even as the language of a subdued people, it succeeded in ousting such a dominating language as Norman French from England—and that, within less than three centuries. The inevitable tendency under the existing conditions in Ceylon today is for Sinhalese to retreat wherever English makes its

appearance.

Now arises the question, whether the Sinhalese as a people stand to suffer if ever their language were to be replaced by English. For, in the course of recorded history, as I have pointed out elsewhere, many instances are found in which very powerful languages under similar circumstances ceased to exist. Iberian is a notable example. It was once spoken all over the great Spanish Peninsula. No less important was Etruscan, which once exercised much influence on Latin peoples. The latest to share the same fate was no less a cultured language than Egyptian, which, superseded by Arabic, ceased to function as a living language, in the seventeenth century. If we are to judge from the fact that nothing serious happened to the people of Spain, Etruria or Egypt by the extinction of their national languages, we can hardly expect a different thing to result from the language of the Sinhalese being replaced by English. In point of fact, however, there seems to be very little comparison between what is now happening in Ceylon and what had happened in those countries centuries ago. There are both historical and geographical factors to be examined aftesh. Without going into those scientific details one can safely say that English, with all its vast popularity and with all other advantages it has over Sinhalese, must take at least five centuries from now to become the domestic speech of the whole Sinhalese population. To expect a foreign tongue like English to become the domestic speech of an Asian people like the Sinhalese is something impossible. It is for this reason, if for nothing else, that Sinhalese should not be neglected. So long as there is evidence to show that Sinhalese, with all its drawbacks, will persist as the home language of the people, so long does it remain our duty to cultivate it. Any negligence on our part cannot but result in denationalization and wholesale intellectual deterioration.

Sinhalese cannot be ignored as an official language, however unhelpful the attitude of the educated classes may be towards its growth, especially because it is the home language of nearly 70% of the whole population of the country. Nor can English be dislodged while Sinhalese is still unable to hold its own. With regard to Tamil, there is no such difficulty at all. It is one of the most copious and most developed Indian languages; it can function as an official language, irrespective of English, though in this country it can never be a substitute for English. The Finance Minister's suggestion not to do away with English in the present context is therefore a very wise one

It is to be hoped that Government will not hesitate to give effect to Mr. Jayewardene's scheme because it is one that can be adopted with full confidence. There seems to be no other possible way of removing a long-standing anomaly—the anomaly of having universal franchise in a self-governing country where all administrative, legislative and judicial functions are carried on through the medium of a foreign

language. This is by no means to suggest that English learning should be discouraged or suppressed in order that the national languages might flourish. On the contrary, English learning must be given every possible encouragement and made as popular a subject as any other intended for modern progress. Real national progress in the modern world can never be achieved without the aid of an international language. And the only such language easily accessible to the people of this country is obviously English, which also happens to be the most useful world-language today. In Asian countries like China and Japan, English is taught as a compulsory second language. A mordern progressive nation cannot but be at least bi-lingual, if not tri-lingual. If this was possible with a nation like the Japanese, there can be no reason why it should be otherwise with us.

It is often asked whether two or three languages can operate together as official languages of a single country. The question is superfluous because it has for long been an accomplished fact in many countries. Switzerland presents the best example, where there are four state languages, namely, German, French, Italian and Romansch. Of these four languages, Romansch has only a very few native speakers. The Swiss Confederation consists of 22 cantons and covers an area of 16,000 square miles with a population of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million. Of these people 72% are German-speaking, 21% French-speaking, 6% Italian-speaking and 1% Romansch-speaking.

Belgium, with a population of 8 million, has two official languages,

Flemish and French. Belgium is half the size of Ceylon.

In Holland, which is a little more than half the size of Ceylon, with a population of 9 million, the official language is Dutch. But three other languages, English, French and German, are also taught in schools.

Canada has two official languages, English and French.

In the Union of South Africa, both English and Afrikaans are official languages. Afrikaans is a corrupted form of Dutch. Its grammar differs from Dutch but its vocabulary remains much the same as that of High Dutch.

In Malta there are two languages, English and Italian, declared as official. But a third one, Maltese, as the language of popular intercourse, enjoys "all such facilities as are necessary to satisfy the reasonable needs of those who are not sufficiently conversant with the English or Italian languages."

The Select Committee has thoroughly examined all aspects of the multi-language problem, and their recommendations are sufficiently

full for all contingencies arising out of it.

The present position of the whole question seems to be as follows :-The terms of reference cited at the beginning of this article indicate the unequivocal readiness on the part of the State Council to adopt Sinhalese and Tamil as Official Languages, supplanting English altogether. The Select Committee of the State Council formulated ways and means of doing it, in ten years. Their recommendations made it incumbent on the Government to declare its policy that at the end of ten years English would definitely cease to function as the Official Language of the country and be replaced by the two national languages. But the present Government has so far refrained from committing itself to such a serious responsibility. In the meantime, the Finance Minister has offered a via media suggesting the adoption of all the three languages, English, Sinhalese and Tamil, as Official Languages for the present, without any drastic declaration, but making all necessary provision for the national languages to grow in time. This seems to be somewhat in accord with what I wrote in the University of Ceylon Review a short while before the Select Committee began its sittings. I had reason even then, as now, to observe that "the whole process of transition should be planned on strictly practical lines, giving no place to the fallacy of overdoing anything at any time."

The Finance Minister's plan being both practical and sound, the

Cabinet is likely to adopt it without delay.

SOME SINHALESE DESIGNS

By D. B. Dhanapala

THE Sittara, the old-world Sinhalese painter, being chiefly a decorative and symbolic artist, lives in a fantastic world of his own, peopled by fabulous creatures, mythical birds and fantastic flowers. It would

be interesting to scrutinise a few of these.

The "Makara," for instance, is a whole zoological garden summarised in lines into a design. It has the trunk of an elephant, two feet of a lion, the ears of a pig, the body of a fish, the teeth of a monkey and the tail of a swan. The motif is usually painted on gateways. The Makara Thorana is an ornamental arch springing from two Makaras

in profile facing each other. As though two such would not give enough satisfaction, the arch is crowned by a "Kihimbi" (or lion) face. It is a kind of tame dragon with an ornamental tail.

If we trace the Makara of Indian art back to its earliest example it becomes apparent that its origin is certainly not a very attractive or decorative creature—the crocodile. It is above the entrance of the



Lomas Rishi cave of Bihar that Vogel finds the Makara in its earliest traceable form and here there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that it is the crocodile which the sculptor intended to portray. The next stage, according to H. Cousens, in the archaeological survey of India, is found on the toranas of the famous Stupa of Bharut in Central India, still retaining the original character of the crocodile. A figure of a river goddess is made to stand on a Makara at Tadpatri, S. India, (6th century A.C.). Here the creature has four well-shaped legs of a lion and a thin elongated tail. The same form is repeated at Melkote (S. India) in the 12th century. Here the elephant's snout is distinctly lengthened. By far the most interesting examples are the Makaras at Puri (11th century). Here the two Makaras face outwards and are combinations of horses and lions with a rider on each. There are two



pairs on either side of the central figure fitted into squares and not into one overpowering arch. The "Kihimbi" face is very small, taking

only a minor, if a central, place in the design.

Another peculiar creature is the "Kindura" whom Monier William and Dawson call a centaur. There is no half-horse, half-man in Sinhalese art. What we have got is quite enough, thank you! The Kindura is half-man and half-bird and the bird, if anything, is a swan. The Kindura, as we have it in Sinhalese art, can be traced to Barahat (3rd century) and Ajanta (5th century). Usually it is represented as a woman playing on something musical. Grunwedel reproduces a Siamese version in "Buddhist Art in India." The Kinduras are said to live in the Himalayas.



The Hansa is one of the commonest of motifs. It is the representation of the sacred goose or swan of Heaven which stands in Hinduism for so much discrimination that it is said to be shrewd enough to leave the water and drink the nutritive portion from a bowl of adulterated milk.

In the representation of this natural lactometer of the ancients it is not a mere case of borrowed feathers only. It has the nails of a dog, the eyes of a fowl, the face of a fish, the beak of a goose and the tail of a nothing-on-earth. Considering the proverbial contempt for the goose in general it is astounding to think what honour is paid to its stupidity in many parts of the world. The Rajawaliya makes it the king of birds just as the lion is the king of beasts. Augustine traces the respect for the goose shown by the Romans to the gratitude for the safety of Rome brought about by them when the Goths attacked the city at midnight. But the fact that the birds that cackled on that fateful night themselves were sacred in the temple of Juno shows that their mythological eminence preceded their political renown. The origin of the veneration of the goose may be traced to the notion that the Romans along with Greeks and Egyptians had the idea that the

goose had great love for its offspring. Aristotle praises its sagacity; Aelian its courage and cunning. The ancient Britons. records Caesar, refrained from eating the flesh of the goose. The fact that they wisely did not like to cook their own goose in itself may much



of a self-denial. Mill, in his "History of the Crusades," says that the first crusade which issued from England, France and Flanders, adored a goat and a goose. Tennent suggests that the Pali "Hansa" by which we know it in Ceylon is the same as "Hansa" of the Burmese, "gansa" of the Malays, the "ansar" of the Romans, the "ganso" of the Portuguese, the "ansar" of the Spaniards, the "gaus" of the Germans and the "gander" of the English. The "hansa" is the

emblem of the Burmans and their brass weights are generally cut in the shape of the sacred bird just as the Egyptians formed their weights of stone after the same model.

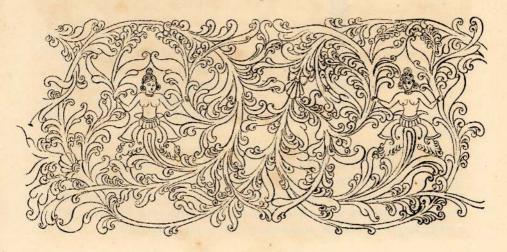
The lion, again, is nothing like the actuality. It is the mythical ancestor of the Sinhalese, the animal totem standing for majesty and power. The full face is that of the "Kihimbi." According to the Rupavaliya the lion "has the eyes like those of a hare, a fierce look,

soft hair, long hair on the chest and under the shoulder; back plump like a sheep's; the body of a well blooded horse; a stately walk and a long tail." But the Sittara is not satisfied with one type of lion, Kessara Sinha, the lion proper. In fact there is a whole tribe of sixteen different types. Two of those types



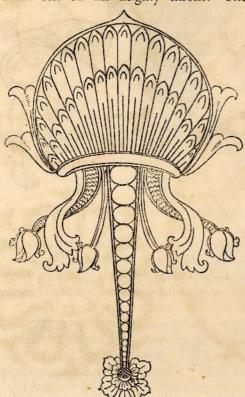
are crosses between man and lion (Narasinha) and elephant and lion (Gajasinha).

Another mythical conception is the "narilata-vela," a very interesting motif. It is a climbing creeper of which the flower is a woman in all wise of perfect beauty, glorious in grace. Like the Hansa and the Kindura this woman-creeper flourishes in the safe regions



known vaguely as the Himalayas, where it is said to have shaken the vows of hermits. The lower part of the figure of the woman is lost in petals and usually the figure holds symmetrical creeper stems in her hands.

From the Himalayas only one design takes a bold step further and goes straight into heaven. This is the "Kadupulmala," the heavenly flower, a union between an ornamental sword hilt and a flower. It is also called the "parasatu," flower of the tree under which God Sakra sits on his mighty throne. The "Guttila Kavya" describes



the parasathu thus: brightness of the tree shone for two hundred 'gows' around it, the scent of its flowers was felt four hundred 'gows' away."

But the most common motif is the lotus (nelunmala). How many hundreds of types there are none can say. The Sittara had a practical knowledge of geometry and he divided the lotus circles into multiples of two. There may be four, eight or sixteen petals but never three, five or fifteen. The realistic form seen at Ajanta is found only in a rare instance as at Anuradhapura. The usual form is the rosette. According to Parker the lotus seems to have had protective functions. In Egypt it was

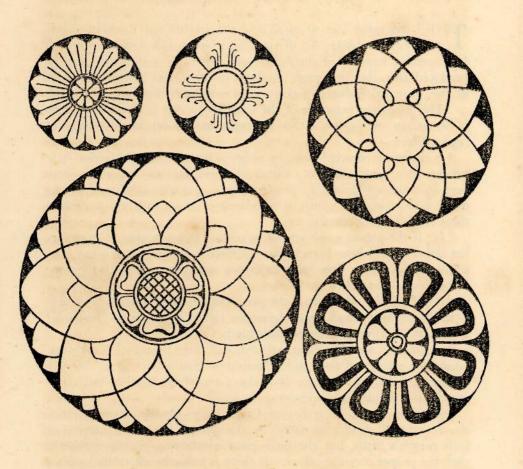
connected with Ra, the Sun God, one of whose forms it was considered

to be a type.

In Sinhalese literature the lotus is a symbol of purity. The lotus springs up from the mud but is never tainted by the dirt in which it grows: so lives the pure man in a wicked world. The most sacred of the flowers, it is the offering to the Buddha. It is also made into a throne on which the sedent Buddha sits. The lotus petal has been used as a moulding in Sinhalese architecture for a very long time.

The adoption of the lotus as a design for the cover of "The New Lanka" is very appropriate as no other design is so typical of and popular in Sinhalese art.

These are but a few of the numerous typical designs used in Sinhalese art.



THE CITIZENSHIP ACTS

By E. R. S. R. Coomaraswamy

THE Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1949 have raised such a storm of protest from certain sections of the Community that the impression may be produced that this is a piece of discriminatory legislation. A review of the principal features of these statutes would, therefore, be useful.

The governing principle of the Citizenship Act is descent. A person is a citizen of Ceylon either by right of descent or by virtue of

registration !-

A citizen by descent may be either a person born in Ceylon or a person born outside Ceylon. Either of these persons may have been born before the appointed date (November 25, 1948) or after the appointed date. The conditions which have to be satisfied are different in each of these four sets of circumstances—

(a) If the person was born in Ceylon and before the date in question, his father should have been born in Ceylon. If this was not the case, it should be shown that his grandfather and great-grandfather on the father's side were born in Ceylon.

(b) If, on the other hand, the person was born in Ceylon on or after 25th November, 1948, such person's father must be a citizen of

Ceylon at the time of such person's birth.

(c) In the case of persons born outside Ceylon before 25th November, 1948, the paternal father and grandfather should have been born in Ceylon. If this was not the case, the paternal grandfather and great-

grandfather should have been born in Ceylon.

(d) If any person is born outside Ceylon on or after the date mentioned above, not only should the father be a citizen of Ceylon at the time of such person's birth, but the birth must within one year be registered with the proper consular officer. If there is no such officer at the place of birth, then registration must be effected at the appropriate embassy or consulate, or at the office of the Minister in Ceylon. Application for registration has to be made by either parent or by any other person having a personal knowledge of the facts.

In case of doubt regarding a person who claims to be a citizen by descent, the Minister has an absolute discretion to grant a conclusive certificate. Although the principle of the Act is sound, there are a few omissions which may lead to hardship in individual cases. The Minister is given a discretion only to resolve cases of doubt. One can, however, visualise cases in which no doubt exists, but hardship is a necessary consequence from the fact that the persons in question cannot satisfy the letter of the Law, as in the case of children born in Malaya to Ceylonese, who have now returned to Ceylon. It is pertinent to ask, first, whether there should not be some provision to meet these and similar cases of hardship, and secondly, whether matters such as these should be left to the absolute discretion of an individual, however honest his intentions may be. The evils attendant on such discretionary powers have been repeatedly emphasised in England by eminent judges such as Lord Hewart and Lord Atkin.

By section 7 of the Act, foundlings, that is, persons first found in Ceylon as newly born deserted infants of unknown and unascertainable parentage, are considered to be citizens of Ceylon by descent, until it is shown that this assumption is incorrect. The status of persons, born illegitimate and not made legitimate in a manner recognised by the Law, (that is, by the subsequent marriage of the parents) is determined by reference to the mother and maternal ancestors, in place of reference to paternal ancestors, as in the case of legitimate children. Posthumous children take the status of the father at the time of his death.

Thus, in Ceylon the underlying principle is descent. In this respect, Ceylon differs from most of the other Countries, where the idea of citizenship is based on other factors, such as birth, residence or domicil. Our Act combines some of these ideas with particular emphasis on "descent."

Dual citizenship is prohibited. Even a citizen by descent cannot have it both ways, for Section 8 states that a citizen by descent, who wishes to prove his claims to citizenship by descent, must first renounce citizenship of another Country, which he may have acquired, according to the law of that Country. The effect of Section 14 of the Act is that a citizen of Ceylon, who has acquired citizenship of some other Country, cannot re-acquire his status, unless he applies for citizenship and satisfies the stringent provisions of Section 11.

Section 14 (2) provides that a citizen of some other Country can apply for citizenship by registration under Section 11, provided he renounces citizenship of that Country in accordance with the Law of that Country. But this provision raised a difficulty. The sub-section conflicts with the British Nationality Act of 1949, which provides that all persons born in the United Kingdom and the British Colonies, are citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, and they cannot renounce their citizenship, unless they first acquire some other citizenship. Thus, the British Act makes it a condition precedent to the

renunciation of British citizenship that there should be the acquisition of some other citizenship. Our Act refuses Ceylon citizenship without a prior renunciation of the British citizenship. This problem is insoluble in the present state of the Law. But an Amending Bill is being prepared to enable citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies to procure temporary Ceylon citizenship for a period of about one month, during which they can renounce their former citizenship. It is interesting to note here that the Home Secretary in a statement in the House of Commons on July 21, 1949, said that all persons born before the commencement of the British Nationality Act, 1949, in India, Pakistan or Ceylon are under the Act British subjects and need take no steps to retain that status.

Registration of Citizens may be under the Citizenship Act or under any other Law. The Citizenship Act contemplates two kinds of

registration-

(1) Of persons who are entitled to citizenship as of right;

(2) of persons who are given the status at the discretion of the Minister.

(1) A person is entitled to be registered as a citizen of Ceylon, if he is of full age (that is, 21 years) and of sound mind, is ordinarily resident, and intends to reside, in Ceylon, and can satisfy one of the

following conditions: (Section 11):-

(a) His mother should be, or should have been, a citizen of Ceylon by descent. If she had died before 25th November, 1949, she should have been qualified to attain that status, if she had lived so long. In addition to this, the applicant must satisfy a residential qualification, which is 10 years before the application, if he is unmarried, or 7 years, if he is married. "Married" here means "legally married," which would include even customary marriages and not merely marriages under the Marriage Registration Ordinance, although a writer in the Ceylon Law Students' Magazine, 1949, thinks otherwise. But it is seldom realised that in our Law registration is not essential to the validity of a marriage, except among Kandyan Sinhalese, but is only the best evidence of it. Therefore, even customary marriages are valid and legal.

(b) The applicant must be the spouse, or the widow or widower of a citizen of Ceylon by descent or registration. In this case, it is also necessary that the applicant should have resided in Ceylon for one year

prior to the date of the application.

(c) If he is a person who ceased to be a citizen of Ceylon by acquiring some other citizenship, he can renounce that citizenship, and apply for registration as a citizen of Ceylon.

In the first two cases ((a) and (b)) the applicant has a right to be registered as a citizen. In the third case, (that is, (c)), however, the Minister has the power to refuse the application on grounds of public policy. The unruly horse of "public policy" has crept into this statute. It is, perhaps, used here in its wider sense of the fundamental, ethical, political and social principles which guide legal evolution, whether in legislation or legal administration, at any given time. The English Judges have approached the concept of "public policy" with caution, because of its indefinite and haphazard nature and the distrust of a "mix-up" with politics and law-making. The Minister's refusal, however, cannot in Ceylon be questioned in any Court. Therefore, in this case, the Minister will be the sole judge of what is public policy.

An applicant under Section 11 must produce any documentary evidence that may be available, and an affidavit stating the facts, and he must be supported by three citizens by descent, who are intimately acquainted with him, and who can vouch for the truth of his statements. The oath of allegiance and the oath of citizenship must be taken within one month from the date on which the certificate of registration is granted, unless this period is extended by the Minister. The names of minor children can be included in the Certificate of Registration.

(2) Apart from registration in the circumstances mentioned above, a person, who cannot satisfy the stringent provisions of Section 11, may be registered as a citizen of Ceylon under Section 12, if he can satisfy the Minister by affidavit that he resides and intends to reside in Ceylon, and has rendered distinguished public service or is a person of eminence in professional, commercial, industrial or agricultural circles. If he cannot prove such service or eminence, he can show that he was naturalised under the repealed Naturalisation Ordinance or its British counterpart. But, only twenty-five persons can avail themselves of this section in each year. The Minister's discretion is again absolute.

A citizen by descent loses this status in several ways: First, by a declaration of renunciation, unless he is deemed to be an enemy in time of war; Secondly, by his becoming a citizen of any other Country voluntarily or by operation of law; thirdly, by a failure to declare his retention of citizenship of Ceylon in certain circumstances: this occurs where a child who was born to a citizen by registration outside Ceylon on or after the 25th November, 1948, and who was duly registered as a citizen by descent, fails within one year after attaining his twenty-first year to deliver to the Minister a declaration, supported by affidavit, that he wishes to retain his citizenship. Even a person, who fails to make this declaration and thereby loses his citizenship, can within one year of such loss or extended time allowed by the

Minister make a declaration, supported by affidavit to the Minister that he wishes to resume his former status, and in this manner, he can

regain it.

A citizen by registration also loses his citizenship by renunciation or by becoming a citizen of another country. But there are also two other reasons why he may lose his citizenship. The first is residence outside Ceylon for at least five consecutive years. This would not however include residence outside Ceylon as an employee or representative of the Ceylon Government, (including the spouse and minor child of such employee or representative), or on holiday or for reasons of health, or as a student at an educational institution, or as the spouse of a citizen of Ceylon by descent, or for any other prescribed purpose. The second reason is conviction of any offence under the Citizenship Act, or an offence against the State in the Penal Code for which the punishment involves rigorous imprisonment.

The Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act provides for the grant of the status of a citizen of Ceylon by registration to Indians

and Pakistanis who satisfy the following conditions:-

(1) Special residential qualification—this extends to ten years prior to 1st January, 1946, if the person is unmarried or is a widow, widower or person divorced. If such person is married, it extends to 7 years prior to such date. Residence is not interrupted by an occasional absence from Ceylon, provided the period did not exceed one year on any occasion.

(2) Application must be made within two years from the date on

which the Act was brought into operation.

(3) The applicant must be an Indian or Pakistani resident, or the widow or orphaned minor child of an Indian or Pakistani resident, as defined in the Act.

(4) He must have a reasonable assured income or a suitable business or employment or other lawful means of livelihood, to enable him

to support himself and his dependants.

(5) A male applicant, who is married, must also show that his wife and minor children, dependant on him, are ordinarily resident in

Ceylon.

(6) The applicant should not suffer from any disability or incapacity, which may render it difficult or impossible for the applicant to live in Ceylon according to our Laws. This would perhaps include the contracting of polygamous and incestuous marriages. But it is an open question whether our Law will not recognise polygamous marriages for certain purposes, even among non-Muslims, though it will certainly not permit the use of our laws and institutions to enforce or dissolve such marriages.

Recent English decisions like Srini Vasan vs. Srini Vasan (1947 P. 67), are in favour of the broader view.

(7) He must clearly understand that the effect of registration is the renunciation of his former civil and political status, and subjection to the Laws of Ceylon in all matters connected with status, personal

rights and duties and property in Ceylon.

The application must be supported by an affidavit of the applicant. He may also submit affidavits of other persons. If the Commissioner considers that a prima facie case has not been made out by the applicant, he can serve a notice on him to show cause within three months why his application should not be refused. If cause is shown, the Commissioner can hold an inquiry, or give public notice that the application will be allowed, unless objection is made to such allowance within one month. In every case the Commissioner will either allow or refuse the application, after hearing any objections that may be made, and holding an inquiry, which will be free from formalities and technicalities and subject only to the principles of natural justice. An appeal lies within three months from the Commissioner's order, allowing or refusing the

application, to the Supreme Court.

The principle underlying the Acts is sound. No citizen of Ceylon, whose loyalties are undivided, can quarrel with the desire of the Government "to determine our own citizenship and . . . to know exactly who the citizens of this country are." The lessons of History, both ancient and modern, teach us that a small country like Ceylon must take steps to protect its own citizens and to give them greater rights, powers and privileges than are given to those who cannot make up their mind on the question, to what country they owe allegiance. The principle of "descent" was perhaps, the only workable principle in the peculiar circumstance in which Ceylon was placed. Certain amendments are, however, essential to give relief in cases of hardship. These, however, are matters of minor detail. On the whole the statutes are unobjectionable, except, perhaps, to those persons who wish to reap the rewards of dual Citizenship. This includes not only foreigners but even those "citizens by descent," who owe allegiance to foreign powers, while being "citizens of Ceylon" in name only.

THE FILM, STAGE AND RADIO PLAY—A COMPARATIVE SKETCH

By Vernon Abeysekera

THE film, the stage and the radio play are art-forms of unequal 1 age and unequal nurture, each with a distinctive quality of its own. While the radio play works entirely in sound, the stage and the film work both in sound and vision, though it is by its concentration on vision alone that the film establishes itself as an art-form. quality of the radio play is obvious enough; less obvious is the difference, which is fundamental, between the film and the stage. If we find it difficult to appreciate this difference straight off, we must hold the "talkie" film responsible for this, more particularly the "talkie" of the commercialized variety. The talkie has to be put in its place, and considered for what it is—a phase in the life of the film. It has only been in existence about twenty years, and is hence less than one-half the age of the film proper. The early silent films were ventures in straightforward photography. With time came progressive tricks of photography,-Russian montage and German camera angles-craneshots and pan-shots during the period of what Paul Rotha calls "seasick photography." When speech was added to pictures it came as an exciting discovery, which shook the structures of the art-form, and, we can understand, caused a minor revolution in the commercial film world. As the emphasis was now on speech, the film studios had no use for those who could not articulate satisfactorily. The transition from the silent film to the talkie is marked by a change in dramatic personnel. Only a few old-stagers (Greta Garbo and Ronald Colman among them) were able to stay on and accommodate themselves to the new conditions. The introduction of speech was really a critical moment in the life of the film. Had the sound track been given greater emphasis than the camera, the film would have withered as an art-form, as it would then have become nothing more than the photographic representation of a stage play, revue or musical comedy. But the makers of the film rightly judged that what should predominate should be the visual aspects of the film-its speed and mobility; as a result the film as an art form survived and flourished. So much so that it is an axiom to say that the great moments of any film are its moments of great photography.

As the film, stage and radio work essentially in three different media, their possibilities vary, as do the mechanics of their production. This means that a play, written originally for the stage, has to be adapted one way for the cinema and another for the radio. A successful stage play does not necessarily make either a good screen or radio script, unless it is so altered and adapted as to suit the requirements of the particular art-form. This, we know, is a difficulty which the film makers appreciate readily enough. It explains the gingerliness with which they handle the great dramatists, and their timidity when they approach Shakespeare. The cinema has experimented with Shakespeare and this experimentation underlines and throws into clear relief the differences between the film and the stage. The very essence of the film is its speed and movement, and where a stage play can be interpreted in these terms, it is assured of success, because it transcends the limitations of the stage for which it was originally intended. "Romeo and Juliet" and "Hamlet" were both experiments which turned out happily: "Romeo and Juliet" was blessed with all the visual qualities,it brimmed over with spectacle and action. In "Hamlet" the camerawhich created an atmosphere and intimacy as the stage could never have done-and the sheer richness of the spoken word made an overwhelming combination. In "Henry V" Olivier made this difference between the film and the stage clear in filmic terms. The early scenes were shots of the Globe Theatre-within and without. The camera panned from green room to stage and pit, evoking the spirit of the old Elizabethan theatre. But when the action shifted to France, the Globe Theatre and the "traffic of the stage" were abandoned: and the film formula of realism came into its own. One observation on Shakespeare is apposite here. Shakespeare and the Elizabethan age threw the limitations of the stage overboard by neglecting them entirely: they made no attempt to capture realistic background effects; they left a great deal to the imagination of the audience, thereby giving their plays a speed and mobility as succeeding dramatists seldom ever did. It has been pointed out that Shakespeare's later plays have an almost filmic quality, which would indicate that Shakespeare—the later Shakespeare at any rate-is good film material. The Shaw experiment was again an interesting one. "Pygmalion" and "Major Barbara" were really filmed plays and their goodness was the goodness of the original plays, while "Caesar and Cleopatra" with its photographic possibilities was better film material than either of the other two.

Shaw's wordiness which makes him difficult film material makes him peculiarly adaptable to the radio. The reason for this, as we have noticed, is that the radio play operates in sound alone. The wordiness is abstracted from any visual disturbances the stage play may have, and is thereby given the greatest emphasis. It is the business of the listener to let his imagination evoke the scene and setting, and this

he has to do on the auditory data given to him. This is an exciting pastime, but it is the responsibility of the producer to strike the right notes; (insufficient data will make the play ununderstandable, while excessive data will make it confusing). The producer has to do this by a combination of sound effects and music (the difference between them is at times indistinguishable). It is by the judicious use of these effects that the producer makes up for his disability in working in sound alone. It is left to his ingenuity to discover in terms of sound a counterpart to the visual effects of the camera. The cinema has now learnt to make significant use of inanimate objects. Hitchcock is particularly fond of this trick. In "Suspicion," the heroine lives in mortal dread that her husband intends to kill her. Hitchcock built up a lot of suspense by playing the camera on a glass of orange juice her husband used to bring her nightly. We are also familiar with the now clichetic ash-tray full of cigarette stubs-indicative that somewhere close by a very harassed and very impatient man is pacing up and down the room. All this visual play has to be paralleled by sound symbols on the radio and each producer has to discover his own symbols. It is interesting to note how a particular visual difficulty-a ghostly manifestation-could be surmounted on the stage and on the radio. Coward's "Blithe Spirit" presents this problem. It was originally written for the stage, but the film in technicolour made best use of it, because the ghostly manifestation, the blithe spirit herself, was of the quality of fantasy, and fantasy is the film's happy hunting ground. In this case the stage has to use heavier clumsier devices—spotlighting and make-up but the radio has to fall back on sound effects to register the visual concept. One device-used by the B.B.C. in a play of the same sortwas to strike a large gong, with the microphone faded down, so that the striking of the gong itself was inaudible; the microphone was instantly faded up, and caught the reverberations of sound, which were used to herald the ghostly visitor with the desired effect. As the radio play cannot work visually, scenes of mighty action are not really within its scope: it is always more successful when its action is reduced and the characters are few-a crowd of voices only means confusion. These are some of the disadvantages under which the radio play has to work. And inasmuch as the stage play of ideas is better radio material than the stage play of action, it is the film, where cinematic devices are least used, like the musical, which makes the most successful radio adaptation.

But both radio and film are free from some of the disabilities under which the stage labours. In the theatre, actors and audience form two watertight entities, cut off one from the other by the proscenium. This is for the most part true, though the Russians have experimented

with unconventionality and disposed their sets and actors among the audience in the body of the theatre. The camera with its close-ups and the microphone with its intimacy shatter this sense of separateness. Scene and costume changes are further disabilities which hold up the action. Editing and cutting ensure the rapid continuity of a film; and in the case of the radio play a line or two in the dialogue, or a suggestive sound effect are all that are necessary to suggest a change of scene. All this makes for the mobility of the cinema and radio, as the scene need not last a second longer than is dramatically essential. When the curtain goes up on a scene, the duration of the action depicted is more or less the time taken for the scene to work its way through, to the end. No liberties can be taken with the time values till the curtain goes down on the scene again. The cinema and radio on the other hand treat the time values cavalierly: they will reject dramatically unnecessary details. We are spared the details of a car journey which has in itself no dramatic value. All that will be needed will be the sound (or shot) of the car starting off and later reaching its destination. In the Powell-Pressburger film "The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp" the lapse of time was registered in a novel way by a succession of rifle shots; (Colonel Blimp had perforce to be a big-game hunter): with each rifle shot a fresh souvenir studded the walls of the trophy-room. There are other familiar cinematic devices which have equivalents on the radio though not on the stage. A dream sequence is filmed by placing gauze over the lens: the radio parallel to this is the creation of artificial echo. By means of double-exposures a film actor can appear in the same scene and hold conversation with himself. On the radio an actor can double parts when necessary and answer his own voice by listening to a recorded version of it on the headphones.

Similarities between the three media are inevitable, as they are three different types of dramatic representation, but it is by their dissimilarities that the individuality of each is emphasized. There is the sordid commercial fact that the literary output of each is dictated by cash dividends. While the record-rooms of the Hollywood Studios are cluttered with the scripts of ambitious scribblers, there is a dearth of good radio drama. But the vitality of each medium is testified by the influence it exercises on the other. Even the technically best equipped medium, the film, falls back for inspiration when necessary on the technically least equipped medium—the radio play. (We had a fairly topical example of this in the film "Sorry, Wrong number"). The final responsibility for the quality and vigour of any particular film, stage or radio play will fall on the public, for whom that medium is created. We know that the public gets what it wants and what it deserves.

CEYLON AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

By B. R. Blaze

CIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE once made a prediction that has yet to be fulfilled, that "generations yet unborn will reflect with gratitude upon the names of those persons to whose humanity they will owe the numerous blessings which attend a state of freedom." This prophecy is to be found in a 1 letter addressed by him to a group of Ceylonese slave-owners who had voluntarily decided to take the drastic step of declaring free all children born of their slaves after a specified

date-the Twelfth of August next ensuing.

This step was decided on by a unanimous vote at a meeting of certain members of the congregation of Wolvendaal Church, where slaves were allotted special pews, and where their presence at Divine Service Sunday after Sunday was a silent reproach and a persistent reminder of a custom that was already regarded as barbaric and unmoral. The meeting was held to consider ways and means of putting an end to this custom which irked the consciences of the conveners, a custom of which they were all ashamed, but from which they could see no way out. Their problem was how to set at liberty those who neither desired liberty nor could escape suffering and hardship if liberty were granted.

²Pandit Nehru has drawn a distinction between slavery "of the domestic kind" and slavery that "had huge gangs working on the land or elsewhere." "The glory and majesty of ancient Greece and Rome, as of ancient Egypt," he says, "had for their foundation a system of widespread slavery." But in India and China the slavery was of the

less objectionable "domestic" kind. So in Ceylon.

In fact, slavery was in Ceylon already a thing of the past. Those who were still called slaves were really helpless dependants and in many cases a burden to their masters though they had a money value, while generally slaves who wished to be free found no obstacle in their way. ³Governor North found that "slaves could for the most part obtain their liberty on account of insufficiency of the proofs of their slavery." This

Records of Dutch Church at Galle.
 Glimpsts of World History, p. 71.
 Colvin R. de Silva, Ceylon Under the British Occupation, p. 257.

being the case, it seems to follow that there was a voluntary element in much of the traces of slavery that still remained. Ceylon had already liberated all the slaves that could be liberated without flagrant violation of property rights supported by documentary proof. The passing of the Act to this effect had compelled many former slaves to fend for themselves, but only in cases where they otherwise ran the risk of being disowned at any time and of having all responsibility for their maintenance disclaimed. On the other hand, those owners who established their rights of possession were at the same time obliged to assume full responsibility for their dependants. An earlier law that the Dutch had passed towards the reduction and ultimate abolition of the slave trade was confirmed in 1802, and a fine of a thousand Rixdollars was prescribed as the penalty for any attempt at increasing the slave-population by enslaving a free-born person.

The conscience of the world had long been alive to the cruelty and injustice of the traffic in coloured humanity. But in Britain there was a struggle for sixteen years, from 1791 to 1807, before even a Bill for the abolition of the trade could be adopted by Parliament, and another twenty-six years passed before slavery itself was declared illegal in 1833. It was not till 1840 that the first World Anti-Slavery Convention was held. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln himself was prepared to allow slavery to continue without interference where it already existed, though he was opposed to its extension; and in 1861 there were still

Very different was the position in Ceylon. Slavery existed in a sense—it was a universal institution down to the eighteenth century, with a history as old as the human race. Civilised as well as uncivilised peoples regarded it as in the natural order of things. When Dr. Colvin R. de Silva says that "the Dutch law recognised slavery," he can only mean that the Dutch law regulated what was a universal practice, in order to prevent abuse. For, to quote again from Dr. de Silva's book, the ⁵ Batavian authorities "enacted several wholesome and humane laws to that end."

The trade was mainly in African negroes, but persons of any race or country were liable to become victims, and all the world recognised the legality of the practice. But even as early as 27th September, 1660, Ryclof van Goens issued a ⁶placaat interdicting the selling or mortgaging of free-born Sinhalese.

four million slaves in the United States.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Ceylon Under the British Occupation, p. 256.

^{6.} Government Archives. Copy in Colombo Museum.

In the eighteenth century, slaves who ran away were still in certain circumstances liable even to the death penalty, in Ceylon as well as in other countries. But measures were being taken with increasing frequency to mitigate the horrors of slavery, and the movement towards abolition began in Ceylon half a century before its consummation. 7 In 1775, Lord Dartmouth as British Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote, "We cannot allow our colonies to check or to discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation." (At that time Liverpool alone handled two sevenths of the world's trade in slaves). In sharp contrast to this, 8 in 1771 Governor Falck had greatly reduced the number of slaves in Ceylon by proclaiming all free whose owners could not produce proper title deeds, and 8 in 1787 Van der Graaf tightened the regulations still further by making transfers difficult. Traffic in Christian slaves was forbidden in this country long before the arrival of the British. At the time of the British arrival, Count de Meuron, who had been in the Dutch service and had transferred his allegiance to the British, recommended the establishment of a Slave Register, specifically with a view to the ultimate abolition of slavery.

These facts indicate the sentiments that prevailed in Ceylon before the British took over. It must be remembered that the British occupation was undertaken as a temporary measure, and British governors were specially instructed to conform as far as possible to Dutch sentiment as they found it. For example, in a Despatch to the first British Governor, dated 25th May, 1799, the Directors of the British East India Company wrote, "His Majesty has deemed it expedient, and has accordingly directed, that for the present temporary administration of Justice and Police in the Island of Ceylon should, as nearly as circumstances will permit, be exercised by you in conformity to the Laws and Institu-

tions that subsisted under the Dutch Government."

North was himself a Liberal, but while he piously echoed the feeling in the country by condemning slavery in theory and by adopting De Meuron's suggestion of a Slave Register, he himself dealt in slaves officially on behalf of the British Government, and recruited his Kaffir Corps by purchasing slaves!

His successor, Maitland, did not even pretend to disapprove of slavery, and reproached North with having been biassed in favour of

the slave against the master.

It was in such circumstances, then, that those gentlemen met on that memorable July morning in 1816, formally to condemn by implication

See the Black Man's Burden, by E. D. Morel, p. 21.
 Placaats dated 23-7-1787 and 1-8-1771, Government Archives.
 Colvin R. de Silva, C.U.B.O. p. 258.

what they knew to have been practised and apparently encouraged by their rulers. Why had they not done so earlier? Not because they were waiting for Sir Alexander Johnstone, of whose interest in the matter nobody seems to have been aware. It is very likely that the matter of the continuance or discontinuance of slavery was held over pending the settlement of the more exciting question as to who would be the eventual rulers of Ceylon at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars. It is well-known that widespread uncertainty on this point remained till the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. Even as late as 15th June, 1814, William of Orange, 10 writing from the Hague, after referring to and confirming his former decrees against slavery in his dominions, adds with pathetic optimism and understandable diffidence, "At the eventual negotiations relative to the restitution of the Dutch colonies, we shall not be averse to having inserted in the Treaty such an article as shall continue to bind the Government of this State to the perpetual observance of the aforesaid measures."

But the Peace Treaty which was signed in 1815 did not give William of Orange the opportunity to carry out his benevolent intentions in Ceylon, and so it was left to his former subjects there to take the initiative in destroying the last vestiges of slavery in their midst.

It was a natural circumstance that the first organised meeting for the purpose should have taken place at the Wolvendaal Church. Many of those who came together there belonged to the Consistory of a Church which preached a doctrine fundamentally opposed to the principle of slavery. They felt keenly the anomaly that they should all be slave owners themselves.

It so happened that as citizens of substance and good repute they had recently found themselves enrolled as Special Jurors under the system that had just been introduced by the new Chief Justice. It was their opportunity. They decided that they in turn should invite him to collaborate with them in an enterprise of their own, inspired by their constant concern, as a body, with matters of religion and of justice. They consulted His Lordship, informed him of their feelings, and invited him to be the channel through which they could communicate to the British Government their long-cherished humanitarian purpose. Sir Alexander readily agreed, and thus gave them the opportunity they sought. Having unanimously passed the momentous resolution which rang the death-knell of slavery in Ceylon, they deputed the Secretaries of the Meeting, Messrs. Prins and Kriekenbeek, to approach Sir Alexander with the request that their Resolution should be forwarded to the Governor.

^{10.} Translation in Museum Archives (Colombo).

"Gentlemen," wrote Sir Alexander in acknowledgment, "I have the honour to receive the Resolutions which you have sent me by Mr. Kriekenbeek and Mr. Prins, and shall with pleasure present them

as you desire me to His Excellency the Governor."

The action taken by these members of the Wolvendaal Consistory was quickly followed by a similar step at Galle. On the very day on which Sir Alexander was acknowledging receipt of the Petition from the Special Juries of Colombo, thirteen members of the "Special Juries" at Galle informally "assembled by general consent" (to quote the "Minutes) after the usual morning Divine Service at the Galle Reformed Church unanimously confirmed and approved the Resolution adopted by their Colombo brethren a week earlier.

12 On 24th July, 1816, the following letter was despatched to Sir

Alexander :-

"To the Honourable Sir A. Johnstone, Knight, Chief Justice of the Honourable the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Island of Ceylon, Colombo.

May it please your Lordship,

We the underwritten Dutch Burgher Jurors of this place assume the Liberty to lay before your Lordship a Resolution taken by us on Sunday the 21st instant in which we also have declared free the children that shall be born from slaves at Galle from and after the 12th of August next ensuing.

And we humbly pray that it may please your Lordship to submit the said our Resolution to His Excellency the Governor in order that the same may be included in the Rules which His Excellency may be pleased to make in Respect of a Resolution to

the same effect by the Dutch Special Jurors at Colombo.

We subscribe ourselves with profound respect Your Lordship's

most obedient, most Humble and faithful servants,

J. H. BRECHMAN.

J. M. WITTENSLEGER.

Point de Galle, 24th July, 1816.

Jaffna was the next to adopt the benevolent Resolution, and other groups of slave-owners followed, so that by the time the Twelfth of August dawned, three or four communities had renounced slavery. In the Kandyan provinces only it continued for some years, but an Act of Parliament in 1833 made it illegal in all British possessions.

12. Ibid.

^{11.} Galle Dutch Church Records.

It is only in comparatively recent times that the name of Sir Alexander Johnstone has come to be mentioned almost exclusively in reference to the abolition of slavery in Ceylon, and his fortuitous connection with the movement a hundred and thirty years ago has given rise to the growth of an amiable legend. Earlier references do

not assign to him so prominent a role.

For example, when that good gentleman left Ceylon on furlough in August 1817, exactly one year after the historic act of abnegation, 13 many eulogistic addresses were presented to him by various sections of the people—such as the Methodist Church, the Natives of Jaffina, the Mudaliyars, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Dutch Burghers of Colombo, Galle and Jaffna. It is significant that in thanking him for various services rendered to this country, not even the Methodists make any allusion to any efforts to abolish slavery, while on the other hand the Burghers of Jaffna and Colombo in their addresses thank him 18 "for having given them the opportunity to adopt (as a spontaneous act of their own)" the Resolution which they had passed regarding slavery. The Mudaliyars, who had been the first group of Sinhalese to adopt the same Resolution, also refer to it in their Address, in the course of which they enumerate seven specific reasons for their gratitude to Sir Alexander:-

(1) Trial by Jury.

(2) Establishment of Schools, especially at Colpetty.

(3) Propagation of Christianity.

(4) Steps towards the emancipation of slaves.

(5) Administration of impartial justice.

(6) Philanthropy.

(7) Fatigue undergone by going on circuit.

The group of Galle admirers did not allude at all in their Address to their renunciation of slavery, but the Chief Justice in acknowledging their letter 15 wrote as follows :-

"I return you my thanks for the Address which you have done me the honour to present to me. The liberality of the sentiments which you have displayed in your Resolution to consider as free, children born of your slaves after the 12th of August, 1816 and the very intelligent as well as very impartial manner in which you have always discharged the duties of Jurymen, have impressed me with a very great respect for the inhabitants of this district.'

^{13.} Colombo Museum, No. 6/J24.

^{14.} Colombo Museum. The italics are the present writer's.

^{15.} Colombo Museum Archives.

When did Sir Alexander begin to be interested in the effort to abolish slavery? He had arrived in Ceylon at least a dozen years earlier. He himself declared it to be his great object "to make Trial by Jury respected and popular among the natives of Ceylon." 16 A gubernatorial Despatch to the Secretary of State dated 10th July, 1813, launches into a lengthy encomium upon the "ability, learning and equity" of the Chief Justice, and commends him in particular for his "able and unremitting exertions in the court of appeal," but not a word among the several hundred used in this tribute associates him in any way with the movement to abolish slavery. Later when the great Resolution is forwarded by the Special Jurors to Sir Alexander, and by him to the Governor, and finally when it is sent by the Governor to the Secretary of State, the latter in signifying his 17 approval (a) does not even mention Sir Alexander's name, and (b) evinces a desire to delay action to safeguard the interests of slave-owners rather than "penalise" them by too hastily allowing the emancipation of even unregistered slaves.

Thus three years before the abolition there is no evidence of any enthusiasm in the matter on the part of Sir Alexander or of any other British official. Age-old customs do not perish at the stroke of a pen. It is clear that the end of slavery came as the culmination of many years of hardening public opinion among the people of Ceylon, and that it died as hard here as elsewhere. But the people of Ceylon abolished slavery of their own volition, without pressure or persuasion from their British rulers. They made a financial sacrifice without any compensation whatever save a conscience at rest. In England when slavery in the colonies was relinquished in 1833, no less than twenty million pounds sterling was voted by Parliament as compensation to the former owners. In America, four years of bloodshed and civil war were found necessary before owners were forced to set their slaves free. Of all the glorious pages of our country's history, surely one of the brightest is this hitherto uncut page that tells the true story of how slavery ceased to exist in Ceylon.

16. Government Archives, Nuwera Eliya.

^{17.} Despatch of 20th Jan. 1817, Govt. Archives.

WHEN GALLE WAS SUPREME

By R. L. Brobier

HISTORY holds that the Portuguese discovered Point-de-Galle. The Dutch are credited with having made it. They decidedly gave this town a character which the fret and wear of 154 years have barely touched, and the good sense of the people who followed them has let alone.

How very near we came to sacrificing this spectacular heritage which inspires the collective memory of the Dutch period of occupation of maritime Ceylon, is told by Cordiner. Describing a tour he made in the company of Governor North, in 1800, he writes: "... one hill, at only the distance of a musket-shot, completely dominates a part of the Fort. This might have been fortified, but it is also commanded by another. For these reasons a design was formed to destroy all the fortifications of this place except those bastions which immediately guard the entrance into the harbour."

Happily this "design" was not carried out beyond an effort of "clearing a distance of 700 yards on the land side of the ramparts on the order of H. E. the Hon. Frederic North." What is more, we have also to some extent got past the heat and argument promoted by conflicting ideas regarding the utility of these monuments. Although demolition was discussed several times subsequently the preservation of the Galle ramparts recently became a Governmental concern and the Fort was proclaimed an Archæological Reserve. It is thus safe, to remain an open corridor into the life and thought of the past.

Colourful history has been written in Galle and its environs, on its wooded heights, and on the waters of its Bay. Here, in centuries beyond count, spice vessels were loaded, and fighting flotillas rested

awhile to replenish their stocks of water, and food, and fuel.

There are people—just a few counted among the old—who will tell you that less than a hundred years ago the harbour at Galle, in keeping with old traditions, was crowded with shipping at anchor. Those were days of "wooden walls," of the "clipper" and "paddle-wheels." Besides the weekly gatherings of P. & O. and French Packets outward and homeward bound there were always several merchantmen riding awhile on these waters. Some were on the China tea trade, others were racing through from Australia to catch the London wool sales.

When, however, that upstart city of Colombo built a South-west breakwater, the Harbour of Colombo came to be more favoured as a Port of call for loading and transhipping cargo. All the lines of steamers running to Eastern Ports and Australia gradually began to call there. Hence it came about that the moving finger wrote the word *Ichabod* over Galle harbour, and to-day one sees there only an occasional freighter,

or a perfectly empty sea.

It cannot be counted uninteresting to catch what glimpses we can of those times when Galle was at the zenith of her glory, and Colombo was a lesser port of call off the arterial shipping route. It is of the men and women who lived, and moved and had their being in this walled town which sleeps to-day blissfully dreaming life away in its departed glory, and of the social history of the eighteen-sixties that I have set myself to write. The pleasure of linking the names mentioned to their prototype in the present is a pastime I shall leave to the reader.

Naturally, Galle basking in the importance of its situation as Ceylon's emporium for all export and import traffic to and from all parts of the world, had a strong Customs and Master Attendants' Service. Halliley, a familiar name to later generations, was Landing and Tide Surveyor. His staff included, among others, G. J. Deutrom and C. F. Deutrom, Warehouse-keepers, the latter, father of Dr. C. F. Deutrom, the retired Medical Superintendent of the General Hospital, A. F. Joseph, Landing Waiter and Searcher and L. N. Moorgappa, Shroff. They, with the Pilots A. H. Jansz, E. Davoit and J. G. Heyne, were the officers who were kept particularly busy on "steamer days." Who would doubt that they were exciting days too for the hotels and shops.

Using an old map as guide and inspiration, the eye can place on this Past no less than a dozen hotels. There are two off Church Street, named the "Old Mansion" and "Sea View." Tradition recalls that the former was owned and run by Henry Bogaars, and the latter by Angelo Ephraums, a brother of the founder of the New Oriental of our day. C. B. Bogaars ran the "Eglington" in Pedlar Street and the "New Mansion" in Middle Street. Other first-class hotels were: "Loret's" named after its proprietor Eugine Loret, and "The Pavilion," in Rampart Street, owned by a lady, Mrs. Braybrooke. Besides these institutions of style and pretension there were several others of a class to meet the pockets of travellers of lesser means.

Armitage Hill Bungalow with cadjan thatched roof, a few miles out of Galle and on the road to Wakwella, was what Mount Lavinia is to the transit passenger who disembarks for a few hours in the Colombo of

to-day. It was much sought after for the sake of a pleasant drive in a horse-drawn gig through the village gardens, and for the "tea" served by the proprietor on the lawns which overlooked the coconut groves and moist green patches of paddy in lower levels with the waters of the Gin Ganga laying a silver trail as they moved to meet the wide ocean.

To reckon that as many as 700 passengers landed on some "steamer days" seems incredible. But that is just what eye-witnesses have testified and supplemented by fascinating glimpses of streets and bazaars thronged with sight-seers who had perhaps come from different parts of Europe and from Australia; India, the Far East, and the Cape of Good Hope. Mixing and mingling with the indigenous crowds they patronised the shops and the stalls of Sinhalese and Muslim vendors whose delicate embroideries and the famous "Galle lace," so enchanting to the Western eye, were on display together with the most captivating ornaments of the silversmiths' art in filigree, precious stone and tortoise-shell.

No doubt then, as even so now, the popular memento carried away from Ceylon was the ebony or coconut wood elephant and the miniature "katamaran." Yet, unlike the present, in those times the passenger paid in gold. The amount of sovereigns which flowed into the coffers of the jewellers' shops and the hotels were, if tradition speaks true, reckoned in tokens sufficient to jolt up the shares of any hotels company, or dazzle the trader who beguiles the passenger in the busy Colombo of our day.

To recount the leading residents of Galle in the eighteen-sixties by name will be both a Herculean as well as an unprofitable task. They have been chronicled in more than one place from various perspectives by writers in scores and it is not always necessary to tax imagination alone in order to know what manner of people they were, how they lived and how they occupied themselves. The Fort was virtually at that time still the Gibraltar of the Burghers. There were the doyens of the Dutch families in their dignity, and the earlier Portuguese descendant in his simplicity. Rulers and ruled were friendly and agreeable to one another having forgotten the manifestly malicious statements which early British writers delighted to direct against the Ceylon Dutch. Though of another generation they were in every characteristic conservative, and resentful of slander, even as their fathers were; Lord Valentia makes capital of this trait and says, the Dutch ladies refused to attend a ball given in his honour at Galle by the Governor, The Hon'ble Frederick North, as they had taken "prodigious offence at a character given to them in a work lately published by an English officer, and would not, therefore, visit an English Governor." Incidentally the officer referred to was Captain Robert Percival of the 18th Foot, one of the most prominent detractors of the Ceylon Dutch. He provoked resentment by a statement that "the Dutch Jadies have a custom of cracking their joints, and rubbing them over with oil, which

renders them uncommonly supple."

A name, which stands out most prominently in this period when Galle was supreme, is that of Peter Daniel Anthonisz, surgeon, physician, politician and philanthropist. His strong attachment to his native town and his deep interest in its welfare and in that of its inhabitants are told to this day by the lofty clock tower on the ramparts of Galle. It was raised in his lifetime, and bears the legend on a marble tablet to show it was "erected by Public Subscription" to his "perpetual memory, in testimony of his skill and benevolence in relieving human suffering." Of his intimate friends and contemporaries: William Charles Vander Spar, afterwards Major of the Ceylon Rifles, Cyrus Henry Speldewinde, his cousin and afterwards his brother-in-law, and William Henry Ludovici are mentioned. Ludovici was one of the batch of five students sent by Government with Anthonisz to Calcutta to prosecute their studies at the Bengal Medical College. The others were Pieter Henry Toussaint, Henry George Dickman and Charles Arnold Krikenbeek, the last two rising from sub-assistants to be Colonial Surgeons.

Many a family living then in peace and comfort, in houses which are still standing, are hardly more than a memory to present generations. The office of Head Clerk in nearly every branch of the Government Service was filled by a member of the Burgher community. In the Kachcheri there was J. P. C. Jansz, the grandfather of Canon Lucien Jansz. The Deputy Fiscal was A. C. de Vos. P. L. Keegel was Principal Inspector of Police; his son Dennis was later a popular Inspector. The force at that time included, in addition, two head-constables, four sergeants and forty-two constables. What a contrast on the present! In the Colonial Commissariat there were A. E. Smith and J. Wittensleger. The former was the father of W. A. Smith of the old Oriental

Bank, sometime resident at Nugegoda.

In the Post Office Department there were C. P. G. de Vos, and R. W. Bultjens. The signallers of the Telegraph Office were James Vollenhoven and Ebenezer Anthonisz. Archibald Keller, the Chief Clerk, was the father of A. W. Keller, a later Superindent of Mails.

The Attapattu Mudaliyar of the Kachcheri was Nicholas de Silva Wijesinghe whose Walanwa was at Wavue. He was popularly referred to as Nicholas II since his predecessor bore the same name. Strangely

his successor too was Nicholas. Tradition pictures the Mudaliyar as a grand old man of his generation, the last of the old type who donned high comb, soman cloth and velvet coat on state occasions. He was a grandson of the Maha Mudaliyar Dias Abeysinghe, the friend and protege of the last Dutch Governor.

Among the resident Proctors there were: W. C. Meureling, G. C. Geruse, F. W. de Vos whose two sons, W. Dennis de Vos and F. H. de Vos, followed their father's profession, J. B. Boucher, J. W. Ludovici, H. Donald Jansz, W. M. Austin, A. H. Loftus, A. H. Andree and Classen. The last two were always pitted against each other although the former was no match for the latter in argument. Andree, nevertheless, had his own peculiar method of furthering his client's interest. It is said that Classen had a habit of wiping his face frequently when addressing the Court, and had a handkerchief always on the table by his side. Andree would quietly move the handkerchief away from Classen's reach. When his hand went mechanically out and failed to pick up the handkerchief, he lost his temper, missed the trend of his argument, and Andree won the case!

Andree was a fiddler to boot and a great entertainer. He and his son supplied the music for all the social gatherings, which apparently were of frequent occurrence in those times. Social gatherings which Charles Ambrose Lorensz of contemporaneous age rescued from oblivion. He tells of those gleeful gatherings of "lean gentlemen and fat ladies, fat gentlemen and lean ladies, handsome young ladies in white dresses with gay ribbons floating on the breeze: grand-mammas in lunar combs and high-heeled slippers with little maid-servants who fetched and carried for them; young men in red caps and blue caps, Glengarry caps and Turkish caps, fliegers and monkey jackets; little children with crackers and blue lights, screaming with joy . . ."

Take a glimpse at an intimate home-scene, a wedding. The old ladies have clubbed together from weeks previous to discuss arrangements for the bride's toilet. Imagine to yourself how they have proposed and disposed, how they have ruled and overruled, how one suggested one improvement, and the other, another, before the bridal dress was planned, completed, fitted on and pronounced to be inimitable.

There is such bustle, stir and din immediately preceding the event. Take notice how the bride's home has been decked, its pillars twined with evergreens, and the space between them festooned with tender leaves of the coconut palm and decorated with clusters of arecanut and palmyra fruit. Look how the reception room has been fitted up for the occasion, how a carpeted platform has been erected by the wall,

with three nicely cushioned chairs upon it—the centre one for the bride, the other two for the bridesmaids.

We pick up the scene next on the wedding morn, with its atmosphere of expectancy which has extended to all the dwellers in that particular street. The neighbouring houses are thronged with visitors who are kindled to unwonten activity, at the roll of every approaching carriage. All are intent on catching a glimpse of the bride and bridegroom, and of the guests asked on the happy occasion. The expected moment is fast approaching, the best men have each called at the house of their respective bridesmaids and escorted them to the festive mansion. In the main hall the family and their intimate friends, all clad in special dresses and suits for the occasion, await the bride.

She emerges from her dressing room supported by the bridesmaids, glittering in the splendour of jewels and the sheen of her bridal attire. A heaviness seems to hang over that father's heart, and tears dim that mother's eyes as the child who is that day to become a wife approaches. Forming into a circle the assembled company drink a toast in silence with brimming glasses of wine as the bride goes up to her parents, and the father and the mother kiss her, and the friends and relatives kiss her and her own fast falling tears mingle with theirs.

But the cloud passes by, the darkness is gone, and the party ceremoniously leave for the Church, the bride and her father being the last to go. As the carriage travels down the street there is a general rush of spectators to the outer verandahs, and every window looking

on the road frames a mass of heads intent on missing nothing.

Pending the return of hosts and guests from the Church, the musicians take up their position in the reception house. The band includes the first fiddle and a second fiddle, a treble flute and a clarionet. There are also a bass-horn, and a tambourine player. "All right?" enquired the clarionet when somebody rushed up to say that the bride and bridegroom were arriving for the reception. "All right," proclaimed the silence of the other musicians. On the moment the bride stepped out of the carriage, they began "Napoleon's Grand March." The tambourine player in between rapid thumps with the forefinger bent into easy flexibility and a movement which set all the little bells ashivering, alternated his actions to manipulation of a triangle.

We must deny ourselves the pleasure of calling back the scenes and details of the wedding reception. They together with the incidents we have enjoyed, are described with all the vividness and freshness of reality in a little booklet entitled: "Our Social Customs," written nearly 100 years ago by John Henry Eaton, an old-timer of Kandy. May be you will be permitted to satisfy your curiosity and turn over

its pages, by a collector of old Ceylon books. So we take leave of this happy company, dancing graceful Minuets and Catilions. We leave the fiddlers setting their bows into a shake along the thinnest string of the fiddle in endeavours to eke out impracticably high and nervous notes. Pushing a way through the throng gathered around the bride and bridegroom engaged in vociferously pledging their health with three times three and nine times nine, we leave the house, being reminded as we walk away by occasional assurances from the younger element present, that they will not leave "till morning, till day-light did appear."

We cannot venerate antiquity where the practices of antiquity are wrong, but can we deny it respect where simplicity and honesty of purpose are resurrected to help establish a sense of proportion in this

work-a-day life of our times.

These then are but morsels from the annals of less than a hundred years ago when Galle was Supreme. Many more names might be mentioned, many more events described. They suffice to show the rich legacies of the past handed down to delight posterity.

ON KEEPING A DIARY

By Sir Frederick Rees

WE have been told lately that Lord Reith in writing his autobiography was able to draw upon a diary which he had consistently kept for many years and which in total contained so many millions of words. I confess that I cannot understand how any man could persevere day in day out in such a task. To resolve to keep a diary—that is easy. I think I have often included such a resolve among my New Year's intentions. But I have always found it less difficult to keep negative resolutions than positive ones, to decide not to do something rather than to do something. Still when I set out to Ceylon I did select a stiff-backed note-book in which I meant to record the daily happenings. It lies before me as I write. In fact I often dip into it and derive great pleasure from doing so. As a diary it is defective. Some days pass with only slight reference; others demand a whole page.

No doubt the psychologists could judge my character from the entries; but since they seem to have a great facility for making the

wrong deductions I shall not worry about them.

" Christmas Day

Lunch at invitation of Sir Oliver. Great welcome by members of his family. Turkey and plum pudding! Crackers and presents for all on Christmas tree."

This does not mean that I delight in eating. The whole point of the entry is that here we were, recently arrived from war-stricken austerity Britain, enjoying a glimpse of 'ye olde Englande' in new surroundings."

" Sunday, 7 January

Left Peradeniya to see the reclamation scheme at Minipe . . . Bull-dosers pushing down trees and levelling the ground, tractors pulling out the stumps of trees. A group of some thirty Italian prisoners employed as mechanics, several of them employees of the Fiat Works . . . Followed Senanayake across the river dam (853 feet) to Uva Province and returned."

The record of a supreme effort of will-power so far as I was concerned! Mr. Senanayake is notoriously sure-footed, as he has showed in many a difficult enterprise. I have a poor head for heights. So let that entry stand to my credit. I had my revenge later when

Mr. Senanayake was made to crawl along the coal face in the Penallta Colliery in South Wales for a few hundred yards; but he did not flinch.

" Tuesday, 9 January

Spent the morning at Sigiriya and climbed the rock to see the famous frescoes. They are remarkably well preserved . . . There was no sign of hornets . . . "

"Wednesday, 10 January

General examination of the ruins at Polonnaruwa; in many ways, though later, more impressive than those at Anuradhapura, because

they exhibit more variety."

I am sure our guide, Dr. Paranavitarne, would exclaim at this! The park-land scenery and the night spent at the resthouse on the edge of the great tank may have warped my judgment. It was a delightful spot. The so-called 'buried cities' are most impressive. I find that when I am asked (as I frequently am) to lecture on Ceylon I spend most of the time on the scenery and the ruins, merely glancing at the constitutional question with which the Soulbury Commission was concerned. This seems to meet with the approval of the audience because I have some excellent lantern slides. I trust this does not confirm in the minds of my listeners the impression unfortunately created by Bishop Heber that every prospect pleases and . . .

The days spent in Colombo Town Hall hearing the submissions of the witnesses rarely claims any notice in my diary. But this omission is admirably compensated for by the full typescript notes of the proceedings which I constantly consult. Here I can live over again those interesting days and listen to the arguments of the Kandyan enthusiasts, the representations of the Moors and Malays and admire the forensic skill of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam in presenting the case for balanced

representation.

"Wednesday, 31 January

Went on tour arranged by Mr. Kannangara . . . visited vernacular

school, central school and Muslim Training College."

These visits were of particular interest to me. We went on a second round of schools on Saturday, 10 February, to see some rural schools which illustrated the food drive.

" Saturday, 17 February

Burgher Tea Party at Burgher Club. Lecture by Dr. Spittel illustrated by films of life in the jungle and particularly of the Veddahs... It was interesting to find the Burghers entertaining officers of the Netherlands Navy. They were unable to speak to their guests in Dutch."

" Tuesday, 27 February

Proceeded to Galle, an attractive town, largely within the old Dutch ramparts which are extensive and in a good state of preservation. The Dutch Reformed Church is an excellent example of 17th century Dutch building . . . The old world harbour is most attractive. Spent the night at the Weligama Resthouse which is near the shore. A botree in the field was covered with flying-foxes which kept up a steady squealing until dusk when they set out on their night's hunting . . ."

This night seems to have made a great impression on me and this

is only a part of the entry about it.

" Wednesday, 7 March

"Arrived at Jaffna station and was welcomed by a great crowd. The journey from Jaffna to Point Pedro was a triumphal procession with garlands at every stop."

" Thursday, 8 March

The approach to Mannar is over a long causeway. At the town end of it we had a great welcome and walked on foot to the Residency

to the accompaniment of music, crackers and rockets."

These are only a few selections from the more colourful scenes. They will suffice to show how much I enjoyed my days in Ceylon. I find that I am again and again tempted to find an opening in any conversation to insinuate the words 'When I was in Ceylon.' Some Philistine will almost always ask how long I was there. Then I have to confess to four months. He then seems to think he has non-plussed me. Not at all. I proceed with my reminiscenes quite unabashed. After all any person of imagination would realise that life is not measured by duration of time but by intensity of experience.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

A MASTER-MIND OF THE EAST

SRI AUROBINDO by G. H. Langley, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca. Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland. (David Marlowe.)

In this handy volume Prof. Langley has given a succint account of the life and thought of Sri Aurobindo, the Bengali poet, philosopher and mystic, who lives in retirement at Pondicherry. The first chapter deals with the chequered career of this remarkable modern Indian, who spent his youth in England attempting to imbibe the best in English culture, and even won prizes at Cambridge for Greek and Latin verse. At the age of twenty-one he returned to his homeland, but being affected by the rising tide of nationalism threw in his lot with his countrymen in their struggle for freedom. Like other greater leaders he had to pay the penalty, for in 1907 he was arrested and detained for trial at Alipur goal. Prof. Langley observes: "The period spent by Aurobindo in what became for him the Alipur Asram led to a decisive change in his conviction regarding his life's purpose." From the political turmoil he had turned to the inward struggle of the spirit.

Gradually, he developed his thought which is almost wholly mystical. What is remarkable in this mystic, however, is his respect for and deep interest in "science" as developed in the West. According to him, the evolution of intellectual activity is an essential stage in the development of personal consciousness which in turn is the basis of all mystical experience. But, as Prof. Langley points out, Aurobindo's "integral conception" of the relation between Mind and Spirit does not seem to fit in with his general conviction that man's spiritual or supra-mental consciousness transcends the need for the further employment of intellectual procedure. The author is also justified in his observation that "we may also be sceptical regarding the magnitude

of his claim for the efficacy of spiritual experience." (p. 23).

Prof. Langley must be congratulated on a fine bit of work, which is remarkable both as biography and as a lucid exposition, critical and

at the same time sympathetic, of an intricate aspect of a mystic's experience in the world of spirit. Readers will find much food for thought in Chapter Nine where Aurobindo's thought is contrasted with that of a master-mind in the West, viz. Bertrand Russell, and much delight in Chapter Ten where the author analyses the poetry of Aurobindo.

The book should be read by all lovers of Indian culture, although

it is primarily intended for the western reader.

O. H. DE A. WIJESEKERA.

THE FOUNDER OF CANADA

CHAMPLAIN. The Life of Fortitude. By Morris Bishop. (Macdonald.)

MR. BISHOP'S book describes a man with a passion for finding his way into the unknown. He lived at a time when Catholic and Protestant glared at each other from the cover of their separate ideologies, in much the same way that we today glare from behind rather different ideologies. Inevitably the differing ideals came often into conflict, and Champlain served his apprenticeship as a soldier in the religious wars of France, where he became known to King Henry IV. He made an early voyage to Mexico under the Spanish flag, and saw the Indians of South America, and indulged his taste for sketching, which later made him a leading map-maker of the New World. But Canada was to be the scene of the explorations that have made him famous, and it was in 1603 that he first set foot on Canadian soil, as independent Geographer to an exploring and colonizing expedition from France.

"Champlain had his first impression of Canadian natives; their bodies, naked save for breechclouts, were the colour of French beggars half roasted by the sun. Their faces, immobile under plastered paint, were both terrifying and comic. Some were bright red with blue noses and black eyebrows. Some were striped with red, black and blue from ears to mouth; some wore a single wide black stripe from ear to ear, around the eyes, with three stripes on each cheek. The thought

of devils occurred to every pious mind."

These were the Indians, who were, at a later time, to hate him and love him, to despise him and trust him as a father. He eagerly sought from them information about their country, and told them of his own. It had all to be done through an interpreter, for to the end he never mastered an Indian language.

In June the expedition sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as the future site of Quebec. On the way they found many traces of European visitors who had been there before them; it was not uncommon to

find Indians clad in the clothes of European sailors, most suspiciously! Champlain is remembered because of his books upon his voyages, (from which, in fact, most of the information for his biography is taken); these nameless explorers bound on the same business as himself, fish and furs, are forgotten because they left no written record. The unknown explorers and fishermen deliberately kept their knowledge secret for trade reasons.

Champlain was already dreaming of exploration, and of settlements of French peasants side by side with the Indians, under the laws and religion of France.

It was not to come yet. The expedition returned home before the winter, to a world of royal and noble patronage, and a France looking inward to its own vital concerns, and little interested in a distant new

world, except, of course, financially.

Champlain was back in America in 1604, helping to build a settlement on an Island in the St. Croix river in modern Maine. On this exposed Island whose protecting trees had been cut down to make the settlement, the hopeful Champlain spent his first bitter Canadian winter.

Spring came and amidst many adventures, the wanderers explored southward, until it was time to prepare for another winter. They chose for the new settlement the more sheltered location of Port Royal.

But it was high time to think of sending representatives back to France where jealous rivals were surely at work attacking the monopoly of the Fur Trade which the expedition held. New settlers had come out to take their places, and all but three of the survivors of the St. Croix winter thankfully returned to France.

Champlain was one of the three. He elected to remain, "in the hope of making new discoveries towards Florida" "The mind and character of Champlain are gradually becoming clear," writes Mr. Bishop. "The passion of his mind was exploring, discovery. He had had the experience of discovering and charting unknown and uncharted regions. He had not had enough; no discoverer has enough of discoveries. More than ease, more than security, more than any consolations of love or familiarity, he desired the knowledge of strange and perilous lands. This was his passion. The mark of his character, as it had been developed through war, adventure, and privation, was fortitude."

So Champlain, with the memory of cold, scurvy, and suffering fresh in his mind, elected to stay in America.

As the winter passed, it became more and more clear to Champlain that this great unspoiled continent could be a source of incredible

wealth to France. The wealth was not of gold and jewels, but of furs, fish, and the future products of the soil. The advantages of European culture to the Indians—the knives, kettles, and wine—were not so unmixed. The French brought rats, which multiplied and upset the economy of the wild, attacking the Indians' provisions, thieving in their wigwams, destroying dead game left in the snow. The French brought also terrible diseases; tuberculosis, measles, dysentery, quinsy. Even in 1613 the Jesuits noted that the natives were dying off, the

populated was decreasing.

In 1607 Champlain returned to France where he noted with satisfaction that the curled gallants of the Capital wore broad-brimmed beaver hats, fruits of the fur-trade, and source of the profits of his Company. When he returned to Canada he found the fur-trade route continually threatened by the raids of the Iroquois Indians from the south. He determined to join the Huron Indians in an attack upon the Iroquois in their own strongholds. There is no space to tell of this war which was won by the bullets from the arquebus. The Canadian Indians respected Champlain ever afterwards, because he kept his promise to fight on their side.

In 1610 Champlain was again in France. His patron, King Henry IV, had been assasinated. He had difficulty in persuading his Company to carry on the work in Canada. In the intervals of business, he, the hardy visionary explorer of forty-three, became affianced to a girl of

twelve.

In 1625 Champlain was able to realise his dream of missionary work among the Indians. The missionary work in Canada was given to the Jesuits who went out to found their mission in Quebec. The Huguenot merchants hated the Jesuits, and many catholic traders opposed evangelization as a possible hindrance to the fur-trade, but Champlain seems to have been more than politic in his appreciation of the splendid courage and zeal which they showed in their work.

And then in 1628 a sinister shadow fell upon the St. Lawrence. First of all the annual convoy did not arrive from France at the expected time. Champlain ordered his Greek interpreter to disguise himself as an Indian, to slip down the river in a canoe, and to bring back a sure report. Meanwhile the fort was put in order and the women in safety. Shortly afterwards the Greek returned with a wounded French officer

in his canoe.

The English! The English were in the river, being piloted by a band of French traitors. Ill-equipped as he was to fight, Champlain bade defiance, and the English commander preferred, for the time, going in search of French ships, full of furs and loot, to storming a

small French stronghold on shore. But it was not for long. The following year the white sails of three ships showed in the main stream once again. Provisions in the fort were down to almost nothing. The French were compelled to surrender. The English commanders, the brothers Kirke, themselves half French, did their work with courtesy, nay with deference towards the courageous Champlain, but still he had the bitter mortification of seeing his beloved habitation in Quebec occupied by the English. It was very painful, but it did not last for so very long. According to the terms of capitulation, Champlain and his fellow prisoners were carried in an English ship to Dover whence they hurried to London to see the French ambassador. Commander Kirke found that, during his absence, peace had been made between England and France, and his conquest of Canada was illegal! Negotiation began their weary course. The treaty restoring Canada to France was signed at St.-Germain-en-Laye, on March 29th, 1632.

In Paris meanwhile, Champlain was busy putting the finishing touches to his last book of "Voyages," yet another propaganda book for Colonization in Canada. His reputation and record were now sufficient to win for him the absolute and undivided command over the St. Lawrence. He settled down to four years as governor of a military outpost, that was slowly changing into an agricultural colony. He died in Quebec in 1635. "The advice I give to all adventurers is to seek a place where they may sleep in safety," so said Champlain. His own resting place was la chapelle de M. Champlain, within the

courtyard of the present post-office of Quebec.

This book is marked by vigour and clarity of style, and by depth of research; the endless medley of sources and records, true, half true, false and conflicting, from which a historian must build his fabric, is cunningly concealed in the smooth flow of narrative, lightened all the way with gentle humour and humanity. Much of the account is given in Champlain's own words, and the resulting picture is so vivid as to make the reader feel that he has made, himself, a journey of exploration.

A CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS by Bernarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes. (Allen and Unwin.)

THIS is a comprehensive life of Charles Freer Andrews by an Indian and an English woman, both of whom knew him well in India. To that knowledge they have added much valuable information laboriously collected and collated from letters, published and unpublished, and from

forgotten magazine articles, and from Andrews' own published works. The material so collected is presented to the reader by the authors in a fascinating volume of over three-hundred pages. From cover to cover the reader's interest never flags.

Andrews was a humanitarian, historian and educationist. He was a lover of children, a peace-maker, breaking down barriers of racial and social prejudices, and an untiring champion of the oppressed, to whatever race or creed the suffering under-dog belonged. It is as champion of the oppressed that he will be longest remembered.

A taunt often levelled at Andrews by both friend and foe, because of his "extreme and demonstrative sensitiveness" was that "Charlie Andrews was half a woman." Andrews accepted the justice of the taunt, and explained how he became that. In his sixth year he was taken seriously ill with rheumatic fever. It was only his mother's devoted nursing through many critical weeks that saved his life. This made the bond between him and his mother one of unusually close intimacy. This deep understanding between them left an abiding impress upon his whole character and outlook. Long years afterwards when the news of his mother's death reached him, he wrote, "It is because of this unchanging motherly influence that the mother in me has grown so strong. My life seems only able to blossom into flower when I can pour out my affection upon others as my mother did upon me."

Andrews' efforts to champion the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor often led to serious misunderstanding by both oppressor and oppressed. He was on more than one occasion in imminent danger of being lynched in Kenya. Once in Uganda when the train stopped at midnight at Nakora Station a party of settlers entered his compartment, seized him by the beard and endeavoured to drag him out on to the platform. He was very badly shaken and was nursed back to health by his friend, Dr. Cook of the Mission Hospital at Kampala, in Uganda. The Governor, Lord Northey, mentioned this incident in his despatch to London. Mr. Winston Churchill in his reply expressed his regret that Andrews should have forborne to report the names of the men concerned. "It would have been a matter of satisfaction to me," he wrote, "and doubtless to all right-thinking people in the Colony, if the miscreants had been brought to justice." The majority of Kenya Europeans viewed such proceedings with disgust. But they were politically passive and the hot-heads were very vocal.

But what really pained Andrews was when he was misunderstood by the very men whose cause he was championing. Once a Swami attacked him in a very violent speech and told him to his face that he was "One of those English Sahebs who live in luxury and fill their stomachs out of the sufferings of the poor of India." All he said was "Is not that an amusing description of me," When an East African newspaper called him "an Indian-paid propagandist," he wrote to a friend "I cannot tell you how much this has pained me . . . I have never taken a single pice. . . I had to spend every pice I ever had. . . It is the most deadly calumny, for it ruins all work if once it sticks."

In these and other trials he found great comfort in his love for children and their affection for him. After he had given up the exercise of his clerical orders, one of his young friends asked him, "Don't you miss the Holy Communion, Sir?" Andrews pointed to the little boys playing nearby and said, "These children are my Holy Communion." Writing from Santiniketan to Rabindranath Tagore, he said, "The friendship of these little boys, who are always in my room, all day long, and playing in my verandah, has kept me from feeling that I am growing older year by year."

On account of some intellectual difficulties at one period of his life, Andrews seceded from the ministry of the Church of England to which he had been ordained. He afterwards felt the separation keenly. He spoke of it to Dr. Foss Westcott, the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta, and told him of his longing for a renewal of the Christian religious fellowship from which he had been cut off, "I welcome you with all my heart to the Cathedral Services, Charlie," said the

Metropolitan, who received him back to the Church.

In a Codicil to his Will which Andrews dictated before his last operation, which proved fatal, he said, "I desire, if anything should happen to me, to be buried in the Christian faith as a Christian, near St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, if possible, with the blessing of the Metropolitan whom I have deeply longed to serve as my bishop, as a priest of the Christian Church and a Minister of the Christian faith which I hold with all my heart." All these his wishes were carried out. The Metropolitan conducted the funeral service in the Cathedral. In a broadcast talk he said, "Andrews gave himself wholly to those whom he sought to serve, he held back nothing, and in doing so he has won a responsive affection which is the only reward he coveted."

W. E. BOTEJUE.

AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

By Sigmund Freud. First published in book form in English. (The Hogarth Press.)

NOBODY is more competent to summarise the result of a life's work in scientific research than the person who has done this

work himself. At the same time, the attempt to put the result of one's own work in a short and concise form cannot but suffer through some special difficulties which are unavoidable. This book has all the advantages and all the disadvantages of having been written by the one who knew most about it.

The advantages are obvious. For who could formulate the findings of psycho-analysis more exactly than Sigmund Freud himself, the doctor and psychologist whose great discovery of the role of the unconscious in mental life completely changed the way of understanding man's actions, and who for over fifty years endeavoured to enrich his own insight into the mechanisms governing the human mind, both through empirical observation and through scientific interpretation of these observations. One of the disadvantages will be felt mainly by the reader who is uninitiated and who expects simplified formulations of the rather involved findings of a research in a realm which can be compared only with the jungle. This is not a popular interpretation of psycho-analysis. The old scientist who attempts to present the resume of two hundred and twenty-two shorter and longer publications, produced in over fifty years, cannot judge easily how simple or how difficult certain statements may appear to the reader, and, as for him the whole conception of his theory seems to be as clear as everything one once understood, he does not doubt that others too will not have to read certain sentences two or three times to be able to understand them. The whole book is extremely uneven, the first chapter presenting more difficulties than the later ones, and it may be that the realisation of this and of the impossibility of giving all he had in a miniature container stopped the old professor from completing the book.

In spite of this we must welcome the publication of this unfinished manuscript, because it may convince the reader that there is more in the science of psycho-analysis than he anticipated on the basis of second-hand information. The author does not wish to "convert," he is satisfied with provoking questions. His "intention is naturally not to compel belief or establish conviction," says the introductory note. No doubt there is one thing which is of great importance, especially in Ceylon: to correct misconceptions. This book will serve this purpose admirably and the reader who closes it having reached page 80 where the author gave up his task, will feel compelled to go further to those books of the same author which will help him to an even better

understanding of psycho-analysis.

The general conception in the mind of the Ceylon reader is: Psychoanalysis explains everything through sex—repressions have to be fought, instincts given freedom, and then everything is as it ought to be. The description of the psychical apparatus, of the role of the three faculties of the human mind, the id, the ego and the super-ego and the discussion of the role of the ego especially, do away with these false conceptions. What is responsible for the formation of a neurosis is the weakness of the ego, which in consequence of certain disturbances in early development is unable to fulfil its task of mediating between the demands of the instincts and the possibilities of satisfaction provided by the external world. That the difference between the neurotic and the normal is not as big as human vanity prefers to make one believe, is another fact that becomes clear in reading. The role of the psychoanalyst too will be better understood by the reader who in most cases has the image of the psycho-analyst as he appears in the film before his mind's eye, and who expects this rather disagreeable person who interferes in a man's most personal affairs to explain to the patient his symptoms, so that he now can decide to give up being neurotic and to behave as a reasonable person would. It is a general assumption that the importance lies in the psycho-analyst's understanding of the patient. The patient has only to be told the interpretation and the miracle is achieved. The chapter on 'The Technique of Psychoanalysis' furnishes the most relevant information on this question. "We never fail in all this to make a severe distinction between our knowledge and his knowledge" (meaning the psycho-analyst and patient). The psycho-analyst is likely to know the meaning of the patient's symptom long before the patient himself is ready to accept any interpretation. The time has to be awaited when the patient discovers himself the unconscious reasons for his behaviour and when the psychoanalyst's interpretations appear to him only as formulations of something always known to him. But this does not come about by itself. What happens in psycho-analysis is a kind of re-education of the ego, the making up for missed development, which will make this ego strong enough to face all that it preferred to flee from before.

Freud does not claim to have completed the structure he started to build. He certainly wished psycho-analysis to be regarded as a science. There is not more uncertainty attached to it than to any other natural science. Every science works with the aid of hypotheses. So does psycho-analysis. These hypotheses are not less accounted for than those in other realms of science. "We can claim for them the same value as approximations as belongs to the corresponding intellectual scaffolding found in other natural sciences and we look forward to their being modified, corrected and more precisely determined as more experience is accumulated and sifted. So too it will be entirely in accordance with our expectations if the basic conceptions and principles

of the new science (instinct, nervous energy, etc.) remain for a considerable time no less indeterminate than those of the older sciences (force, mass, attraction, etc.)." He admits the shortcomings of psycho-analysis as a therapy, but "for the time being we have none other. The future may teach us how to exercise a direct influence by means of particular chemical substances, upon the amounts of energy and their distribution in the apparatus of the mind. It may be that there are other undreamt-of possibilities of therapy. But for the moment we have nothing better at our disposal than the technique of psycho-analysis, and for that reason, in spite of its limitations, it is not to be despised."

Another disadvantage of the scientist reproducing his own oeuvre is that he will present the very last stage in the development of his theory only, while the critical reviewer would not omit previous findings, especially if these are more important than the author himself believes. It is to be regretted that this book has a very short chapter on Instincts, mentioning only the latest instinct theory of Freud, which is still a topic of controversy in professional circles. The classification into Eros and Death instincts met with opposition from many pupils of Freud, who still prefer the old distinction of Eros and Ego instincts, although this too is not quite satisfactory. The death instinct does not accord with the definition of an instinct formulated by Freud himself. There is no doubt that every instinct aims at abolition of tension. but this is not characteristic of one group of instincts alone. The principle underlying this was recognised by Fechner when he coined the term "principle of constancy," which Freud frequently mentioned using the expression of Barbara Low "Nirvana principle" for it. go into a specialised discussion to demonstrate to what consequences the acceptance of a Death instinct would lead in psycho-analytical theory and therapy, is outside the scope of this review. It has no importance for the reader who does not wish to make a special study of psycho-analytical psychology. A discussion of both instinct theories accepted by psycho-analysts to-day, however, would have been of great value in a book like this.

In spite of the conciseness of the first pages especially this book provides the clearest formulations possible on all aspects of psycho-analysis. It is to be hoped that all those who, because they have read The Psychopathology of Everyday Life, The Interpretation of Dreams, and may be Totem and Taboo (three of the two hundred and twenty-two publications, all belonging to the earliest phase of research and all dated before 1919,

twenty-nine years before this book was written), claim to be experts in psycho-analysis, will include this little volume of eighty pages in their reading list. Many misunderstandings would be cleared up and many terms which, though falsely interpreted, form to-day a part of common language, would at last find their true meaning.

EDITH LUDOWYK GYOMROI.



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