THE NEW LANKA

A QVARTERLY REVIEW

Vol. III OCTOBER 1951 No. 1.

CONTRIBUTIONS INCLUDE

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G. L. Cooray
Editor.

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THE NEW LANKA

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

Vol. III. OCTOBER, 1951. No. I.

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW

AS OTHERS SEE US

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BLAZÉ OF KINGSWOOD

By H. W. Howes

ONE day, I had the honour of taking my small part on the sixtieth anniversary of the school at Kandy, known as Kingswood. At the tea in the Principal's bungalow, at the prize-giving and the Old Boys' Union dinner, the retiring yet dominant figure was Mr. Blazé of Kingswood. Eight days later most of those who spoke at this Jubilee were mourning beside the grave of one whom we can speak as Blazé of Kingswood, one of the great headmasters of Ceylon.

My contacts with him, during my short period of service here, were few but memorable. The first time was when the Minister of Education said " Howes I want you to meet one of our very great men, Mr. Blazé." It is not my purpose to write here of the rise of Kingswood from very humble beginnings to its present eminence, or of the difficulties Blazé faced and overcame until his school became firmly established. I can only imagine how deep must have been his feelings when, at the age of ninety, he was able to share with present and former students, the joy of the recent Jubilee.

What was his secret, the secret of his undoubted success as a Headmaster. In my view it was his abiding religious faith. Out of this sprang naturally his emphasis on character formation. While he realised the value of examinations, he put character first, as has done every famous headmaster in the history of education. His ideal may be described as the education of the Christian gentleman, with the fullest development and enrichment of the boy's personality. Through his own scholarly yet very human attitude towards the " gentlemen of Kingswood," he conveyed to the boys a sense of conviction, a sense of poise, and a conviction that there was something to be done which each of them could do very well indeed.

" Just as I am, young, strong and free,"
" To be the best that I can be."

Teachers there are who are content to regard the training of the will, and the development of character as controlling selfish impulses by ordered habits and the development of right sentiments. This is very correct and laudable, but not enough for a man like Blazé. His aim

was very high, for he tried to help a boy acquire that very elusive thing, a sensitive conscience. It was his aim to inculcate a sense of duty which would impel the individual to do what was right. In so doing, long before Ceylon became free of Colonial rule, Blazé was working to produce worthy men for the State, the professions and business life. Service for others must stand in the place of the service of self, and his own life was the great example. Moreover, his method was calculated to produce men able to choose worthy leaders who would work for the general good, and learn to live and work happily with their fellows.

Some people think of someone as a great scholar, a great statesman a famous advocate and so on, but a man like Blazé was concerned, and rightly so, with the inner man. He realised a man could in a wordly sense be a huge success, and yet his personal principles be unsound. Let there be no mistake, Blazé put character formation first, and gave the boy a set of principles which would, so to speak, be a yardstick by which each boy in school and afterwards could measure his behaviour. Those principles had to be based on an Ultimate Reality, and to Blazé this was his faith in and love of his Master, a Leader whom he sincerely believed had provided a way of life for all, and that to a true schoolmaster means first of all the boys of his school.

Who shall say that Blazé was wrong in his marked emphasis on character ? What examination certificate can possibly be more desirable than the possession of good character ? Blaze had a proper sense of values, and his former students will live to bless the name of one who was a scholar, a gentleman and a saint. Fortunately, under the present regime at Kingswood, the Blazé tradition lives on, and will live on as it has now become a sacred trust. To all of us engaged in the great privilege of serving the youth of Ceylon, Blazé is not only an inspiration, but a pattern. In his life and work he recalled us to first principles. Our best tribute to this truly great man who could make smaller men feel great, will be to follow in his footsteps.

Let us remember with gratitude the life of a man who saw a vision of a glorious future for a school begun in the smallest way and who realised at all times that the work must go on whatever the trials and troubles. I feel he would have liked the prayer of Sir Francis Druke which in many ways expressed, I think, his own philosophy.

" O Lord God, when Thou givest to Thy servants to endeavour any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning but the continuing of the same until it be thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory."

GERMANY: THE ENIGMA OF THE HOUR

By Paul Arthur Schilpp

ALTHOUGH still occupied by four victorious enemies of World War II and divided in two because the former allies have themselves become enemies, Germany, even in 1951, still constitutes the heart of Europe. Within 27 years twice defeated in two world-wars, Germany nevertheless remains the geographical centre of Europe; her location as well as her more than 80 millions population make her of importance in spite of the devastation and ruin of as crushing a defeat as any nation in history has ever suffered. Yet, Europe without Germany is unthinkable. Defeated and in ruins or not, Germany is already being wooed by both sides of the present East-West conflict, and this before any of the four occupying powers have yet left the place of their recent devastating victories. Could one desire a better proof of Germany's importance?

As a matter of fact, the ultimate fate of Europe is indissolubly connected with the ultimate fate of Germany. That is why Germany's present status, her situation, sentiments, hopes, and aspirations are significant for the whole world.

What is this Germany like in 1951, at the very time that almost all of the half hundred nations of the world who had declared war on Germany during World War II have officially declared the end of the state of war with Germany? How are the Germans reacting to the wooing of the various allied powers, East or West? What is their attitude towards the re-militarization of Germany demanded by the Western democracies? How do they feel about the breaking of their country in two? What, in general, is the present mentality of Germans? And what may the rest of the world expect of Germany tomorrow and in the days ahead? Such are some of the questions which we shall attempt to answer in what follows.

To begin with, speaking purely from the standpoint of outward physical recovery, the progress made since as short a time ago as Christmas 1948 seems almost incredible. Particularly in Southern Germany the re-building of many destroyed German cities appears to have gone on at a terriffic pace. Not as if the signs of major destruction were not still to be seen in almost every quarter of every major German city; there are still innumerable ruins and plentiful evidence of indescribable destruction. And many of the great architectural masterpieces, which

had stood for centuries, can never again be re-built. Nevertheless, many German cities have already achieved near miracles of clearing away debris, on the one hand, and of real re-building, on the other. Moreover, much of the re-building now going on is of the permanent type—in sharp contrast to most of the building one could observe in the fall and winter of 1948.

In spite of this, I have not been able to find a German—South, North, or West—who is not perfectly aware of the fact that, if a third world-war (between East and West) should ever occur, Germany will be the first theatre of war to be hit, to be trampled under, to be conquered, and to be destroyed. And, after one of the most resounding defeats in history, it should not be difficult for the rest of the world to appreciate the fact that Germans are hardly looking forward to such a fate with calm equanimity.

True enough, in the Western tri-zone at least, there are relatively few Germans who have anything good to say for Russian Communism ; still less do they wish to be the next victims of Communist aggression, whether such aggression should take the form of military attack or of a political coup. At the same time, neither do they appreciate having their country cut in two, and millions of their fellow-citizens members of another " Germany " behind the Iron Curtain. Since they are one and feel themselves as one, they—quite naturally—also desire to *be* one Germany. But it is equally true that, at long last, most Germans seem now to have had enough of the police-state ; they cannot look forward with indifference towards still more tyranny ; they have had their fill of that.

This is not to say that Germans, by and large, have now been inwardly convinced of or committed to democracy ; to say this would be going too far. It is quite possible that even to-day most Germans are still ready to follow a " leader " (*Führer*). (But one might ask parenthetically : of how many countries could not the same be said ?) It certainly would be too much to claim that the Germans had become politically emancipated—and at this point there certainly lies a real danger for the future. But, at least, they seem to know what they do *not* want. They have had enough of the Gestapo to be willing to trade it in for the Ogpu.

However, one cannot help asking, is not part of the guilt for this lack of political emancipation to be found in the behaviour of the occupying powers ? For example, the same Western democracies, which, a few short years ago, made Germany sign on the dotted line : " never again German militarization ! " are to-day demanding—as price for German freedom, independence, and membership on equal footing

in the society of nations—that Germany re-militarize her forces and play her so-called " rightful " part alongside the other Western nations united in the Atlantic Pact against the spread and for the containment of Russian Communism.

Has ever a nation been faced with a more insoluble puzzle, and yet one, the solution of which—in either direction—would seem to spell the nation's doom ?

Nor is this all. Germans cannot forget that all those who yesterday co-operated with the powers-that-be (which, yesterday, was the Nazi Party) were punished in one form or another for such collaboration, after the Allies had conquered and occupied Germany. On the basis of this experience—which, after all, is still fresh in their minds—there are millions of Germans to-day who argue that, in case of any future invasion of Western Germany by the Russian Communists, any co-operation to-day with the present occupying powers of the democratic West will, at that time, be treated just as much as a crime as was the co-operation with the Nazis treated by the victorious Allies. As a result of such considerations, many even among those Germans who themselves are not merely convinced of the human significance and meaning of democracy, but who are themselves really and truly democratically minded, actually feel that open co-operation with the Western democracies to-day can, very likely, cost them their necks tomorrow. Another dilemma to which there is no easy answer. Although it should be added at once that even such considerations do not succeed in keeping most Germans from co-operating wholeheartedly with to-day's democratic forces.

However, the lot of the most democratically-minded Germans is made increasingly difficult among their own fellow-citizens by the fact that no army of occupation, no matter how benevolent it might wish to be, can possibly run an occupied country by truly democratic procedures : just as little as an army itself can be democratic : no one has ever run a successful army by letting the privates vote each morning on whether or not they wish to drill that day ! By not keeping this simple fact in mind, millions of Germans, having observed the conduct and behaviour of the occupying powers, are heard to remark : " If this be democracy, we want none of it ! " Of course, they don't ; neither would anyone else ; and this for the simple reason that no country in the world enjoys being governed by victorious enemies, no matter how good or well intentioned these latter may be. At the same time, it cannot be denied that, when the High Commissioner of one of the victorious Allies permits himself to set aside and declare null and void the regularly handed down verdict of a regularly established German court, although unable to deny the guilt of the convicted person (as has

just happened in Berlin), such high-handed and totally undemocratic procedure certainly cannot increase the respect for democracy on the part of any reasonable or thinking person, be he a German or belong to any other nationality.

Under these circumstances it should not be surprising that the best one can say for the contemporary German attitude towards democracy is that most Germans are hopelessly confused. As already stated, the overwhelming majority of West Germans are sure they do not want Communism (even though it may be true that few of them might be able to give any satisfactory classroom definition of " Communism " ; for they are, of course, not concerned with definitions). They have experienced suppression of minorities before, and they realize that the Russian regime engages in just such suppression. That in itself is quite enough for them to want nothing of that kind of a regime.

On the other hand, they are far from sure that they want democracy : counting votes, like counting noses, may be an interesting pastime ; but the question is : is the one really more intelligent than the other ? Having seen mass reactions and the gullibility with which masses can be led by almost any acclaimed *Führer,* the Germans are by no means certain that counting votes is intelligent.

The over-all answer to all this—at least from the standpoint of one who knows democracy from personal experience—is, of course, clear enough : democracy can not be taught, it has to be learned by its practice on the part of the people themselves ; for democracy is nothing if it is not self-government. It is this very fact which makes it absurd to imagine that a people could learn democracy while they are not permitted to govern themselves, but are under the government of victorious foreign former " enemies." This in itself is a *contradictio terminis.* As a matter of fact, General MacArthur, more than six years ago, stated that " occupation of a defeated country for more than five years does more harm than good." In Germany the occupation by the victorious powers is already 6½ years old !

Yet, no sooner has one discussed these matters with intelligent and thoughtful Germans than one is startled by the rejoinder : " God pity us, if the occupying armies were to leave Germany tomorrow." In one and the same breath, the same Germans, who have just finished more or less damning the armies of occupation and their governments, will insist that if those " over-lords " were to pull out, lock, stock, and barrel, tomorrow, most of the population of West Germany would fall down on their knees and beg them to " please, please, stay here ! " The same old dilemma ! At one and the same time they want to be rid of the occupation and they do not want to be rid of it. The reason ?

The same fear of the Russian Bear which causes millions of Americans to be willing to pay the highest taxes which they have paid during so-called peace-time in the entire history of their nation: namely, fear of Russian expansionism, imperialism, and subjection. There seems to be no difference of opinion among 99 out of every 100 West Germans on this one point: if the three Western democracies were to pull out of West Germany, the Russian armies would not be ten kilometers behind them in occupying the country; as fast as the democracies would pull out, the Russians would pour in. And of this eventuality the Germans are far more afraid than they are tired of or disgruntled regarding Western occupation.

Is it any wonder, under these conditions, that the Germans are developing a schizo-phrenic personality? Everywhere they turn they find that they must want what they do not want, unless they are willing to exchange the lesser evils for greater ones. Life, in such circumstances of emotional stress and constant internal conflict with one's own hopes and desires, is not exactly pleasant, let alone exhilarating. When it is remembered, moreover, through what hell these same Germans had to go for more than a decade before, one can not but marvel at the way in which the majority of these under-fed, shabbily-clothed, and scarcely-housed population manage not merely to keep up their spirit, but actually engage in the hard work—and work which may all be lost again tomorrow?—of re-building a terribly demolished and ruined country.

Then there is the problems of the millions of refugees (from behind the Iron Curtain) which have been pouring into West Germany in a steady and, apparently, never ending stream. The present writer had the privilege of personally visiting one of the West German reception camps—less than a dozen miles from the borders of Russian-occupied East Germany; a camp into which, inside of any and every 24 hours period never less than 400 refugees kept pouring: people who, under the darkness of night and by devious routes had succeeded in making their way across the carefully watched border, without having been caught in the attempt; people who—whether singly or in entire families—were running away from what to them had become unbearable conditions, and many of whom were, in fact, in danger of losing not merely the little freedom they had left but their lives as well. I had a chance to talk personally with many of these refugees, of all age-groups and economic conditions. The real tragedy, in eight out of evrry ten instances was the fact that, so far from having escaped tragedy, the very necessity of conditions in Western Germany to-day made it inevitable that they had merely fled from one tragedy into another. For, with Western Germany already vastly over-populated and unable to take care of the

population's physical needs, and with an ever-increasing army of unemployed, the West German governments simply *could not* accept this endless stream of refugees, accord them the right of citizenship or allow them still further to flood the already too ghastly large army of the unemployed. Camp officials are forced, therefore, to admit formally and legally no more than at the very most 20% of the refugees, since even this 20% admission is actually already more than the country can actually absorb under existing conditions. But what of the 80% of these refugees who are being turned away? Less than 1% of these dare or care to go back behind the Iron Curtain. The rest are forced to walk the streets of Germany without *Kennkarte* (Passport), without right to food, without right to any place of residence, without right to find work. And 320 of these people are turned into the stream of the German population within every 24 hours from just this one camp I visited! What are these people—among whom there are often families with small children—to do? Where are they to turn? Whence are they to get help, since the government is unable to absorb them? Here is a staggering problem, to which no one has yet been able to find or suggest a humane and at the same time possible solution. One more of dilemmas, where the solution in either direction is no solution.

But, again, this still is not the whole story (of course, it would take books, not a brief article, to even begin to tell the whole story). The dilemmas I have been mentioning here have had a totally different effect upon at least some of these Germans. The ever-increasing difficulties and inner contradictions have driven some of these West Germans into new tantrums of intense German nationalism. This is so true that enough people among the general electorate have already been bitten by this bug to have caused them to elect a number of representatives into several of the various West German *Länder Landtage* (legislatures), who—regardless under what present party-name they may go—can be said to be nothing more or less than the successors to the old Nazi regime. Although these groups still constitute an only small and (as yet at least) relatively ineffective minority, they do prove to be a straw in the wind and show whence some of the wind is blowing.

If, among the readers of this analysis, there will be those who feel inclined to react to this statement by asking: " Aren't those Germans ever going to learn their lesson? Haven't they suffered enough yet to have learned that following that path of mad nationalism can lead to nothing but disaster for themselves?"—it will have to be pointed out that these super-nationalists will, of course, never admit that it was " National Socialism " (the Nazi Party) which led them to ruin. Their argument still is: Had there been no traitors within Germany itself,

National Socialism and Hitler would never have been defeated. Although the rest of the world may be practically unanimous in knowing that precisely the reverse is the case, it is hopelessly wasted time to try to convince these super-nationalists. Thus the old dangerous octopus is raising its head again, and that in the midst of a country and a people who are overwhelmed with problems enough without being dogged by this recurrent malady of Nazism. Unfortunately, the longer the solutions of Germany's vast economic and social problems are delayed, the more gains of converts the super-nationalists are likely to make among the population. The drowning man always grasps for the last straw.

However, so far from recognizing this growing danger in Germany to-day, too many official representatives of the Western occupying powers either (*a*) do not think that a recrudescence of anything like " National Socialism " is likely, or (*b*) feel that, even if there were such a recrudescence, it would be of no real significance, or (*c*) actually play into its hands by permitting and even advocating the appointment of former Nazi functionaries to positions of more or less importance. Every one of these points of view is not merely short-sighted, but dangerous for the future of Germany and of Europe (and thus of the world).

The " question of the moment " in Germany is, of course, that of re-militarization. Many Germans are unable to recover from the contradiction that the very same powers who yesterday said that Germany must never again be allowed to rearm, and who had, indeed, insisted that such a provision be written into the new Constitution of the " Bund Deutscher Länder," are to-day diligently (trying to persuade these same " bad Germans " that the safety and security of the future lies in vigorous re-armament. More puzzling still is the fact that, at the point of *action*, the Western allies are contradicting themselves in demanding that Germany rapidly step up her industrial potential in order to become economically self-sufficient at the earliest possible moment, while simultaneously demanding that Germany pay every last farthing of the tremendous costs of occupation—which costs, they have been told, must be entered as the *first item* in Germany's national budget ; and, again in the same breath, in refusing to let the Germans keep enough of the coal mined in their own mines and by their own miners to make any real step-up in industrial production possible. When, for example, during the month of August, 1951, the International Ruhr Authority insisted that Germany ship out as much coal during the fourth quarter of the year as she had been forced to ship out during the third quarter, the possibility of meeting the demand for a step-up

in industrial production became automatically nullified by this short-sighted act—an act, anyway, far more that of commanding conquerors than that of intelligent democratic powers looking around for allies against Russian Communist expansion! One thing is certain to any unbiassed (outside) observer: if the Ruhr Authority keeps on having its way, Eisenhower cannot possibly have his. You cannot build co-operation by continuously holding down those whom you are trying to persuade to co-operate with you. And, unfortunately, the Germans are constantly being confronted by *faits accompli* which seem to disprove that actual mutual goodwill is really being sought on both sides.

Lest the present writer himself be accused of presenting a biassed view, I shall quote here from an article by Don Cook, European correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, which appeared in the Paris edition of this paper on August 23rd, 1951, under a Bonn (Germany) dateline and under the concluding sub-title.

"ALLIES INDIFFERENT"

> "The situation which has arisen is also typical of how political issues compound in Germany. The Western Allies have said firmly three times that the Germans must export 6.2 million tons of coal in the coming quarter of the year and must pay 6.5 billions deutsche marks occupation costs during the year. As a result, Vice-Chancellor Fransz Bluecher has resigned as head of the German delegation to the International Ruhr Authority, and, from the German press, one would judge that the Western world is about to collapse as a result of these decisions."
>
> "The Western Allies have reacted with *studied indifference*. American High Commissioner John J. McCloy has gone off to Italy for a brief holiday; so he would not have to listen to the German complaints and reiterations when the High Commission meets on Thursday. The French are, *of course, always ready* to *reject* German complaints *out of hand*. The British are so determined to dig in on these two issues that they are even hinting that perhaps the Western Allies should take a second look at the idea of giving the Germans de facto sovereignty in a few months, if they are going to behave the way they have in recent weeks." (*Italics* mine).

With such frank public admissions the Western allies still talk not merely of wanting Germany's co-operation, but about "mutual trust." Whereas to any Germans who may chance to read this particular news story, it will only be further justification of the notion—already widespread in Germany—that Germany and Germans are wanted by the Western allies, not as friends, but only as good cannon-fodder.

Six weeks spent in Germany under such conditions cause one to leave the country with a feeling of wonder, on the one hand, and of despair, on the other. One marvels that the Germans, under such trying conditions, are holding up as well as they seem to ; that they are trying so assiduously to re-build not merely homes, but churches, schools, and libraries. But, when one considers what all this must lead to, one despairs. Politically Germany is divided between those who live in front and those who are behind the Iron Curtain. Psychologically Germans are divided and torn within themselves in so many different ways and directions, and find themselves pulled hither and yon, that the Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde analogy is far too simple for comparison. In West Germany itself, the division between the reactionary nationalists and the democratically minded liberals is daily gaining in sharpness. The problems demanding immediate solution—but for which no immediate solution is at all in sight—are almost innumerable. And, beyond all else, the Western occupying powers are making contradictory and mutually exclusive demands upon the Germans. One certainly need not be a chronic pessimist to recognize that little good can come out of such a situation.

Centrally located in the heart of Europe, Germany is still the enigma of the hour. What she will be tomorrow depends perhaps more upon the insight and vision of those who to-day still determine so much of Germany's fate from the outside than upon any decisions or deeds of the Germans themselves. If German co-operation with the rest of the nations of the democratic world is worth having, it will have to be paid for, quite obviously, by creating conditions and an atmosphere of mutual trust ; it can never be achieved by the victorious dictator asserting his power. Whether the Western allies are going to be wise enough to recognize this fact, this remains to be seen.

(Professor Schilpp was born in Germany and spent the first 16 years of his life there and the last 38 years in the United States. He visited Germany in 1928 ; and again in 1948 on the invitation of the Rektor and Faculty of the University of Munich to teach and lecture at the University. This year he spent six weeks in Germany on his way home to the U.S.A. after a lecture tour of the Indian Universities.)

A LUTHERAN MISSIONARY'S DIARY, 1766 & 1767

By Sir Charles Collins

THERE are in existence a few old books written in German which are of interest to Ceylon. Their number is not great, and most of them have been translated into English in part or whole, or summarised, and will usually be found published in one or other of the various Ceylon literary publications. One such book, which does not, however, seem to have been so dealt with so far, is the diary of the journey of a German Lutheran Missionary, Gericke, to Ceylon and South India where he was to work, in the years 1766 and 1767. The book was published in 1773 in Halle and contains 294 pages. Its title is: Hrn Missionarii Gerickens merkwürdige Seereise von London nach Ceylon und Cudulur in den Jahren 1766 und 1767 (the noteworthy journey by sea from London to Ceylon and Cudulur of the Missionary Gericke in the years 1766 and 1767).

The earlier part of the book is taken up with a description of the missionary's journey as far as Ceylon in a small sailing ship, which sailed from Gravesend in the Thames Estuary on April 1st, 1766. The voyage began badly because his luggage which should have been sent from London went astray, and he had to leave without it. The ship's officers came to his assistance, but he had to be sent ashore to buy himself a hammock, for in those days ships did not provide comfortable beds or bunks for their passengers. They had to arrange for their own sleeping accommodation, and they usually hung their hammocks in a corner of a large cabin which they shared with other passengers.

The voyage was rough and uncomfortable, but Gericke was a religious man, and set himself a daily routine of spiritual studies which sustained him during the worst parts of the journey. The voyage occupied eight months, and by the end of it, when they had bad weather, they had run out of fresh provisions, and were subsisting on salt rations and threatened with scurvy. They were, therefore, delighted when they sighted the green isle of Ceylon, and after coasting along it for a time, made for their port of call, Galle, where they arrived on December 2nd. The Dutch port authorities treated them well, and Gericke speaks with enthusiasm of the delight of again eating fresh food. He soon found himself at home among the religious community of Galle, and was persuaded to stay there over Christmas, though anxious to get to his

final destination, the mission at Cudulur, South India. Gericke unfortunately says little about Galle or the other places he visited, being more interested to record his sermons and religious conversations.

On December 28th, 1766, Gericke left Galle for Colombo, on the next stage of his journey. He travelled by road, and found the way an easy and agreeable one. The road to Colombo he describes as a lane between coconut and areca nut trees, and pleasant to travel on, with resthouses at intervals. He stayed the first night at Ambalangoda, leaving there at 4 a.m. the next morning for Bentotte, which he reached at 10 a.m. He notes that this was the boundary of the Galle jurisdiction. After lunch here he started for Kalutara, which was reached at 8 p.m. Again there was a short night's rest, and he was on his way by 4 a.m. the next day.

He notes that Kalutara had a small Fort, but as it was dark when he passed, he did not actually see it. He reached " Panature " at 9 a.m., and Galkisse at 2 p.m., and arrived in Colombo in the evening. It thus took three long days to journey from Galle to Colombo, and he notes that there were four broad rivers to cross in the course of the journey. Friends met him in Colombo, and he was soon at home again, and busy with his religious duties.

Gericke met Falck, the Governor of Ceylon, while he was in Galle, and found him most obliging and helpful. On his arrival in Colombo he went out to Grandpass, which he says was about an hour's journey from the Fort of Colombo, where the Governor had his country house, to pay his respects to him and to thank him for the helpful advice he had given him in regard to his further journeys.

Gericke records here an event of some interest which occurred on January 6th, 1767. He says that on that day some 300 men of the Colombo garrison left the Fort, taking their weapons with them, and marched through the town without being stopped. They then decided to go to the Governor's house at Grandpass, and here they made a number of complaints to the Governor, and stated that they proposed to go over to Kandy. Falck discussed their troubles with them and persuaded them to return to the Fort, which they did in an orderly manner. The next day the Governor harangued the garrison, and told the men that if any of them had any complaints to make, they should put them to him and he would inquire into them. Thus ended this small strike very much to the credit of Governor Falck, for whom Gericke appears to have conceived a high regard.

Gericke's chief friend among the officials of the Government, however, appears to have been J. G. Van Angelbeek, the " Secretair " (Secretary), who afterwards became Governor of Ceylon, and the last in

the line of Dutch Governors. Gericke took walks with Angelbeek, and in one of them passed through plantations of cinnamon, which gave him an opportunity to depart from his usual custom, and to describe the cultivation and preparation of this product, the principal one of the time. Angelbeek was appointed Ambassador to Kandy, and on February 4th Gericke accompanied him a short way on his journey to Kandy from Colombo. Most of his days, however, were taken up with religious exercises, which he describes very fully. He gives a long account of several talks he had with a German Lutheran soldier of the Dutch East India Company, who had been condemned to death for attempting to shoot his officer.

He felt, however, that he had to get on his way, and on February 22nd he said his farewells to the Governor, who was just starting on a visit to a pearl fishery at Mannar, after which he proposed to visit Jaffanapatnam (Jaffna) and Trinconomale (Trincomalee).

Gerwicke preached his last sermon in Colombo on March 6th, which he says was a very hot day. A few days later, on the 11th March he said his final sad farewells to his Colombo friends, and embarked on a sloop (chalouppe) which was going to Mannar. It took two days to reach Negombo Fort, and two more days to reach "Chilouw." The ship was delayed for a while near Mannar, and he took the opportunity to refer to Adam's Bridge, which he said, according to information given to him, was known by the Sinhalese as Buddha's Bridge (Budos-Brücke) because he formed it when he wished to cross over to Ceylon to teach the inhabitants religion. He goes on that in similar fashion the Sinhalese call Adam's Peak and Adam's Grave, Buddha's Peak and Buddha's Grave, because the Buddha lived and taught on the Peak, and lies buried in the Grave.[1]

The sloop arrived ultimately at Mannar, but the only comment we have is that he could see a small Fort, but no houses! However, the medical officer entertained him, and he was soon happy because he found that there were no less than twelve Lutherans in the place. Though he stayed at Mannar until the 23rd April, we hear nothing of the pearl fishery then in progress. Gericke's next port of call was Jaffna, whither he went on another sloop. He was invited to go to Trincomalee, to

1. The original somewhat confused statement reads as follows:—
"Die Singhalesen (wie mir erzehlet worden) nennen diesen Strich Sandbänke die Budos-Brücke, und geben vor, dass ihr Budo, den sie, nach art der Siamer als ihrer Gotzen verehren, als er von der Küste nach Ceylon herübergekommen sey, ihnen die Religion zu lehren, diese Sandbänke hervorgebracht habe, indem er um über das Meer zu kommen einen Sandhaufen nach dem andern in dem Meer errichtet haben soll. Eben so verhält es sich auch mit dem Berge und Grabe auf der Insel Ceylon, das, was, seit der Portugesen Ankunft in diesem Lande, Adams Berg und Grab heisst, nennen die Singalesen Budos Berg weil ihr Budo darauf soll gewohnet und gelehret haben, und Budos Grab weil darin dieser Budo begraben liegen soll."

minister to those there who conformed to the Augsburg Confession but time was getting on, and he did not want to miss any opportunity of reaching South India, so he did not accept this invitation. He made several expeditions from Jaffna, notably to Nallur, where he was grieved to find an excellent Church and school, with an inscription in Dutch, "Malabarsche School," in ruins. He also visited "Keiz" (Kayts), and mentions the Hamenhiel Fort. He stayed in Jaffna till well on in June, but at last the opportunity he had been waiting for occurred, and he was able to sail for Nagapatam, and he reached Cudulur on June 26th, 1767. The journey thither from England had taken him eighteen months.

Though he is not a very observant writer, his diary does give us some idea of what travelling was like for the ordinary passenger, and his incidental references to places and people are not without interest.

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW AND ADMINISTRATIVE JUSTICE IN THE MODERN STATE

By M. Ramaswamy

I

INTRODUCTORY

THE rapid march of science has placed in the hands of man technological processes which are working profound changes in the organization of his group life. The complexities of modern living have brought many difficult social, economic and scientific problems in their train, problems which imperatively demand both workable and expeditious solutions if the peace and well-being of society have to be preserved. Moreover, with the growth of political consciousness among the people there is a pressing demand—and a very legitimate one too—for the wider distribution of the good things of life. No modern state can ignore these problems except at its own peril. Naturally these problems have called for the intervention of the state in many fields of human activity which an earlier generation would have regarded as rank heresy. To attempt a return to the days of *laissez faire* would be to swim against the current of present-day civilization.

To grapple with the wide variety of new problems which the ever-expanding activities of government have created, every modern democratic state has been compelled to evolve new techniques of governmental organization. Administrative agencies—ministers, governmental departments, Boards, Commissions and so on—have been given wide law-making powers under statutory provisions. Many such administrative agencies have been entrusted with judicial powers also. So that we have a large body of delegated legislation promulgated by administrative agencies and numerous decisions given by non-judicial authorities in every state. Mr. Elihu Root, the great American Lawyer and Statesman, in an address which he delivered so far back as 1916, referred to the growing body of administrative law in his own country in these words :

" We are entering upon the creation of a body of administrative law quite different in its machinery, its remedies, and its necessary safeguards from the old methods of regulation by specific statutes enforced by the courts. As any community passes from simple to complex conditions

the only way in which government can deal with the increased burdens thrown upon it is by the delegation of power to be exercised in detail by subordinate agents, subject to the control of general directions prescribed by superior authority . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission, the state public service commissions, the Federal Trade Commission, the powers of the Federal Reserve Board, the health departments of the states, and many other supervisory offices and agencies are familiar illustrations."[1]

There has been all the world over a steady increase in the legislative, judicial and discretionary administrative powers exercised by executive agencies. The number of statutory rules and orders promulgated every year outnumbers several times the number of statutes directly enacted by the legislature. And as Mr. S. A. de Smith writing in *Annual Law Review* on " Recent Constitutional Trends in England " has pointed out : " The number of statutory rules and orders[2] registered in 1937 was 1,231 ; in 1947 it was 2,916 . . . . Administrative tribunals have proliferated ; there are apparently nearly a hundred different types of authorities exercising judicial functions outside the ordinary courts.[3] Wide discretionary powers over property have been subdelegated to subordinate officials. The inevitability of these developments is rarely questioned to-day. The Civil Service has withstood the assaults of Dr. C. K. Allen's rapier and Lord Hewart's bludgeon, though it is doubtless destined to remain the eternal victim of ' the national sport of bureaucracy baiting '."[4] Professor James Hart in his research report on The Exercise of Rule—Making Power in 1937 found no fewer than 115 Federal Agencies in the United States authorised to issue rules and regulations that affected the public.[5] And rule-making agencies in the United States include the President, most of the executive departments, many independent boards and commissions, and other bodies. Of these the most important are the independent regulatory commissions like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Radio Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission. And as for administrative authorities exercising adjudicatory powers in the United States their number is legion. It is possible to classify them into broad categories, of which three are of the greatest importance. First, there are a few independent administrative courts

1. 41 Amer. Bar Assoc. Rep. 356, 368 ; cited in Bernard Schwartz : *American Administrative Law* p. 8 (1950).

2. Now called statutory instruments : Statutory Instruments Act 1946 (9 and 10 Geo. 6, c. 36).

3. The Attorney-General, 459 H. C. Debates, Col. 1229. A list of tribunals is given in the Appendix to Administrative Tribunals at work (ed. Robert S. W. Pollard (1950)).

4. *Annual Law Review*, Vol. I, No. 3, University of Western Australia, pp. 445-6, December, 1950.

5. *The Exercise of Rule-Making Power* : The President's Committee on Administrative Management : p. 3, Washington, (1937).

like the United States Tax Court, the Court of Claims, the Customs Court, and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. Second, there are administrative tribunals in the various executive departments like the Civil aeronautics board and the Patent office. The third consists of the independent regulatory commissions, examples of which I have already given, which exercise quasi-judicial powers also. And we may also take note of the fact that there are executive departmental heads like the Secretary of Agriculture who are invested with adjudicatory powers. I have taken two of the advanced countries like England and the United States to illustrate the point how important is the rôle which administrative law and justice play in regulating many important segments of national life and economy. The experience of almost every modern state attests to the fact that the complicated processes of modern life cannot be regulated except through the agency of administrative agencies endowed with powers of delegated legislation and adjudication. And notwithstanding the alarms raised occasionally by critics, the administrative process has come to stay. As Mr. Justice Harlan Stone (who later became Chief Justice) of the United States Supreme Court in an address which he delivered at Harvard University in 1936 observed :

" Addresses before bar associations twenty years ago, discussing the rise of new administrative agencies, are reminiscent of the distrust of equity displayed by the common law judges led by Coke, and of their resistance to its expansion. We still get the reverberations of these early fulminations in renewed alarms at our growing administrative bureaucracy and the new despotism of boards and commissions. So far as these nostalgic yearnings for an era that has passed would encourage us to stay the tide of a needed reform, they are destined to share the fate of the obstacles which Coke and his colleagues sought to place in the way of the extension of the beneficent sway of equity."[6]

Administrative law while it is a good servant can be a bad master. It is undoubtedly necessary to take all the care, which human ingenuity can devise, to forge proper safeguards in order that the administrative agencies do not abuse their rule-making powers. It is also necessary to see that the work of the administrative tribunals is informed with a judicial spirit and that a limited power of judicial review over their decisions in appropriate cases is given to the ordinary courts of the land. I shall revert to this subject sometime later in the course of this article. But the point I wish to make at this stage is that administrative law and administrative justice must be welcomed as processes which have a

6. Address delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stone entitled " The Common Law in the United States " at Harvard University : Printed in the volume *The Future of The Common Law*, Harvard Tercentenary Publications, at p. 136 (1937).

valuable part to play in solving the many complicated problems which so often arise in the tangled web of social and economic relationships woven by scientific discoveries and democratic impulses.

II

Administrative Law: Its Nature and Functions

Now what exactly is administrative law? I believe that one of the best and most comprehensive definitions of this term and a delineation of its ambit is the one which Sir Ivor Jennings has given. He says:

"Administrative law is the law relating to the Administration. It determines the organization, powers, and duties of administrative authorities . . . It includes the law relating to the civil service, local government law, the law relating to public utility companies, and the legal powers which these authorities exercise. Or, looking at the subject from the functional instead of the institutional point of view, we may say that it includes the law relating to public health, the law of highways, the law of social insurance, the law of education, and the law relating to the provision of gas, water and electricity. These are examples only, for a list of the powers of the administrative authorities would occupy a long catalogue."[7]

In order to understand the wide ambit and diversity of the functions which administrative law performs in a modern state, we may take the case of the United States for examination. It is possible, of course, to select any other developed country for this purpose, England, Canada, Australia or India. But the reason why I have selected the United States for study in this context is because of the fact that there is no country that I know of which has made a wider or more effective use of administrative law for solving the many difficult social and economic problems that so often arise in an industrialised, integrated and complex pattern of civilization than this country. In the course of a short journal article it is not possible to give anything more than a very sketchy picture of the great rôle which administrative law has played in the life of the United States. Adverting to the significant part which the administrative process has taken in providing useful controls in the economic sphere, Professor Landis has observed:

"As particular industries, due to lack of effective economic restraints, posited problems of abusive tactics with which traditional legal devices had failed to cope, this new method of control made its appearance. Banking, insurance, utilities, shipping, communications—industries with sickness stemming from misdirection as to objective or from failure adequately to meet public demands—all came under the

7. W. Ivor Jennings: *The Law and the Constitution*, p. 194 (1938).

fostering guardianship of the state. The mode of the exercise of that guardianship was the administrative process."[8]

Of the independent regulatory commissions the most important is the Interstate Commerce Commission which was set up under the Interstate Commerce Act passed by Congress in 1887 to regulate the affairs of a great essential service namely railroad transportation. The primary objective of the system of regulation first conceived in 1887 was the prevention of unreasonable and discriminatory rates and practices which had become widespread; but gradually by a succession of congressional enactments the powers and jurisdiction of the Commission have been so enlarged that to-day it exercises supervisory control over many phases of activity of not only rail-carriers but carriers by water, express and sleeping car companies, oil pipe line companies and motor carriers operating in foreign or interstate commerce. It has legislative, judicial and executive functions. Among its functions are the prevention of monopolistic practices, the requirement of the installation and use of safety devices, uniform bills of lading, the prescribing of methods of transporting explosives and dangerous substances, the determination of fair and reasonable rates, investigation of railway accidents and inspection of locomotives and safety appliances. By the manner of its work it has not only won the appreciation of Congress which has devolved greater and greater powers upon it but it has also fulfilled a great national rôle in building up a healthy transportation system. So successful has been the work of this Commission that Congress has been strongly inclined to follow the same technique for the controlling of other enconomic problems.

The Federal Trade Commission established in 1914 deals with unfair methods of competition and unfair or deceptive acts or practices followed by individuals, partnerships and corporations operating in interstate or foreign commerce. The Federal Communications Commission was established by the Communications Act, 1934, for regulating interstate and foreign commerce in communication by wire and radio. It licenses broadcasting stations, allocates the wave lengths on which they may operate and the places of their location. It is empowered to determine and prescribe what will be just and reasonable charges to be levied. It has also been given important rule-making powers. I have examined at length the important work performed by these Commissions in my treatise on the *Commerce Clause*.[9]

In an industrialized society the proper adjustment of employer-

8. Landis: *The Administrative Process*, 14: Cited in Bernard Schwartz: *The American Administrative Law*, p. 8.

9. M. Ramaswamy: *The Commerce Clause in the Constitution of the United States*, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. (1948).

employee relations confronts the state with grave problems. One of the important measures taken by Congress to deal with labour disputes is the setting up of a National Labour Relations Board under the provisions of the National Labour Relations Act, 1935. The Labour Management Relations Act, 1947, has made certain alterations in the original Act. The Board now consists of five members. It has its principal office in Washington and a number of regional offices. It has jurisdiction over all non-governmental employers and employees engaged in foreign and interstate commerce except those in the railway and airway industries and hospitals. It has two principal functions, one, to ascertain by the conduct of elections which union represents a majority within a plant or industry and the second, to prevent employers from committing certain unfair labour practices defined by the statute. The Board has the power, on a finding that any employer was engaged in any " unfair labour practice," to direct by an order that he should " cease and desist " and " to take such affirmative action, including reinstatement of employees with or without back pay, as will effectuate the policies of the Act."

Perhaps the most important of the social services administered by the Federal Government is that established by the Social Security Act, 1935 providing for a nation-wide plan of insurance to ensure a minimum income to most wage earners and low-salaried workers after they reached the age of sixty-five and ceased working and proportionate benefits to the survivors if the insured worker died before reaching the age of sixty-five. Employers are required to pay a tax on pay rolls and employees an identical sum from their income, both being collected by the employer. The scheme is administered by the Social Security Board through the Bureau of Old Age and Survivor's Insurance. In view of the large number of claims to be disposed of and of the need to secure quick settlement of claims an " assembly type " of justice has been evolved. A large number of adjudicators and reviewers, who have had legal training, deal with these claims. Mr. Justice Cardozo in *Helvering* v. *Davis*[10] referring to the object of the Social Security Act has observed :

" The hope behind this statute is to save men and women from the rigors of the poorhouse as well as from the haunting fear that such a lot awaits them when journey's end is near."

In addition to the Commission and Board type of administrative agencies, there are in the federal government, each headed by a Secretary, nine executive departments, which possess important administrative powers. As Mr. Feller has observed :

" The most striking case is that of the Secretary of Agriculture

10. (1937) 301 U.S. 619 at p. 641.

who administers about forty-four regulatory statutes. The most important of these are the Packers and Stockyards Act (fixing of rates and charges of stockyards, and commission men, and prevention of unfair practices by packers), the Commodities Exchange Act (supervision of exchanges on which grain, butter, eggs, and potatoes are dealt in), the Agricultural Marketing Act (orders fixing the price of milk to be paid farmers and marketing quotas for fruits and vegetables), the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (marketing quotas for wheat, cotton, corn, and tobacco), the Sugar Act (marketing quotas for sugar), the Pure Food and Drugs Act, the Tobacco Inspection Act, the Poisonous Insecticides Act, and so on. No other cabinet officer has nearly as extensive powers, but most of them exercise some quasi-judicial functions, such as the Secretary of Interior in connection with public lands, the (Attorney-General), in connection with the deportation of aliens, and the Postmaster-General in connection with second-class mailing privileges and the exclusion of fraudulent matter from the mails."[11]

This rather meagre survey of the activities of some of the administrative agencies in one of the advanced countries of the world gives us an idea of the functions which administrative law fulfils in a modern state.

III

Delegation of Legislative Powers to Administrative Agencies

Now it is obvious that the powers entrusted to administrative agencies cannot all be freezed into a statute. A large measure of delegation of rule-making powers to such agencies is necessary for very good reasons. First, an administrative agency being an expert conversant with the technical problems to be faced is in a better position than the legislature to provide the detailed regulations necessary to make legislative policy effective. Second, the legislature confronted with numerous problems simply has not the time to work out the details of legislation. Third, flexibility is introduced into legislative enactments so that they may keep step with the changing conditions and wider experience.

The necessity of entrusting powers of legislation to administrative agencies being apparent, the question arises as to what safeguards would be required to prevent abuse of this authority. Sir Cecil Carr in his Carpentier Lectures at Columbia University in the fall of 1940 enumerates five conditions to be observed to keep delegated legislation under proper restraint.[12] And those conditions are : (1) The delegation

11. Feller " Administrative Justice " (1938), 27 *Survey Graphic, 494* ; Cited in Bernard Schwartz : *American Administrative Law*, pp. 9-10 (1950).

12. Sir Cecil Carr : *Concerning English Administrative Law*, pp. 50-64, (1941).

should be to a trustworthy authority commanding national confidence. (2) The limits within which the delegated power is to be exercised must be definitely laid down. He also suggests that the rule-making body should be required by statute " to state in the caption or recitals to its rules the exact statutory power which it purported to be exercising." (3) There should be prior consultation of the interests affected by the rules. As Cecil Carr has put it : " The duty to consult has been increasingly imposed by many British statutes in the last twenty years; there are about forty advisory councils or committees created for this purpose, some exclusively technical, like those dealing with the dye-stuffs industry, or poisons, or Scottish records, others partly popular. There is no general practice of public hearings. The consultation, though genuine, is without prescribed formalities. There is, however, something like a miniature Parliament which the Minister of Transport is to consult before making regulations under the London Traffic Acts." (4) There should be adequate publicity. Under Section 3 of the Rules Publication Act of 1893 there is a systematic publication of all statutory rules and orders. The rules and orders are periodically sent to the King's Printer who, working in collaboration with the Editor of Statutory Rules and Orders, publishes them. And Sir Cecil points out : " The rules and orders are numbered in an annual series and printed in slip form with standardized subject headings such as ' Customs,' ' Education,' ' Housing,' ' Income Tax,' ' Poisons,' ' Public Health,' and so forth. Those of a general character in force at the end of a year are collected into annual volumes, the type for the slip-form prints being kept standing for this purpose." In the United States the Federal Register, issued five times a week, contains presidential proclamations and executive orders and other documents of general applicability and legal effect. (5) There must be machinery for exercising checks and controls by the legislature over rule-making. This opens up a difficult subject and I cannot go into this matter in detail here. " A common form of control " as Sir Cecil points out " is a provision that the delegated legislation shall take effect forthwith, but if within a prescribed number of days either House presents an adverse address, then His Majesty may by an Order in Council annul the challenged document, though without prejudice to a fresh exercise of the delegated power." Under the Administrative Procedure Act passed by the United States Congress in 1946 there is a valuable safeguard that rules must be published at least 30 days before the effective date.

In England where the supremacy of Parliament is taken as axiomatic, no constitutional question arises in connection with the delegation of legislative power by Parliament to administrative agencies. All that

the courts in that country are competent to do is to ascertain whether the agency exercising rule-making powers has or has not kept within the bounds prescribed. But in the United States the doctrine of separation of powers has been regarded as requiring, to use the words of Mr. Justice Harlan in *Field* v. *Clark*[13] " that Congress cannot delegate legislative power to the President (as that) is a principle universally recognized as vital to the integrity and maintenance of the system of government ordained by the Constitution." Notwithstanding this injunction against delegation of legislative power—supposed to be implicit in the principle of separation of powers—, from the early days of the United States, delegation by Congress of its legislative power to various executive agencies and covering an extensive field has not only occurred but has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States on numerous occasions. I will not discuss this problem, which is a rather technical one, at any length here. Mr. Elihu Root, whom I have already quoted once, stated in 1916 that " the old doctrine prohibiting the delegation of legislative power has virtually retired from the field and give up the fight." But in connection with the New Deal Legislation of President Roosevelt the application of the rule against delegation again arose for consideration. And in *Panama Refining Co.* v. *Ryan*,[14] Chief Justice Hughes speaking for the Supreme Court, for the first time in the history of the Court, vetoed presidential action authorized by a provision in the National Industrial Recovery Act, 1933, prohibiting the transportation in foreign or interstate commerce of petroleum produced or withdrawn from storage in excess of the amount permitted by state law or regulation, as constituting an invalid delegation of legislative power. And in the *Schechter Poultry Corporation* v. *United States*,[15] the same Chief Justice held that the code-making authority conferred upon the President by the National Industrial Recovery Act, 1933, was an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power, as it was altogether too general and had set up no standards aside from the statement of the general aim of the legislation. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court, however, have supported broad delegations of legislative power to administrative agencies. As Mr. Justice Murphy speaking for the Supreme Court in *American Power and Light Co.* v. *Securities and Exchange Commission*[16] has observed :

" We likewise reject the claim that Section 11 (*b*) (2) constitutes an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the Securities and Exchange Commission because of an alleged absence of any ascertain-

13. (1892) 143 U.S. 649.
14. (1935) 293 U.S. 388.
15. (1935) 295 U.S. 495.
16. (1946) 329 U.S. 90 at pp. 104-5.

able standards for guidance in carrying out its functions. Section 11 (*b*)(2) itself provides that the Commission shall act so as to ensure that the corporate structure or continued existence of any company in a particular holding company system does not " unduly or unnecessarily complicate the structure " or " unfairly or inequitably distribute voting power among security holders." It is argued that these phrases are undefined by the Act, are legally meaningless in themselves and carry with them no historically defined concepts . . . These contentions are without merit . . . The Legislative process would frequently bog down if Congress were constitutionally required to appraise beforehand the myriad situations to which it wishes a particular policy to be applied and to formulate specific rules for each situation. Necessity therefore fixes a point beyond which it is unreasonable and impracticable to compel Congress to prescribe detailed rules ; it then becomes constitutionally sufficient if Congress clearly delineates the general policy, the public agency which is to apply it, and the boundaries of this delegated authority."

IV

Administrative Justice

A large number of controversies affecting individual rights are adjudicated upon everyday by various administrative authorities in every modern state. To use the words of Chief Justice Hughes : " A host of controversies as to private rights are no longer decided by the Courts." The main reasons why an agency outside the hierarchy of courts is made use of to settle disputes are these : First, there are many matters requiring technical knowledge which only those who have had special training and experience can provide. Second, the proceedings of administrative agencies being less formal than those of the ordinary courts save both time and expense in dealing with problems where speed and cheapness are imperative. Third, the decisions are rendered by authorities who are sympathetic to the social and economic philosophy which underlie new legislation. Fourth, the very newness and experimental character of the legislation fashioned to deal with the emerging problems of a dynamic society call for a flexible procedure which only an administrative process can provide. There is a growing awareness even among those who have spent a life-time in the conservative atmosphere of the law courts to recognize both the need for and the importance of administrative tribunals in dealing with new situations. Lord Justice Denning, in his lectures under the Hamlyn Trust, in 1949, has observed that there was " no need for the ordinary courts to be jealous of the new tribunals

. . . the new tribunals on the whole do their work admirably."[17] Of course, safeguards are necessary to ensure that the administrative tribunals perform their allotted tasks observing the basic concepts of fairplay. I shall return to this question a little later.

It will not be possible for me to discuss in this article the criteria to be applied in testing whether a tribunal exercising adjudicatory powers is performing only an administrative function, or a judicial or quasi-judicial function. The criteria available are not very precise and conflicting opinions on this matter have been expressed by high judicial authorities. For instance, in *Shell Co. of Australia, Ltd.* v. *Federal Commissioner of Taxation*[18] Viscount Sankey L.C. held that a Board of Review created by the Australian Federal Income Tax Assessment Act to review the decisions of the Commissioner of Taxation was an administrative and not a judicial tribunal, while in *Rex* v. *London County Council*[19] Lord Justice Scrutton ruled that the action of the committee, appointed by the London County Council to issue licences for cinemas, in allowing cinemas to open on Sundays in contravention of the Sunday observances Acts, was a judicial and not an administrative act amenable to control by the court through the issue of the writ of certiorari. In the recent Ceylon case of *Nakkuda Ali* v. *Jayaratne*[20] Lord Radcliffe speaking for the Privy Council held that the action of the Controller of Textiles in cancelling the appellant's textiles licence under regulation 62 of the Defence (Control of Textiles) Regulations, 1945, was only an administrative and not a judicial act and he was, therefore, not amenable to a mandate in the nature of certiorari. The question whether a tribunal is exercising administrative or judicial functions, is of great practical importance, because the writ of certiorari is available only if the tribunal is acting judicially or quasi-judicially and not administratively. In India the following observations of Lord Justice Atkin in *Rex* v. *Electricity Commissioners*[21] as to what bodies can be deemed to be exercising judicial functions, have been widely followed :

" But the operation of the writs has extended to control the proceedings of bodies which do not claim to be, and would not be recognized as, courts of Justice. Wherever any body of persons having legal authority to determine questions affecting the rights of subjects, and having the duty to act judicially, act in excess of their legal authority, they are subject to the controlling jurisdiction of the King's Bench Division exercised in these writs."

17. Sir Alfred Denning : *Freedom under the Law*, 81-2.
18. (1931) A.C. 275 at pp. 297-98.
19. (1931) 2 K.B. 215 at p. 233.
20. (1951) A.C. 66 at pp. 77-8.
21. (1924) 1 K.B. 171 at p. 205.

The vast number and wide variety of administrative tribunals exercising quasi-judicial functions in a modern state attests to the importance of such tribunals in settling various types of disputes. It will not be possible for me, even if I were to select one important country for purposes of illustration, to give here an adequate idea of the range of adjudicatory functions discharged by these tribunals. I shall, however, give here a few examples of such tribunals working in England. Under the Housing Acts, the Minister of Health exercises quasi-judicial powers to confirm or disallow housing schemes known as slum clearance orders. A Departmental Inspector holds a local enquiry and submits a report as preliminary to the consideration of the matter by the Minister. The Railway Rates Tribunal, constituted under the Railways Act, 1921 is a Court of Record consisting of three members presided over by a lawyer. Under the Pensions Appeal Tribunals Act, 1943, a special tribunal appointed by the Lord Chancellor composed of a trained lawyer, a medical man and one other specially qualified person, hears appeals from decisions from the Minister in relation to claims for war pensions. Among the important standing tribunals are those of the General Commissioners and the Special Commissioners of Income Tax. Appeals from them lie to the High Court on points of law by way of a case stated.

In England two important cases, *Board of Education* v. *Rice*[22] and *Local Government Board* v. *Arlidge*[23] decided that administrative agencies were not tied to the formal procedure of the ordinary courts and were free to follow their own way of reaching final decisions. But this does not mean that they can be a law unto themselves in the performance of their functions. A concept of " natural justice " has been developed and administrative tribunals are required to observe certain standards of fairplay. " Natural Justice " involves at least these two elements. First : the judge ought to rule himself out if there are circumstances which are likely to make his decision a biassed one. For instance in *Dimes* v. Grand *Junction Canal*[24] the decree of Lord Chancellor Cottenham was set aside as he happened to be a shareholder holding a substantial interest in the company to whom relief was being granted in the case. Although nobody thought that his decision was in any way influenced by this fact, even the possibility of bias was considered sufficient to have his decision vacated. As Lord Campbell in that case has put it : " No one can suppose that Lord Cottenham could be, in the remotest degree, influenced by the interest that he had in this concern ; but,

22. (1911) A.C. 179.
23. (1915) A.C. 120.
24. (1852) 3 H.L.C. 759.

my Lords, it is of the last importance that the maxim that no man is to be judge in his own cause should be held sacred." Second : the party must be given a fair hearing and an opportunity to meet his opponent's case. As Chief Justice Hughes has stated in *Morgan* v. *United States*[25] a full hearing " embraces not only the right to present evidence but also a reasonable opportunity to know the claims of the opposing party and to meet them." The English Court of Appeal in *Errington* v. *Minister of Health*[26] quashed an order of the Ministry of Health on the ground that it had been based partly on evidence given *ex parte*. Lord Justice Greer in that case observed (p. 268) : " . . . a quasi-judicial officer in exercising his powers must do it in accordance with the rules of natural justice, that is to say, he must hear both sides and must not hear one side in the absence of the other." A third rule may perhaps be added, namely that an administrative tribunal exercising judicial or quasi-judicial powers should give reasons for its decision.

In order to emphasize the necessity of maintaining proper standards by administrative agencies in the performance of their work, I cannot do better than quote the words of Mr. Chief Justice Hughes in *Morgan* v. *United States* :[27]

" The maintenance of proper standards on the part of administrative agencies in the performance of their quasi-judicial functions is of the highest importance and in no way cripples or embarrasses the exercise of their appropriate authority. On the contrary, it is in their manifest interest. For, as we said at the outset, if these multiplying agencies deemed to be necessary in our complex society are to serve the purposes for which they are created and endowed with vast powers, they must accredit themselves by acting in accordance with the cherished judicial tradition embodying the basic concepts of fair-play."

It is, of course, not possible to have the decisions of administrative tribunals always reviewed by the courts : that would swamp the courts with work for which they have neither time nor specialized knowledge. The Donoughmore Committee on Ministers' powers in England recommended that in future legislation provision should be made for a party to have an absolute right of appeal to the law-courts on points of law. They also thought that in certain types of legislation, there must be provision for appeal on facts also to specially-constituted tribunals ; they had particularly in view the war-pensions procedure evolved after World War I. They suggested that the appeal on facts should be to a tribunal consisting of a lawyer (appointed by the Lord Chancellor) and

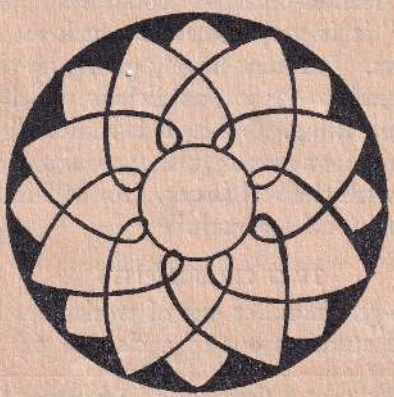
25. (1938) 304 U.S. 1 at p. 18.
26. (1935) 1 K.B. 249.
27. (1938) 304 U.S. 1 at p. 22.

two other persons. The problem of the reform of administrative tribunals raises issues of so important a character that they cannot be adequately considered here. The quality of the personnel entrusted with quasi-judicial functions must be maintained at a high level. And the statutes which set up the tribunals must prescribe a minimum of procedural safeguards so as to ensure fair hearing and reasoned decisions.

V

Conclusion

That great Judge Mr. Justice Holmes once observed that " the life of the law has not been logic ; it has been experience " and that " the law embodies the story of a nation's development through many centuries, and it cannot be dealt with as if it contained only the axioms and corollaries of a book of mathematics." Administrative law may not be very systematic but that it performs a useful function in a modern state few can deny. It is a response to the prevalent necessities of the industrial age in which we live. It has added a new and important chapter to the story of the development of the law in every democratic country. And it may well be that the historian of the future may say, as Sir Cecil Carr has happily observed, that the old-fashioned national law " unable out of its own resources to meet the requirements of a new age, has been preserved because it was supplemented, by a system, however unsystematic, of administrative tribunals."[28]



28. Sir Cecil Carr : *Concerning English Administrative Law*, p. 126 (1941).

AN EXPERIMENT IN GENERAL EDUCATION AT HARVARD COLLEGE

By Alfred S. Schenkman

PRINCIPLES OF THE "WORKSHOP METHOD"

THE "workshop method" is an attempt to remedy some of the serious faults of education as usually "given" in colleges. Lectures on the whole do not permit (or require) the co-operation and participation of students. Nor can the lecture system really teach students *how* to participate in productive group enterprises. The workshops were designed to develop in the students then, attitudes and appreciations, as well as understandings.

"Groups of seven to fifteen students are given topics generally related to the course idea but not explicitly contained in the lecture material. Meeting for a two-hour period each week, the group has first to define and narrow the topic according to its own interests, then to plan a systematic attack on the problem. In the course of the early meetings the group elects its own chairman and parcels out work to its members. The faculty member present asserts himself no more than is necessary for moderately efficient operation of the meeting."[1]

The philosophy behind the experiment is in accord with modern theories of education. C. R. Rogers (U. of Chicago) has discussed the attempts to apply "learner-centered procedures" to university courses and he states that "it is very clear that such an approach can have extremely vital results. It means largely giving up the attempt to *teach*, and attempting instead to create conditions which facilitate *learning*. This is a very different thing. When it is achieved, when the leader is genuinely a catalyst and not a mentor, the group shows remarkable capacity for coming to grips with the real issues. for self-iniriated learning, for intellectual and emotional growth."[2]

TWO EXPERIMENTS

In spring 1949—year number one of workshops in the course, five were offered, and 40 students out of a class of 69 enrolled in them.

1 Harvard University Student Council, Committee on Education, "Report on Questionnaire Given to Students in Social Sciences 113 Workshops Spring 1950". P. 1.

2 Rogers, C.R., "Some implications of Client—Centered Counseling," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 19, Autumn 1949.

The five choices were :

(*a*) Impact of Science on the Religions of the World.
(*b*) Impact of Science on Medicine and Public Health.
(*c*) Impact of Science on Labour and Management.
(*d*) Impact of Science on the growth of population and the Development of Backward Areas.
(*e*) Impact of Science on Education and the School System.

In these five workshops the students came up not only against the impact of science on their special fields but against issues of the day. And it was for the students themselves to decide how to tackle these issues.

In the Spring of 1950 seven workshops were offered and 69 out of 96 students chose to enroll in these groups. The alternate option was not rigidly set as in 1949 but was rather " such individual work (of any nature) as may be jointly agreed on by the student and the Teaching Fellow." The seven 1950 choices were :

(1) The Impact of Science on the Nation's Health.
(2) Religion and Philosophy in an age of Science.
(3) The Development of Underdeveloped Areas.
(4) The Impact of Science on the Status of the Worker in Industry.
(5) International Co-operation in Scientific Projects.
(6) The Impact of Science on Propaganda to Influence the Minds of Man.
(7) The Social Responsibility of the Scientist.

How to tackle issues, and to decide on what issues to tackle—this was the first problem for the workshop members, in both years. The writer outlined his conceptions of the purposes and possibilities of the workshop and then he left it to the students to take it from there. The different groups went about arranging their business in different ways.

In a majority of cases students were neither experts nor especially interested (at the moment of assignment) in the work of the particular workshop into which they happened to be placed. The difficulty of scheduling hours made this inevitable. But the writer can testify that ignorance of a workshop topic at the start of a term was not a factor which prevented development of group effort and spirit.

EVALUATION

It is neither feasible nor necessary, in order to evaluate the workshop experiment, to write a history presenting all the details of each workshop experience.

We might say here, for purpose of sampling, that the health groups both years decided to narrow their topics to a consideration of the various plans proposed in the United States for national health insurance and to consider the advantages and disadvantages of the compulsory and

voluntary plans, etc. The Underdeveloped Areas group in 1949 concentrated on India and China as examples of overpopulated countries, and on Africa as a region that offered totally different types of problems. In 1950 the comparable group decided to concentrate more thoroughly on the one country, or subcontinent, of India. The group working on "International Co-operation in Scientific Projects" narrowed down its sphere of interest to problems of atomic energy research and co-operation. The "Status of the worker in Industry" group took a field problem, the closing down of the Waltham Watch Factory (in Waltham, Massachusetts), and studied what this closing did to the workers of that town. And so forth.

Evaluation of such an experiment presupposes that certain criteria have been set up to guide the evaluator. We hoped that the workshops would provide learning experiences different from but just as important as the learnings worked for in the usual lecture course. It was never formally stated but always understood that the workshops would be designed more to develop attitudes and outlooks than to instill any special knowledge of facts. One of our chief hopes, then, was that the workshop members would develop a true group spirit, that they would come to learn the pleasure and satisfaction of doing something as part of a group effort. This, we believe, was accomplished.

RECOMMENDATIONS

If the workshops are to continue, they must remain fluid and subject to constant improvements. No educational device should be allowed to crystallize; education is a process and a growth. Crystallized systems are not questioned. The lecture system, for instance, has for a long time been assumed to be *the* educational system and too rarely is it examined critically. We must continually attempt to make the workshops more what they should become.

Many suggestions for specific improvements in the workshops could be made. More than one student commented on the need for "more direction in the first stages." One desired a little more "arbitrary despotism" on the part of the workshop advisor, claiming that "student self-determination" is too difficult to achieve in the space of a single term. The writer would himself follow the recommendations of several of the workshop chairmen and agrees that the workshop topics should be narrower and more closely confined from the start. One student wrote (wisely): "I think that there should be no "topics" for the workshops as there are now. Rather, there should be *problems* posed for a group to solve as they can. These are workshops, not discussion groups. The latter must have a topic to discuss, the former a problem to *work*."

In any case, instead of having again a group studying " The Impact of Science on Education and the School System " it is apparent now that it would be sounder practice to announce topics (or problems) in Education of a more specific nature such as " Academic Freedom." Similarly " Religion and Philosophy in an Age of Science " and " The Impact of Science on Propaganda to Influence the Minds of Men " are subjects too vast for workshop purposes and must be narrowed down considerably before being opened to the public.

The writer felt after the 1949 experience that it would be desirable if some way could be worked out for making the sense of group unity that develops in the individual workshop spread to the entire course membership. This is, of course, a key problem to democracy. Some way must be found of developing a sense of group responsibility which transcends small committees and includes ever larger bodies. We *started* tackling this problem in 1950.

In 1950 several of the workshops reported their findings to the entire class. This was done through round-table discussions, with all or the greater number of the members of a group taking part. The reception by the students was mixed ; many felt that " final reports were of greater value to the reporters (in helping them to tie together loose ends) than to the class membership as a whole. But the writer is convinced that this is the direction in which we must move.

One report (of a workshop chairman) suggests that the facilities of a local radio station should be used for inter or intra-workshop debates. Projects such as these could be carried out with great ease ; the effectiveness in fostering a much-needed sense of belongingness would be even greater.

Much of necessity remains unsaid. We have not discussed the idea-size for a workshop. We have not referred to the applicability of the workshop technique to non-academic as well as to academic environments. And we have not talked about the ways of getting distinguished experts to come to workshop Hearings. (Over 70 came to the Harvard workshops in the two years). To these and other problems we can refer only thus casually.

In closing we can do no better than to quote again from the Report of the Student Council Committee on Education ; " Anything which affects the student's attitudes so that he tends to reflect more deeply, to spontaneously exert greater effort in his work, and to find a more personal significance in the material is a legitimate and desirable teaching method. If, in addition to mastery of the academic material involved, the teaching method is able to stimulate development for life as a social being in a democracy, it becomes even more desirable. The workshop method appears, in this brief test, to have made some progress in these directions. (Abridged.)

THERE GO THE SHIPS

By F. L. Woodward

IN these days of *Dreadnoughts, Titanics, Queens Elizabeth and Mary* and other mammoths of the seas, it is interesting to find that we are not the first to be building such monsters. The great ships of to-day are the *Queen Elizabeth,* of 83,673 tons gross and the *Queen Mary,* of 81,235 tons gross, each measuring over 975 feet in length, with a breadth of 118 feet and depth of 68 feet and speed of 28½ knots ; but even these monsters are tossed about like corks on the Atlantic rollers. I am old enough to remember the *Great Eastern,* built 1858, which was for some thirty years regarded as a world's wonder. She was, however, of only 19,000 tons, and 680 feet in length, with six funnels, six masts and a huge paddle-wheel as well as a screw, and ran between Liverpool and New York ; first as a passenger boat ; then she laid the Atlantic cable ; later on she became a cattle-boat, and, after some time as a floating hotel, was broken up, I think, in the 1880's. It was 30 years before vessels of such size began to be built for the Transatlantic service. Fifty years ago a steamer (German) of 10,000 tons was a regular visitor at Colombo ; but these two monsters, spoken of above could not, I think, enter Colombo Harbour, owing to their great draught, or pass through the Suez Canal, which has only 34 feet of water.

Here is a description of a monster ship built by King Hiero of Syracuse, who reigned contemporary with Emperor Asoka, 250 B.C. It was in the days of the great engineer Archimedes of Syracuse, under whose care ship-building and machinery for siege-operations reached unheard-of heights of excellence. The vessel here described was actually built and sent to Alexandria, as a present to Ptolemy II. It may be remembered that the famous Archimedes was killed during the siege of Syracuse by the Roman fleet, when it was said that he invented cranes powerful enough to snatch the Roman ships clean out of the water, just as one might swing a barrel on to a jetty. This huge vessel was launched by means of his invention, the screw-jack, which gave occasion for his famous remark *Dos moi pou sto kai ten gen kineso,* ' give me a standpoint and I will move the earth.' His tomb was honourably restored by Cicero, when quaestor in Sicily two hundred years afterwards. The description of this Leviathan ship, which I have translated from the Greek of Moschion, an otherwise unknown writer quoted by Athenaeus (*de machinis*) about 210 B.C., reads much like that of Atlantic liner and *Dreadnought* combined. Indeed there is *nothing new under the sun,* only developments of things known before,—*except* the release of the atom.

So to continue the title of this article . . . *And there is that Leviathan* (Psalm 104, 26).

" Hiero, King of Syracuse, who was in every way friendly to the Romans, took a keen interest in the equipment of temples and gymnasia, and was in addition to this an ardent ship-builder, fitting out merchantmen to carry corn. I shall describe to you in detail the equipment of one of these vessels.

The timber for the beams he got from Aetna, enough to provide material for sixty ordinary vessels, four-deckers ; and he provided a similar amount of wooden pegs, planks for the ship's belly, and ribs and timber for the other parts ; some from Italy, others from Sicily ; and for the rigging he procured hemp from Spain, pitch and tar from the river Rhone, and other necessaries from different parts of the world. He got together ship-builders and other craftsmen and set in charge over all Archias, the Corinthian builder, and bade him zealously take charge of the work, and he himself spent whole days attending to it.

So then the half of the frame of the vessel was done in six months, and as soon as a part was finished it was overlaid with plates of lead, for there were three hundred head-workmen busied with the timber, besides the assistant labourers. Then this part of the hull was ordered to be hauled down to the sea, so that the rest of the fittings might be put in there.

As there was great debate about the manner of hauling her down to the sea, Archimedes, the engineer single-handed, did the work at the cost of but few lives. For he invented a screw-jack and levered the gigantic hull into the sea. The remaining parts of the ship were finished in six more months, and all was clamped with bolts of bronze, most of which were each of ten pounds weight. These bolts were driven through the planks, the holes being bored for them. They also passed through the leaden plates, and under the heads of the bolts there was tarred sailcloth to grip them right.

Now that the outer hull was finished, he set to work on the equipment of the interior. This vessel was in arrangement one of the largest size (a ' first-rater,' as we should say in English), and was a three-decker. The lowest deck was over the hold, to which there was a staircase of wooden steps. The second deck was fitted up for saloon passengers, and the upper deck for the crews. Running along each side of the vessel were saloons holding four beds each, three hundred in number. The captain's state-cabin was made to accommodate fifteen, and contained three smaller cabins to hold three sleepers, the sternmost of which was the kitchen. All of these were floored with mosaic tiles of all sorts of stones, the pattern being worked in with the tale of the Iliad. Moreover, the fittings and the roof and doors were all wrought after this fashion

On the upper deck was a gymnasium and places for promenades, running the whole length of the huge vessel, in which were all sorts of gardens, planted and watered by means of leaden conduits which conveyed the water ; and there were awnings of white ivy and vine-leaves, whose roots were nourished in tubs filled with earth, and watered in the same manner as the gardens. And these awnings sheltered the passengers as they took exercise.

Next to these was fitted up a luxurious lounge of three couches (called Aphrodision), with a floor of agate stone and all the choicest stones to be found in the island. And it had the roof and walls made of cyprus wood, the doors being of ivory and sandal-wood ; and it was decked with paintings and statues and tables with silver drinking-cups, all in the most sumptuous style.

Next to this was a reading-room with five couches, with walls and doors of boxwood, containing a library, with a vaulted roof adorned with a picture of the signs of the zodiac, copied from that at Achradina (at Syracuse). Besides these there was a bathroom, of three couches, with three furnaces of bronze and a bath of a capacity of forty-five gallons, built of mosaic stones from Tauromenium (the famous home of Pythagoras of ancient days). Other rooms were fitted up for the crews and those who had charge of the pumping arrangements. And apart from these were stables for the horses, ten on each side of the bulwarks. Here was stored the fodder for the horses and the gear of the grooms and their lads.

Also there was a closed cistern in the bows of the ship, with a capacity of eighteen thousand gallons, built of timber, pitch and caulking ; and along side of this was constructed a closed fish-tank with lead-casing and timbers ; and this was full of sea-water, and many fish were kept therein.

Jutting out from the ship's bulwarks on either side were beams, at equal distances apart, on which were fixed wood-houses, ovens and bakehouses, with mills and the other usual offices of a household. The whole vessel was encircled with pillars of six cubits length, supporting the weight of the upper works and the cornice, all fixed at regular intervals. The whole vessel was decorated with native paintings.

Upon it were eight towers, of size according to the tonnage of the ship ; two at the stern, two at the prow, and the rest in the waist of the ship. To each of these were fastened two catapults, fitted with cups for slinging rocks upon the enemy when attempting to board. Each of these turrets was manned by four fully-armed warriors and two archers. The whole interior of the turrets was full of stones and missiles. A battlemented wall and deck ran right across the ship, supported on trestles, and on this the ' big gun ' (stone-thrower) was mounted, capable

of throwing a stone weighing one hundred and seventy-one pounds, and a spear eighteen feet four inches long for a distance of two hundred and twenty yards (one furlong or *stadium*). This gun was the invention of Archimedes.

Besides this there were close-meshed nets suspended by brass chains (to catch the enemy's missiles). To each of the three masts were fitted two swing-cranes for hurling stones, from which hooked stakes (grappling irons) and bricks of lead were hurled upon their assailants. Moreover, there was a barbed fence running all round the ship, made of iron, to repel boarders, and iron grapplers, which were let down by machinery and caught up the enemies' smaller boats and shattered them ; while sixty fully armed soldiers manned each side, and an equal number stood round the masts and the stone-throwing cranes. At each masthead, which was of brass, were stationed men in tiers, three in the first, two in the second and one in the third row. They were supplied with stones and missiles by the ship's lads, who hauled them up in woven baskets by means of pulleys to the masthead.

There were four anchors of wood and eight of iron. The second of the masts and the third were found on Aetna, and the first in the mountains of Brettia (modern Bruttium) with great difficulty, by a swineherd. This was brought down to the sea by Phileas, the engineer of Tauromenium. The hold of the ship, though of exceeding great size, could be pumped out by a single man by means of a sort of wheel-pump, one of the inventions of Archimedes (this was the spiral-screw pump).

The ship was named *Syracosia* ; but when Hiero sent it off he changed its name to *the Alexandrian*. As for ship's boats, first of all it carried a pinnace of three thousand talents burden (about 1¼ tons). This was completely fitted with oars. Next to this were small boats of one thousand five hundred talents burden, and still more small boats. The whole crew on board numbered not less than several thousands, besides those already mentioned, and six hundred additional men were on watch to pass the word along to the bows.

The captain set up a court for the trial of offences committed on board, along with the second and first officers, and they judged according to the laws of Syracuse.

They loaded 60,000 bushels of corn on board, 10,000 barrels of Sicilian salt fish, 20,000 talents weight of wool (about 500 tons). The food supply of the passengers was apart from all this.

Now when Hiero found that of all the harbours some were unable to admit his huge vessel, and that others were dangerous, he decided to send it on to Alexandria as a present to Ptolemaius, for there was a great lack of corn in Egypt. And so he did, and the ship sailed into Alexandria, where also she was beached."

THE LAṄKĀ OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA

By Martin Wickramasinghe

THE ancient Sinhalese borrowed many cultural elements from the Hindus. But most of these elements underwent changes in course of readaptation by them because of their religion. In this process of change impersonal and immortal Brahman became a mortal god who was subservient to Buddha. Viṣṇu, another immortal god of the Hindus, became a mortal god and a protector of Buddhism.

The Rāma legend seems to have met with a similar fate at the hands of the ancient Buddhists. They mercilessly pruned all the mythical and supernatural elements and episodes of the Rāma legend when they readapted it as a Buddhist Birth Story where Rāma becomes a Bodhisattva. The Rāma legend appears in the Jātakas as the *Birth Story of Daśaratha*. There is no mention of a Rāvaṇa or Laṅkā in the Jātaka Story.

In the light of this healthy rational attitude of ancient Buddhists is it not ironical that some Buddhist scholars of the present day should make attempts to reconstruct Ceylon History based on the Rāvaṇa Myth which even later Sinhalese classical poets rejected. One of our fifteenth century poets, Vīdāgama, after rationally analysing an episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in his poem *Buduguṇa Alaṅkāraya* asks : " Why did they write this balderdash ? " Sri Rāhula, another poet and the greatest Sanskrit scholar of the time, dismisses the story of Rāma as " prattle " though he may have appreciated the value of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a great epic poem.

Our ancient chronicler Mahānāma does not even mention the Rāma legend in his great chronicle, the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Only the *Chuḷavaṁsa* refers to Rāma in relating the history of the twelfth century. Therefore it could be inferred that the Rāma legend was not popular or even known in Ceylon during the period when the *Mahāvaṁsa* was written.

Its popularity in Ceylon in the fifteenth century coincides with the Vaiṣṇava revival in India when the worship of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu became a popular cult. Sir R. G. Bhaṇḍarkar says that the belief in Rāmā's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu existed in all probability in the early centuries of the Christian era. But after analysing the evidence he concludes : " The cult of Rāma, therefore, must have come into existence about the eleventh century."[1]

1. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* XII, P 66

F. E. Keay in his *Hindi Literature* says that " the rise of the worship of Rāma, which took place about the beginning of the fifteenth century, gave another great impetus to vernacular literature."[2]

Attacks on and references to the story of Rāma suddenly appear in most of the poems of the fifteenth century which strongly suggest that the Rāma legend migrated to and spread in Ceylon only after the vaiṣṇava revival.

The Sinhalese scholars who resort to esoteric knowledge to construct the early history of Ceylon argue that Mahānāma because of his bias and slavery to Sanskrit tradition deliberately suppressed the Rāvaṇa tradition which was current in Ceylon long before his time.

There is evidence in the *Mahāvaṁsa* itself to prove that Mahānāma as a historian was scrupulously faithful to tradition. He faithfully narrated the Kuveṇi legend because it was in the historical tradition of the Sinhalese. In relating an episode of early history Mahānāma describes thus the securing of a mythical wild mare by Paṇḍukābhaya : " Then he seized her by the neck and boring her nostrils with the point of his sword he secured her thus with a rope ; but she followed wheresoever he would."

This story could have originated at a time when the Sinhalese people as yet had not seen a domesticated horse. But that the horse was well known to Mahānāma is evident from the way he has referred to it in narrating the exploits of the warriors of Duṭugāmuṇu. When the horse was known to him why should he relate that absurd story ? Was it not because that he was a historian who was very faithful to tradition however absurd it may have appeared to him.

Misguided nationalism seems to have been the source from which some of our scholars derived inspiration for their attempt to reconstruct an early history of Ceylon on the quicksands of a myth. The attempt to find a kernel of truth in a primitive myth which gave birth to a great epic poem has become their hobby because they find scope in it to use their imagination to expound startling theories.

According to students of mythology the kernel of the epic story of Rāma is a primitive agricultural myth. Professor Jean Przyluski in his contribution to the volume of collected studies *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* says :

" The persistence of old notions help us in explaining the legend of the birth of Sītā. In Rāmāyaṇa I, 66, it is by furrowing the earth with a plough that Janaka gave birth to Sītā. The names are transparent here : Janaka signifies ' procreator ' and Sītā means a ' furrow.' The furrow has been personified since the Vedic times. In the Mahā-

2. *Hindi Literature* II, p 9

bhārata, 7, 105, 3,945 Sītā is a goddess of harvest. The legend of the birth of Sītā conceals the ancient myth about the production of grain. The same forces are manifested there and the sole action which gives play to them is the penetration of the plough-penis in the female earth."[3]

In his epic poem Vālmīki idealised Rāmā and made Rāvaṇa a monster, a non-Aryan and an incarnation of the evil. In course of time the Jaina poets idealised Rāvaṇa making him " the noblest of men, Jaina, and an ideal king."[4]

In the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, Mahāyanists made Rāvaṇa a great sage and disciple of Buddha. Some of our present day scholars attempt to make Rāvaṇa a Sinhalese culture hero who founded the Sinhalese nation, and their culture is only a belated attempt to continue the rationalisation of the Rāvaṇa myth. By esoteric method they detect the origin and the early history of the Sinhalese in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They say that the Sinhalese civilisation reached its zenith during the time of Rāvaṇa who subjugated the Aryans of India. In this remote age the Sinhalese invented the airship, new and terrible weapons of destruction. The only evidence they produce to prove this fiction is from the epic poem itself.

Archaeologists have been excavating ruined cities, mounds and caves of Ceylon for more than half a century. They have found traces of a primitive culture but not the remains of an advanced civilisation older than that described by Mahānāma, our most faithful chronicler. But it is immaterial to our esoteric historians whether archaeologists find traces or not of an advanced civilisation that existed before the introduction of Buddhism to this Island. It is no exaggeration to say that the only great mounds left unexcavated by archaeologists are the hills of Bandarawela and Nuwara-eliya. Perhaps the remains of Rāvaṇā's civilisation lie buried under some of these hills.

The Sinhalese place names Rāvaṇa-kōtte and Sīta-eliya are recent ones unknown to the ancient Sinhalese. It is quite possible that Vālmīki had no knowledge of the Laṅkā of the Sinhalese for Oriental scholars find evidence of the existence of " Laṇkā " in India, Java and even in Sumatra. Sylvain Levi in his *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* says :

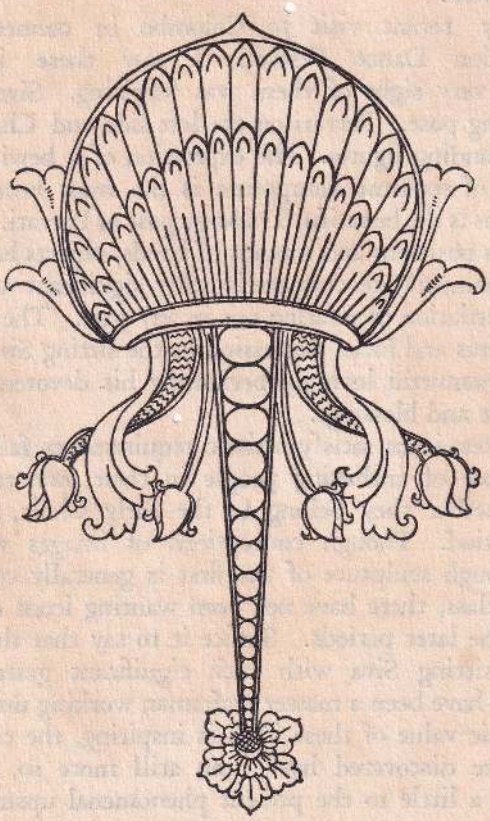
" And in fact the Gazetter of India, S.V. Godavari, fully confirms this evidence : ' The land on which tobacco is grown consists for the most part on alluvial islands lying within the banks of Godavari river, called laṅkās, which are flooded every year . . . Tobacco seems to be

3. Part I, p 14
4. D. L. Narasiṅhāchar: *The Jaina Rāmāyaṇas, Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, p 584.

grown on any part of the laṅkās almost indifferently . . . The tobacco of the laṅkās would command a good price in European markets.'

" A deed of gift, which comes from the state of Sonpur on the Mahanadi and published by R. C. Mazumdar (Ep. Ind., XII, 237), is issued by a local prince related by an unknown *lien* with the Tri-kalinga, and which takes title of Paschimalaṅkādhipati ; Mr. Mazumdar observes about this name that ' the peoples of Sonpur still known by tradition that the state of Sonpur bore some name as Paschimalaṅkā. And other document coming from the same state and published by the same editor (Ep. Ind., XII, 218), is granted Laṅkāvarttikasaṅnidhau. The editor proposes to identify Laṅkāvarttaka with a highland to be found in the bed of the Mahanadi and which is called Laṅkeśvari.' "[5]

Sylvain Levi again says : " The element laṅkā reappears in a certain number of geographical names in the neighbourhood of Malaya peninsula. One can have no hesitation in recognising it in the country Kia-mo-lang-kia, Lang-kia, Lang-kia shu of the Chinese travellers and annalists."[6]



5. *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Part III, p. 102
6. Ibid, p 105

THE TRINCOMALI ICONS

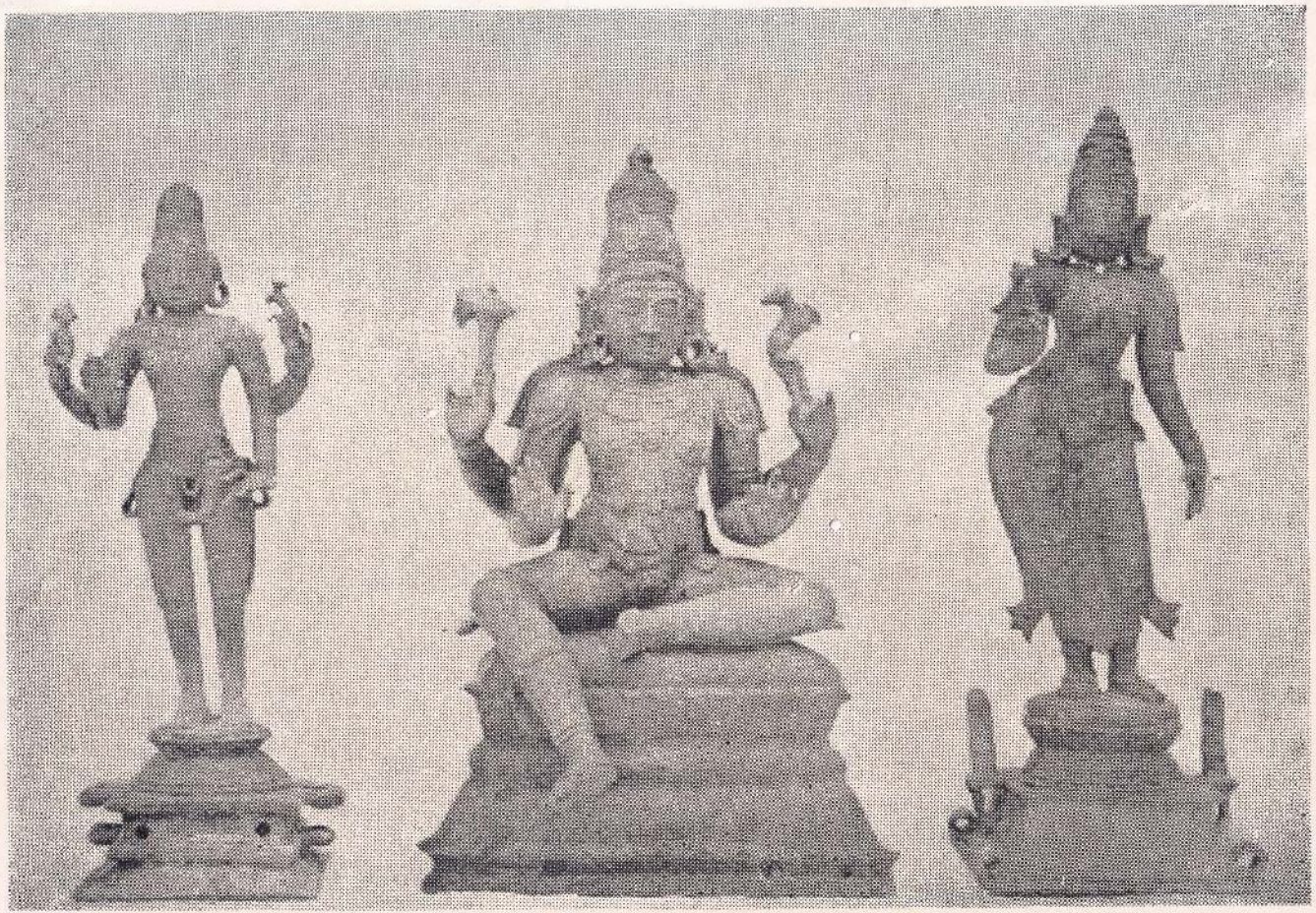
By E. Krishna Iyer

NUMEROUS objects of archaeological interest have been recently discovered in India and Ceylon. Icons of different ages have formed part of such finds and most of them have found their way to museums to serve as objects of study and research. If the three bronze idols recently unearthed from the Trincomali beach have galvanised overnight the Hindu population of Ceylon into unprecedented religious fervour and activity, surely there must be something of unique significance about them. Ever since their discovery, they have become objects of devout worship and are being taken in procession all over Ceylon by enthusiastic crowds.

During my recent visit to Colombo in connection with the second all-Ceylon Dance Festival, I saw these icons at close quarters. The very sight of them was inspiring. Siva is the central figure in a sitting pose. Parvati on the left side and Chandrasekhara on the right are standing figures. The expression of a bewitchingly benign smile on a face of supreme composure is the most remarkable feature in the Siva icon as is the beautiful *Tribhanga* pose of Parvati. All other details relating to positions and mudras of hands, objects held in them and drapery and ornaments are characteristically significant and well defined without any mutilation or wearing out in any part. The combination of pose, hand mudras and facial expression in the sitting Siva icon makes it appear as Karunamurthi lovingly beckoning his devotees to receive his unbounded grace and blessings.

So long as these icons satisfy artistic requirements fairly enough and serve the purpose of enthusing people in their own religion, it does not matter, whether they belong to the early Chola, later Chola or Vijayanagar period. Though conceptions of images varied in these periods and though sculpture of the first is generally considered to be of the highest class, there have not been wanting icons of high artistic merit even in the later periods. Suffice it to say that the sculptor who fashioned the sitting Siva with such significant gestural and facial expression must have been a master craftsman working under inspiration.

If the artistic value of these idols is inspiring, the circumstances in which they were discovered have been still more so, as they have contributed not a little to the present phenomenal upsurge of religious



THE TRINCOMALI ICONS

Courtesy The Information Officer, Ceylon.

enthusiasm among the Hindus. In short they came to light just in time to satisfy the widespread yearning of the Hindus to rebuild a historic temple at Trincomali which was destroyed about 325 years ago. This old temple, according to tradition was built and dedicated to Lord Keneswara about 3250 years ago (1300 B.C.), by the Tamil Chola King Vararama Deva, on the famous hill rock that abuts into the sea at Trincomali and had been hallowed from time immemorial as *Dakshiva Kailasa* associated with the exploits of Ravana. Kulankottan, the son of Vararama, Kayavaku and other rulers of Tamil Nadu and Ceylon in successive generations had all contributed to the proper upkeep and prosperity of that temple. It had become so famous as to be praised in song by great saints and poets like Tivumana Sambandar in the early Hindu period. Thus the temple of Koneswara continued to be a holy religious centre and hallowed place of pilgrimage for about 29 centuries till the 17th century A.D. !

The Portuguese who entered Ceylon first as traders and then as conquerors were fanatical missionaries too and found the temple an intolerable thorn by their side. So they destroyed it and built a fort out of its stones. The Hindus fled in panic and the priests saved the idols and secreted them. The age long grip of Koneswara in the minds of the people was such, that even though his temple was destroyed, his devotees continued worshipping the rock site of the destroyed structure facing the sea. Such an undying faith could not but be a dynamic force in religious matters. There had been a continued widespread yearning among the Hindus to see the temple rebuilt and a never dying hope that the day for it would surely come.

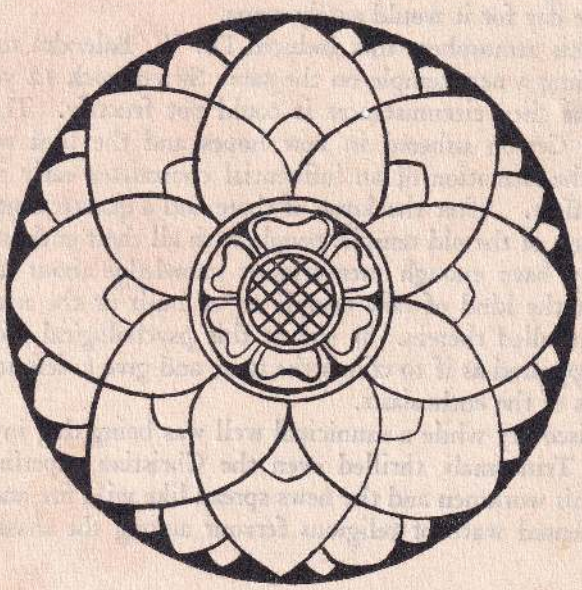
It was this atmosphere that induced Dr. W. Balendra to moot the idea of building a new temple on the same Swami rock 12 years ago in 1939. In the then circumstances it could not fructify. The dawn of freedom for Ceylon ushered in new hopes and the idea was revived again with the formation of an influential committee early in 1950 to put it into effect. After the lapse of three and a quarter centuries since the destruction of the old temple, people with all their enthusiasm could not evidently have enough memories or knowledge about it or a clear notion about the kind of new temple to be built or the nature of the idol to be installed therein. It was at this psychological moment that these idols appeared as if to clinch the issue and give a definite direction to the efforts of the enthusiasts.

Their discovery while a municipal well was being dug in the poorer quarters of Trincomali thrilled even the Christian superintendent of works and his workmen and the news spread like wild fire and produced an unprecedented wave of religious fervour among the masses all over

Ceylon. The idols made a triumphant progress through the decorated streets of Trincomali into the Fort area. Since then there has been no end of demand from towns and villages all over Ceylon for taking them in procession through their respective areas before they are finally installed on the Swami rock again in October.

It is well-known that a place or object which had been held holy and worshipped for ages gets a unique halo and sanctity, *Chaitanya* or spiritual potency, the force of which cannot easily be ignored or resisted. No wonder the Swami rock and these idols have proved to be so. The discovery of these icons has roused men out of their conventional grooves of complacency and indifference in religions and spiritual matters and galvanised them to active faith in their own religion. It looks as though the Lord waited for the dawn of political freedom for Ceylon to fulfil his purpose.

Anyway it is up to the people of Ceylon to read the sign aright and make good use of it for ennobling humanity. With necessary wisdom and forethought, the rebuilding of the temple or the installation of these significant idols on Swami rock need not stop with a mere revival of the usual Hindu ritual in worship, inevitable though it be. Where nature is at her best in ravishing beauty, she has an irresistible call for souls of a spiritual and artistic turn to gather and meditate. Trincomalie is such a spot of exceptional natural beauty and the Swami rock is a fitting place for spiritual meditation and exercise. A well-planned scheme can make enchanting Trincomali an ideal sanitorium not only for sickly bodies but also for sickly minds and souls.



PARIS FIFTY YEARS AGO

By Lucian de Zilwa

FIFTY years ago the nations of Europe were at peace with one another ; and, if one wished to go abroad from England, one had only to buy a ticket. No passports and visas were required ; no questions were asked about the purpose of one's journey or the duration of one's stay ; no one was expected to report himself to the police on arrival ; and there was no limit to the money a traveller could take with him. The only discordant note heard occasionally was that produced by the sabre-rattling of Queen Victoria's grandson, the German Kaiser. His telegram to Krüger was notorious, and his ambitious programme of naval development was provocative. In all German bars and restaurants collecting boxes were exhibited, like the drawing-room missionary boxes of pious English ladies, under the strident legend : Unsere Zukunft liegt auf dem Meer.

As the French laid down arms in 1940, and declared Paris an open city, she has not suffered war damage like London and Berlin. All the great buildings and monuments are intact, and a remnant of 1,900 would probably find little change, except that now there are some new buildings, and motor vehicles, and aeroplanes, and a more extensive use of electricity. But it is not only enemy bombs that change the face of a city. The town-planners driving wide thoroughfares through congested areas are quite as ruthless and unsentimental. They think only of more light and air, and not of the historial association of the condemned streets and buildings . . . Many relics of the middle ages and of the Revolution were swept away when the boulevard St. Germain was made in 1875. Just as in London, at the beginning of this century, archaeologists shed tears at the sacrifice of interesting though dirty little streets to make room for Kingsway, connecting Holborn with Aldwych.

The present writer first saw Paris in 1900, the year of the World Exhibition, when the city was crowded with visitors from everywhere. There was such a blaze of light in the evenings, the Eiffel tower, the great wheel, the cafés, and the grand boulevards being brilliantly illuminated, that Paris visibly demonstrated her right to the title of La Ville Lumière.

Later brief visits, and the insistent call of friends, made one wish

to spend a few months continuously in Paris in order to feel one's self quite at home. In June 1902, I got a *billet d'immatriculation*, and engaged a room in the Hôtel des Carmes, under the shadow of the Sorbonne. There is no part of Paris so rich in historical remains as the Latin Quarter ; and one had a feeling of exhilaration in walking on the cobbled pavements. The streets, and even the houses in which Dante, Marat, Danton and Guillotin lived were still there. One of the most interesting survivals was the dark, narrow, muddy lane, with enormously high houses on either side, known as rue Visconti. Racine died in one of these houses, while in another Balzac had his printing press, with Delacroix working in his studio upstairs.

As in London, the students lived anywhere ; but in Paris they also dressed anyhow. A stranger arriving in London was struck by the elegance of the men, their frock coats and tall silk hats, and their umbrellas neatly rolled, and by the briskness of their walk. One would have thought they were going to a party, and did not want to arrive late. But, as a matter of fact, they were only ordinary citizens going about their daily avocations. The women, who had not the advantage of the uniformity and invariability of men's attire, did not show the smartness of the average Parisienne. It has been said that from a window in Oxford Street one saw more pretty girls in half an hour than during a month on the continent, their complexions and features making them worthy of the praise of St. Augustine. A Londoner coming to Paris thought the men were carelessly, and even shabbily dressed, with baggy trousers, flowing caps, and any kind of hat. More beards were seen, and long hair. But the women made up for this by their smart and tasteful costumes, in a word, by their incomparable chic.

There were restaurants for students, with déjeûner, including a bottle of red or white wine, for 1 fr. 25 c., and dinner for 1.50. The franc was then worth about ten pence ; the rate of exchange being roughly 25 francs to the pound sterling. Books of 10 cachets (or coupons) could be obtained at reduced rates from 1'A, (short for L'Association des étudiants). My room in the rue des Carmes, a spacious one, with a balcony, on the third floor, cost 28fr. a month, with 3 fr. extra for service. The regular tip to a waiter was 10 c.

It may be of interest to compare the prices of some articles at that time with those prevailing now. A packet of caporal, 50 c ; cigarette paper 10 c ; 1 doz. eggs, 1.50 ; 1 kilo sugar (rectangular tablets of beet sugar), 1.10 ; ¼ kilo butter, 1fr. ; one bock 35 c. ; a box of matches 10 c. ; lemons (for thé á la russe) 10 c. each ; bread, one flute, 30 c. ; one simple grenadine, 20 c.; grenadine au Kirsch, 40 c. ; one Absinthe (Pernod-citron) 50 c.

There were French youths from all the provinces. There were the gens du Midi, who " spoke with their hands," and ridiculed the bouillabaisse of the restaurants, which were not sufficiently flavoured with garlic. A huge Corsican, called de Pietri, was one of my closest friends. The students were cosmopolitan. There were Greeks, and Turks, and Russians and Poles, who assembled on the boul'-Miche at midnight for vociferous discussion. Famous writers and artists used to blow in sometimes. Occasionally a negro from La Martinique appeared, speaking excellent French, and his cordial reception suggested that everybody was colour-blind. One did not meet any Germans or British in the quarter.

On the whole the students worked hard, but they were pagans who had plenty of fun. They met nightly outside the cafés to drink tall glasses of coffee, or to sip a bock, while holding forth with great energy on any topic under the sun. There was the bal Bullier on Thursdays and Sundays. There were no hostels, and no sort of discipline. This freedom of the wild ass was beyond the dreams of the Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates, with their rules and regulations, and the bull-dogs to enforce them. The life was probably much as it had been in the days of Abelard or of Rabelais.

An elderly man in tattered clothes, with a bundle of broken umbrellas under his arm, often drifted in at the lunch hour, and got some sous from the students, and an umbrella or two to mend. He was known as Bibi la purée, though his real name was André Salis. It was said that he had tended with devotion the poet Verlaine, in the last years of his miserable existence, which ended in 1896.

A new comer to Paris is surprised at the way a street bears the same name for miles and miles. I went on foot to see a friend in the rue de Vaugirard and walked for two hours. This street, which starts from the boulevard St. Michel, and runs by the Senate in the Luxembourg Gardens, crosses the bd. Raspail, the bd. du Montparnasse, the bd. Pasteur, the rue de la Convention, and terminates in the exterior boulevards, near the old fortifications.

In London a street of such a length would have changed its name half a dozen times, gaining a new designation every time it crossed a main thoroughfare. Or again, consider the rue de Rivoli, which runs proudly from the Place de la Concorde to St. Paul, near the Place de la Bastille. This Parisian peculiarity makes it difficult for a stranger to lose his way.

There were two Zoos, one in the Jardin des Plantes, and the other in the Jardin d'Acclimatation near the Bois de Boulogne. The secondary importance of the animals is implied in these names. To those who knew the Regent's Park Zoo, and Hagenbeck's Whipsnade near

Hamburg, these animal enclosures were dreadful places. " The smell was overpowering and the heat stifling " near the cages, wrote Georges Cain, Curator of the Musée Carnavalet.

The cabarets about Montmartre and Place Pigalle, Rat Mort, Ciel, Enfer, Néant, Mort, Moulin Rouge, Moulin de la Galette, etc. were probably meant to provide rather puerile amusement to British and American visitors, who wanted to see something " shocking." For instance at the Café de la Mort, everything was black and gloomy. The tables on which the consummations were served, by attendants clad in black, were coffins on trestles, with candles on them. The visitor was greeted as " Cher moribond." The effect was meant to be macabre, but to us it appeared grotesquely puerile. The Cancan and the danse du ventre were thought to be naughty, but now that Mrs. Grundy is as dead as Mrs. Ormiston Chant, who led a crusade against the Empire Promenade, the ugly bottom-wagging contortions of the Hoola dance may be seen even on Colombo platforms. The only cabaret the Parisians enjoyed was that in which people entering were subjected to a fire of personal remarks, not always complimentary, until they took their seats, and watched the reactions of the victims who arrived later. One was reminded of our *virudu* singers.

The claque, for the organised applause of new productions, was a recognised feature of the theatre. A friend and I were once roped in when we went to buy tickets for a play. A man near the box-office drew us aside and offered us free tickets if we agreed to follow his lead when he gave the signal for applause. Of course we accepted, and clapped vigorously when our conductor raised his baton. There must have been about thirty of us in the claque. And very often we made the whole audience join in, such is the force of the herd-instinct. It must have been encouraging to the actors, and might have helped to push a doubtful play.

The Prime Minister in 1902 was M. Combes, a rabid anti-clerical who had once been a priest, and was therefore popularly referred to as " Père Combes."

In the Parisian medical world fifty years ago two bright stars of gynaecology, Doyen and Pozzi, were resplendent, while Marion, at the Hotel Dieu, was operating with the speed and dexterity of a clever conjuror. Some of the older physicians still preferred direct auscultation to the stethoscope, listening through a towel laid on the chest or back of the patient, although it was a Frenchman, Laennec, who invented the instrument. The fame of Sabouraud the dermatologist attracted large crowds to his clinic at St. Louis Hospital.

The newspapers deserve to be mentioned, as they play an important

part in Parisian life. For the highbrow Figaro one paid 15 c.; while Le Journal and Le Matin cost only one sou each. Le Journal, to which I subscribed for several years, always had a front page article by an eminent writer like Hanotaux, or Claretie or Anatole France. Alphonse Allais contributed a funny column, while the dramatic sketches of Michel Provins, with their living dialogue, was of the greatest value to those eager to acquire the idiomatic and conversational use of the language. As one sat outside the cafés at the "green hour" of five o'clock, sipping Absinthe or some other aperitif, the newspaper boys ran yelling "La Presse," or "L'Intransigeant" edited by Henri Rochefort. People were curious to know Rochefort's views on current affairs, and his paper was quickly snapped up.

This brief sketch does not pretend to be a comprehensive review. It only describes the observations and impressions of a student. During the last half century France has been through two great wars, and there have been vast political changes, and the student life has been reorganised.

ITALY TO-DAY

By The Rev. Graham Martyr

ITALY, like other countries which were defeated in the war, seems to have made a good recovery, and is in many respects better off than, for instance, victorious England. A certain amount of poverty exists, of course, with attendant Communism: but on the whole the people appear contented and often prosperous: the shops are full of goods, both necessaries and luxuries, and there is plenty of good food to be bought, and wine and all kinds of drinks are in abundance. The Lira has lost its pre-war value and now averages 1,740 to the pound sterling, so that charges and prices mount to enormous sums, but when translated into British currency are not really so outrageous. A rent of Lira 2,500 per day for room and board in a fairly good hotel works out at only £ 1.8.6., not very much as things go nowadays, though the monthly total of Lira 75,000 looks alarming. Food and clothing are very expensive, an average lunch at a restaurant, hors d'oeuvres, bread, meat and vegetables, sweet, and a few glasses of wine, working out around Lira 1,000. A pair of good shoes will cost about Lira 7,000; a summer shirt, say, Lira 5,000; a suit of clothes, Lira 80,000, about £ 45.

Mussolini, before he became influenced and damned by Naziism, did some very good work, and for that is regretted by many Italians to-day. Excellent roads were built, ancient remains unearthed and restored, marshes drained, railways and road communications punctual to the minute, noisy motor vehicles had to fit silencers, and people were forbidden to spit in the streets. With the spread of Nazi influence and growing hatred of the Germans, the Italians allowed these excellences to deteriorate. After the fighting from South to North of the peninsular and the death of the Duce, in the wake of the battles with the destruction of churches, monasteries—as at Monte Casino—river bridges—as in Florence and Pisa—and general beastliness, things changed for the worse, and to-day one is deafened in the streets of Rome and, indeed, everywhere, by the frightful noise of motor traffic bereft of their silencers, must wait for unpunctual trains, and put up with a good deal of dirt in the cities. But apart from these incidentals, Italy remains the pleasant, inconsequent, lovely land as known to our forefathers. Trains are comfortable on smoothly laid tracks, luxurious auto-buses

flash along the autostrada, and motors and *vespe*—a vespa is a small wheeled, queerly made but speedy motor bicycle, whose name means a *Wasp*—crash, bang and explode through the narrow streets of the towns and expel all quiet from the country side, while the pedestrian has to keep his eyes open, or die.

THE ETERNAL CITY

Rome to-day shows small signs of war bombing. The worst casualty was, perhaps, the patriarchal Church of San Lorenzo : when this ancient and beautiful basilica was extensively damaged by the Americans though now the repairs have been completed. The old walls were shattered by explosion, and the dead lay all about the ruins of the Church. The Pope, Pius XII, hurried to the horrid scene, and true servant of God as he is, ministered to his dying and wounded flock, leaving at last with his white soutane blood-stained and torn ; but his place more sure than ever in the hearts of all his people.

To-day, thanks to Mussolini, one can see the remains of the Imperial City to better advantage than for many centuries. The ruins are not only accessible, but are conveniently set forth by facilities for which a very moderate charge is made on admission. The Colliseum, the Triumphal Arches and Columns, the remains of the Palaces of the Caesars, are to be seen as never before. The innumerable churches stand open and, whilst often gaudy to the more simple mind, are agreeable to the Mediterranean temperament, well kept and reverently observed. This visitor was specially impressed by the austere beauty of the great Basilicas, such as St. Paul-without-the-Walls, where the brilliant southern sunshine glows in through window panes of translucent alabaster. By the little chapel of the Popes at the top of the Sacred Steps the Santa Scala, which visitors ascend on their knees. One is not allowed to enter this Chapel, but it can be inspected through glazed apertures, mysterious, austere, with the small somewhat square Altar apparently of iron within a network of iron grilles, which clasp it close. Again, in St. John Lateran, the Cathedral of Rome, where the Bishop of Rome has his throne, one is impressed by the tiny square Altar under its classic Ciborium, under which the remains of St. Paul, who was Saul, repose. So quiet, so simple, as opposed to the efflorient altars of so many Roman Churches.

ST. PETER'S

St. Peter's in the Vatican is glorious in modern marble, clean, shining with gold. When I was there, soon after the Beatification of Pope Pius X, we could see his body closed in a crystal and bronze

coffin. The face, doubtless, had been fortified by wax after some thirty-five years of immurement in the north wall of the Basilica, and it was the only part visible of the long dead body which was newly clad in the robes of a Pope : white cassock, crimson cape edged with ermine, capped loosely in red and ermine, red slippered and gloved, with the Fisherman's Ring outside the gloved finger of the right hand, disposed near the side of the coffin so that an attendant priest could press the article brought by any devotee near the dead hand, so to have it blessed. The face, still resembling the former Pontiff was painted silver. So I saw the dead Pope, on the same day the live one ; for His Holiness honoured me with what is called a " Special " audience—which means only a very few people in contradistinction to a " public " audience when many thousands may attend—and very kindly asked me about Japan and Ceylon, and especially enquired about Mr. Senanayake and how the people felt towards him, which I answered in a fashion which could only have been pleasing to our good Prime Minister.

FLORENCE—FIRENZE—THE ARTISTIC CAPITAL OF THE WORLD

The lovely Trinita Bridge over the River Arno has been blown to pieces, and it—and where other bridges were once—have their places taken by modern wooden Bailey Bridges, for a time. The historic Ponte Vecchio is still there, because the Germans knew the river it bridged was so shallow at that place that its refuse would only facilitate the ford, so they spared the wondrous bridge—did they fear the verdict of the world ?—and contented themselves by blowing up the approaches on either hand. These are still open scars, but are being slowly replaced by, one hopes, worthy successors of the ancient buildings, which were odorous no doubt, and insanitary, but very charming. They are gone and can never be reproduced.

Florence is to-day, as ever, one of the most attractive towns in Italy. It has been from the Middle Ages until now the focus of intellectual life. Its people have ever been noted for the vigour of their reasoning powers, for their pre-eminence in artistic talent, and for their mercantile ability. An amazing profusion of treasures of art such as no other locality possesses within so narrow limits, imposing monuments, recalling a history which has influenced the whole of Europe, and lastly the delightful environs of the city, render Florence one of the most fascinating places of the world, being only equalled in this respect by Athens in Greece and Kyoto in Japan.

The Duomo has one of the largest domes in existence, and its façade is modern work in marble, but worthy to take its stand, as it does, beside the glorious Campanile of Giotto. The whole exterior is

an encrustation of coloured marbles. The interior, however, is disappointing, being of a dull brown colour. The High Altar and Choir is enclosed in an octagonal tribune under the great dome. Here, on Holy Saturday, the First Mass of Easter is sung in the presence of the Cardinal Archbishop, when at the singing of the Gloria in Excelsis, an electric Dove flies from before the High Altar on a wire, down the long nave, out of the west doors, and crashes into a *carra*, an ancient carriage loaded with fireworks. These it sets alight, and then dashes back to the Altar, arriving with a crash in a cloud of smoke and sparks. The Piazza between the Cathedral and the Baptistry is crowded with people, mainly peasants, who anxiously watch the response of the *carra*, as its refusal to let its fireworks go off properly means a poor harvest, and *vice versa*. All over the city—it is exactly noon—the Church bells are clashing, and within the Duomo the great organ is pealing; the acolytes are ringing hand bells, and the magnificent choir are trying to make themselves heard as they sing the Gloria amid the dancing and shouting of the Altar boys who are excitedly cheering the Dove and the Cardinal. "Eviva el Colombo!" "Eviva el Cardinale-Archiescovo!" they shout. And outside, the *carra* is exploding in great bangs and explosions of red, white, yellow and green smoke. As the Gloria ends, the noise dies away and the Mass continues in its quiet magnificence.

At either approach to the Ponte Vecchio the houses are all in ruins, though a clearance and rebuilding is going on. Many valuable historical and archaeological discoveries have come to light in the excavations. But the great square of the Signoria is the same, and the Palazzo Vecchio unchanged where in the outer Cortile the charming little bronze boy still runs away delightedly clasping a dolphin some one has given him, one of the most fascinating little statues in the world, a masterpiece of Andrea Verrocchio. Outside, the Piazza is dominated by the great white marble statue of David by Michael Angelo, other marble figures, and the bronze masterpiece of Perseus and the Medusa by Benvenuto Cellini. But who can even begin to list the pictures and statues and palaces of Florence in an article like this?

ST. ROMULO

Ancient Fiesole is a half hour's bus ride from the city, and its Cathedral of St. Romulo is a great contrast to the usual Italian Church. There are no side altars in the nave and a pleasing constraint in decoration makes it impressive. One ascends to the High Altar by a flight of steps, and underneath is a crypt containing the body of the Saint. A splendid view of Florence lying in its river valley is obtained on the climb up to the Monastery of San Francesco, where can be inspected

the little cells used by the monks of old, still furnished as in those days, with materials for the illumination of Missals and carpenters' work, for it is the constitution of the Franciscans that the monks must labour.

THE PALLA

On a motor ride from Rome, by Lake Bolsena, through the bombed city of Viterbo, by Orvieto and Siena it is seen the rich pastoral country is prosperous with groves of silver and green leaved olive trees, and vineyards where the trailing green and blue vines sprawl over their supporting trees and poles. Masses of many coloured flowers sway in the way side gardens and the air is fragrant with perfume. At the side of lovely Lake Bolsena with its isles of faerie dreaming in the blue, we passed a British Military Cemetery, very neat and orderly, and presently a much larger American one. At Siena, where the auto-bus stops for an hour, they were preparing the city square for the annual horse race called the Palla, because the prize is a flag or gonfallon sacred to the Blessed Virgin. Each district of the town supplies a horse, and before the race begins each steed is led into the parish church to be blessed and well-wished by the priest. The people watch anxiously to see if " the horse behaves irreverently in the sacred edifice " because, if it does, it is a sure sign of victory. The wonderful Town Hall and the black and white striped Cathedral gaze down on these happenings, and the jockeys who are to ride in the race around the square are wined and dined by their supporters, all dressed in ancient costumes, so that the day of the race is a return to mediaeval times in all appearance. The race itself is a dangerous thing, as the cart horses—who are the racers—gallop around over the slippery stone flags and the riders whip not only their mounts, but the opposing jockeys as well. So all proceed merrily, the sun shines, the colours dazzle, the Church bells ring, the horses gallomphade, everybody screams and shouts, bets are taken, jockeys have been bribed, but all very open and frankly, and so it proceeds amorally and joyous.

OUR LADY OF THE THORNS

In Pisa the bridges over the Arno have been destroyed with the exception of the Middle Bridge. However, cement substitutes have been built. The lovely little Gothic chapel of Santa Maria della Spina—our Lady of the Thorns—is windowless, and gazing in through the apertures, it is seen the interior is at the moment a sort of store house for broken marble columns and such. It was the Church of the sailors of Pisa, and will doubtless be restored in time. The magnificent group of the white and green striped marble Cathedral with its gem-like

Baptistry outside the western entrance flanked by the white marble of the Campo Santo, and the famous white Leaning Tower, all rise from a green grassy meadow, and are incomparably beautiful. The Americans for some obscure reason bombed the Campo Santo, but it is now being rebuilt. Pisa was once a powerful independent city and owned the islands of Sardinia and the Balearics, and an immense trading empire in the Mediterranean. It eventually succumbed to the might of Genoa and was afterwards sold to the Medici dukes of Florence, since when it has settled down into a quiet country town, subsisting on its laurels.

A DREAM CITY

I came at last to Venice, and stayed in that wonderful city for three weeks while awaiting my ship to take me back to Ceylon. Fortunately Venice escaped all war damage, though it is a garrison town with a big Arsenal and docks and ship building interests. The fascination of Venice is not simple, obvious or immediate, like a place whose beauty is solely or mainly the work of nature. It is complex, composite and multiform. There is a good deal of fantasy, of imagination, of historic reminiscence and romance in it. This is what may be called the literary fascination, the effect of an old, now almost out-moded fashion. There is also the artistic fascination, deriving from the uniqueness of the surroundings, where forms of beauty survive which are more numerous and finer than are to be found elsewhere. And then there is the fascination of an individual liberty such as no other city in the world to-day can offer : the liberty from the tyranny of the automobile.

The invention of the combustion engine and the enormous importance assumed by the motor car in the life of modern man seemed at first to be injurious to Venice. There were and are many people to whom the fact that it is impossible to reach their home or hotel by car, is a serious inconvenience.

However, while the tyranny of the motor wears out the nerves of the inhabitants of terraferma, a new current of sympathy is arising admiration and envy for the city where the citizen who goes along the streets is indeed citizen, an individual, a man free to circulate in the streets how and where he will, to pause, to stand and converse, or even to read his newspaper, and not simply a pedestrian continually threatened by death through the intemperance of motor traffic.

Even anyone who has never been to Venice will have seen pictures, post cards, photographs which show the strange aspect of this city whose streets never admit an automobile because they are made solely for pedestrians, like the pavement of other towns, while all the heavy

traffic corresponding to the vehicles of every kind which circulate elsewhere, goes by water : in romantic gondolas, swift motor-boats, great barges and the ferries that take motor-cars from the main land across the Laguna to the Lido.

But however precise an idea one may form of a city so different from any other, the reality will always be more beautiful and more fantastic than the imagination of it. The French painter Jacques Villon said of it " Venice is far more magnificent in reality than can be imagined from any painting or description." And the Chilian poet Pablo Neruda " Venice is much more beautiful, because it is more real and unfeigned than one can imagine it ; there is nothing false about it."

When, after alighting from train or car the traveller looks along the Grand Canal as he steps into the gondola, motor-boat, or *vaporetto* that is to take him to his hotel, he is surprised for the moment by the difference of the scene from those that are familiar to him. No sooner is he carried along the Grand Canal and can gaze around him at the way the palaces rise lightly and yet solemnly, full of splendour and grace, from the water with their lace-like balconies open to the air and to the sun, and sees the black gondolas going their leisurely, indolent way, fishing boats with bright sails of russet brown, fading to yellow, and then deepening with blue or green, boats loaded with oppulent fruits, busy tugs, and motor-boats as proud and luxurious as the latest model in cars, and becomes aware of how life goes on, with animation and exhuberance amid the musical talking and calling of the people using their soft, liquid tongue, when he takes in all this within this superb frame of other days, it seems to his swelling heart that he has come to a city of dreams. If instead of coming overland he arrives by sea, the miracle will seem even more dazzling, as coming into the Basin of San Marco from the Lido entrance to the port, he sees the city's outline with its towers emerge, the marvellous golden sweep of the Riva degli Schiavoni, the incredible picture of the domes of St. Mark, the façade of the Palazzo Ducale, dominated by the towering Campanile and the great golden ball of the Dogana da Mar—the Custom House—shining in the sun against the dome of the Church of St. Maria delle Salute.

A dream city. No other city in the world, except perhaps Kyoto, has more right to such a name than Venice. It seems indeed as if in this city, where the individual human being remains in possession of the road he walks upon, the inexorable progress of time is suspended as by a miracle. Well may one feel as if living in another and more gracious age. It will seem that this life is under the sway of the imagination. And yet, in actual fact, there is not a corner of the world more substantially realistic, more profoundly functional than this, where not a line of the

horizon nor any detail of the landscape has not been created by man. Nature has given to Venice only one thing : its serene blue sky whose azure is intensified in the nights of August to a velvet darkness studded with stars with delicate sunset skies of rose and violet, deepening over the liquid langour of the lagoon. But all the rest, from its palaces, its churches, its bridges, to the very ground it stands upon, the very islands that surround it, are all the work of man. Of man, who has here accomplished one of his most admirable efforts of will and of dominion over matter.

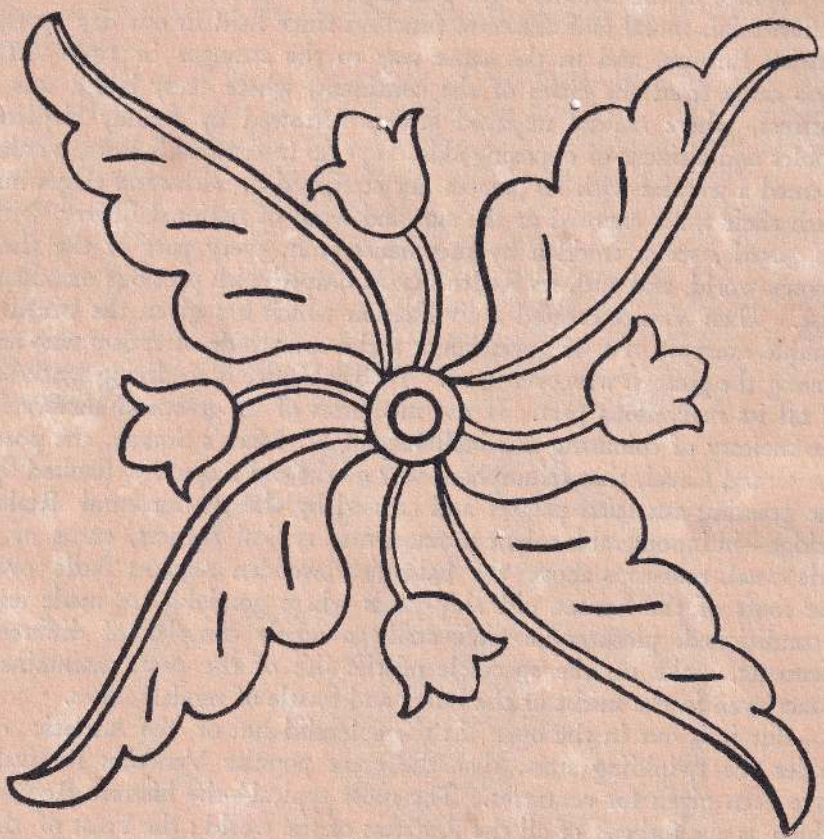
THE LIVING SYNTHESIS OF ALL ITS MARVELLOUS PAST

Venice in the Middle Ages possessed the same financial, economic, commercial, moral and aesthetic function since held in our day by the British Empire, and in the same way to the stranger in 1350 A.D. who came from the cities of the continent, where every house was a fortress, where amidst unpaved streets furrowed by muddy rivulets, nobles and citizens of opposing sides kept up interminable wars, Venice seemed a wonder with its palaces not equipped to withstand sieges but with their walls exposed to the sun and wind of national liberty, with its paved streets, trodden by merchants from every part of the then known world, and with its Rialto Piazza heaped with precious merchandise. Then Venice created a civilization which has given the world a unique example of wise government and a multitude of artists who are among the greatest who ever lived. To-day Venice is the living synthesis of all its marvellous past. If the memories of its greatness survive in the majesty of colouring and brilliance of St. Mark's Square, the port, the Grand Canal, that triumphant way of the old Republic, flanked by the grandest patrician palaces and crossed by the monumental Rialto Bridge—in innumerable minor monuments, typical corners, turns of a side canal, roof-tops above the balconies, wooden terraces built over the roofs of the houses, old ship-yards where gondolas are made and reconditioned, picturesque fruit stalls, a whole complex of different elements, make up the spectacle of the life of the past, maintained intact even in the midst of the hurry and bustle of moden times.

But it is out in the open, in the splendid sun of the Adriatic or under the twinkling stars, that the great popular Venetian Festivals have been given for centuries. The most typical—the historic Regatta which is the forbear of all the Regattas of the world ; the Feast of the Redentore when, often clad in the costume of ancient times, tens of thousands of people banquet, singing, upon fleets of gondolas illuminated by many coloured lanterns, the Bridges of Boats connecting the Islands of the city, where boats gather in the moonlight to make music,—all

these deserve to be seen by those who would store their minds with memories of beauty, of grace and of gladness.

So is Italy to-day, resentful indeed of the loss of her Army and Navy and her Colonies, but facing the future with confidence born of an experience from which she has learned lessons which will guide her through the years to come, a country worthy of her capital, Rome, the Eternal City ; of Florence the artistic capital of the world ; and of Venice, her dream-city of beauty and individual liberty.



RUSSIA'S ASIAN MARCHES

By W. Gordon East

THE international frontiers of the U.S.S.R. in Asia extend some 8,000 miles in South-west Asia, High (or Central) Asia, and the Far East. They also closely approach the Indian sub-continent. These boundaries have been relatively stable, though since 1938 the Soviet Union has acquired Tannu Tuva, South Sakhalin (Karafito), the Kurile Islands and Port Arthur—a total of some 80,000 square miles. But although the borders of Soviet Asia might appear to be frontiers of separation, since they lie mostly in country remarkable for its scanty settlement, lofty mountain chains and high arid plateaus, there has been international disquiet at many points. Nor should it be assumed that because the Soviet boundaries in Asia have changed little the Russian position on her Asiatic marches has not been strengthened by other means.

Soviet Asia borders on Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan in South-west Asia. Following the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of 1921, the relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey were friendly, but the Soviet denunciation in 1945 of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Non-Aggression (made in 1925) signalized the resumption of the old Tsarist policy. By a direct approach to Turkey in 1945 and 1946, the U.S.S.R. tried to secure joint control and defence of the Straits, superseding the Montreux Convention to which the Soviet Union was a party in 1936. The attempt failed. In 1945 the U.S.S.R. also fruitlessly claimed from Turkey the areas around Ardahan and Kars which adjoin the Georgian and Armenian S.S.R.s and contains a small minority of Armenians. These areas were in Russian hands between 1878 and 1917, but their cession to Turkey was confirmed by the Treaty of 1921.

Like Turkey, Iran is regarded by the U.S.S.R. as a barrier in its path to the sea and as a possible enemy base. The U.S.S.R. borders Iran both in south Caucasus and in Central Asia, and shares with her the navigation of the Caspian Sea. Weakly organised and incapable of defense against a powerful aggressor, Iran has survived as a buffer state. When Nazi intervention was threatened here in 1941, British and Soviet troops temporarily occupied their respective "spheres of influence," and Iran became an Allied supply route to the U.S.S.R. The Soviet

Union showed marked reluctance to withdraw her troops from North Iran by the agreed date—March 2, 1946. Tabriz, capital of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, is an important strategic center commanding roads into Turkey and Iraq, and linked to the Soviet railway system by a broad gauge line to Dzhulfa. In order to bring pressure to bear on the government at Teheran to grant a desired oil concession, the U.S.S.R. arranged that the Tudeh Party should set up a separatist regime in Azerbaijan. However, these manoeuvres failed, as did similar attempts to separate the Kurds of Iran. After the case had been taken up by the Security Council of the United Nations, Soviet troops were withdrawn, the puppet regime was overthrown, and the Tudeh Party proscribed. Now Communist groups are taking advantage of the crisis over the nationalization of the British-owned oil fields in south Iran to demonstrate openly against the West and the Government.

Three of the Soviet Central Asian republics–Turkmen S.S.R., Uzbek S.S.R., and Tudzhik S.S.R.—adjoin Afghanistan. As a semi-independent state, it acquired international prominence with the steady expansion of Russia in Central Asia during the later decades of the nineteenth century. It is an inland country of rugged mountains and semi-desert plains, the population of which comprises many ethnic elements. Afghanistan might well have passed under Russian rule save that her position commanding the chief landward approach to India awakened British opposition. There is no railway in the country, although railways reach the frontiers of Afghanistan at Kushka and Termez on the Soviet side, and at the Khyber and Chaman Passes on the Pakistan side. A few historic highways lead to the gateways of India, via Herat Kabul and Kandahar. British policy sought to create a friendly and viable Afghan state as a buffer to further Russian expansion and to this end secured the delimitation (and partial demarcation) of her boundaries during the 1880's and 1890's. In a Convention of 1907 Russia formally avowed that Afghanistan lay outside her sphere of influence. Britain conducted the foreign affairs of Afghanistan until 1919.

The defense of the Indian sub-continent on its north-western marches now devolves primarily on Pakistan. Soviet interest in this borderland appears restrained but not lacking. Afghanistan contains more Tadzhiks than does the Tadzhik S.S.R., and also a small number of Uzbeks. The growing industrialization and Westernization of the Soviet Central Asian republics contrast sharply with the relatively unprogressive Afghan way of life. The Soviet-Afghan frontier could always provide possibilities for Soviet action on an ethnographic pretext.

The Soviet-Afghan boundary in eastern Afghanistan undemarcated, lies in the Wankhan area between the forbidding

Pamir and Hindu Kush Mountains. Although the U.S.S.R., and Pakistan are separated by only about 25 miles, their proximity has no strategic significance. Farther to the east, the Soviet Tadzhik, Kirgiz and Kazakh republics border Chinese Sinkiang. A few historic highways pass through Sinkiang, and those linking Central Asia to Lanchow, Chungking and Peking are open to motor traffic. From the Soviet Turkestan-Siberian railway between Ayaguz and Alma-Ata (the Kazakh capital), roads give access to the Sinkiang border about 100 miles away. Sinkiang is a vast and arid country with a population of only 4,000,000, but its northern areas, which are those nearest to the U.S.S.R., are the more populous and potentially the richest. They are reported to contain wolfram, oil and gold, as well as coal, iron and copper. China's hold on these northern areas, north of the Tien Shan, dates only from the eighteenth century and has always been weak, for this remote province is not ethnically Chinese. Turki-speaking Moslems make up 77 per cent. of Sinkiang's population, 10 per cent. are Kazakhs and only 8 per cent. Chinese. In the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945 the U.S.S.R., avowed that she had no intention of interfering in China's internal affairs, but Sinkiang has clearly become a field for Soviet political and economic penetration. The area is orientated toward the U.S.S.R., geographically, and now by air services. In 1944, the three northern districts of Sinkiang, whose population is half Kazakh, set up the " Republic of East Sinkiang " (not without help from across the border) in defiance of the Nationalist Government of China. Even now when, officially, cordial relations exist between Moscow and Peking, the Soviet hold on Sinkiang is likely to be strengthened.

In South-west Asia, where the continental interests of the U.S.S.R., have been balanced by those of the Western maritime Powers, the Soviet boundaries have remained unchanged. But in Central Asia, where the U.S.S.R., and China meet along a mountainous borderland, the Soviet Union has profited territorially from China's weakness. The absorption of the Republic of Tannu Tuva into the U.S.S.R., in 1945, as an autonomous oblast of the R.S.F.S.R., is the logical culmination of a policy long pursued by Tsarist Russia and the U.S.S.R. The Tuva Autonomous Region is a mountainous area of about 65,000 square miles, with a Mongol population of only 70,000. It contains the headwaters of Yenisei River which flows across Siberia, and holds promise for gold and other minerals, and hydro-electricity. A road crosses the area, thus linking Western Siberia to Outer Mongolia, so that Tuva also has strategic significance.

For some 1,800 miles, from the Altai krai of Western Siberia to the Chita oblast of Eastern Siberia, the R.S.F.S.R.—the giant federalized

state of the Soviet Union—borders Outer Mongolia. Here, as in Sinkiang and Tuva, geography and politics have favoured Soviet policy. The half of Outer Mongolia north of the Gobi Desert is grassland and forest, and this part lies much closer to the U.S.S.R. than to settled China. After the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911, the power of the Chinese central government in this peripheral region became weak. The Mongols of Outer Mongolia, who number about 2,100,000 and are akin to those of the neighbouring Buryat-Mongol A.S.S.R., and the Tuva Autonomous Region, were organized with Soviet help as the Mongolian People's Republic as long ago as 1921. With the advent of the Japanese in Manchuria, Jehol and Inner Mongolia in the early 1930's, Soviet interest in this Mongolian Republic naturally increased, for Outer Mogolia covers the direct approach from the Far East to Eastern Siberia and thus protects the vital and vulnerable Trans-Siberian railway. A Soviet-Mongolian Treaty of defensive alliance was signed in 1936 to meet local Japanese threats, and joint Soviet and Mongolian motorized forces took part in the advance toward Kalgan and north China in the U.S.S.R.'s short campaign against the Japanese in July, 1945.

In 1945, the Soviet Union persuaded China to renounce her political claims to Outer Mongolia, and to approve a plebiscite on the issue of complete independence. (The Yalta Agreement had stipulated the maintenance of the political *status quo* in Outer Mongolia). One of the most remarkable of Soviet sponsord plebiscites followed in October, 1945 : it confirmed at one and the same time the nominal independence of the Mongolian People's Republic, and its subjection to the U.S.S.R. The territory and resources of this republic are valuable to the Soviets economically as well as strategically. It yields wool and hides, in which Russia is deficient, and like other parts of Central Asia has mineral wealth. Soviet prospectors have located deposits of iron, coal, lead, gold and silver, and their development has begun. The Soviet broad-gauge railway reaches the Mongolian capital—Ulan Bator—which is thus linked to the Trans-Siberian at Ulan Ude, the Buryat-Mongol capital.

In this century, Russians have always considered the Far Eastern frontiers with China and Korea their most important in Asia. Russians reached the Pacific as early as about 1645, before they had established footholds on either the Baltic or Black Seas. The Tsarist Empire did not, however, acquire its most valuable Far Eastern territories until, by treaties with China in 1858 and 1860, it obtained a boundary along the Amur River and its tributory the Ussuri. Manchuria, in turn a field for Russian and Japanese exploitation, has become the most industrialized

part of China. It is a well-endowed land, in an early state of its development, possessing iron ore, coal and metallic minerals, as well as grain, soya and edible oil. Now that the Japanese Empire has been destroyed and a Communist regime holds sway in China, the Soviet position in the Far East is very favourable. By the secret agreement made at Yalta in 1945, which provided for Soviet entry into the war against Japan, the U.S.S.R., made substantial territorial and other gains in the Far East. Briefly these include the return of the Kurile Islands and south Sakhalin (thus making the Sea of Okhotsk a Russian lake), a lease of Port Arthur for a Soviet naval base, and the internationalization of the commercial port of Dairen. Even more important was the recognition of the privileged position of the Soviet Union in Manchuria, and of her joint control with China of the Manchurian railways. The strategical value of this is obvious.

During the inter-war period the Soviet Union did not lack space; now it enjoys a lebensraum such as Hitler only dreamed of. Its aggrandizement was achieved partly by diplomacy and partly by war. In some areas history and ethnography supply some justification for this expansion; in others it reflects merely the arbitrary application of the might of the victor. It must be granted that all strong states have desired secure frontiers and that the interpretation of "security" always involves expansion of territory. It must be admitted, too, that in Central Asia the U.S.S.R. brings elements of Western material civilization to backward countries which need them in order to develop their natural resources more fully. For 20 years after the Revolution Soviet Russia was confined by the *cordon sanitaire* of a suspicious and hostile world. Now that she has recovered her "Western Lands," and gained much besides in Europe and in Asia, suspicion and anxiety about her plans are greater than ever. Russian territorial expansion alone is by no means the cause of this anxiety. But careful note should be taken of the particulars of Soviet expansion. The great breadth of the new frontiers of the U.S.S.R. provide the thresholds to further Soviet adventure. This seems especially true of the new frontiers in Europe.

(Courtesy *Foreign Affairs*, New York)

THE QUEST OF THE BLUE ROSE

By E. M. Hatt

THE greenest grass is just beyond the fence ; the most longed-for rose, if we may judge from the efforts of many generations of experimenters, is the unattainable one, the one just out of reach, the blue rose of emphatic—and transmissible—azure. The idea of it was tantalising horticulturists at the time of the sober and learned Abu Zackaria Yahya bin Mohammed bin Ahmed Ibn Awam, Arab author and farmer, who lived in Seville in the twelfth century, the heyday of the Moorish occupation. In his " Book of Agriculture " which has still to be translated into English, Ibn-al-Awam wrote on roses in general : " The colours show great variety—red, white, yellow, the blue of lazulite, and one that is heavenly blue on the outside (of the petals) and yellow inside." At this point the scrupulous French translator—he is the source of my information—adds a suavely sceptical footnote : "No doubt the name ' rose ' was given, in the Orient as in the West, to flowers that never grew on a rose bush."

Passing in review five-petalled and forty-petalled roses, Ibn-al-Awam came to " a yellow rose and a blue rose, also one with petals, that are red outside and blue inside " ; then, after disparaging the scent of the " dark violet rose " (ancestor, perhaps, of the old bluish-crimson cabbage variety he proceeded to details of culture. Five hundred pages later he gave his " curious receipt " for obtaining the blue roses so casually listed, quoting Hadj of Granada and Ali Gazouli. Hadj recommended that the root of a rose tree be exposed in December, the dark outer bark carefully raised, the root severed longitudinally, and the remaining bark prised away from its woody anchorage but not removed or fractured. Iron instruments only should be used. The air spaces thus fashioned between bark and fibre of root and several robust main stems should be packed with indigo previously well pounded in a mortar. Strips of linen should be wrapped round the treated sections, and clay dressings moulded over the linen. The summer's roses would then be blue.

An alternative suggested by " an inhabitant of Damascus " was simply to drench the foot of a bush with a strong indigo solution from early October to flowering time. And once again—blue roses. But the next generation I am reminded of the blue-dyed wind-flowers we used to stand in classroom inkwells : we usually got Ibn-al-Awam's results without using any of his pious formulae. But the ancients did at least get blue roses, of a striking if ephemeral blueness, and were perhaps modest enough not to attempt to furnish posterity with an assured supply of what they might not cherish.

(Courtesy *The Countryman*, Burford, Oxfordshire)

THE GROTTOES OF A THOUSAND BUDDHAS

TREASURE HOUSE OF ANCIENT CHINESE ART

By Yao Hua

TUNHUANG, in West Kansu, is a fertile little oasis surrounded by sand dunes, on the edge of the great Gobi desert. It was once an important stage post on the ancient Silk Road—the long caravan trail that linked China to India and the West, a route of travel for goods, warriors, ideas and cultures.

Twenty kilometres south-west of Tunhuang, the district city, there is a line of steep cliffs running from north to south. At eventide, the sinking sun throws a glorious halo of light over these cliffs as it has done for centuries past. Perhaps this was the reason why they were held to be sacred. It is here that the Grottoes of a Thousand Buddhas nestle like beehives. The first grotto was hallowed out, according to the record on a stone tablet, in 366 A.D. in the Chin Dynasty. Then all through the Northern and Western Wei, the Sui, Tang and the five Dynasties down to the Sung, Yuan and Ming (1368-1644 A.D.), grottoes were dug and consecrated by devout followers of Buddhism and pilgrims journeyed to the sacred place. Devotees donated scrolls, embroideries tapestries, paintings and icons. Nameless artist artisans worked through the years on the orders of donors, covering the walls with carvings and marvellous frescoes.

Relatively little is as yet known of the art of Tunhuang. Even specialists had knowledge only of a few scrolls, some sculptures, some photographic reproductions. But for years travellers' tales have told of their marvels.

And now since April the palace buildings atop the Noon Gate in Peking's former Forbidden City have been filled with an exhibition of 1,000 hand painted reproductions of these unrivalled murals.

It is no exaggeration to say that their appearance in the capital has been something of a sensation. The general public has shown the liveliest interests in these fresh proofs of the richness of China's ancient culture. Artists, scientists and intellectuals in general have found here an inexhaustible source of artistic inspiration and material for historic study.

These long-buried treasures are clearly at the start of a new period of even more vigorous life than any they experienced since their creation.

It was an eager audience of artists and students who heard the introductory lecture by Chang Shuhung, the artist who directed the work of copying and preparing this exhibition as Director of the

Tunhuang Institute of Art and Archaeology. He had gone to Tunhuang for a two months' visit. He had stayed there eight years. When he arrived he found that much of the protecting architecture of the grottoes has been destroyed and not a few of them had been buried in the sands. The fate of the murals and sculptures was a source of considerable anxiety. He felt impelled to take action, and got help to clear away the sand and make repairs. He thus found himself a sort of *ad hoc* curator of the grottoes. Later, in 1924, he founded the Art Institute of Tunhuang. He set out with a dozen art students and planned the copying of selected originals. Through the years of the Anti-Japanese War and the post-war period, they worked as best they could to preserve these ancient masterpieces, steadily going ahead with the work of recording and study.

A GREAT ART GALLERY

There are murals and sculptures in each of the 469 grottoes and caves of Tunhuang. Most are in a fair state of preservation. There are as many as four or five tiers of grottoes and if the murals in those so far explored were placed end to end they would stretch a length of 32 kilometres. But it is not size alone that is impressive. Here are splendid masterpieces of decorative and pictorial art forming one of the greatest art monuments of the world.

The Chinese art tradition has always been centred on human life, on the social life of man. This is borne out by stone rubbings from the earliest known tombs. This is confirmed especially in the Famous Paintings of Various Ages by the Art historian Chang Yen-Yuan. This is confirmed again in an especially vivid way by the murals of the Tunhuang grottoes. These unknown painters are of that great tradition, preserving, enriching, developing it. In these hundreds of paintings is shown the human world in many phases. These walls present a kaleidoscope of feelings and emotions. Here, too, is an unrivalled encyclopaedia on costumes and customs through the ages, on tools and utensils, vehicles and vessels, rites and ceremonies ; on ways of working, of living and enjoyment, as the illustrations in our pictorial section show.

The general standard of craftsmanship is on an astonishingly high level. The brush work at its best is forceful and compelling. The colour bright and unstereotyped. The use of lines free and very varied. The working style meticulous : even the smallest details are treated with care and vigour. Each of the great periods of painting are vividly represented in their making, yet each style, represented by hundreds of works, seems to have been painted by some versatile genius of the epoch.

Standing in these grottoes, one feels instantly that everything from the wall and ceiling paintings to the decorations around the columns, the architecture and sculptures, combine to create one atmosphere, one artistic whole. Decorations are unified with their architectural background.

A whole world is mirrored in these images. And a characteristic feature of this world is that it is not static, but, like life itself, pulsates with energy. In grotto No. 254 of the Northern Wei (386-535 A.D.), for instance, not only the flying angels with their ribbons whirl around you, but the whole grotto revolves and even the mountains seem to fly. The artists have cleverly placed dashes of colour here and there on the wall among the floating lines to give an impression of perpetual movement.

THREE PERIODS

Chronologically, the murals of Tunhuang can be conveniently divided into three periods. The early period ends with the Sui Dynasty (581-610 A.D.), the middle embraces the whole of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), and the late period extends on through the Sung, Yuan and later dynasties.

Though in all three periods the murals have one common over-all aim—the propagation of the Buddhist faith, this is in many cases but an incidental theme much as the direct propagation of the Roman Catholic faith is often only incidental in the "religious" frescoes of Michelangelo in the Vatican Sistine Chapel. The religious theme is often little more for the artist than a starting point for an artistic commentary on some completely secular subject such as hunting, feasting, farming or building. It is this feature that gives that rich variety of subject-matter to the murals.

While there is an enormous wealth of decorative "abstract" design to fill in cornices, friezes, ornament door lintels, the tops of columns or ceilings, the predominant aspect of these paintings is their realism. Most of these murals have a story to tell. They popularise the parables and legends of Buddhism. The murals are designed for the people who seek to learn the scriptural stories by looking at the pictures. It is for this reason that the element of realism is so strong in these paintings. And it is this realism that makes them so valuable to us to-day.

It is the development of this realism that runs as a red thread through these thousand years of art mirroring the thought of the times. While the early period tells its story in the form of a series of episodes within a single composition—telescoping a whole period of time into one single instant as it were—the more developed realism of the middle period, the resplendent Tang period, extracts the essence of the story

and sums it up in a single incident. In grotto No. 110 of the early period (Wei Dynasty), for instance, is the painting of Gautama as a golden gazelle who, having saved the life of a wastrel, is betrayed by him to a royal huntsman. All the incidents of the story are present in one panoramic composition. The development of perspective is rudimentary. Men, mountains, the whole of nature are austerely pictured in earth colours. In the Tang Dynasty, by contrast, an opulent Buddha is shown in a monumental composition teaching his doctrine. The Buddha, with ponderable weight, dominates the whole surface. Below him is the altar and his audience. An orchestra plays in the foreground with graceful dancing figures. Flowers rain down from the heavens. It is really the imperial court transferred to paradise. The scriptural episodes themselves are relegated to a series of marginal compositions each separate in itself. A complex system of perspective is employed.

Each period has its own special beauties. The early murals have the primitive charm and directness of a Grotto. The Tang murals are especially noteworthy for their intricate and yet precise composition. Hundreds of human figures, terraces, buildings, flowers and trees combine into grand scenes of abundance. In later periods the inquisitive eyes of the artists take in more and more of the phenomena of life. Landscape, still life, birds and animals attract them as themes. But there is a growth of stultifying mannerism.

Throughout these painting there is bewildering wealth of imagination united with fluent technique. The Tunhuang artists developed at all periods a truly indigenous style, a local style even. Strategically placed where the cultural currents of East and West flowed together and mingled, they drew with great discrimination from all available cultural trends. Thus the early period artists of the Wei Dynasty derived their basic style from the culture of the Han but were strongly influenced by the Greco-Indian School.

It needs hardly be stressed that the Tunhuang murals are a rich source of iconographical material about Buddhism, but for us to-day their greatest value is as a reflection of the thousand years of the people's life.

This exhibition has unlocked a treasure house of art to the Chinese people and Chinese artists and scientists. It has brought home the tremendous importance of this repository. The People's Government through its Ministry of Cultural Affairs has taken the first steps to secure the future of Tunhuang. One day the grottoes will be fully restored, their protecting buildings repaired and, with the possibilities provided by modern science, Tunhuang will be turned into one of the world's most unique and greatest art gallaries.

THE ELEPHANT MOTIF LAMP

By S. Sanmuganathan

THE elephant motif bronze oil lamp discovered at Dedigama is a significant land mark in the evolution of lamps. The lamp is one of four found at the four corners of the relic chamber of Suthighara Vehara the site of the birth place of the great Parakrama Bahu I of Polonnaruwa, who arrested the discontent in the country by uniting Ceylon under one rule. The lamp should be 800 years old at least, if not older. The principle on which it functions and its importance could be better appreciated by a brief survey of the problems that confronted the ancient civilizations until the introduction of a central wick, mineral oils and gas to lamps, as late as the nineteenth century.

It should be remembered, quite apart from primitive principles in the source of lighting, that the absence of a box of matches to produce fire whenever desired was a great handicap. At all times the lamp has been a useful and indispensable servant of man.

The hearth-fire is the first source of light. The first man to pull out a fire-brand from the hearth invented the torch. Thus from resinous wood is derived the meaning of torch. According to Homer, Hermes found the nymph, Kalypso, weaving by the fire side. But ever since primitive man noticed that a piece of twisted fibre or hair floating in fat at the edge of the fire was burning steadily and independently of the main fire, lamps arose.

The next step was the lighting of moss or twisted fibre in a depression of crude stone filled with oil. Such lamps dated about three hundred thousand years ago were found in Moravia to light the inner recesses of caves. The most important function of all was to retain the source of fire. The Magdalenian man at Dordogne used circular bowls of easily hollowed sandstone with a very definite spout to take the wick.

However, these two earliest types, that is the open saucer, bowl, or pan with a floating light, and the other with the spout added for the wick, persisted throughout history to the present day, with infinite variations in form, design, material and fuel. Still these forms are used in most countries in remote and rustic homes of villagers and at ceremonial and religious observances in advanced countries. The problems, such as the duration of light without attention to fuel or wick, increased illumination, prevention of smoke and over-heating of oil, continue to

remain to this day, where gas and electricity are not universally distributed. There were other necessary innovations to be looked into for convenience, such as hooking to brackets, placing on tripods and stool, and hanging lamps. It is well to observe, in Pliny's time the light source was confined to splinters of wood, reeds mixed with asphalt or pitch, and even amber burning in open bowls, much in the same fashion as camphor is lighted in open earthenware chutties at Katharagama and in most Hindu religious peraheras. Herodotus mentions an Egyptian lamp festival filled with pans of oil and salt on top of which the wick floated. Even such lamps were unknown universally in Homeric times and did not appear in Asia Minor till 600 B.C. Salt was mixed to prevent the oil from overheating.

It may be noted here that the Egyptian hieroglyphic symbol for a lamp was an open bowl with a flame floating illustrated incised in outline. An absolutely new lamp in type was found among the furniture in Tut-Ankh-Amen's Tomb in which one end of the twisted linen attached to a bracket was still in position in an oil cup. The shape of the oil cup had existed from the white cross-lined ware of the lower Nile Valley from about 4790 B.C. Shells and chanks were used as alternatives to earthenware vessels. They were found at Ur by Sir Leonard Woolley at Mohenjo-Daro and at a much later period at Tirukketisvaram. The early Cretian lamps were large shallow decorated bowls set on pedestals like the large brass bowls used in China and in India for festivals, and in Malabar to light the stage in open air recitals of the Kathakali form of dancing. Throughout antiquity in Egypt and during the Dark Ages the Arabs perfected multiple float-wick lamps as used in the Middle East, Spain and Europe, in a variety of metal containers which later the Dutch brought to the East in glass globes and chandeliers. These continued to burn floated wicks. The seven branched candlestick of the Hebrews was undoubtedly in its original form a group of float-wick lamps. This is obvious from the Old Testament (Exodus Chapter XXV. verse 31.) Its direct descendant was the Hannkkah lamp which the Jews took with them on their wandering all over the world. There is hardly any difference between the early Arab and Byzantine and the float-wick altar lamps of the Christian Church of to-day. Castor oil was used universally in India, specially in backward areas. Thus the Tamil for Castor Oil is "Vilak Enai" meaning lamp oil. It is preferred because it smokes less. That smoke has been a source of great inconvenience can be gauged from Juvenal when he observes "even the oil lamps brought in by boys blackened the busts of Horace and Virgil in the Schoolroom."

In Greco-Roman times too, the lamps themselves were of terra-cotta

or metal. The opening of the bowl was sometimes covered with two or more holes on the cover, one in the spout for the wick and the others to expel the air when the oil is poured. The cover was often decorated with scenes from daily life. The spout was elongated in Byzantine times to keep the source of light as far away from the oil as possible. The chains and hooks carried decorated motifs of impish pans, animals, and human figures in action. In proportion to the advance of civilization, and as the sense of beauty developed, manifold devices were made use of in the endeavour to satisfy all needs. Architecture too had its counter influence. Luminosity could only be increased at this period by the addition of a number of lamps. Thus in ancient palaces to light large rooms triangular or square holes were sunk in the walls ; its modern counter part is seen in the holes allowed in the boundary walls of temples. History, Geography, Ethnology, Science and Art, the Story of Commerce and Industry have all had a hand in the evolution of lamps and lighting.

Forearmed with the knowledge of the designs of lamps and their usage in antiquity, we are now in a position to consider the technical advance made in the 800-year-old elephant motif lamp discovered recently. It is described by the Archaeological Commissioner as a " fine blend of artistic workmanship and technical ability. It resembles a short betel tray about four inches high. On a circular dais in the centre an elephant with two riders stands under a Makara Thorana. The lamp is suspended by a chain 3'-8" long ending in a hooded cobra, whose tail forms a hook for suspension. At intervals along the chain are finely executed figures of a dancing girl, a symbolist and an udekki player."

" The elephant is hollow and its body forms a reservoir holding over eight ounces of oil, which is filled through one of its forelegs. A tapering tube within the foreleg acts as an oil trap when the elephant is in an upright position."

" A problem surmounted by the craftsman has been to keep the tray filled at a rate corresponding to the rate of consumption and so prevent the oil from flowing in too fast and overflowing the shallow borders of the tray. The tray is kept shallow because in a deep tray wicks tend to slip back and ' drown.' When both tray and reservoir are filled, overflow is prevented by the achievement of a definite hydrostatic balance. When the wicks are lit and the oil consumed, it is replaced, a few drops at a time, from a ventral opening in the elephant's body, This tube is in accordance with the principles of the vacuum, because it has been fashioned so as to taper contrary to the tube within the foreleg."

The Commissioner declared that " he could not positively say whether such examples of ancient craftsmanship of the same period had been found in India."

Now from the foregoing description it can be readily seen, that the innovation lies in the insertion of a tube into the body of the elephant and in the ventral opening to replenish the bowl to avoid frequent attention. A lamp to avoid this same frequent attention to the oil supply is known in India and Ceylon. In India it is known as the bird fountain and in Ceylon as the Kandyan lamp which has one or more elongated spouts. The spout is detachable from the main hollow body in both these types, to facilitate the filling by inversion. The oil is supplied to the wick in the spout by gravity pressure. As the oil is consumed by the wick a vacuum of equal volume is created within the body. Such lamps are fairly common in both India and Ceylon. In the former they are mass manufactured and are for sale in brassware bazaars. In South India they are called " Thoonda Vilaku," meaning a lamp that supplies itself with oil and needs no attention to constant trimming of the wick.

But, though the elephant motif lamp satisfies the same conditions as the gravity lamp it works on a different principle altogether. Due to the insertion of the tube in the body of the elephant and the provision of a ventral opening, to satisfy a simple physical law, oil can flow out of the orifice in the elephant only if the external atmospheric pressure exerts itself through this opening and the tube, and so acts on the surface of the liquid in the reservoir ; the oil flows out through the ventral opening " till the central aperture is again covered with oil. Then the connection between the reservoir and the air outside is again interrupted : the reservoir or body supplies no more oil until the opening is once more free. This process is repeated as long as the oil supply lasts. *Thus it can be concluded the physical laws concerning atmospheric pressure had been well mastered.*"

Yet this single lamp found in Dedigama, Ceylon, is not the only lamp to cite. There are many such lamps, working precisely on the same principle, found in India. Two such type of lamps are illustrated on plate XVIII of " The Story of the Lamp and the Candle " by F. W. Robins. The difference lies only in form. In one, a brass globe and in the other the bird replaces the elephant. The ejection overflow tube attached to the lower part of the body is seen clearly. Another Indian lamp working on this same principle was an exhibit in the Science Museum at Munich before World War II.

Nevertheless the earliest specimen comes from the lamp of PHILON of Byzantium which dates from 280 B.C. In this

lamp the tube with equal openings at both ends—it is immaterial whether the tube is tapered or not as in the elephant lamp—stands vertically in the centre of the body of the lamp which is filled with oil. The oil in the bowl stands above the hole of the tube, the upper part of which is surrounded by the reservoir. (The upper part a globe contains the reserve oil supply). This reservoir has two lateral openings or orifices in the form of bent tubes, unlike the single outlet as in the case of Indian and Ceylon lamps.

The process of seeking a complex explanation, when a simple one known to the ancients would suffice, is a failing among most archaeologists.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN . . ."

By Victor Lewis

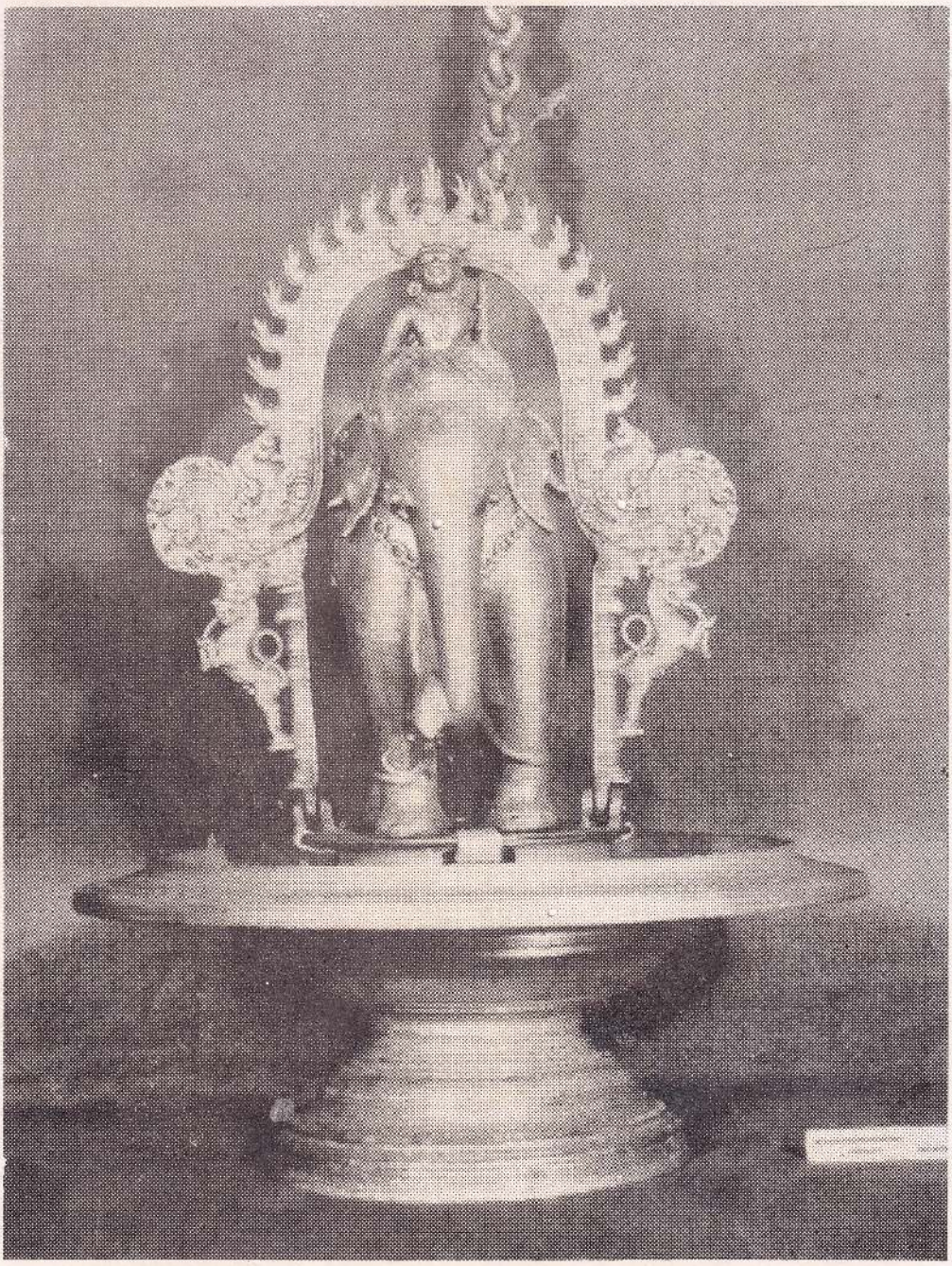
LORD CHESTERFIELD once said that nobody could make a fortune or a figure without speaking, and speaking well, in public. While that is not necessarily true of Ceylon—indeed many of the country's leading figures and richest men are neither good nor frequent public speakers—there is a very heavy demand for and, qualitatively at least, an inadequate supply of, those people who have mastered the lesser art of after-dinner speaking.

It falls to my lot to enjoy—or suffer—listening to more after-dinner speaking than average. I have, so to speak, listened my way round the world ; I have been profoundly bored, infuriated, excited and entranced in turn. I have in my humble way made comparative notes on a national basis and it is a pleasant thing to be able to record that, banquet in and banquet out, Ceylon is no worse than any other country. Indeed, but for the danger of creating an international incident I would name many a country where the art is less well practised than in Ceylon.

The number of really good after-dinner speakers in this country seems rather limited, but that is possibly due to the national trait of bestowing flowery praise on all and sundry on every conceivable occasion. There are only a limited number of ways of saying a man is perfect ; and there are only a limited number of times one can stand hearing this fulsomeness. Sometimes I catch myself hoping a speaker will be downright insulting—just for the novelty of it.

Presumably there are rules for after-dinner speakers, though most people who have bothered to write or speak on this subject seem to have preferred to make a list of " don'ts " rather than " do's." Lord Reading, himself a fine after-dinner speaker, once laid down the advice " Always be shorter than anybody dared to hope." To which could be added the well-known " don't "—" Don't tell your audience you will not speak for long. They won't believe you." In more flippant mood, Lord Reading said that long-winded speakers should be made to wear an L-plate in their button-holes.

There is a current fallacy in Ceylon that anybody can make an after-dinner speech and for the most part I blame the organisers who select the speakers as much as I blame the speakers themselves. At a recent dinner, six of the seven speakers (yes, it was one of the more



THE ELEPHANT MOTIF LAMP

Courtesy The Information Officer, Ceylon.

modest affairs) started off by saying how unqualified they were to propose the toast entrusted to them and how they couldn't understand why they had been chosen. Judging by the diners' reactions the lack of understanding was mutual. The requests to speak should not have been accepted.

Those whose positions or interests necessitate attending many dinner functions would, I venture to believe, have to admit to remembering very few speeches for more than an hour after the last toast had been answered. Ceylon's politicians I find indifferent after-dinner speakers—with the exception of Sir John Kotelawela on a light occasion, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke on a political occasion and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva on most occasions. The Law is better as, indeed I think it should be. There are few more polished speakers than Mr. R. L. Pereira or Mr. Justice Choksy and few more amusing than Sir Alan Rose or Mr. Justice Gratiaen. And from the halls of learning there is always the versatile Sir Ivor Jennings (attractively phrased, shrewdly humorous whatever the subject) ; to which may be added on the too rare occasions they are persuaded, Professors Ludowyk and Rodrigo.

That is but a list of personal choices, of course, and may be disregarded or substituted at the reader's pleasure. But I would add as postscript to this diversion that I think the Registrar of the University of Ceylon the best after-dinner speaker in the land, with Mr. Egerton Paul and Mr. L. A. P. Brito Babapulle as the best extempore speakers I know. But quite frankly I long for the delicious ease that was the gift of Sir Francis Soertsz.

But to return to the art of it. I have noted too frequently that after-dinner speakers have been out of touch with their audiences. They speak as if they haven't bothered to find out what the function was all about. To get away with that needs a Lord Birkenhead who, once as a guest of honour, arrived late. He made a whispered enquiry from a guest he knew. " What's all this about " and was told it was the " So-and-so Engineers." Lord B launched out into an obviously unprepared speech on engineering, science, mechanics, on energy, on concentration, on impulse, and enthusiasm so that no matter what might have been the profession of the listener he could without doubt consider the learned words as addressed to himself. At the end he quoted Disraeli " No contingency can possibly occur, however fearful, however tremendous it may appear, from which a man by his own energy, may not extract himself, as a mariner, by the rattling of his cannon can dissipate the impending waterspout." He was loudly cheered and, later in the evening, was heard in his club to ask of his first informant " By the way, *who* did you say those people were to

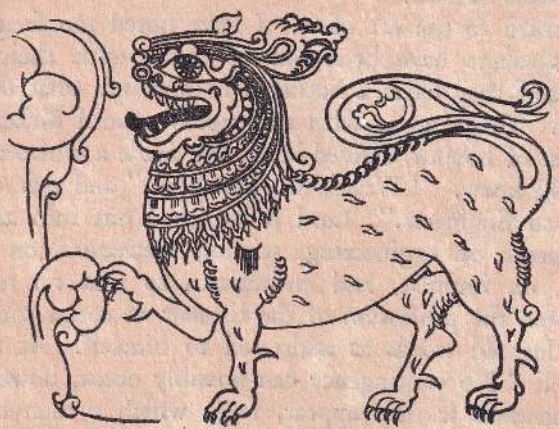
whom I spoke tonight ? "

Another mistake made by the inexperienced speaker is that of being patronising—talking down to the audience. It recalls the story of the young diplomat placed next to Dr. Wellington Koo at a diplomatic dinner. Stuck for what to say to the distinguished Chinaman he ventured to query " Likee soupee ? " Dr. Koo just nodded. Later he delivered a brilliant speech in perfect English, sat down amid applause, turned to the young diplomat and said " Likee speechee ? "

A lot of the lasting effect of an after-dinner speech can depend on the first and last words. The classic opening to a speech was made by Professor A. E. Housman in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, " Gentlemen, this hall has seen Wordsworth drunk and Porson sober, and I, who am a greater scholar than Wordsworth and a greater poet than Porson, now stand here—betwixt and between."

Shaw's best was probably when, at the end of an almost Ceylonesquely long list of speeches he was called upon. " Ladies and Gentlemen," he said, " the subject is not exhausted, but we are," and sat down.

Churchill gave credit to his father for his own ability as a speaker. Churchill senior, he relates, once told him " Stand up, speak loud and clear, and when you come to a sentence that sounds well and is grammatically correct, sit down.



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BERDYAEV

By Neville Braybrooke

THE Significance lies in this : that living the best years of his life in Europe, he never forsook the Russian spirit for the European spirit. Right to the end, Nicolas Berdyaev was true to his belief that only a real renascence of the spirit could be achieved if it was a renascence engendered equally in the East as well as in the West ; equally in Russia as in America.

His thought was essentially apocalyptic and eschatological. The crisis of civilization to him was much more than a convenient historical term intended to signify disintegration, because he saw the crisis as something which had emerged in his own lifetime. He was far from being an adherent of Spengler's interpretation of history in which all is seen as so many segments repeating themselves, but each doomed to extinction at the last. Far nearer his conception of history was Toynbee's interpretation in which it is shown that civilizations only fall apart when they have suffered a schism of the soul. As the late Stefan Schimanski pointed out at his death in 1948 in *The Manchester Guardian*, the fact that Berdyaev set his whole philosophy on the power of love did not mean that when he saw the world becoming a prey to hate men should give up the struggle. On the contrary, he held that " man had no right to cease in his duty even if he knew he would fail " ; and it is this crucial deduction of Schimanski's from Berdyaev's philosophy which makes his writings so relevant for the West to-day.

When T. E. Hulme's *Speculations* were published posthumously in 1924, there appeared his diagnosis of " thought since the Renaissance." Here is the passage in question. He declares that—

> " In spite of its apparent variety, [it] forms one coherent whole. It all rests on the same conception of the nature of man and all exhibits the same inability to recognise the meaning of the dogma of original sin. In this period [he continues] not only have its philosophy, its literature and its ethics been based upon this new conception of man as fundamentally good, as sufficient, as the measure of all things ; but a good case can be made out for regarding many of its characteristic economic features as springing entirely from this central abstract conception."

Now it is precisely the acceleration which this attitude has been given

in the Twentieth Century, in " the brave new world," that has led to an universal acceptance of the conviction that if only peace could be made permanent, a perfect world society would follow. That is a fallacy whose enormity of acceptance in no way counteracts its fallacious premises. On two scores it falls to the ground and for this reason as a palliative must be accounted false.

Men may desire peace ; but in the first place they do not desire the things which lead to peace and, in the second place, so long as they aim at an Utopian society they will fall short of a healthy society in so far as perfection is incompatible with human nature as it is. Berdyaev fully realized that such perfection was impossible, but in no sense did a knowledge of the impossibility of its attainment prevent him from urging men to do their best to achieve a healthy, peaceful and open society. For what it comes to is that he was re-stating in his own terms the doctrine of original sin ; he was admitting the Fall in the Garden of Eden as a reality and hence allowing for a natural inclination in man tempting him by nature always towards what is evil rather than what is good. The remedy for social ills lay in raising those ills to a spiritual level, something which can always be achieved if it is remembered that if people are made to think sufficiently hard *socially*, sooner or later they will be thinking *religiously*. It was of this change of heart that Berdyaev had a particular right to speak because the span of his years from 1874 to 1948 were particularly momentous in that they covered a period of transition, of transition from the spiritual to the materialistic—a swing of the pendulum of which at the moment there are chances of its return from materialism to the spiritual again.

Berdyaev was born in Kiev and early in his student career became an adherent to Marxism. Living therefore between two worlds—the old order of Russian aristocracy and the new spirit of revolution which since 1848 had been in the ascendant—Berdyaev found himself drawn in two directions : namely, towards both faith in the old tradition and towards the gradual evolution of ideas and the sharp, more radical approach to change that was growing in the hearts of the revolutionaries. In 1917 just before the fall of the Monarchy he criticized the Erastianism of the governing synod of the Orthodox Church, whilst after the Revolution, in 1919, he founded the Free Academy of Spiritual Culture in Moscow and was there given the chair in the philosophy faculty at the University.

These two actions, his independence of mind shown over the question of Erastianism and his assertion of spiritual values, emphasize clearly his approach : " I must discover for myself that which God has hidden from me. God expects from me a free creative act." Again, as

in the case of his personal discovery of original sin, so again by his own endeavour he discovered the meaning of free-will. For he was too independent a thinker to accept dogmas second hand : they had to be discovered anew and then stated. Such was his process.

It was this sense of adventure, of the personal quest for truth, that allowed him to accept the good in Communism without being deceived by that which was openly contrary to the good—that is to say when the good is seen as something primarily moral, and secondly utilitarian. As he wrote :

> " Utilitarianism is a principle of adaptation for the safeguarding of life and the attainment of happiness, but the safeguarding of life and happiness may be inconsistent with the freedom and dignity of personality. Utilitarianism is anti-personalist."

That is from where his insistent repetition of the importance of the individual sprang. Which has come to be known as personalism ; which has been a cue for other critics in linking his works with those of Gabriel Marcel in France and Karl Jaspers in Germany, and even earlier still with both Kierkegaard and his own countryman, Solovyev.

Like these predecessors and contemporaries, he stood for a philosophy of life that was not objective : true philosophy, he once declared, came through personal experience and it was the personal relationship between man and man that ultimately counted. He believed that the world was full of unacknowledged teachers ; that man taught man by his example and so, as it were, established an invisible contact. Indeed Berdyaev is not an easy writer for those trained in the West, for those who are accustomed to exposition in the terms of Aristotelean logic. His dialectical approach is a personal one of which, as J. N. Cameron has pointed out, " there are no obvious models." Again Berdyaev does not so much argue with the reader and thus try to enlist his support as state his point of view and leave it at that. His reasoning is often a series of assertions which, in the whirl of his rhetoric, one either accepts or rejects ; and when one accepts one of his assertions, for him that means personal contact between author and reader has been established. At times this can be an invigorating experience, though an experience hard to define and perhaps, appropriately enough, an experience which can only be defined in a personal way.

During the war when I was on leave I remember going to see Shaw's *Misalliance*, presented by a small London theatre club. Afterwards, as I walked back alone, I felt enormously buoyed ; I had the feeling that some immensely fine things had been said during the course of the evening, though precisely what those things were I could not have told you for the life of me. Subsequently I have read *Misalliance* and

rationally I am quite aware that by no means is it one of Shaw's best plays ; speaking rationally, it is quite obviously an interim piece. Yet, despite that fact, for me the play continues to hold a very high place in the Shavian canon. In short, so *personal* has been its impact that I find it hard to examine *critically*.

Berdyaev can make a similar impact, and I would submit that it is by means of this personal impact that he has won so many readers in the West ; they are uplifted by what he says but cannot say what exactly it is in his work which lifts them up. Such a gift cannot be acquired, because it is a natural gift ; it is dependent upon spontaneity for its effect. Yet it is argued that such a gift is of no use to philosophy, because it is allowing reason to be replaced by emotion. There is some truth in the argument, but it is worth pointing out that a number of contemporary philosophers are also creative artists—Sartre and Gabriel Marcel, for instance. Certainly, Berdyaev wrote neither novels nor plays, but his language is so vivid at time that it could well be the language of either a novelist or dramatist. For when it is said that the novel and drama are dying art-forms, the statement needs modification. Admittedly biography is growing as a new art-form, and often the sales of biographies and philosophical works—witness alone the sales of Maritain and Berdyaev—both supercede the sales of novels and outlive plays in popularity. These are facts which are irrefutable, but they only tell half the story. The novel and drama are not dying art-forms so much as changing art-forms. As one sees biography emerging as an art-form in its own right, so one notices the emergence of what one may term the philosophical novel or play ; and at the same time one notices, rather less directly, the incorporation of elements of fiction and drama into philosophy. In this respect, Berdyaev was a pioneer.

This shift of emphasis in the presentation of philosophy may be symptomatic. Modern man has lost his way and in losing his way he has lost (or rejected) those clues which would give him the answer to the purpose of this life. For such a man there are two particular dangers : as in the Ancient World, he may fall a victim to devil-worship, or, as is now happening, he may become tied in servitude to the machines of his own making. As Christianity once saved men from devil-worship, so its mission for this century is to save men from being the victims of another servitude : that was Berdyaev's reading of the present. Moreover he knew that it was only through the knowledge of God which Christianity had brought man that he could really come to know himself.

The paradox holds true that man reveals and affirms himself only when he submits himself to a supernatural principle which becomes the content of his life. His repudiation of it, on the other

> hand, only leads to his perdition . . . To affirm himself, and preserve the source of his creative energy, man must affirm God as well. He must affirm the image of God within him . . . But when the human personality will admit no authority but itself, it disintegrates, allowing the intrusion of the lowest natural elements which consume it.

Herein lay the cause of that disintegration of which Spengler had spoken of as the crisis of civilization, but which Berdyaev, like Toynbee, saw as a schism of the soul. Humanism had been tried and been found wanting, for in the collectivism and racialism of the Twentieth Century he saw an end of Renaissance Humanism. What was necessary for man's salvation was a return to God ; the answer to collectivism was personalism, because when men come face to face with each other, with the barriers down and pretences put aside, they recognize in Whose Image they have been made. Once more they would become God-centred, their understanding of the world be theo-centric. For the end of history does not lie in history ; " the Kingdom of God is at once the consummation and the abolition of the agony of the historical process."

So it was that Nicolas Berdyaev unto the last remained loyal to the Russian spirit. Communism might be wiped out in the next decade, perhaps not for another century, but whatever the historical date would be, he knew for surety that the time would come because slavery cannot exist against a background of eternity ; because freedom is the cause of God, and where there is freedom truth will prevail.

In such lies his significance.

FOUR POEMS OF ARTHUR RIMBAUD

I

SENSATION

Par les soirs bleus d'été, j'irai dans les sentiers,
Picoté par les blés, fouler l'herbe menue ;
Rêveur, j'en sentirai la fraîcheur à mes pieds.
Je laisserai le vent baigner ma tête nue.

Je ne parlerai pas, je ne penserai rien :
Mais l'amour infini me montera dans l'âme,
Et j'irai loin, bien loin, comme un bohémien,
Par la Nature,—heureux comme avec une femme.

II

LE DORMEUR DU VAL

C'est un trou de verdure où chante une rivière
Accrochant follement aux herbes des haillons
D'argent ; où le soleil, de la montagne fière,
Luit : c'est un petit val qui mousse de rayons.

Un soldat jeune, bouche ouverte, tête nue,
Et la nuque baignant dans le frais cresson bleu,
Dort ; il est étendu dans l'herbe, sous la nue,
Pâle dans son lit vert où la lumière pleut.

Les pieds dans les glaieuls, il dort. Souriant comme
Sourirait un enfant malade, il fait un somme :
Nature, berce-le chaudement : il a froid.

Les parfums ne font pas frissoner sa narine ;
Il dort dans le soleil, la main sur sa poitrine
Tranquille. Il a deux trous rouges au côté droit.

TRANSLATED
BY VICTOR GUNEWARDENA AND TISSA DEVENDRA

I

SENSATION

In the blue of summer evenings, along the footpaths I will go
Pricked by the corn, to tread the fine grass,
Dreaming, my feet will feel its freshness
And I will let the wind bathe my bare head.

Nothing will I speak and nothing think
But boundless love will rise within my soul
And I will wander far, very far, like a gipsy
Through Nature,—happy, as with a girl.

II

THE SLEEPER IN THE VALLEY

There is a green hollow where a river sings
Madly hanging silvery tatters on the grass,
Where the sun shines from the proud mountain :
A little valley frothing with rays.

A young soldier, mouth open, head bare,
His nape bathed in the fresh blue cress
Sleeps ; stretched on the grass, beneath the sky
Pale in his green bed where light rains down.

His feet in the gladioli, he sleeps. Smiling
Like a sick child : he slumbers :
O Nature lull him warmly : he is cold.

Perfumes do not quiver his nostrils :
He sleeps in the sun, his hand on his tranquil breast.
He has two deep red gashes in his side.

III

PREMIÈRE SOIRÉE

—Elle était fort déshabillée
Et de grands arbres indiscrets
Aux vitres jetaient leur feuillée
Malinement, tout près, tout près.

Assise sur ma grande chaise,
Mi-nue, elle joignait les mains.
Sur le plancher frissonaient d'aise
Ses petits pieds si fins, si fins.

—Je regardai, couleur de cire,
Un petit rayon buissonnier
Papillonner dans son sourire
Et sur son sein,—mouche au rosier.

—Je baisai ses fines chevilles.
Elle eut un doux rire brutal
Qui s'égrenait en claires trilles,
Un joli rire de cristal.

Les petits pieds sous la chemise
Se sauvèrent : " Veux-tu finir ! "
—La première audace permise,
Le rire feignait de punir !

—Pauvrets palpitants sous ma lèvre,
Je baisai doucement ses yeux :
—Elle jeta sa tête mièvre
En arrière : " Oh ! c'est encor mieux ! . . .

Monsieur, j'ai deux mots à te dire . . . "
—Je lui jetai le reste au sein
Dans un baiser, qui la fit rire
D'un bon rire qui voulait bien . . .

—Elle était fort déshabillée
Et de grands arbres indiscrets
Aux vitres jetaient leur feuillée
Malinement, tout près, tout près.

III

FIRST EVENING

—She was so very undressed,
And the tall trees with prying eyes
Pressed their foliage against the panes
Slyly, so slyly.

Seated in my large chair,
Half-nude, she clasped her hands.
Shivering with pleasure on the boarded floor
Were her little feet so fine, so fine.

—I gazed ; wax-hued,
A little straying ray of sunshine
Butterflied on her smile
And on her breast,—a bee on a rose-bush.

—I kissed her fine ankles
She had a brutal gentle laugh
Which fell in clear trills,
A pretty laugh like crystal.

The little feet beneath the chemise
Scampered. " Will this not end ? "
—Having let the first boldness,
The laugh feigned to punish.

I kissed her eyes gently,
Poor little things quivering under my lips ;
—She threw her delicate head back, roguishly
" Ah, this is far sweeter ! . . .

Sir, I have two words to say . . . "
I smothered the rest on her breast, in a kiss
Which made her laugh a good laugh
That gave consent . . .

—She was so very undressed,
And the tall trees with prying eyes
Pressed their foliage against the panes
Slyly, so slyly.

IV

AU CABARET-VERT

Depuis huit jours, j'avais déchiré mes bottines
Aux cailloux des chemins. J'entrais à Charleroi.
—Au Cabaret-Vert : je demandai des tartines
De beurre et du jambon qui fût à moitié froid.

Bienheureux, j'allongeai les jambes sous la table
Verte : je contemplai les sujets trés naifs
De la tapisserie. —Et ce fut adorable,
Quand la fille aux tétons énormes, aux yeux vifs,

—Celle-là, ce n'est pas un baiser qui l'épeure !—
Rieuse, m'apporta des tartines de beurre,
Du jambon tiède, dans un plat colorié,

Du jambon rose et blanc parfumé d'une gousse
D'ail,—et m'emplit la chope immense, avec sa mousse
Que dorait un rayon de soleil arriéré.

IV

AT THE GREEN INN

For eight days I had worn out my boots
On the cobbled roads.
I entered Charleroi. At the Green Inn
I called for bread and butter and boiled ham.

Blissful, I stretched my legs under the green table :
I followed the very simple patterns on the wall paper
And this was adorable, when
The girl with large breasts and bright eyes

—She is not one to be scared of a kiss !—
Laughing, brought me bread and butter, boiled ham
In a colourful dish,

Pink and white ham scented with garlic,
And filled for me my large mug with frothing drink
Gilded by a last ray of sunshine.

AN ARAB PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY*

A Review By Margaret Warnken Ryan

THIS book is much more likely to interest the dilettante than the serious research scholar, although it will be welcomed by all who have read of and wish to know more about Ibn Khaldun's work. His name has long been known to the English-speaking world, but for a complete rendering of the *Prolegomena* to the *Universal History*, scholars have had to depend on the French translation if they were not familiar with Arabic. It is doubtful, however, if the present translation, excellent though it may be, will be of as great service to sociologists and cultural historians as it might have been had the volume been a straight translation. It is not possible to judge how much Mr. Issawi has selected and arranged ; one might even regret that his high standard of scholarship makes him feel that a reliable text for complete and critical translation has yet to be found.

Ibn Khaldun arranged his work in six sections : human society in general, its kinds and geographical distribution ; the nomadic societies, tribes and savage peoples ; the States, the spiritucl and temporal powers, and political ranks ; the sedentary societies, cities, and provinces ; the crafts, means of livelihood, and economic activity ; and last, the learning and the ways in which it is acquired. Mr. Issawi, on the other hand, has classified his selected passages under method, geography, economics, public finance, population, soceity and state, religion and politics, knowledge and society, and the theory of being and theory of knowledge. While this arrangement may be very useful for finding quotable passages, or for displaying the wide range and remarkably undated scholarship and analytical ability of Ibn Khaldun, it blurs one of his basic tenents : the stages in the development and decay of societies. This brilliant Arabian scholar would lose not one whit of his prestige should the order or the veracity of some of his observations be questioned.

Ibn Khaldun lived through a chaotic and thrilling period in the political history of North Africa. His own life reads like a personalized account of the time, and his was the mind to grasp the significance of what he saw and put it in its proper historical setting. Much of what he had to say on the stages of development of society, the differences in rural and urban cultural institutions, the circulation of elites, the methods of social control, are accepted interpretations to-day. The astounding thing is that at the time he wrote, there was no one in either the Arab or the Western world who could approach the eminence of his work, nor was there for many years afterward. As Mr. Issawi says, " He was discovered by the West too late to influence its thought ; but there, perhaps even more than in the East, his genius has been fully appreciated."

* An Arab Philosophy of History : Selections from the PROLEGOMENA of IBN KHALDUN of Tunis, 1332-1406, translated and arranged by Charles Issawi (John Murry, 6s).

BOOKS NEW AND OLD

By Alan Bird

I ONCE mentioned William Faulkner, the American novelist and Nobel Prize Winner, referring to his books of the Southern American States. Since then I have been wondering if his success is not derived from his humour (as in the book of short stories, " Go Down Moses ") and his great narrative gifts as for instance, in " The Sound and the Fury." It was Stevenson, I think, who said the novelist's duty was to tell a story, not to lose himself in minute or tedious analysis, and that romance was the essence of the game. Stevenson's novels are deservedly popular : and he knew his business as a writer. However, he might have added that style was another requirement : for otherwise Edgar Wallace would be as great a novelist as the author of " Gulliver's Travels," " Robinson Crusoe," " Treasure Island," or, " Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."

Yet quite what style is, I do not know. I can only say that as well as we know when a person is living and when he is dead—without being able to describe the essential nature of life apart from its observable characteristics—we can say whether writing has or has not style. It is a magical quality—and an essential one, too. I'd like to quote a piece which I much admire from Defoe's " Journal of the Plague Year " : " In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after another, a little before the fire. The old man remarked that these two comets passing directly over the city, and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone. The comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow ; but the comet before the fire was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious, and that accordingly, one foretold a heavy judgment, slow but severe, terrible and frightful, as was the plague. But the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery, as the conflagration ; nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet preceding the fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eyes, but even they heard it ; that it made a rushing mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable." Every word has value here, and though the

narrative seems as unvarnished as possible, certain words have been given a significance which persists to the end and colours one's final impression. ' Something peculiar ' is a frightening term. Stevenson has this magical gift : for instance, ' There would be a glow of a rich, lurid brown, like the light of some strange conflagration ; and here, for a moment, the fog would be quite broken up, and a haggard shaft of daylight would glance in between the swirling wreaths.' ' A haggard shaft of daylight,' not only illuminates the scene but is in keeping with the mood of the tale,—that is, ' Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.' "

Apparently Stevenson awoke one morning after a nightmare and told his wife, " I was dreaming a fine bogey tale." He wrote down this dream in the form of a novel. Later, he read it to some friends but when one of them disapproved, he threw the manuscript in the fire and began again. The theme is not especially new. A certain Dr. Jekyll, kind, generous and hospitable and with an interest in chemistry and the dual aspect of human nature, begins to experiment. Eventually he finds he can temporarily transform himself into a creature whom he calls Mr. Hyde. This Hyde is as evil as Jekyll is good, as deformed and ugly both in body and soul as Jekyll is handsome and good. To his horror, Jekyll, when sitting quietly in a park, finds himself changing into Hyde. The evil aspect of his nature is gaining control. Time after time he changes into Hyde and has to transform himself by means of drugs. But one day the supply of drugs is finished. Jekyll buys some more and mixes them for use. Involuntarily he becomes changed into Hyde and takes the drug. Nothing happens. Again and again he tries but remains encased in the physical body of Hyde. Jekyll can never return to his original shape. The drug is ineffective. And so he kills himself. Of course, the story is not told in that bald way. It is unfolded by the lawyer Utterson, Dr. Lanyon and the notes of Jekyll. As a story there are several weaknesses, notably the rather puzzling physical transformation of Jekyll into Hyde, and the unexplained suicide of Hyde. These are only after-thoughts. I cannot think how the tale could have been better told.

Is it a parable or an allegory ? Stevenson's thesis that evil can and will triumph over good in the eternal battle is convincing at the time. I wonder if it is true that evil does overcome good in human nature ? Does evil necessarily distort the physical personality ? Little children, seemingly innocent and guileless, are capable of astonishing brutality. Montaigne records, " On Palm Sunday, at vespers, I saw in church a boy siting on a chair by the side of the altar, dressed in a large new gown of blue taffeta, bareheaded, with a crown of olive-branches, holding in his hand a lighted white wax torch. He was a boy of

fifteen or thereabouts, who, by the Pope's order, had been liberated from the prison on that day : he had killed another boy." Somehow I don't think that boy looked like an infant Hyde. And as for bad men showing their nature on their faces, Goldsmith's Mr. Jenkinson who robs both the Vicar of Wakefield and his son, Moses, disproves that theory. Truth to tell, well-meaning and good-natured men often achieve more evil than good ; the Spanish Inquisition was, no doubt, composed of well-meaning priests. Stevenson convinces us that evil can win, and can change the physical nature of a man : he succeeds by a well-narrated story and his style. Dickens was a genius and his novels great works ; but they gain by the visual contribution of the artist Cruishank (—whose illustrations are unrecognised masterpieces—) ; Stevenson needs no illustrations. Hyde's housekeeper has, " an evil face smoothed with hypocrisy," and that suffices for us. Indeed Hyde is left as a vague character and the definition of an illustration would destroy the indefinite horror of his appearances. The effectiveness of the novel lies in the style.

I suppose there must be an agreement between the author and reader, at least a momentary and willing suspension of disbelief. We share Stevenson's views on evil while we are reading, " Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." We may have no ideas on honour or filial duty but we can appreciate " Le Cid " of Corneille. (Incidentally, this play has been performed with great success at the Avignon Festival of the Arts ; I heard broadcast extracts and very much wished I had gone there). Murder seems a horrible crime to most of us, yet, we can feel for Othello after he has smothered his wife. I was thinking in that way when, a day or two ago, I read Alfred de Vigny's, " La Mort du Loup." I have no affection for wolves or sharks or snakes or the living germs of typhus or polio : and I prefer to regard nature from a safe distance, but I was moved by the poem and such sentiments as :

> " Helas ! ai-je pensé, malgré ce grand nom d'hommes,
> Que j'ai honte de nous, débiles que nous sommes !
> Comment on doit quitter la vie et tous ses maux,
> C'est vous qui le savez, sublimes animaux ! "

Evil or not, few of us like to quit lie and when we do so, it is with a considerable amount of moaning and groaning—so too, do animals—but we agree with the sentiment of the poem when we read it ; we must agree otherwise it would have no meaning for us. I like De Vigny's poetry and think the line, " Dieu ! que le son du cor est triste au fond des bois," from, " Le Cor " should have ranked among Arnold's

touchstones. Though after the unhappy disappearance of a snake, I've heard the line rendered as " Dieu ! que le son de boa est triste au fond du cor !." I am fond of the French romantic poets, especially Gérard de Nerval whose work is never given its rightful place in the history of French literature.

As I think I have made clear, I have no sympathy with the work of Evelyn Waugh. My heart fell when I saw ten of his books issued by Penguin Books ; duty called me and I knew I had to read some and re-read others. It has been a pleasantly unpleasant duty ! Mr. Waugh is, par excellence, the novelist of Oxford. He is still in love with Oxford, its characters and tolerance. And his world is that of English society from nineteen-thirty to the beginning of the war. As I read his novels I have a series of nostalgic visions of those unsettled but illogically blithe days at the beginning of the war and the unhealthy prosperity of the preceding decade. Not a hint of poverty, of economic depression, of hunger marches on London, of the vast, black legions of unemployed and idle men, of slums and cavernous areas of hovels and decayed, collapsing tenements ever creeps into his stories ; all is young, je-jeune, blithe, irresponsible and gay. This society still exists cushioned in the pages of the Tatler and the society columns of the London newspapers ; no-one sincerely believes in its value, except, apparently, Mr. Waugh. As far as he is concerned they are the right people : American financiers, divorcees, brewery kings, impoverished landlords, absentee factory owners and military men—they all flit happily through his novels and arrive at the end with the loss of a few giggles and some twittering conversation. Their futility is fathomless. And plainly, Mr. Waugh is in love with them. In view of this undisputable fact, it's strange that all his publishers claim he is a satirist. What does he satirise ? Undoubtedly he pokes kind fun at characters such as Lady Metroland, Grimes, Dr. Fagan and the College Dons in " Decline and Fall," and, " Vile Bodies," Lady Brenda Last is depicted as a contemporary Emma Bovary in, " A Handful of Dust," and Ethiopia is painted with a sarcastic brush in " Black Mischief " and, " Scoop." But the fun is limited and polite ; his characters would be the first to enjoy it although some people are said to have been ungratefully indignant at Mr. Waugh's portrait of them. In these books are several cruel touches which spoil the books for me. In, " Black Mischief," the principal character eats (by mistake) the girl he loves and in, " A Handful of Dust," Tony Last is caught in the clutches of a man who forces him to read Dickens every day—and Tony Last, isolated in the jungle, sees he will have to read Dickens to his captor until one of them dies, an unhappy and peculiarly horrible fate. There are, however, touches of

humour in these books which redeem them ; provided they are not taken seriously as satires they are very amusing. "Brideshead Revisited," the longest of Mr. Waugh's novels is different in tone to the others. It has rather a mixed plot, at times reminiscent of a Wilde play, at other times derived from the life of Wilde himself. In exile, Oscar Wilde took the Christian name of Sebastian and that name is shared by one of the main characters in " Brideshead Revisited." It is an unsatisfactory novel but worth-while reading. Its failure lies in the broken and twisted story ; characters are consigned to Italian dustbins and then dusted and brought forth to serve the purposes of the plot ; they are neither artistically consistent nor inconsistent. Waugh loses himself in minute and tedious analysis and forgets to tell a story.

" The Loved One," has none of these faults. It satirises American funeral practices. It is a short novel of 127 pages. Dennis Barlow works in Hollywood where he manages " The Happier Hunting Ground," a cemetery for animals. Since he is English and a poet, he escapes the prevailing American madness. After a meeting in somewhat unusual circumstances (*i.e.* an undertaker's parlour) he becomes friendly with a Miss Thanatogenos, a young woman without kin, who works in the Whispering Glades, a cemetery for humans. After her superior, Mr. Joyboy has embalmed the bodies and managed to secure a passably happy expression on their faces, she proceeds to make-up the face and hair. She falls in love with both Mr. Joyboy (the American home, sanctity, a talking parrot and mother) and Dennis Barlow (English, novel, romantic, and a poet—though the poems he sends her are from other, more celebrated hands) and seeks the aid of the Guru Brahmin, a fictitious character who answers reader's queries in a local newspaper. Distracted, she sends frequent messages to this newspaper feature until the Guru Brahmin (otherwise Mr. Slump, a hard-boiled writer) tells her to jump from a top floor window. She takes this advice to the extent of killing herself in Mr. Joyboy's workroom. Poor Mr. Joyboy ! Afraid and important, he rings up Dennis Barlow, who, for an agreeable sum, promises to dispose of the body of Miss Thanatogenos. He puts her body in the animal crematorium and picking up a cheap novel to while away the time, awaits " his beloved one's final combustion."

The subject is not very pleasant but there is a concentrated venom and satire in the writing that distinguishes it in quality from Waugh's other work. For instance, " Aimee Thanatogenos spoke the tongue of Los Angeles ; the sparse furniture of her mind . . . . . had been acquired at the local High School and University ; she presented herself to the world dressed and scented in obedience to the advertisements." For once, something has offended Mr. Waugh at heart and he has re-acted

in a simple, direct and effective manner worthy of past masters of satire. Enough of this writer.

I did not care for, " Those Barren Leaves " by Aldous Huxley. It was first published in 1925 and, I think, has not improved with age. It satirizes literary people and social lion-hunters. This vein of satire has been over-worked and the wordly landscape depicted is no longer familiar except in novels where it is as interesting as a six week trek in the Sahara. It was a relief to turn to " The Canterbury Tales " of Chaucer rendered in modern English by Nevill Coghill. I enjoyed this book very much, especially since the mistakes of Dryden, Pope and Wordsworth have been avoided. This version is simple and " not too clever." All the same, I prefer some of the Tales in the original old English. The Nun's Priest's Tale lacks the vitality of the original version and some vigour and life is lost in such passages as,

> " They grabbed up trumpets made of brass and box,
> Of horn and bone, on which they blew and pooped,
> And therewithal they shouted and they whooped
> So that it seemed the very heavens would fall."

This may have been a festival year in several ways ; it has hardly been so in literature. Perhaps the other arts, including architecture have been given their turn. The buildings of the South Bank Exhibition have been highly praised and, after a long interval we have a new concert hall. I'm hoping to see the exhibition shortly. Since I can never read a difficult book in the train, I'll rip my way through ten detective novels by Carter Dickson, issued by Penguin Books. The detective novel is (or was) peculiarly British ; and no railway station is complete without its kiosk selling newspapers and detective novels. They are the most utilitarian of books, quietly waiting to be devoured in an idle moment and resignedly discarded when they have been read. Sometimes before they have been read, for how many readers turn to the end, discover the villain and lose patience at once ! And how many people sympathise with both criminal and detective ! I'm surprised psychologists have had so little to say on this subject. Anyway, as the train steams through the night and I trot cheerfully through these novels, carelessly dropping clues, ignoring obvious guides to the solution, avoiding poisonous drinks and stepping over corpses, no psychological doubts will trouble me—nor you, if you have the same addiction ! It's the old story of *meliora video proboque, deteriora sequor* and all that.

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