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SOME RECENT BOOKS :

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Nutritional Fallacies

The argument is often used that our present knowledge of food is sufficiently advanced to permit us to lay down perfectly specific dietary schemes. But the difficulty is that despite all our beliefs, which may be perfectly well founded on data we accept as correct, we have no *objective* measure of the state of good or bad nutrition nor can we often produce proof which will bring full conviction. Consider, for example, the question of the position of milk in the dietary and the stress that has been laid everywhere on its value as a (protective) food. There seems to be no question whatsoever, in view of the abundant evidence now available, about milk being a foodstuff of great value. It is a most excellent source of proteins of high biological value, of fat, of a carbohydrate of special value at least in early life, of a variety of mineral salts, and of a fair selection of the vitamins. But when it comes to the experimental proof of its primacy, the difficulty begins. Many experiments have been carried out but, except in those cases where the diets are artificially abnormally bad, the evidence that the addition of milk to the diet demonstrates the possession of special and peculiarly valuable nutritive properties is frankly not unequivocal.

Thus in a recent carefully devised and worked out experiment of a year's duration on about 6,100 school children, ranging in age from 5 to 14 years, with full checks and controls, the objective result does not seem to be commensurate with the labour and expense involved. About one quarter of the children were given as an addition to their ordinary home feeding a supplement of biscuits, this biscuit ration containing only 52 calories; another quarter had a supplement of $\frac{1}{3}$ pint (about 189 cc. or 126 calories) of pasteurized milk; the other two quarters both had $\frac{2}{3}$ pint (about 278 cc. or 252 calories) of milk; one quarter had pasteurized, the other raw milk. When at the end of the year a comparison was made between the physique of the extreme groups, e. g. the one with the biscuit supplement and the other with $\frac{2}{3}$ pint of raw milk, it was found that the differences between the two groups in height did not amount to more than 0·1 inch (2·5 mm.) and to under 1lb. (454 grms.) in weight. Obviously, then, in this experiment objective signs of the value of milk cannot be based on height and weight despite the claim made by many that changes in physical growth would be manifest. This is not to say that the children did not benefit, but that there was no reliable demonstrable evidence of the benefit.

Another difficulty is that so much of the modern dietary experimental work has been carried out on the lower animals and the results transferred uncritically to the dietary of man. Further, the assumption has frequently been most uncritically made that the metabolic response of all animals is similar. I do not mean to infer for a moment that experiments on the lower, and more especially the smaller, animals like rats and mice are useless. Quite apart from the fact that animals enable experiments to be carried out on a much larger scale, they permit of many more combinations and permutations of foodstuffs being tried out within a relatively limited period. One of the most momentous events of this century in the realm of diet is the discovery of the vitamins, or accessory food factors. I have often wondered whether Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins would ever have reached his fruitful deduction if he had been working with large animals or even human beings. He was rightly impressed by the marked improvement resulting from the addition of 2 cc. of milk to the experimental diet of his 50 grm. growing rats, a quantity which he refers to repeatedly as the addition of 'a minute ration of milk'. If he had selected growing children, say aged 8 or 9 years and weighing 25 kilos., and added to their diet, based on body weight, an equivalent volume of milk, i. e. 1,000 cc., would his wonder, with its subsequent illumination, have been aroused ?

There is another belief which is widespread particularly among manual workers in Northern Europe at least, namely, that if hard muscular work is to be done there should be an increase in the consumption of protein especially in the form of meat. There is no question about the stimulating properties of protein, and moreover there is much sound evidence available to show that, speaking generally, the more virile races consume relatively large amounts of protein. Yet there is no scientific

evidence available to show that during the performance of even severe muscular work, if the supply of energy in the form of fat or carbohydrate be ample, there is any great break-down of protein-containing tissue, like muscle. Hence there can be but little need, if indeed any, for a marked increase in the consumption of protein for repair purposes.

There is again the question of the protein requirements for the growing organism. It is generally assumed that the protein requirements of young children are per kilo of body weight about three times those of the adult. This assumption is based largely on animal experiments in which the *rate of growth* factor has largely been ignored. Some facts of comparative physiology make it clear that the problem is not simple. Nature provides a milk with a protein content peculiar to the rate of growth of the species of animal. Further, it has been shown in an interesting series of papers by Slonaker that the protein content of a diet can be too high for optimum growth. Thus, using a series of diets containing approximately 10 grms., 14 grms., 18 grms., 22 grms., and 26 grms. of mixed protein per cent with young rats, he found that maximum growth took place on a diet containing about 14 per cent protein (protein calories forming about 12 per cent of the total calories intake). Protein in greater amounts brought about actual retardation of growth. Mitchell and Mendel also found that when rats and mice were allowed a free choice of food the young animals consumed smaller proportions of protein in their diets than did the older animals.[1]

[1] E. P. Cathcart in *Scientia* (Bologna), May 1939.

Papal Postage Stamps

The issue of stamps surcharged *Sede Vacante,* issued by the Vatican after the death of Pope Pius XI and before the election of his successor, brought such a rush of philatelists to the Vatican post office that it was almost in a state of siege for the three weeks during which the stamps were being sold. The smallness of the State has always made the Vatican City stamps valuable to collectors, and their artistic excellence has made them particularly attractive to those whose enthusiasm for their hobby has not led to disregard of such considerations.

The Papal States, of the days before the union of Italy, had stamps of their own. These stamps belonged to the period when postage stamps were formal in design, and bore various representations of the Keys of St. Peter and the Papal Tiara. The States of Romagno, Umbria, and the Marches became incorporated in the Kingdom of Sardinia, and in 1870 the remaining States—Rome, Comarca, Viterbo, Civita Vecchia, Velletri, and Frosinone—were merged in United Italy, the territory of the Papacy being confined to the Palaces of the Vatican and Lateran and the Villa of Castel Gandolfo.

Under the Law of Guarantees passed by the Italian Government in 1871, the postal privileges of the Pope throughout his now reduced territory were secured to him, but the Holy See refused to recognize the Law, and the issues of the Papal States ceased, Italian stamps being used throughout the whole territory. During the period 1852-1870, when the Papal stamps were used, there were three different issues. The first in 1852 of eleven values, the second in 1867 of seven values, all imperforate,

while in 1868 the 1867 stamps were perforated.

The first modern issue of Papal postage stamps occurred in 1928 when, to raise funds to excavate the tombs of Sts. Damasus and Pretextatus in the catacombs at Rome, two special issues of stamps, each bearing a portrait of His Holiness wearing the Papal Tiara, and that of King Alfonso XIII, were issued for a limited period in Spain. St. Damasus, a fourth-century Pope who took a large part in the development of the catacombs, was a son of Spanish parents. These stamps were on sale only at Toledo and Santiago de Compostella, from December 23, 1928, until January 6, 1929. Special issues, each comprising sixteen items in identical designs but different colours, were issued for each place, thirty-two stamps in all.

On February 11, 1929, the Lateran Treaty was signed between the Pope and the King of Italy. His Holiness then reasserted his postal rights, and on August 1, 1929, the first stamps of the Vatican City appeared. There were two designs, the lower values bearing the Keys and Papal Tiara, as in 1852, and the higher a full-face portrait of Pope Pius XI. Two 'express' letter stamps, also bearing the Pope's portrait, were issued at the same time.

Various other stamps have been issued from time to time by the Vatican State, but of those only the high values in the 1938 general series portrayed Pope Pius XI. Although not portraits of His Holiness, two values in the 1934 'Holy Year' commemorative stamps issued by Italy actually portrayed Pius XI. On the 1 lire denomination, the Pope was shown opening the Holy Door of St. Peter's and on the 5 lire, closing it.[1]

Scientific Milk Policy

It is a commonplace that the handling of the milk question is the most awkward problem in any long-range policy concerned with improvement either in general health or in agriculture. Despite its food value, milk is rather an awkward material to handle and distribute, and a potentially dangerous

[1] *The Rock* (Hong Kong).

material for the consumer if it is not properly produced and processed.

The dietetic value of milk is practically unaltered by properly controlled commercial pasteurization, and little affected even by sterilization and drying. This recent conclusion is the result of carefully controlled feeding and other experiments carried out at the National Institute for Research in Dairying and at the Rowett Institute, and also in elementary schools in England during the past four years, under the auspices of the Milk Nutrition Committee. These findings and those obtained by other responsible investigators have finally disposed of the fallacy that commercial methods of pasteurization seriously damage the food value of milk. Kon has shown that one of the most labile constituents of milk, vitamin C, is, in milk, actually more sensitive to light than to heat, though milk is, in any event, a poor source of this vitamin. In view of the potential danger of drinking raw milk, exemplified from the health records of past years, which show how much ill-health is directly traceable to an infected milk supply, no good scientific reason exists why the pasteurization of all milk for liquid consumption should not be enforced.

One of the most important arguments in favour of compulsory pasteurization is that it would actually help the producer by increasing public confidence, and the confidence of medical men (who in matters of nutrition are frequently the mentors of the public) in the safety of the milk supply.

Quite apart from new legislation, however, a suggestion may be made which, if but into action, might greatly ameliorate the risk, from the consumer's point of view, of milk-born disease. Heavy penalties could presumably be exacted at common law from any retailer who had sold milk which could be proved to have caused disease in the consumer : if this were done in one or two cases, it is not unreasonable to suppose that raw-milk distributors themselves would feel disinclined to continue to risk not merely the consumer's health, but also their own reputation, trade, and pocket, by selling unsafe milk in the future.[1]

[1] *Nature*, 1939.

Length of Life of Early Man

Prof. F. Weidenreich supplements the recent conclusions of Prof. H. Vallois as to the duration of life in Neanderthal, Late Palæolithic, and Mesolithic man by an examination of the question of age in relation to Peking man and Late Palæolithic man as occurring in China. At the same time he analyses the evidence bearing on the cause of death and the incidence of disease in this population, so far as it is known.

The most adequate information relating to the age of individual specimens is to be derived from the state of the sutures of the skull. Out of 38 individuals of *Sinanthropus* now known, of whom fifteen are juvenile, only seven provide skulls sufficiently well preserved to afford evidence. Of these, three belonged to individuals aged less than thirty years, three may range between thirty and forty years, and only one, apparently that of a female, may have been really old, more than fifty, or even sixty years. Within the *Pithecanthropus* group two skulls show complete fusion of the sutures of the skull-cap, pointing to an age of more than fifty years. The recently discovered third skull is juvenile. It is possible, however, that the time of the fusion of the sutures may not correspond to that in modern man. In the anthropoids it is earlier. This would merely serve to confirm the conclusion that the actual duration of life in *Sinanthropus* was shorter than in modern man. With regard to Late Palæolithic man in China, of the group of seven individuals known from the cave of Choukoutien, the state of the sutures indicates that three were juvenile ; and of the four adults, two, probably women, were slightly more than twenty years ; the age of the third cannot be determined, though it probably was not advanced ; and the fourth was certainly an old man, at least sixty years of age.

These figures compare with those of Vallois for the Western world. In both *Sinanthropus* and Late Palæolithic man, an advanced age was seldom reached ; while in both classes of remains from China the evidence of the skulls indicates a death from violence and not old age or disease.[1]

[1] *Nature*, 1939.

THIS SIDE AND THAT

I

Reforming the Congress Constitution

FOR the first time after over a year two Committees of Congress met in a peaceful atmosphere and immediately got down to business.

To prevent the enlistment of 'bogus' members at election times, the Committee has recommended that instead of the annual enrolment a permanent register be kept of each member, to be re-signed every year when the annual four-anna fee is paid. To prevent last-minute conversions to the Congress creed, no one shall be eligible to office or delegation unless he has been on the register for three years running. Constituencies shall be territorially fixed instead of fluctuating as at present. This will enable the voters to know their candidates and prevent them from being gulled by canvassers. Each constituency has been allotted a quota of members according to its size and importance. A constituency which does not enrol half its quota shall forfeit its right to elect a delegate.

Another useful recommendation is that each District and Province should have its own tribunal for settling disputes connected with membership and election. With the increase of Congress membership, this judicial scrutiny becomes necessary. The United Provinces have already given the lead : it is to its Tribunal that the comparative 'purity' of this Province's Congress party is largely due.

The most important, however, of the changes proposed is the method of election to the All-India

Congress Committee. Instead of the present system of single *transferable* vote for all such elections, the committee proposes that the larger Provinces should be divided into *territorial* areas, which will elect two-thirds of their representatives by single *distributive* vote, while the remaining one-third will be elected by the Provincial Congress Committees by the present system of single transferrable vote. The smaller Provinces, like Delhi and Ajmere-Merwara, will continue to elect their quota of A.-I. C. C. members by the present system.

There was inevitably much difference of opinion at the Committee meeting on the advisability of allowing parties and *blocs* within the Congress. Greater unity means greater efficiency ; but in the foggy state of ideas to-day it is not wise to break the bruised reed. Time and experience will heal merely personal wounds and render ideological differences acuter. It was therefore thought prudent to allow a certain latitude to views but guard the gates of office and wealth more heavily. Jawaharlal and Narendra Deo's 'Notes' were meant in the same sense.

All these are improvements on the present system. But they would be still more effective if each District's quota of delegates were fixed on the basis of population and not of membership, and if the tribunals were independent of the Executive. The Bombay meeting of June 4 may prove to have been one of the most important, as it was one of the least spectacular, in Congress's history.

Adult Education

There is comfort in the questionnaires and Reports which the Provincial Governments are raining on the subject of adult education. Bihar, Bombay, Madras have launched a campaign of some sort : in the first two

Provinces the Government has taken the initiative ; in the last, private individuals or bodies have been allowed and encouraged to blaze the trail.

That our poor Provincial Governments should finance and staff adult education is a 'fond' hope—and will be for years to come. Neither can the public—except in rare cases like Sriniketan and Mangalagiri—go through with a scheme which has so many side-connexions. The only secret of success will be a prudent co-ordination of Government and private effort. If the adult education movement is to take root, it must start in schools and colleges—where students should be trained to a sense of their responsibility for educating illiterate adults and given opportunities in vacation time of going into the villages in small groups led by a teacher and there practising what they have been taught.

While the University of Madras is contemplating this scheme—which would be more effective if some indirect compulsion or reward (of future employment) were attached to it—the Madras Government proposes to form a corps of 50 chosen and trained men (of whom 5 will be graduates and the rest at least matriculates) who will camp for three months in each centre and educate all the adults in the neighbourhood before passing on to the next centre.

The chief difficulty, however, is not so much to produce literacy as to keep it. Government would therefore do well to exact a provision for continued literacy *before* it sanctions any bright scheme of adult education.

ACCESSION ?

The rejection by the assembled Princes of the revised Draft Instrument of Accession places one more boulder

across the path of Federation. The Congress had rejected it because it gave too much to the States ; the States reject it because it gives them too little.

The Hydari Committee, whose findings have almost entirely been ratified by the Chamber of Princes, admitted there is 'no alternative ideal for India except that of an all-India Federation', but it insisted that the Instrument of Accession should 'safeguard the continued autonomy and integrity of the States'. The first Draft was not wholly unacceptable to the Princes ; but the revised form—meant to conciliate British Indian feeling—is 'fundamentally unsatisfactory'.

In this revised Instrument the old limitation (based on the Government of India Act of 1935) on the power of the Federal Executive to interfere (in certain cases) in the States is gone ; the Princes would like Federation Paramountcy to be clearly separated. The question of Defence, too, has not been made clearer, and the States fear that between the Crown and the Federal Government they will be left unprotected, in spite of their concessions. Neither are they satisfied with the Instrument's provisions for Customs and Excise, which will greatly reduce their income and (what is worse) render it unstable. The proposed Railway Tribunal is certainly an improvement, but the Princes fear its other edge. They are also afraid of the clause on Industries which would seem not to make sufficient provision for future developments. Finally, the Bombay Conference, like the Gwalior, saw in the Draft Instrument a danger to the 'sacred' treaty rights of the Princes, for in spite of the Governor-General's prerogative the Federation might make substantial changes in these ancient treaties.

The Princes' fears are not hard to understand. The Princes are not averse to sacrifice ; but they do not want to abdicate.

II

A Soldier's Tears

Sensation-mongers have not yet left their Spanish quarry but deliberately fondle their colour blindness. They even close their eyes to essential facts which level-headed travellers repeat with quiet certainty. Anarchy has failed ; the Revolution has been betrayed by the Communist regime and the Red leaders ; peace at any cost was better than the Red terror and the horrors of war : such are the views of the average Spaniard who is not a warm-hearted Phalangist. Even the fiercest Catalan separatist has come to prefer order to liberty. Criticisms are heard, for the war has not shorn the Spanish people of their individualistic mania but war weariness has taken the edge off their criticisms ; nobody dreams of backing adverse words with adverse deeds. The democratic idea is decidedly vanquished for the present : Spain has even killed the Revolution.

On the other hand, Spain has become a young nation ; Spanish youth has won the war, Spanish youth claims to win the peace. The Spanish Phalanx has developed a war complex : posters, speeches, songs are all meant for warriors ; all make allusion to 'the old Empire on which the sun never set' and throw youthful challenges to the foreign armies of the whole world. War mentality is rife, army discipline is popular with youth and youth is to shape future Spain. This might rouse the fear that the country is going militarist were it not for a central fact : Spain is not led by a military man but by a soldier. The tears he was seen shedding when he put back his sword on the altar of St Barabra's church on the day of the Victory Parade are one more proof that General Franco is not a heartless devotee of the

sword but a warm-hearted defender of his country. Franco dominates the whole Spanish scene and all eyes turn to him for bread and peace. But his work may easily be spoiled by his admirers no less than by his enemies ; hot-headed Phalangists and village dictators may wreck many a reform. What of the religious revival ? It is undeniable and it does much to tone down the memories of a bitter past. But the demonstrations of piety on the public squares have not swept away the anti-clerical views which linger in the hearts. Moreover the totalitarian postulates of the Phalangists are not without distressing religious minded people ; they have even received a public rebuke from Cardinal Goma ; in a short time there will arise a real problem about the relations between Church and State.

At present Franco is concentrating on more urgent questions ; all the men back to fields and factories, all the women back to the fireside, all the children back to school. A tremendous task : Rosinante never backed without giving trouble. When social life will have returned to normal, transport will remain to be reorganised and industry to be re-equipped. Such task, inglorious though essential, makes little appeal to youth who prefer the showy glories of military valour. But it is one more reason why foreigners had better leave the Spaniards to their own task ; international financiers have been successfully kept at arms length, politicians have no better chance.

The Anglo-Russian Deal

The Anglo-Turkish Alliance is as good as can be ; it secures a free passage through the Dardannelles for the Western Powers ; this route will allow lower transport costs for Georgian or Rumanian oil than the Danube or

land route and it will remain open to French and English traffic. Moreover the Nazi effort to control the land road to the East through Anatolia is for the moment blocked. A condition and a drawback of this Alliance was that Turkey insisted on remaining in close friendship with Russia ; this may be sound politics for Ankara and it would show that 'democratic' Stalin can live on the best of terms with 'Dictator' Inonu. But experience goes to prove that it is perilous to allow Russia to have her say in Western affairs, and that any tractation with the Soviets needs a *savoir faire* which Majesty's Opposition fail to appreciate. His Majesty's Opposition are largely responsible for the trouble of Mr. Chamberlain experiences. When the whole Leftist chorus shouts : 'The Bear, the whole Bear and nothing but the Bear', the Red Beast is bound to become agitated and grumpy. A little more quiet would have permitted of an earlier deal ; Russia is now insisting on a text which Western democracies must refuse. Who but bears and bullies would dream of guaranteeing people who do not want any guarantee ? Estonia, Latvia and Finland demur to any idea of being protected by Russia. Poland shivers at the shadow of the bear's paw. They even make little of the help the Soviets could give as supplies. Russian munitions are useless for Polish guns which are of a different calibre ; Russian aircraft has proved to be of inferior material in Spain.

What is most disquieting about the Soviet delaying tractations is the rumour of a countermove by Berlin. The old Molkte always felt like challenging the whole world if he could put the Russians on his side and Molkte's tradition is not unknown to the Nazi army staff. *Mein Kampf* provides for a crushing blow against the West before the final march to the East. Stalin is prepared to come to terms with Hitler as with Inonu ;

will Hitler stoop to deal with Stalin? The coming weeks will decide the course of events.

The Rome-Berlin Friendship Treaty is alarmingly bad on paper; the secret clauses may be decisive and save the situation. The Treaty itself will tempt Germany to domineer Italy and nullify the alliance. England and France forced Italy into the arms of Germany; Fascist pride might cut short the embrace.

A Coffee Story

Brazil has become the scene of a relentless economic tug of war; Brazilian barters are famous. Nazi Germany started them; the U. S. A. were prompt to meet her; tariffs were lowered on Brazil nuts, castor beans and maganese whilst Brazil lowered the duties on U. S. A. machinery, canned fruits and cereals. Brazil secured sixty million dollars of gold and pegged the milreis to the dollar; later on they even obtained short term credits (20 million dollars) and loans (50 million dollars); all as a move against the bartering mania of the Reich. Brazil went so far as to pay 410,000 sacks of coffee in order to secure an Italian football player. Why such a deal? Italy is faced with a shortage of coffee; the Secretary of the Fascist Party, Achille Staracce, has recommended 'energizing autarkic' drinks like wine and repudiated coffee which the ancient Romans ignored. Countess Ciano and her companion, Marchesa A. G. de Bagno, both leaders of the smart set, have left for Brazil; for health sake, or for commercial purposes as some would have it. Roman wags have their own story: the Countess has set off in search of a cup of genuine coffee. Roman wit is the barometer of Italian psychology; today it betrays the shortage of coffee but reveals that moral depression is unknown in Italy.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

By T. N. SIQUEIRA

THERE is a paradox in the attitude of Indians to vocational education which needs explaining. While our agelong admiration for a purely literary education accounts for the crowding of schools and colleges of the literary type, the enthusiasm with which the Wardha and other vocational schemes have been hailed shows an equally characteristic 'vocational' spirit. It has surprised foreigners to find Indians who have never touched a spade or a *takli* in their lives and who do not wish their own children to do so either, sincerely advocate for others (in town or village) a purely 'vocational' system which would seem to subordinate education to material production.

This apparent paradox, like so many others, vanishes when one reads India's present in the light of her long past. The conception of 'vocational' education which is enshrined in our earliest records and the way it was carried into practice will not only explain the existence side by side of uncompromising literariness and equally fierce vocationalism, but also help educational planners to build the future, not on imported sand, but on the deep millennial foundations of our past.

I

The word 'vocational' has in modern European countries acquired an industrial smell : it calls up smoke, oil, grime, and the throb of machinery. Vocational

education is education for one's vocation in life—intellectual, agricultural, or industrial. All true education is a rehearsal for life, which consists in doing the things one wants to do later on, without the risk of spoiling the costumes or enraging the audience. There must therefore be as many kinds of education as there are vocations in life, though a large common factor will obviously be found in all—the drawing out of the essential human nature of every child. Even if we waive the strict sense in which each individual man is *unique* and therefore requires to be differently educated from every other, there remains the need of a certain prevision of each child's vocation and a corresponding choice of opportunities which will best exercise and develop his latent aptitudes for that vocation. This need not imply class-consciousness or capitalist intentions, unless 'vocations' are immutably predetermined : it is just an acknowledgment of the diversity of human gifts and a realization of the advantages of early training for the acquisition of professional skill.

Early Indian education was definitely vocational in the sense that it was a direct preparation for life. Vedic schools, attached to temples, were meant for the training of priests and were attended only by children of the priestly class. Though it has been asserted that originally knowledge and virtue, not birth, made a Brâhman, it is certain that a hereditary caste hardened within early historical times and kept its 'vocation', and the highly literary education which prepared its children for it, a close preserve.

Vocational education in India was therefore very early bound up with the caste system, which (whatever be the explanation of its origin) tended to be an occupational stratification of society. And just as the castes themselves were distinct, their education was also largely

so, the father being the chief vocational teacher of his son, to whom he would hand down his skill and ultimately his custom or his practice. The Brâhmans, however, retained the right—it was really a monopoly—of teaching the children of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas the *Veda* and whatever else belonged to their common curriculum. Besides being *purohits* (domestic chaplains) to kings and soldiers even as early as Vedic times (as *Rigveda* I, 1 seems to show), they were at the time of the *Dharma-sûtras* (about 500 B. C.) in charge of the education of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas (as Gautama, Apastamba, and Manu show). These castes underwent *upanayana* a little later than the Brâhmans. Gautama (I, 5-14) says that a Brâhman goes to school at the age of eight (from conception), the Kshatriya at 11, and the Vaiśya at 12. The end of *brahmachârya* generally came at the age of 24, when the student left his teacher's house and married. The dress (thread and cloth) worn by Kshatriya and Vaiśya students was slightly different from that of Brâhman students.

These regulations show that the education of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas was intended to prepare them for their vocations. The curriculum shows this even better. Besides the study of the *Veda* (which for them was less detailed and 'scholastic' than for Brâhmans), Kshatriyas (princes and soldiers) had to learn the use of arms and military exercises. Even the *Rigveda* (IV, 42, 5) speaks of young warriors specializing in combats ; the *Mahâbhârata* refers to exercises on horseback and on elephants, from chariots and on the ground, and mentions the club, the spear, the lance, the dart, the sword, and the bow and arrow as the weapons with which the education of princes had to make them familiar. Râma himself was accomplished not only in the Vedas but also in archery, riding, and fighting.

The *Dharmasûtras* go into great detail about the vocational education of a prince. Apastamba, Baudhâyana, Vasishṭha, and Gautama all mention the 'threefold sacred science', logic, and the administration of justice (according to the principles scattered through the *Veda*, the *Dharmaśâstra*, the (six) *Angas*, and even the *Purâṇas*), besides military science and practice, as part of a prince's curriculum.

By the flourishing time of the Maurya empire (4th-3rd century B. C.) the vocational education of Kshatriyas seems to have developed and become more systematic. Though the *Arthaśâstra* (generally ascribed to Kauṭilya or Chânakya) should not be taken too literally as a record of what was always done, it certainly shows what was then considered the ideal to be aimed at by princes and politicians. It lays down that the prince (or warrior) should be taught the three *Vedas*, *Anvîkshikî* (Sâṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokâyata philosophy), *Vârta* (agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade), and *Daṇḍanîti* (administration of justice and government). The first two subjects were taught by Brâhmans, the third by Government officers actually in charge of these departments, and the last by politicians and statesmen : for the teaching was theoretical as well as practical.

The prince's education was shorter than the Brâhman's, for the *Arthaśâstra* allowed him to marry at the age of sixteen. But during his studentship,

'He shall spend the forenoon in receiving lessons in military arts concerning elephants, horses, chariots, and weapons ; and the afternoon in hearing the *Itihâsa*.'[1]

Manu, who wrote about 200 A. D., mentions the same curriculum for the prince :

'From those versed in the three Vedas let him learn the threefold sacred science, the ancient science of government,

[1] This included history, mythology, fables (like *Panchatantra*, *Hitopadeśa*, and *Kathâsaritsâgara*), and law.

the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the Supreme Soul, and from the people the theory of various trades and professions.'[1]

Though Manu has remained the greatest authority on general Hindu conduct, the *Arthaśâstra* was the special textbook for Kshatriya education. It prepared this important caste for their vocation of ruling and defending the rest, by training them to piety, valour, and administrative ability—all through and in terms of what was comprehensively called the *Veda*.

II

As the *Vaiśyas*, or traders and farmers, became more and more specialized and distinguished from the Brâhmans and the Kshatriyas, their education also became more and more 'vocational'. The Brâhmans kept their hold on this caste by being indispensable both for their *upanayana* and for their study of the *Veda* during the entire period of *brahmachârya*.[2] The rest of the Vaiśya's vocational education was done by his own father. Manu (IX, 328-332) thus enumerates his curriculum :

'A Vaiśya must never even think of saying : I will not keep cattle. A Vaiśya must know the value of gems, pearls, corals, metals, cloth made of thread, perfumes, and condiments. He must be acquainted with the way of sowing seeds and with the good qualities and defects of fields, and he must know all weights and measures. He must also know the good and bad qualities of commodities, what different countries abound in and lack, the probable profit and loss on business transactions, and the way to rear cattle. He must be acquainted with the proper wages of servants, the various languages spoken, the way to preserve goods, and the rules of buying and selling.'

[1] *Dharmaśâstra*, VII, 43.

[2] Cf. Gautama (I) and Manu (X).

Translated into modern jargon, the vocational curriculum of a Vaiśya would include agriculture, arithmetic, commercial geography, the languages spoken in the country or district, and the practical business of trade. After an elementary initiation at home the Vaiśya boy would attend a school kept by his trade guild or by the local mahâjans, where he would be further trained by a professional teacher in the theory and practice of his future calling.

Within the Vaiśya caste and absorbed into it were many professional sub-castes. Even as early as the *Rigveda*[1] there is mention of carpenters, blacksmiths, physicians, chariot-makers, wood and metal workers, weavers, and boat-builders. Bhârata is said to have been accompanied on his search for Râma by an army of goldsmiths, glass-makers, gem-cutters, sawyers, potters, armourers, washermen, tailors, ivory-workers, cooks, shampooers, etc. These occupations tended to harden into hereditary castes protected and rendered efficient by trade-guilds and monopolies. The education of each of these classes was 'vocational' in the strict sense.[2] The father taught his sons his trade and introduced them as they grew up to his clientele. His instruction was mostly practical ; the theory was contained in a few traditionally memorized (and often not understood) Sanskrit texts which gave lofty directions for the proper pursuit of his craft and, above all, gave him the impression that his profession was divinely willed and deserved to be religiously performed and handed down unchanged to his children.

These craftsmen had hardly any *Veda* study to do : they were not excluded from the Brâhman schools if

[1] For instance, IX, 112 ; I, 110 ff.

[2] Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy : *The Industrial Arts of India*, Chs. V and VI ; and A. S. Altekar : *Education in Ancient India.*

they belonged to the twice-born castes, but their regular education was strictly 'vocational' and domestic. They hardly learnt anything except their craft ; mythology, folk-lore, religion was picked up haphazard. Education was subordinated to production.

Among the professions for which an elaborate education was provided in ancient India the medical and the veterinary deserve special mention as an example of thorough vocational training. Strabo, who did not praise all he saw in India, shows unbounded admiration for Indian medicine and surgery. Recent finds in Takshaśilâ and Nâlandâ show that the education of doctors in India down to the eighth century (especially between 250 B. C. and 800 A. D.) was long and thorough, theoretical and practical. Though the *Mahâvagga* sometimes represents the ideal rather than the actual, its account of Jîvaka, the medical student who was not allowed to practise even after a seven years' course, at least shows that medicine and surgery was considered a serious vocation. Dr. A. S. Altekar says[1] that both these branches were elaborately taught and—what is more important—students were given considerable practical work in them under the supervision of their professors. Medical education, however, was confined to universities like Takshaśilâ and Nâlandâ.

The numerous horse and elephant corps of Vedic and Hindu times and the later Buddhist and Jain attitude to animals rendered veterinary education necessary in ancient India. From the *Mahâbhârata* and even the *Rigveda* down to the *Arthaśâstra* and the Edicts of Asoka, it is evident that this kind of vocational education was highly developed. Sanskrit treatises dealt with the theory, and the practice was handed down by per-

[1] *Education in Ancient India*, pp. 171-181.

sonal contact between teacher and pupil. Like medicine, veterinary science was imparted only to grown-up students.

Vocational education remained what it had been in Hindu and Buddhist times right through the Muhammadan and even the early British period. Each caste kept its hereditary vocation and brought its children up to it by personal, practical contact. It is only in the last hundred years, with the gradual relaxing of the rigidity of caste and the infiltration of Christian ideas, that a rush of all castes to the learned professions formerly reserved to Brâhmans, and therefore to the literary education which seemed to open the door to these professions and posts, has taken place. The Wardha and other recent schemes are an attempt to restore the balance.

III

From this short review of vocational education in ancient India, sketchy and superficial as it is, certain facts stand out which are important if we would understand the Wardha Scheme and plan vocational education aright.

In India, unlike Europe, 'vocations' were bound up with castes, and were therefore predetermined. The Brâhman kept the monopoly of learning and reserved to himself a literary education. The other castes were destined for warfare or government, trade or agriculture or cottage industries, and gave their children an almost exclusively 'vocational' education. There is thus in India an equally characteristic literary and vocational tendency. Mr. Gandhi's championship of a scheme which makes the villager stay in his village and be satisfied with his chosen (or hereditary) handicraft, instead of (perhaps vainly)

desiring to rise above his status by rushing to the town and crowding the literary schools, is thus perfectly understandable. It is of a piece with his general and consistent idea of returning to India's past. We have ourselves pointed out the good points in the Wardha Scheme ; in the present connexion we must say that there is in it something of the determinism of the caste system. It will make for greater prosperity and restore some of the lost perfection of our once famous handicrafts ; it will prevent a pathetic waste of effort, ambition, and health in a foolish scramble for an ill-adapted education and ill-paid clerkships. But it will also be a return to one of the most characteristic (and perhaps also worst) features of the caste system.

Another fact which stands out from the history of vocational education in ancient India is the different emphasis it laid on production and education for the different castes. The Brâhman's vocation was other-worldly ; the education which would fit him out for it had therefore to be literary and spiritual. The Kshatriya was meant for the dignified vocation of ruling and fighting ; the safety of the others (including the Brâhmans) required that he should be trained to be an efficient soldier and a just ruler. The lower castes were useful only in so far as they produced cloth or jewels or metal utensils : the development and perfection of their human personality (which is education) interested the higher castes much less than their productivity and efficiency in their hereditary profession—and their 'education' was narrowly 'vocational'. And the casteless, who were serfs or slaves, were not even considered.

Thus, though the emphasis differed with different vocations, all Indian education tended to be 'vocational', i. e. just a preparation for one's professional work, and not something worth having for its intrinsic value as a

perfection of the human personality. This tendency has remained to this day even in higher education—where the idea of getting a ticket to employment is the primary motive, and the acquisition of more knowledge or experience than is strictly necessary for this purpose hardly ever occurs to the Indian undergraduate. The Wardha Scheme (unlike the Abbott-Wood Report) has been evolved against this historical background : its authors are themselves the (perhaps unconscious) inheritors of the same agelong attitude to 'vocations' and education.

The place of religion in our ancient vocational education is also characteristic. It is true that the *Veda*, with the philosophy and mythology which was bound up with it, permeated all the castes and professions. The same ideas of *Karma* and disinterested doing of one's God-appointed (hereditary) task[1] were constantly inculcated in high and low alike ; they consoled the poor, made them contented with their lot, and prevented any ambition to rise out of their appointed vocation. They produced greater and greater skill and productivity in each profession. But religion was not taught in a rational or systematic way except to those whose vocation was to teach it to others. The lower castes, from the Kshatriyas down, had the merest smattering of religious knowledge compounded of stories, fables, Sanskrit texts memorized without understanding, and superstitions. In their 'vocational' education religion had no place.

In the Wardha Scheme, too, religion has no place in the curriculum. The reasons given are different ; we have already examined them.[2] Our present purpose is to trace the origin of this omission deep down to India's distant past.

[1] Cf. *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Ch. 2.

[2] *The New Review*, December 1937, pp. 518-520 ; September 1938, pp. 220-223.

But while both vocational education and education with a vocational background are necessary in the India of to-morrow, it is of the greatest importance that they should be wisely planned. Like any other reform, it must, if it is to be beneficial, be built upon the foundations of the past and in terms of the past ; but it should not be a mere return to the past, with all its defects. Indian education cannot be an importation from countries with a different 'personality' : but neither should it ignore the progress and experience of centuries and repeat the mistakes of its infancy. The primary object of all (even vocational) education for all classes of children—irrespective of caste and wealth—should be 'not goods, but goodness ; not profit, but personality'.[1] For every child, whether of town or village, of high or low rank, is immensely more important than what he produces : what he is, is of much greater value—even to the State—than what he does or makes.

Nor ought vocational education to leave religion out of its curriculum, though it would seem to be of no productive value. The want of a systematic study of one's religion produced a kind of fatalism which looked like contentment with one's God-determined 'vocation' ; this probably encouraged stability and skill in one's hereditary profession, and therefore contributed to greater production. But it was a denial to the artisan of a fundamental right sacreder than national wealth.

Calcutta.

[1] *Education for Life*, by Francis G. Peabody, p. 257.

LITERARY CRITICISM

A Scholastic Approach

By F. J. FRIEND-PEREIRA

II

Towards a delimitation of the Critic's duties

THE duty of the literary critic will be to judge how far the characteristics of true literature, as set forth already,[1] are present in this or that particular work.

But the critical judgment cannot be absolute in the sense of definitive. For, first, definitiveness of judgment can result only from the absolute attribution to a literary work of completeness and timelessness. But even a literary work fulfilling the definition of true literature is not absolutely timeless ; nor is it an absolutely complete expression of perfectible composite human nature : it only *tends* towards being such an expression.

Moreover, the critic, besides being himself perfectible, not perfect, must use the inductive method, which is essentially defective. Induction may be either incomplete—based on the partial knowledge of an author's work—or complete—based on the total knowledge of an author's work, or even of the work of every author. In the former case, the necessary *latius os* which a judgment would imply would tend to vitiate its rectitude. And in the latter, an absolute judgment would disregard one or more of the following facts : human imperfection in the critic himself, precluding the possibility of an absolute

[1] Vol. IX, pp. 555-560.

judgment, on the principle that *omne agens agit simile sibi* ; human imperfection in the author whose complete work has been studied—for the same reason ; the necessarily incomplete state of literature, essentially a perfectible thing subject to the category of time.

This impossibility of absolute critical judgment, resulting from the imperfection of the judge, of his method, and of the matter he is judging, points to the first necessity of criticism. Since the danger of distortion is ever present, and is apt to increase if the critic merely assimilates commentaries upon his author's work, the critic's first and most important duty is to study, not what others have said about an author, but what the author himself has to say.

A metaphysic of literary taste, including a rational explanation of its changes and development, might be based on the universality and necessity of movement towards perfection implied in the concept of an essentially imperfect (and potential) being and that being's productions. If the elaboration of such a metaphysic is not the critic's duty, he must at least be acutely aware of the *fact* of the changes and development of taste. For these changes, this development, will furnish an important criterion of literary value.

Indeed, the more itself, and therefore the more timeless, a literary work is, the less its value—though relative—will alter, while, at the same time, new and different value-*aspects* will be discovered in it. Such, for instance, is the case with Shakespeare, whose work is more itself, more timeless, than any other author's. The proof that the value of such work is as little relative as may be, lies in the fact that every school of critics has found different value-aspects in it : romance, characterization, dramatic skill, 'philosophy', and poetry. Stability of literary value will, as a general rule, be found to

depend, in the last analysis, on the *formality* of a literary work, on its striking emergence of idea, on its high degree of unity. And these qualities make for timelessness.

Such a relation between timelessness and spirituality squares with the Scholastic teaching on the indestructibility of the spiritual as such. According to this teaching, matter and spirit are antithetical : the former not only contains within itself the principle of multiplicity and therefore of disruption, but also, because of these, tends to annihilation and negation of being. The critic will notice that since in literature matter and spirit form *one* thing, it is the spirit, the thought, that achieves the salvation of the words, the matter of literature, no otherwise than in man who is its producer.

But since human activity as manifested in literature cannot be purely intellectual, its principle being composed of matter as well as of spirit, the critic must look for more than traces of the unifying mind. He must seek to judge the sensibility of his author as well. The Schoolmen placed sensibility (and with it its derivatives, the memory and the imagination) in its true hierarchical position. It is animal receptivity and impressionableness—but impregnated with spirit (man's 'informing' soul). Hence it is formally different from the sensibility of an irrational being, and nobler than such a sensibility.

The critic's duty is to distinguish between sensibility and excess of sensibility, or sentimentality : between what the French call *sensibilité* and what they call *sensiblerie*. Should a literary work betray such an excess of sensibility, and a consequent corresponding defect of emergent unifying idea, it would be ephemeral in essence and fall outside the category of true literature. For, first, it would be preponderantly material, and therefore necessarily temporary as opposed to timeless ; and,

secondly, it would lack balance and harmony, and so fail to represent the tendency of true literature to approximate to the complete development of man's nature.

But since *quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur*, the critic must have not only a clear mind but a keen sensibility as well, if he is to judge as truly as he may of the 'humanity'—so to call it—of literature. While his reason is apprehending the composition, the putting together, of a literary work, and seeking to integrate, by a discursive process, the ideas expressed in its different parts, in order to arrive at the main emergent idea of the whole, his sensibility is reacting to what may be termed the 'imagery' of the work under consideration. This imagery is not only evocative—visual, auditory, tactual—but associative too, and necessitates both imaginative and rememorative activity. The critic's total reaction (passivo-active in nature) together with the (purely active) reference of this reaction to the principles implied in the definition of true literature, will constitute his critical judgment of a literary work. Obviously such a judgment will be as perfect as it can be only on the condition that everything relevant is taken into account. Possible defects will be minimized by the critic's extensive reading, which will widen and deepen his intellectual and emotional range.

The first and greatest defect leading to the condemnation of a literary work is its lack of emergent idea—i. e. its lack of unity, of formal perfection. Another defect is imperfectly balanced expression of human nature. Excessive idea[1] and excessive sensibility[2] both prevent a literary work from being 'true'.

[1] Cf., for instance, de Sélincourt's *Prelude* p. xlvii : 'Wordsworth's lines drag their slow length along whilst he labours to express in exact intellectual terms a philosophic position. . . .' In other words, complete formal fusion has not been

But what are critics to say of a literary work possessing a high degree of formal excellence and manifesting a rich and controlled sensibility, but failing to satisfy in some *detail* either of construction or of imagery ? That such a work is neither to be classed as 'true' nor to be discarded as 'false' is clear. Its value will be determined by judging how far it falls short of the complete selfhood whose incipience it manifests, and by comparing it with other works of a similar nature. Thus it will be seen that the critic basing himself on Scholastic principles must tend towards a hierarchization of literature, on the analogy of the Scholastic hierarchization of being.

Besides being justified in this hierarchization, the critic is also justified in predicating the transcendental qualities of truth, goodness, and beauty of literary works in proportion to their unity, their formality, their completeness, their selfhood.

Of these transcendental qualities, goodness is apt to offer difficulties to the critic. Truth, he knows, is the object of the intellect ; and beauty, of the sensibility. But goodness, the object of the will, may seem *necessarily* to imply the notion of morality. This, however, is not the case. For goodness may be divided into ontological and moral ; and it is in the ontological sense that goodness is primarily predicable of a literary work, for goodness is primarily convertible with unity in that

achieved in many parts of the 'Prelude' because of the inadequacy of the verbal expression of ideas : that is, there is excessive, excrescent idea.

The phrase 'excessive idea' needs explanation. Throughout this essay I have insisted that the greater the 'formality' (or emergence of idea) in literature, the truer the literature. Now I seem to contradict this by claiming (a) that idea can be excessive, and (b) that such excess vitiates literature. This apparent contradiction vanishes when a definition of 'excessive idea' is given—a definition which a desire for coherence made me exclude from the body of the essay. Bearing in mind what has been said in the preceding section, I would define 'excessive idea' as idea (i) too great to be expressed in the words chosen, and therefore leading to deadness and obscurity ; and (ii) necessarily stressing the intellectual part of man to the detriment of the sensible. Hence 'excessive idea' militates against the complete expression of human nature and must be condemned. 'Excessive idea' is to emergent as sentimentality is to sensibility.

[2] Shelley's work affords many instances of excessive sensibility.

sense. Since moral goodness may or may not follow from ontological goodness (as will be shown below), moral goodness is only secondarily convertible with literary unity. A further distinction of a practical nature will be treated after a brief statement of the principles on which the difference between ontological and moral goodness is based.

These principles are the principles of Act and Potency. According to the Schoolmen, action is perfection. Both are identified in God, who is pure Act, simply Perfection. In finite beings, their act of existence—their perfection—is limited by their potency. In material finite beings, this potency is materiality. And at the very bottom of the scale of being is matter without any act—matter 'uninformed'—pure potency.

A composite being like man seeks his perfection by changing his potency into act by successive actions. This he tends to do by his very nature, as his active principle, his 'form' or spirit, tends by its essence to ever fuller perfection through and in its various actions. Hence every action, *as an action*, is a diminution of man's potentiality and an increase of his perfection. But what perfects man is 'good' for him. Therefore literary activity and what it produces—literature—must be, *as such*, and prescinding from moral standards, good. It was with this in mind that I asserted in the first part of this essay that 'to predicate unity of a literary work is to imply that it possesses literary truth, *literary* goodness, and literary beauty'.

Hence a morally bad literary work may possess literary goodness, and be 'the product of human activity, tending, by essentially proportionate means (viz. words) to as complete and as timeless an expression as possible of perfectible composite human nature'—*abstracting from morality*. Hence the critic's duty to give 'literary'

admiration to certain of Swinburne's erotic poems, or to Flaubert's or Maupassant's stories. He can and must draw attention to their qualities of unity, truth, (literary) goodness, beauty, and say that *as literary works* they reach a high standard.

But the question of Art and Morality can be finally solved only by making the distinction adverted to above. This distinction may be stated in some such form as the following : though in the abstract the distinction between ontological and moral good is valid, in the concrete it is not.

For the sake of clarity I propose to consider the question of Art and Morality first from the literary artist's, and then from the critic's, point of view.

In the artist, this or that particular ontological perfection or goodness must be the activation of a particular potentiality. But any activation of potentiality without an end in view is inconceivable. The morality, therefore, of a literary work must be judged by its end or aim ; and this end or aim specifies (that is, renders good or bad) the human will. Such an end must be an ontological good for the human will ; for if it were not, it would be impossible for the artist (who has a human nature, and therefore a human will) to tend to it : *Omne ens appetit bonum proprium et naturale.*

But the artist's aim may be morally bad while being ontologically good. For his will, the faculty of good, is a rational appetite and is able—for extrinsic reasons—to desire moral evil, provided this is presented to it under the guise of good. In so doing, the rational appetite considers the perfection, which is purely and simply activity, and disregards the relation which this activity necessarily has to man's *total* perfection. In other words, the artist, being a free agent, may (for extrinsic reasons) choose to perfect his faculties without perfecting his

whole self. He may prefer a part to the whole of human nature in himself.

The critic will note in such an artist the resulting absence of tendency towards the activation of man's total potentiality. He will remember that such activation includes the activation of man's moral nature, which is an integral part of man's total potentiality. And he will therefore judge a literary work of this kind to be 'false'.

Hence the critic has a duty, *as the consequence of a coherent philosophical system*, to condemn immorality in a literary work as strongly as he would condemn faulty 'composition', or excessive idea, or excessive sensibility. But he would not be doing his whole duty if he failed to point out the merely 'literary' good points of the work he thus condemns.

I shall conclude by remarking that, in the last analysis, literature is—though in a different sense from that in which Arnold used the term—a criticism of life. Nor could it be otherwise. For it shows, ultimately, how each successive author tended to achieve, and how far he approximated to achieving, as complete and as timeless a fulfilment of his human nature as was possible, by using means essentially proportioned to the task. Literary works are their authors' implied judgments on life.

The critic has to judge these judgments. He must see how far a literary work reveals the harmonious play of the human faculties, both prescinding logically from, and formally including, their specification by ultimate ends. But he must not impute motives without evidence, and he must argue logically. Thus his approach to literary criticism will be truly Scholastic, for it will be the approach of a realist who is also a rationalist.

Cambridge.

IDENTIFICATION OF A MOHENJO DARO FIGURE

By B. A. SALETORE

AMONG the many interesting objects discovered at Mohenjo Daro is a rough seal-amulet on which is portrayed a figure which Sir John Marshall and Dr. Ernest Mackay have declared to be that of the god Śiva. Sir John Marshall writes about it :

'Side by side with this Earth or Mother Goddess there appears at Mohenjo-daro a male god, who is recognizable at once as a prototype of the historic Śiva. He is strikingly portrayed on the roughly carved seal illustrated in Pl. XII, 17, which has been recently brought to light by Mr. Mackay. The god, who is three-faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of *Yoga*, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards.'

He then goes on to describe this deity, and on the basis of the images found among the ruined temples of Dev-âṅgaṇa near Mount Abu, at Melcheri in the North Arcot district, near the Gokak Falls in the Belgaum district, and at Chilorgarh in the Udaipur State, explains how the three-faced deity of Mohenjo Daro may be a syncretic form of three deities rolled into one, and how the three horns seen on it came to be later developed into the *triśûla*.[1] Dr. Mackay accepts this identification, and comments thus on the figure :

[1] Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, *I*, pp. 52-55, 55, nn. 4-5. Sir John Marshall's identification of the alleged figure of Śiva rests mainly on its similarity with three-faced images found in the temples of Mount Abu and elsewhere and supposed to be Śiva images. These are images of a comparatively later period; and it is doubtful if one could argue from these images about figures of proto-historic times without taking other things into consideration.

'Sir John Marshall has identified this figure as the Indian god Shiva, in his aspect of Pasupati, or Lord of Beasts. The fact that the god is shown on the seal-amulet with three faces, and perhaps even a fourth on the side turned away, gives strong support to Sir John's theory, for Shiva was, and is, pictured in India with as many as five faces. It has always been suspected that he was one of the oldest Indian gods, and that his worship dated from the prehistoric period, a supposition which is justified by this interpretation of the figure on this seal-amulet. It must not be assumed, however, that Shiva was the name of this god of the Indus Valley people, for this is merely what he is commonly called to-day. He is now said to have as many as one thousand and eight names, most of them indicating separate functions.'[1]

It is difficult, however, to agree with this identification in view of the following considerations. We must admit that the god Śiva had several epithets, like Triśriṣa (having three heads), Trijaṭa (having three coils of matted hair), Tryambaka (having three eyes),[2] etc. Śiva has been described as having three heads but nine eyes, and in later accounts even a thousand eyes![3] But generally he is Trinetra, Triyakṣa, or Trilocana. If we accept the alleged identification, we have to assume that the three faces had either one eye or three pairs of eyes—which does not fit in with any known description of Śiva.

Further, it is maintained that this figure may have had four faces, which are said to be those of Śiva. Here again we must admit that Śiva is credited with four faces, but he became four-faced only through staring at Tilottamâ.[4] It cannot be understood how this later conception of a four-faced Śiva came to be associated with a proto-historic figure.

[1] Ernest Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 70 (London, 1935).

[2] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 220, where he asserts that 'most of Śiva's titles are clear, but Tryambaka, interpreted as "having three eyes" or "lord of the three worlds", is doubtful.'

[3] Hopkins, *ibid.*, p. 221.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

Moreover, Sir John Marshall also, cautiously no doubt, associates the phallus with the alleged figure of Śiva :

'The lower limbs are bare and the phallus (*ûrdhvameḍhra*) seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be the phallus is in reality the end of the waistband.'[1]

Here again it seems to me a much later idea is made to fit in with the alleged identification. For, according to Hopkins, even in the *Mahâbhârata* all reference to Śiva as the phallic god is missing.[2] If during the *Mahâbhârata* age Śiva was not regarded as a phallic god, we cannot understand how he could have figured as a phallic god in the Mohenjo Daro epoch. And if, on the other hand, we accept the alleged identification, we have to explain how an idea that was prevalent in the Mohenjo Daro epoch came to be lost in epic times, and was renewed only afterwards.[3]

It is an established fact that the god Śiva was the form which the Vedic god Rudra later assumed. In other words, the god Śiva, at least as he has been described in classical times, was unknown to the Vedas ; and Rudra, the Tempest god of the Vedas, is not given any of the distinctive epithets which later came to be associated with the god Śiva. If we accept the alleged identification, we have to date the god Śiva or his prototype in the middle of the third millennium B. C. For that is the date of the Mohenjo Daro finds, as has been proved by Professor Seton Lloyd on the strength of the happy discovery of a cylindrical seal at Tell Asmar, which contains a representation of a typically Mohenjo Daro scene—an Indian elephant, a rhinoceros, and a croco-

[1] Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52. [2] Hopkins, *ibid.*, p. 221.

[3] Another minor argument against the identification is that in the Mohenjo Daro figure there is no reference to any of Śiva's weapons—the Pasupata or Brahmâstra, the Pinâka, the Trisûla, etc. (Cf. Hopkins, *ibid.*, p. 223), although, as we shall see, Sir John Marshall sees the future trident in the three horns of the figure.

dile.[1] Now since we know that the Vedas do not contain any reference to the later god Śiva or his three-faced prototype, it clearly follows that the age of the Vedas is much earlier than that of the Mohenjo Daro finds, probably by about a millennium. That is to say, if we accept the alleged identification, we should have to push the date of the Vedas further back—which would leave the question more complicated than ever.

There is another consideration that goes against the alleged identification. Śiva has always been represented as Tridhârin, Triśûlin, etc., which epithets suggest that he carried the trident *in his hand.* But in the alleged identification Śiva is figured as carrying the *triśûla on his head* ! Unless a rational explanation is found of how the supposed *triśûla* on the head came to be taken in the hand, it is not possible to accept the alleged identification. As for Sir John Marshall's explanation that the Jangamas, a sect of the Saivites, carry the trident on their heads and a stone *linga* on their bodies,[2] we may note the following. While it is certainly true that carrying a *linga* tied to the neck or around the waist is obligatory on the Jangamas or the Lingâyats from the religious point of view, it is extremely doubtful if carrying the trident on the head is also a part of the Jangama religious philosophy. For the trident is sometimes carried on the head by some Jangama mendicants, not as a sacred duty, but out of necessity : it leaves their hands free to beg !

In this context Sir John Marshall denies that horns, which, according to him, were the precursors of the *triśûla*, were an attribute of any particular divinity, and asserts that horns were a pre-Aryan emblem of divinity not adopted by the Aryans :

[1] Seton Lloyd, *Mesopotamia*, p. 151 (*London*, 1936).

[2] Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 55, and *ibid.*, n. 3.

'Such horns, therefore, must not be regarded as the attribute of any particular deity or used as an argument for associating one deity with another. On the other hand, this particular pre-Aryan emblem of divinity, although not generally adopted by the Vedic Aryan, did not entirely die out.'[1]

Incidentally we may here note that Sir John Marshall, while dealing with the other figures that have horns in Plate XII, 18 and 22, says : '. . . in other cases they seem to have been transferred to the priest or possibly to the votary'.[2] May not these representations be similar to those found in a finely cut Akkadian seal cited by Prof. Seton Lloyd ?[3] It is not improbable that what Sir John Marshall calls 'priests' or 'votaries' with horns may have been merely representations of mythical heroes of the Akkadian type.

Neither is it correct to say that horns were not adopted by the Vedic Aryans. For at least with one deity, which was one of the most powerful and famous worshipped by the Aryans, the horns are very closely associated. This was the god Agni, whose three attributes as given in the Vedas—relating to the three faces, the horns, and his eastern origin—agree very well with the features of the figure represented on the seal-amulet found at Mohenjo Daro.

Agni is pre-eminently the deity with whom the number three was associated. In addition to the very many attributes ascribed to him as well as the highest regard in which he was held by the Aryans, he was the Priest, Oblation-bearer, and Mediator.[3] In all likelihood the three faces of the Mohenjo Daro figure refer to these three functions of Agni. He had three bodies and

[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 55. [2] Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 54-55.

[3] Lloyd, *op. cit.*, Plate XIV, b.

[3] Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rig Veda.* I, pp. 14, 15, 18, 35, 50, 51, 79, 80, 122, 178, 267, 330, 331, 475.

three powers as well. One of the hymns in the *Rig Veda* runs :

Three are thy powers, O Agni, three thy stations, three are thy tongues, yea, many, Child of Order !

Three bodies hast Thou which the gods delight in : with these protect our hymns with care unceasing.[1]

And again :

First Agni sprang to life out of Heaven ; the second time from us came Jâtavedas.

Thirdly the Manly-souled was in the waters. The pious lauds and kindles him the Eternal.

Agni, we know thy three powers in three stations, we know thy forms in many a place divided.

We know what name supreme thou hast in secret : we know the source from which thou hast proceeded.[2]

Agni had three forms, three homes, and three several places of his birth, which Tvaṣṭar's ten daughters honoured, and Agni's original flames were manifested in the three fire-altars, each fire being regarded as an independent representative of him.[3]

Now we come to the interesting detail of the horns. The Vedic god Agni had three horns, as is proved by the following hymn :

May the Sustainer, high in Heaven, come hither, the Bounteous One, invoked, with all his favours,

Dweller with Dames divine, with plants, unwearied, the Steer with triple horn, the life-bestower.[4]

It is evident from this hymn that horns were an attribute of divinity in Vedic times. The figure on the seal-amulet has three horns, one on each side and the third in the centre. Sir John Marshall, however, asserts that it has only 'a pair of horns' meeting in a tall head-dress.[5] To me it appears that the central horn is not a tall head-dress. For we cannot conceive of a proto-

[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 337. [2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 445.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 101, 124, 219, 319, 470, 472, and *ibid.*, n. (6), 563, 566.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 509. [5] Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52.

historic deity having anything like a head-dress, at least in India. Probably the horn in the centre has been rounded off for some reason not known to us. In Figure 18 of Sir John Marshall's work, Plate XII, the three horns are more clearly visible. In later times Agni seems to have lost his middle horn, and hence we find him represented as a goat.[1]

There is a little point which we may note here. The very fact that the three-faced and three-horned figure has been discovered at Mohenjo Daro stamps it as thoroughly Eastern in character. Was Agni ever characterized as an Eastern deity? In Hindu classical mythology Agni is the leader and god of the East. The gods are always led by him when they go to sacrifice.[2] His district is the East, though as a world-protector he has the South-East, and his altar inclines to the North-East.[3] In other words, Agni is pre-eminently an Eastern deity.

His essential characteristic as a creator is well represented on the seal-amulet found at Mohenjo Daro. Here we have the representations of the most important animals in creation. On the right side of the god we have, beginning from the top, an elephant, a human being, and a tiger. Sir John Marshall believes that what appears to be the figure of a man is only one of the seven letters of the inscription which is noticeable above the head of the deity.[4] But the large head and the outstretched arms clearly indicate it to be the *homo* sign which may be compared with Sign No. 182 of Dr. Langdon's *Sign List of the Indus Script in Mohenjo Daro*, Vol. II, p. 445. On the left side of the figure of

[1] Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 103 : 'As the goat is the animal sacred to Prajâpati as Agni, it is, so to speak, the sacrificial form of the productive spirit whether as god or as demonic power.' *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[2] Hopkins, *ibid.*, p. 56.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 104. [4] Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52.

the deity there is a rhinoceros and a buffalo. Beneath the throne upon which the deity is seated are two deers with horns turned to the centre. And there is an inscription above the figure of the deity. In this inscription one sign (the second from the left) probably stands for a fish (cf. No. 175 of Dr. Langdon's *Sign List*). No reference to the vegetable kingdom is discernible. But otherwise it seems to me that we have on the seal-amulet the animal, human, and water creatures fully represented.

Here, indeed, is 'the life-bestower', Agni of the Aryans—a powerful Eastern deity whom they incorporated into their list of gods. This they did, as the late Dr. Langdon rightly affirmed, because they were in intimate contact with the founders of the Mohenjo Daro culture. Commenting on the value of archæology in determining the date of the Indus script, Dr. Langdon wrote :

'If inscriptions of no other type are found in the excavations of the Indus Valley, then we must suppose that the history of this fine civilization ends with these monuments, and the vast expanse of years between that catastrophe and the invasion of the Aryans is filled with uncertain traditions. If, however, this script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhistic period, it proves that the Aryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India.'[1]

Poona.

[1] Langdon in Marshall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 432.

FOOD PLANNING FOR INDIA

B P. KALLUKAREN

PROF. Radhakamal Mukerjee's new book[1] is really a companion to his earlier book *The Regional Balance of Man*, where he treats of the practical manifestations of the problem of population in India. Prof. Mukerjee belongs to the Biological School started by Prof. Raymond Pearl, according to which for every region there is an optimum population of human beings, animals, and plants. Whenever an attempt is made to exceed this, nature sets other forces in operation which restore the balance. It is difficult to accept this line of reasoning, first because according to it India has not yet reached her optimum figure, and if she has, then her population will cease to expand ; secondly because conditions drawn from animal and plant life are very difficult of application to human beings.

Books like *Food Planning* show the great increase during recent years of interest in the applied economics of India. Dr Mukerjee has long made the problems of Indian agriculture and population his own. In the present book he is engaged in bringing together the results of the biological studies of Indian dietaries and requirements, and the knowledge available regarding agricultural production. He accepts the figures of Colonel Russel, Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, namely, that by the time the census is taken in 1941, the population of India (including Burma) will touch 400

[1] *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions.* Pp. XVIII+267. *London : Macmillan, 1938.* Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

millions. The problem that Dr. Mukerjee wants to solve is how to plan food for these 400 millions. He asks himself two important questions. Is enough food produced for the existing population ? Is this food supply adequate for a healthy standard of living, and is it likely to expand in the same proportion as the annual increase of population ? These are difficult questions to answer because in our country national income statistics are so difficult to compute. Price differences between villages and towns are considerable. All estimates of food production have to depend on the not too highly reliable crop estimates in India. Nor is there any widespread agreement as to a scientific dietetic standard, and, after all, any question about adequate food supply depends on what one considers as a proper standard of consumption.

To the first question—whether food production has so far kept pace with the increase of population—Dr. Mukerjee gives an affirmative answer. He has constructed index numbers of food supply and population. Starting at his base 1910-1914 with the figure 100 for both items, he arrives at the figures 134 for food and 117 for population in 1932-33. This goes to show that food supply on the whole has not only kept pace with, but is well in advance of, the growth of population. But analysing the figures further, he finds that this increase has been maintained by the expansion of inferior food grains, like barley and *jowar*, at the expense of the superior grains, like wheat and rice. To conclude from this, as he does, that with increase in population resort has to be had in greater degree to less nutritious foods, is open to question. In recent years wheat and rice, the two principal cereals of India, have fallen so much in price, because of world depression and foreign competition, that it has become unremunerative to cultivate

them except in the very best lands. When prices go up there will be an automatic increase in the acreage under the two staple food-grains.

On the second question—whether the existing food supply is adequate for a comfortable living and will continue to be so—there is likely to be an even greater difference of opinion than on the first. The answer will depend on the adoption of a dietetic standard for the country, which does not exist for the moment. In consultation with officials of medicine and public health, Dr. Mukerjee has arrived at 2800 calories per man per day as the fair average standard requirement of the Indian population. He then converts all the various articles of consumption into equivalent calories of heat, and finds that at the time of the census of 1931 our food supply was just sufficient to maintain comfortably 291 million persons, and that therefore the balance of 12 per cent of the population represented a food deficiency during times of normal harvests. It is very difficult to dogmatize about these matters because of the probable error in the estimates of food supply in India and the difficulty of arriving at a proper dietary for people belonging to various castes, creeds, races, and climates. It cannot be denied that there is an appalling amount of malnutrition particularly in provinces like Bengal and Madras. But we are not quite sure whether the whole of it is due to food deficiency. It may be in great part due to ignorance about what constitutes a proper standard of nutrition for the different regions.

It must not be surmised from this that we are finding fault with Dr. Mukerjee's system of computation. As a matter of fact, in a country like India with so few reliable data, his method of bringing together the results of biological studies of Indian dietaries and requirements, and the available knowledge regarding agricultural output

as a means of measuring the insufficiency or otherwise of the national dividend, is probably more illuminating than any other method. Every one will therefore agree with Dr. Mukerjee that a nutritional survey of each Province is an urgent necessity. Then only can we come to correct conclusions about food requirements and food deficiencies. Nowhere is this more urgent than in Madras, where there is the greatest amount of malnutrition.

Having satisfied his readers about the seriousness of the situation, Dr. Mukerjee goes on in Chapters IX and X to discuss the triangular—man-land-cattle—conflict and the consequent cattle deterioration in India. His penetrating analysis leads him to certain very illuminating and highly interesting conclusions.

(1) To produce 1000 calories in the form of animal products (meat, milk, and milk products) requires $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 times as much land as to produce 1000 calories in the form of wheat, rice, and other cereals (p. 124). A large consumption of the former is incompatible with the economical use of small holdings: 'The reason, therefore, why the Eastern countries ordinarily do not and cannot favour animal products cannot be exclusively religious. Vegetarianism is ultimately a result of a heavy population pressure.'

(2) Notwithstanding all our uneconomic habits, it must be conceded that the Indian dietary involves a minimum land requirement, about 97 per cent of the food energy consumed by a peasant family being derived from seeds, roots, and vegetables. According to Dr. Middleton's estimate (quoted on p. 127): 'Whereas a hundred acres of cultivated area have only a capacity of supporting in Great Britain 50 persons and in Germany 75 persons, in India it supports at present 110 persons.' This will explain how such a rural density at least four

times that of the agricultural tracts of Europe can be supported by agriculture in India.

(3) One might expect that heavy population pressure must thin out bovine numbers. But it is one of the striking economic paradoxes in India that the Provinces which have the smallest crop area *per capita* maintain the largest number of cattle. In fact the density of the bovine population per crop area varies directly with the human population density and inversely with the crop area per person. The present bovine population of India is more than one-third of the estimated total bovine population of the entire world.

(4) The number of India's livestock could be safely reduced to one-third of its present strength without affecting the standard of farming and rural transport. It is an astonishing paradox that while India has a total cattle population of 214·2 millions, her working cattle, numbering about 60 million, fall far short of her demand for draught power. The majority of the bullocks are superfluous and the cows unproductive. Not only is there not enough pasture for the cattle, but they consume food which could be used for better purposes. Weight for weight, a small animal consumes a much larger quantity of food than a bigger animal. Thus real improvement can come only from raising the quality and reducing the quantity. Dr. Mukerjee therefore rightly suggests :

> 'India with her human burden of 377 millions can ill afford to add indefinitely to her enormous bovine population of 214 millions at the rate of 20 per cent per decade and permit the cult of *ahimsa* to get the better of the improvement of human food resources.'

If these are the evils, what are the remedies ? The last four chapters of Dr. Mukerjee's book are devoted to them.

(1) The first is the improvement of cereal yields. Dr. Mukerjee compares the crop yields per acre of wheat and rice in India, China, Japan, and the U.S.A., and finds India's the lowest in the world. A fuller table for all crops in India, China, and the world tells the same tale. With the use of better types of seed and intensive cultivation, great progress is possible. Only the other day, Sir K. V. Reddi, former acting Governor of Madras, addressing a students' organization in Madras, said that by the application of modern scientific agriculture it would be possible to raise the productivity of India fivefold. From this Sir Kurma argued that India could easily support a population of 2,000 millions. Whether one agrees with this contention or not, it cannot be denied that in so far as intensive cultivation depends on increased capital outlay, the slender resources of the Indian agriculturist are a terrible handicap.

(2) Migration of surplus population is another remedy. This has two aspects, inter-provincial and foreign. There are at present only three Provinces—Assam, the Central Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province—which are underpopulated, while all the others have a surplus population. As for foreign emigration, Ceylon, Burma, and Malaya are the only countries open to us, and even these may soon be closed. Under these circumstances the author suggests that 'the British Empire should deal with Indian emigration as essentially an Imperial problem'. We know what slender reliance can be placed upon this factor.

(3) Industrialization is suggested as a remedy for overpopulation. Dr. Mukerjee points out that in spite of the much advertised industrial expansion in India, the population supported by industry has steadily decreased. There are pessimists who estimate that even if industrial production could be doubled during

the next ten years, the additional industrial employment thus created would absorb only 1·6 per cent of the agricultural workers. They again estimate that a complete production in India of all the articles at present imported would only mean a yearly increase of productivity equal to Rs. 4 per head of the population. We can answer that even a slight improvement in the standard of living will lower the birth rate and increase the *per capita* income. But this is not the whole story. Industrialization is necessary to correct the increasing occupational disbalance in the country. In no other country is there such a large proportion of peasants. Again, industrialization is necessary to absorb the large number of peasants who will be released from agriculture by the application of scientific farming. The development of existing industries and the establishment of various new industries will open up other useful avenues of employment, such as those connected with sources of transport, marketing, etc.

Besides, it will provide employment through subsidiary industries. Industrialization would help the diversification of Indian economic life and aid towards better farming and agricultural marketing. I believe that rural uplift depends very largely on industrialization, because raising the standard of living means better clothing, better housing, sanitation, education, etc. If these needs are to be satisfied, the quantity of industrial products has to be increased to ten to twenty times its present level. This means that a large proportion of the village population is to be diverted from the task of food-raising to industrial work. Therefore the exodus of townsmen to villages, which is advocated by certain persons as a remedy for middle-class unemployment, will merely increase the pressure on the overcongested rural areas and multiply misery. There is no doubt that industrial-

ization is the one great solution of the problem of large population in India. If in spite of industrialization unemloyment has been steadily on the increase, the reason is that there has been no substantial increase in the process of industrialization in India. New industries spring up in place of the old and new towns as against decaying ones, but the movement on the whole has so far been stationary.

(4) The fourth remedy suggested by Dr. Mukerjee is the adoption of the small-family habit—which means birth control and other voluntary checks on reproduction. This is a most controverted topic and perhaps the most hackneyed. We shall never reach any finality about it because ignorance, prejudice, and even superstition enter into this discussion. There are many statements in this chapter which are highly disputable. On p. 216 the author says : 'To depend upon an uplift of the plane of living for an automatic decrease of the birth rate is putting the cart before the horse' ; and yet on p. 208 we read : 'A slight improvement in the standard of living may lower the number of births and increase the *per capita* income in a relatively larger proportion than the increase of real production.'

The question of over-population and under-population is not merely a question of absolute numbers. It is closely related to the amount of food and industrial production in the country. And on the author's own showing, between 1913 and 1932 our production has exceeded the percentage of population growth. Under these circumstances, to assert that 'unless some check is placed upon population growth, any other remedy tends to be only temporary, for population will rapidly rise again to the maximum number of persons the land will support', seems to be unwarranted. Birth-restriction has many drawbacks. It leads to a dangerous

growth of casual sex life, weakens moral influences, and, as has been found in Russia, it leads to sickness and physical deterioration of womanhood. Indian religious sentiment is against it, and there is a widespread feeling against interference with nature.

Again, we find that even now, according to Dr. Mukerjee, the rich and middle classes increase much less than the poor. The same is true of the intellectual and highly literate castes (p. 221). Supposing Dr. Mukerjee's advice in favour of birth-control propaganda were accepted, would not the practical consequence be a further slowing down of the rate of growth among the higher and more literate classes, so that the disparity between the respective rates of growth of the higher and the lower class, which he regrets, would be aggravated? Dr. Mukerjee estimates in the last chapter that in fifty years' time out of ten persons in Eastern Bengal, eight will be Muhammadans, one will be a Namasudra, and the last one a Brahman or a Vaidya; and that in the whole of Bengal, for every one literate caste Hindu there will be six Muhammadan and three backward-caste Hindus. Our conclusion on this part of Dr. Mukerjee's suggestion is that our present economic misery is not due to the population movement. Nor are we quite sure that with increasing numbers we are going from bad to worse; deliberate means of control are therefore neither desirable nor practicable.

As for the rest, no exception can be taken to the excellent and practical suggestions thrown out by the author for the improvement of Indian economic conditions. Perhaps the Provincial Governments could hardly get better guidance in drawing up their economic programmes than is to be found in this valuable book It can also be strongly recommended to those interested

in the economic and physical improvement of our people.

In a book packed with material, figures, and charts, it is never difficult to discover possible minor points of criticism. Similarly occasional slips in calculation may also creep in. Thus on page 38 the incidence of malaria is put down at 10,600 million rupees, or roughly £800 millions, whereas if we work out the figures given by Dr. Mukerjee we get 1,333 million rupees, or roughly £100 millions. But the main results seem impregnable. The book furnishes the best evidence of the author's close knowledge of India's economic life and how it can be bettered. As has been stated above, it raises some controversial issues, but is always stimulating.

Madras.

PRINCE SALIM'S LAMENT

Star eyes that wept for me when evening fell,
And lotus hands whose petal touch wrought flame,
And little feet that tinkled as they ran,
Life without you will never be the same.
Prince Salim's heart lies broken where you lie,
Murdered, O little flower of love, Anarkali.[1]

Only a tyrant would have sought to slay
A laughing, dancing sunbeam such as thou,
A child as sinless as the lambs at play,
And loved of all the harem ; murdered now,
The dreaded bowstring round your neck, you lie
Lifeless, O little flower of love, Anarkali.

GIRALDA FORBES.

Boston.

[1] Anarkali was put to death by order of Akbar.

AN INDIAN ELEMENT IN EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE ART

BY HERMANN GOETZ

SIXTEENTH-century painting is rich in extravagant features, ornaments as well as dresses. Many of these have, no doubt, been the result of the study of the rich artistic treasures revealed by the discovery of Antiquity ; many others are reminiscences of medieval traditions. But many still await explanations which hitherto have tentatively been interpreted as fantastic creations for the stage and for the pageants then much in vogue.[1]

Among these are certain very rich and pompous ladies' diadems which are to be seen in the religious paintings of many artists of this period, especially in the Netherlands : in the first place, Cornelis Engelbrechtsz of Leyden, then Geertgen of Haarlem, Jan Gossart, the Master of the St. Catherine Legend, the Master of the 'Virgo inter Virgines', the Master of the 'Mansi'-Maddalena, the Master of St. Sang, the Master of Delft, the Pseudo-Blesius, the Master of the 'Groote' Adoration, the Master of 1518, and others.[2] These diadems have the shape of an arc, reach a considerable breadth on the front, and run out into slightly curved points behind the ears. Generally the upper edge is indented or trimmed with various ornaments. The whole is attached to a sort of dark cap ; sometimes also the tresses or the

[1] Private information from Fr. van Thienen, author of *Das Kostüm der Blütezeit Hollands*, Berlin 1930.

[2] M. J. Friedländer: *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924-1933 ; Leyden 1935, 12 vols.

loose hair are passed through, or small chains are attached to it. Though all the details are executed in the taste of the Renaissance, it is evident that these diadems are of the same type as those otherwise known only in India and in the countries influenced by Indian culture, i. e. Indonesia, Tibet, and the Buddhist Far East.

It is far more difficult to ascertain whether we may in fact consider them as products of the cultural tradition of India—in other words, whether it can be demonstrated that this dress-ornament has migrated so far west. It is very improbable that this Renaissance head-dress has been suggested by Indian prototypes through the medium of a direct contact between Europeans and Hindus, as in this period very few indications are to be found of cultural influences transmitted by the direct sea-route to India then recently opened by the Portuguese. On the other hand, the strong influence of the Islamic countries is very evident.

Since the appearance of the Turkish peoples, however, Muhammadan civilization adopted a good deal of the cultural traditions of Central Asia and the Far East. They are to be felt already in late Abbaside times. Under the Saljuq and Mongol domination they increasingly changed the whole fabric and appearance of the Islamic world. Before the conversion of Central Asia to the Muhammadan creed, however, the style of life in this country was oriented partly by the traditions of Sassanian Iran, partly by those of Buddhist India. It is there that we find back the Indian diadem dealt with here. Two forms of it are to be found : an older one, the Irano-Scythic origin of which is still obvious, and another wholly developed type which is mainly a product of Gupta culture. During the Muhammadan period both these types vere transformed into two new ones. First,

a diadem surrounding a Tatar felt-cap, which at its latest in Saljuq times had spread in Western Asia as the insignia of princes and princesses. From here it was, as a crown, taken over by the Byzantines, and became the prototype of all the complicated forms of crowns used in the European Gothics. The other type was the purely Indian diadem, likewise attached to a Tatar cap, which was worn only by very important ladies. It can be traced in Turkestan and Persia in a pure though far more refined form, at least since the reign of the later Timurids,[1] and it spread to Safavian Persia and to the empires of the early Moguls in India and of the Ottoman sultans.

Recent research has shown that the complete reversion of European costume initiated in the 14th century was really an adoption of Oriental manners inaugurated through Byzantine and Muhammadan influence. The intensive political and commercial relations of the Italian republics with the Latin Empire, with Southern Russia, Persia, Egypt, and Syria, and even Central Asia and China, finally the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks—all contributed during these centuries to arouse the interest of Italians in Eastern manners[2]; and Italian culture was at the same time the model for all the other European countries. Now Byzantium, which had always exercised an enormous influence on Medieval Europe, had submitted to Iranian influence as early as the reign of the Emperor Heraklios, as a consequence of the admittance to the court of many foreign soldiers and officers of Bulgarian, Southern Russian and Armenian descent.[3] During the last centuries of the

[1] E. Kühnel: *Miniaturmalerei im Islamisbhen Orient*, Berlin, 1923.

[2] G. Soulier: *Les Influences Orientales dans la Peinture Toscane*, Paris, 1924; J. V. Pouzyna: *La Chine, l'Italie et les Dèbuts de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1935.

[3] N. P. Kondakov: *Les Costumes Orientaux á la Cour Byzantine*, (Byzantion I, 1924).

Empire, Byzantine dress was scarcely distinguishable from the Tatar costume of Central Asia.[1] With the acceptance of this costume in the 14th-15th centuries, the way was opened also to other Oriental fashions ; the European dress of the 15th century is full of adaptations from the Timurid-Persian fashion, like turbans, high pointed caps (Hennin), ladies' veils, balloon-caps (Takiyyas), and even double-pointed caps of a Far-Eastern, Mongol style.[2] Though with the spread of Renaissance ideals these fashions lost ground, the interest in the East remained, and Oriental fashions were a favourite subject of art until the end of the 17th century. Above all, it was Gentile Bellini who introduced the pure Turkish costume into European art.[3] Until the middle of the 16th century many artists, like Tintoretto,[4] Goudt,[5] P. Aertsen,[6] de Wet,[7] still made use of Turkish female fashions.

It is therefore obvious that the above-mentioned Indian diadem, once introduced into the fashion of Turkish ladies, also became known to European artists and was used by them. A woodcut of Erhard Schoen of Nürnberg (c. 1514-50) shows a portrait supposed to represent the wife of Sultan Soliman the Great.[8] Here again the diadem is to be seen, though worn together with a sort of turban, fantastically interlaced with strings of pearls and tresses. These fanciful additions may be explained by the barbarous, extravagant

[1] J. v. Karabacek : *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, I, Vienna, 1918.

[2] Karabacek, loc. cit. ; G. J. Bratianu : *Anciennes Modes Orientales á la Fin du Moyen Age*, (Seminarium Kondakovianum, VII, Prague, 1935).

[3] Karabacek, loc. cit. See also C. Ricci : *Pintoricchio*, Paris, 1903.

[4] Miracle of St. Mark, Academy, Venice ; The Golden Calf, Santa Maria dell' Orto Venice (Lady with a *turuûr*)

[5] Sketch in the Städelsche Kunst-Institut, Frankfurt a. M.

[6] J. Sievers : *Pieter Aertsen*, Leipsic, 1908, pl. 11.

[7] Bethesda Miracle, Frans Hals-Museum, Haarlem.

[8] M. Geisberg : *Der Deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt*, Munich, 1930.

taste of the Turks of that time. It may be difficult to ascertain whence the painters mentioned in the introduction of this article had taken their models. At any rate, it is certain that these diadems were never worn in daily life ; they were, however, used as stage costumes. This fact explains other arbitrary changes ; for in those times—as well as to-day—the stage made a very free use of such *motifs*. If on the one side the old Byzantine-Tataric traditions were still felt, on the other an adaptation to the daily fashion of the ladies is evident, for instance to the Egyptian *takiyyas* transformed into ladies' caps and to the broad ornamental borders of the temple veils (templets) worn under these caps.[1] But those fashions only facilitated the adoption of these diadems ; there is no doubt that they were identical with those princesses' diadems *(Tâq)* which the Turks had taken over from Persia and Central Asia, whither they had come from India in the train of Buddhism and Buddhist culture.

Bombay.

1 J. H. der Kinderen-Besier : *Mode-Metamorphosen ; De Kleedij onzer Voorouders in de 16e Eeuw,* Amsterdam, 1933.

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

BY A. LALLEMAND

THE arrival of Their Britannic Majesties at Washington out-Lindberghed any welcome on record, even the delirious ovation which greeted the national aviator. It was not, as some cynics have said, the homage of democracy to aristocracy ; the Presidential 'How are you, King ?' emphasized that equality is still the ideal of America ; what was symptomatic was the heartiness of the popular enthusiasm. The American mentality has changed ; the Atlantic is no more the ocean which keeps foreigners and enemies away, it has become a quiet pond across which one can invite visitors. To speak of a fusion of England and America would be an equally egregious mistake. But what has happened is what G. K. Chesterton had fancied in one of his wild dreams : the contrast between England and America has brought them together ; they were at war when one was alleged to be a colony of the other, when they were spoken of as mother and daughter, when they were mixed together :

'The whole hope and the only hope lies in not mixing one with the other, but rather in cutting them very sharply asunder. That is the only way in which two things can succeed sufficiently in getting outside each other to appreciate and admire each other. . . . It may be that in the first twilight of time man and woman walked about as one quadruped. But if they did, I am sure it was a quadruped that reared and bucked and kicked up its heels. Then the flaming sword of some angel divided them and they fell in love with each other.'

America and England have become so sharply separated that they can co-operate ; such an evolution has been brought about by the laws of life. This change is most noticeable in the matter of foreign policy : its evolution will repay study. Three features characterize American foreign policy : the U. S. A. are far from other continents, well protected against them all, and little interested in their affairs ; the U. S. A. share the civilization of Europe, especially the Anglo-Saxon shade of culture ; the U. S. A. claim a certain supremacy over the whole American continent and intend to fence it in against foreign proachers.

When they entered the Great War on April 6, 1917, they were admitting a striking departure from their traditional policy. Various reasons had prompted the decision of the Congress : American trade and industry had heavy bills to cash in the Allied countries and found it necessary to help their debtors ; public opinion in the States has always favoured the freedom of the seas in war as well as in peace ; it resented British interference, which impeded American trade with the Central Empires and limited business with neutral countries ; later on it refused to tolerate the submarine blocus of England by Germany and made it the official reason for declaring war. Lastly, mention must be made of a psychological factor which may have proved decisive with the American masses : antipathy for the ways and methods of the German military and a sentimental regard for France, Belgium, and more especially for England. American policy in the last century has always taken it as an unwritten postulate that it must be in harmony with the system of order and peace maintained by the British Empire.

Our readers will remember what happened after the Armistice. The Peace Treaty had been largely influenced

by American views and prepared by President Wilson. But in course of time the Senate refused to ratify it and equivalently withdrew American co-operation from the peace reconstruction. Americans maintained that they could not join in a work which was betraying their intention ; Europeans say that American abstention spoiled everything. In any case since the war public opinion in the States has grown strong against further interference with any sort of political venture on the European continent which is a stupid medley of impossible peoples and which no loss of lives and no limit of expenses can set right. 'We fancied we would make the world safe for democracy', they said, 'and lo ! what do we see ? The German republic has been so unintelligently treated by the victors that she must nurse the germs of a frightful revenge ; the map of Europe has been so rearranged that economic trouble and political conflict are bound to crop up at all times and in all corners. Moreover, the victors have been in a sorry need of our help, but they have refused to pay their debts and honour their signatures. Who would be tempted to risk a second venture of that kind ?'. Even when Americans speak that way, they keep their cheery accent born of a buoyant optimism ; yet they feel the disillusionment of the after-war period and reveal a deep conviction of theirs. This conviction was made deeper still when they failed to secure British co-operation in their Manchukuo affairs. Are they condemned to give and give for ever, and never, never to receive ? Why should Uncle Sam not leave his nephews to their silly ways ?

Such disheartening conclusions and disillusionment nurtured the 'isolation policy' which was axiomatic even some months ago in the political circles of the U. S. A. It was a spontaneous return to a policy which is based

on the economic, and social conditions of the States and which had been part of their tradition. The American continent is cut off from foreign contact and may prove self-sufficient in the main ; whatever cannot be raised on both hemispheres is hardly worth having and is at best a luxury ; so why go and get entangled in foreign countries ? And the sectarians among the isolationists do not feel shy of the most extreme consequences ; business concerns, foreign trade, merchant marine, missions, prestige in the other continents—all this may be sacrificed with advantage in case of need to the comfort and security of isolation. The very maximum of foreign concern that would be tolerated would be to watch over the parallel isolationist policy of Latin America. Such is the view of the man in the street and of the farmer in the field ; and such was the policy sanctioned by Congress. It was embodied in the 'Neutrality Act' which has been enforced from May 1, 1937 ; this Act gave the President the command and the power to put a stop to any measure that might lead the country into dangerous commitments abroad. It may be unusual for the Legislature to tie the hands of the Executive in dealing with foreign policy ; but the Congress took the risks attending on such a law owing to its emphatic aversion to foreign entanglements.

Besides isolationist views, Americans entertain a deliberate preference for peaceful as against violent methods of settling international disputes. The average American may be energetic, keen on new ventures, even restless ; he is not bellicose ; he shuns the heroic follies of war and prefer business returns to military laurels. The Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928 was an American initiative that was to do away with all 'aggression' policy ; European politicians were prompt to denounce its quixotry ; but American legislators always refused to

acknowledge territorial conquests and put an embargo on arms exports.

In course of time, new factors came to alter the American public mind. Along with a certain coldness and even resentment against the war Allies there had gone a sporting pity towards the vanquished Germans and a readiness to prefer American investments in German industries to Allied compensation for war damages. But the advent of the Nazi regime soon reversed the general feeling. America has developed a sanguine cult for personal freedom ; the very idea that a citizen could be debarred from saying what he thinks, that a citizen would not be allowed to pass judgment on the rules and regulations of the bureaucracy, that the State could resort to police measures, to jail, to banishment, because of so ethereal a thing as a divergence of views—all such restrictions of personal activity are unthinkable to an American mind ; moreover, that the recourse to war as a way of settling international disputes may be officially preached as a piece of deliberate policy, is deeply shocking to the public conscience in the States. But these were the traits which marked the dictatorial regimes ; how could they meet with any sympathy across the Atlantic ?[1]

[1] President Roosevelt's speech to Congress on January 4, 1939 pictures American view of dictatorship :

'There are certain advantages in a dictatorship. It gets rid of labour troubles. It gets rid of unemployment, of wasted motion and of having to do your own thinking. But it also gets rid of other things which we Americans intend very definitely to keep, and we still intend to do own thinking. It will cost us taxes and voluntary risks of capital to attain some of the practical advantages which other forms of Government have acquired.

'Dictatorship involves costs which the American people will never pay—the cost of our spiritual value, the cost of the blessed right of being able to say what we please, the cost of freedom, the cost of our capital being confiscated, the cost of being cast into concentration camps and of being afraid of walking down the street with the wrong neighbour, the cost of having children brougt up not as free human beings but moulded and made by machines. If the avoidance of costs means taxes on my own income or duties on my estate, I would bear those taxes willingly as the price of my breathing and my children breathing free air in a free country, in a living and not a dead world.'—*The New York Herald Tribune.*

The Nazi regime went on spoiling its chances more and more. The persecution of the Evangelical and of the Catholic Church roused the anger of Protestants and Catholics in the States ; but the anti-semitism of the Third Reich struck a death-blow to any sympathy that might have survived. The Jews are numerous in the U. S. A. and they are wealthy ; what is still more important, they have the lion's share of publicity organs, news agencies, newspapers, the radio, the cinema. They soon put up a propaganda office which can match Dr. Goebbels' Ministry ; they have as good a technique and as efficient publication organs. Nazi leaders never foresaw what power American Jewry can display.

The Nazi economic policy completed the mischief. With its determination to build up a self-sufficient economic unit, the Third Reich fell foul of America's views and interests: imports into Germany were rationed and penalized ; German goods came to compete with American goods in foreign and especially South American markets, thanks to the novel device of large-scale barters. Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, has emphatically registered his deadly opposition to the principles of the Third Reich ; in his view, any form of autarky is undesirable ; freedom of trade and development of international exchange make for prosperity and world peace. The greater the commercial solidarity between nations, the greater the obstacle to war and the greater the chance of lasting peace. Countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan deserve no sympathy and no help ; and the U. S. A. will extend no tariff preference to them.

Were the postulates of autarky admitted throughout the world, endless restrictive measures would be imposed ; and who can expect American business to put up with the least restriction that is not absolutely necessary ?

Throughout the diplomatic, political, and military measures, devices, and struggle, there runs an economic preoccupation ; the fight is between the international bankers, traders, and politicians and the autarkist groups ; a fissure is developing round the countries aiming at self-sufficiency which marks them out against the rest of the world. America is afraid this gap will soon become unbridgeable.

Matters are considered to have taken so serious a turn that Government took the lead in rousing public opinion and shaping its course. Government were in full agreement with the farmer in the field and the man in the street ; they realized the needs of world peace and the interests of business. Nothing could and they better suit their political position at home and abroad ; enjoyed the prophetic posture so beloved of the Anglo-Saxon statesman : the head in the clouds of idealism and both feet well planted in economic realities.

They repudiated their former isolationist axioms and claimed that beyond their geographical frontiers the United States had a national interest in the order and good condition of the world at large : even they are dependent on the other countries. News agencies and newspapers took up the tune, and world solidarity became a daily theme of discussion ; no measure was proposed at first, no law was passed that might have shaken the isolationists into protest ; but public sentiment was gently educated to the beauties and realities of international brotherhood.

On July 16, 1937, the Secretary of State drafted a programme of foreign policy which he dispatched to all nations ; his points were brought up to the Wilsonian fourteen, but these were the five chief ones. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will

not affect the interests, rights, or obligations of America. America constantly and consistently advocates the maintenance of peace and the abstinence by nations from the use of force or interference in the national affairs of other nations. America advocates the adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement and the faithful observance of international agreements. America advocates the lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. America believes in the limitation and reduction of armaments.

Forty nations signified their satisfaction at this declaration ; but Italy, Spain, Japan, Germany, and China remained silent. Mr. Cordell Hull made similar declarations in his broadcast at the Peace Conference (September 19) and in his speech at Toronto (October 23) ; and President Roosevelt endorsed these views in his Chicago address of October 5 in which he denounced isolationism and called for combined action by the powers to end the drift into world war :

'Under modern conditions, the people of the U. S. A. must, for the sake of their own future, give thought to the rest of the world. . . . Let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this Western hemisphere will not be attacked, that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and arts of civilisation. . . . If those days are not to come to pass, the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold the laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure. . . . There must be positive endeavours to preserve peace. America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore America actively engages in the search for peace.'

Mr. Cordell Hull went on repeating the same views in his speeches and broadcasts till in Nashville (Tennessee) on June 3, 1938, he summarized the American programme of peace co-operation as follows :

1. To make every effort toward the restoration and strengthening of sound and constructive international economic relationships.

2. To join other nations in working for an effective agreement on limitation and progressive reduction of armaments.

3. To join in the resumption of the work begun at The Hague two generations ago of humanizing warfare by common agreement on the rules and practice of warfare.

4. To join other nations in exploring methods of revitalizing the spirit of international team-work.

And the programme was again followed with a denunciation of those who would have the U. S. A. 'seek security and safety in a hermit-like existence among the nations of the world' :

'It is my firm conviction that national isolation is not a means to security but rather a fruitful force of insecurity. . . . By embarking upon a policy of national isolation, we would doom our nation to conditions of life under which it would inevitably become economically poorer, intellectually impoverished, morally decadent. . . . Let us not forget that the present spread of lawlessness is a direct consequence of the recent drift towards national isolation. . . . The search for national isolation springs from the counsel of despair and an admission of defeat.'

This speech of June 3, 1938 shows that America firmly kept to the same foreign policy. Some hesitation had followed the resignation of Mr. Eden ; public opinion had been disappointed ; it felt ready to support the champions of democracy in their opposition to the dictatorships ; but in February England had appeared to waver in her determination and to come down to a compromise with Fascism ; the American Press could not be expected to be more fervent anti-Fascists than the Western democracies which are living in constant fear of war.

A new occasion for anxious decision came with the European crisis of September last. Mr. Eden's resignation had been felt as a defeat ; Mr. Chamberlain's Munich policy was taken as a surrender. But the U. S. A. Government made bold to try its new policy and directly interfered in the negotiations. When Mr. Chamberlain felt stranded in a blind alley, President Roosevelt came out and rushed to his help.

His appeal of September 26 to Herr Hitler and to Dr. Benès received short shrift from the Führer who answered with a violent attack on Czechoslovakia and ended with reaffirming the German ultimatum. President Roosevelt replied with a more pointed appeal on September 28 :

'The question before the world to-day, Mr. Chancellor, is not a question of errors of judgment or of injustices committed in the past. It is a question of the fate of the world to-day and to-morrow. . . . The two points I sought to emphasize (in my first appeal) were, first, that all matters of difference between the German Government and the Czech Government should be settled by pacific means ; and, second, that the threatened alternative of a use of force on a scale likely to result in a general war is as unnecessary as it is unjustifiable. . . . The Government of the U. S. A. has no political involvements in Europe and will assume no obligation in the conduct of the present negotiations. Yet in our own right, we recognize our responsibilities as part of a world of neighbours. Conscience and the impelling desire of my country demand that the voice of their Government be raised again and yet again to avert and avoid war.'

The Presidents of the Southern republics backed up both appeals with their approbation, and when the Munich agreement was signed, a feeling of self-congratulatory relief spread through both hemispheres. Some extremists regretted that so nice an occasion was missed of curbing dictatorial aggression for ever, but public opinion was content to go on with the humdrum pursuits of peace.

Yet the Munich agreement marks a change in the policy of the U. S. A. It brought the need of revising dealings into clear light. The U. S. A had relied a great deal on the Pax Britannica maintained by the British Navy ; they had never felt the need of a fleet or an army ; Spanish power had been swept away in the last century, and American influence had been established in the Pacific and the Chinese Empire without any display of armed power. The Great War had been ended so as to prolong the same conditions, and the American fleet was left to wear out ; no danger appeared that could threaten Anglo-Saxon supremacy. But Munich was a shock ; England had weakened before a threat ; the British Fleet which had resigned itself to modest manœuvres during the Abyssinian war had once more taken refuge in British harbours ; the threat of bombarding London had remained unchallenged. Would the U. S. A. Government be justified in continuing so reposeful a trust in the Pax Britannica ? England and France having given way to Germany, America felt she herself had been defeated. American policy stiffened ; geographical isolation itself seemed to have vanished ; military attack was not yet made possible, but a more insidious aggression in the guise of political trouble or economic invasion in South American countries in which the United States have tangible interests was feared even by convinced isolationists.

America made up her mind to be prepared for all eventualities and accelerated her rearmament programme. The President in his Message to Congress on January 4 stated that three institutions, 'indispensable to Americans, now as always'—religion, democracy, and international good faith—were directly challenged by undeclared wars, military and economic ; and he concluded :

'Events across the seas have made it increasingly clear to the American peoples that the dangers within are less to be feared than the dangers without. If therefore a solution of this problem of idle men and capital is the price of preserving our liberty, no formless selfish fears can stand in the way. To us much is given, more is expected. This generation will nobly save or meanly lose.'

A few days later, concrete proposals were submitted to implement the policy of armed defence against war threats. On February 4, foreign policy was once more summarized: no entangling alliance ; world free trade ; co-operation with efforts at general disarmament ; peaceful maintenance of the political, social and economic independence of all nations. A 'straw referendum' of the same date shows that public opinion had grown stiffer. In October 1938 the American Institute for Public Opinion gave out as the result of an inquiry that 95 per cent of the general public were against the dictatorships ; on the other hand, 55 held that the 'error of 1917' should not be repeated, whereas 45 foresaw that America would have to come into a war if it was somewhat general. By the end of January 1939, 57 per cent forecast America's entry into the war, and 94 per cent held Germany and Italy responsible for the conflict.

The camp of what may be called the alarmists[1] visualizes economic and social aggression against the American continent as imminent and the military attack as possible in the near future ; they are for frightening and disheartening the dictatorships as early and completely as possible. President Roosevelt apparently shares this tendency. His list of questions to the Duce and to the Führer may have been framed in a hurry and dispatched in a somewhat undiplomatic manner ; it had little chance of eliciting any satisfactory

[1] Cf. *Ajax* in *La Revue Générale*, 15 avril, 1939.

answer; but its pointed innuendos reveal the close and active interest the U. S. A. Government takes in European affairs.

The other camp which groups the timid and the quietists consider that war-mongers go a little strong, that war may be a nightmare to politicians and a boon to munition makers, but that it can hardly be visualized as 'practical politics'. America should be satisfied with one measure: self-defence. Secure protection for the territory of the United States and even for South America in any possible emergency; but any cry of 'American Democracy in danger' is a piece of political hysteria.

Taking the minimum programme on which both camps agree, one can foresee that the United States are bent on progressive large-scale rearmament; the whole American continent is to be defended at all costs and against all dangers. The Lima Conference of last September pointed in the samedirection; the U. S. A. will get up an army, a fleet, and an air force that can protect the shores of the continent, and the other States are invited to make an additional contribution so that their united resources may be ample.

This rearmament of America is in the actual conditions of the world an asset for peace; it will act as ballast to all bellicose nervousness and give American declarations a metal ring that will not fail to impress hot-worded prophets; though the experience of Cuba, the Philippines, and Panama is not yet forgotten, one may hope that America's foreign policy will effectually make for peace, independence, and liberty throughout the world.

Calcutta.

COCONUTS AND THE OLD CHRONICLE OF CEYLON

BY J. P. DE FONSEKA

THE Coconut is the perennial fruit of Ceylon ; the nut *par excellence.*

The *Mahawamsa* is the ancient Chronicle of Ceylon; the book *par excellence.*

But the old book does not register the ancient nut.

There are, commercially speaking, no coconuts in the *Mahawamsa.* Even otherwise there are not many, at least not enough to sing a song about, in the best Pali verse of the world. Make a pluck in the few *Mahawamsa* plantations, and the result would be a very short crop indeed.

Those who to-day lament the destruction of the coconut industry should gain some consolation from the thought that the greatest things of the Sinhalese creative genius seem to have been achieved without the heroes interrupting work to haggle over the sale of even one recorded heap of a thousand nuts.

This, of course, is very remarkable. The *Mahawamsa*, which collects in its many verses beautiful varieties of Ceylon's fruits and rises to exultant poetry in describing them, steadily refuses to take a count of the coconut. The price of copra does not for a moment bother the whole knighthood of the Greater and Lesser Dynasties put together.

If you wish to examine the taste of the *Mahawamsa* writer, give him an orange or a pomegranate or even a mango ; and he will give you a classic batch of verses

pointing a moral or adorning a tale. There is a place, if I remember rightly, where he even makes a desperate attempt to keep the King's orchard of *jambu* trees from poachers. But the coconut apparently leaves him cold.

If the King had picked out a few of the leathery duffers in his service and told them to go home and plant coconuts, it would have been quite understandable. And it would have been a valuable testimony to the existence of coconuts. But the remark is purely apocryphal, and there is no evidence of even this form of State subsidy.

From this acute depression in the markets of the *Mahawamsa* epoch coconuts seem fairly to have emerged and later maintained a prestige in the teeth of the opposition from cold-shouldering economists like the *Mahawamsa* writer.

Twenty-five million coconuts, it seems, got themselves exported annually in the recent years, but the *Mahawamsa* does not record the export of even a paltry hundred for the coconut-shies of the European Olympic games. One million acres, according to recent land surveys are, it seems, planted with coconuts to-day and tabulated with statistics and names of owners in modern handbooks ; where the proprietor of even one honest acre insisting on recording the achievement in the *Mahawamsa* would have been treated as an absurdity and even as a coconut-pest. The too assertive coconut-planter would have been given a long penance for his vanity ; let us say, a fair spell of *rajakariya* (the ancient duty of compulsory public manual labour) on the royal roads.

To-day coconuts appear to be so much part and parcel of Ceylon and the emblem and symbol of her autocthonous existence (if any) and of her national character as far as it can find tongue in tree, that the

coconut is the image and superscription on the converse of all popular coins. It would have been exciting to get the views of Kings Rajasinha I or Buvenakabahu II or Kasyappa III on a proposal to stamp a coconut tree on the back of their coins.

It is also firmly understood by those who derive their notions of these things from the British College of Heralds that a dagoba, an elephant, and a coconut tree standing side by side make up a sort of escutcheon of Ceylon ; but this heraldic device and its signification would have beaten the lively intelligence of Mahanama, the writer of the *Mahawamsa.* He would not have understood. True, he counted the ten thousand dagobas which the pious Kings, one after another, built. He had, too, a wonderful eye for elephants and depicted them superbly, though with a somewhat marked bias in favour of those civilized pachyderms who wore clothes and went out in company with the Kings. But in regard to the coconut tree, Mahanama was bound to think differently.

One of his successors makes about the best effort in regard to the coconut in the famous description of Parakrama Bahu the Great's Garden of *Nandana*, or Delight :

'And being full of zeal, the King planted coconut, mango, jak, areca, palm, and such like trees, about one hundred tho usan of each kind, and bestowed that garden upon the people to be enjoyed by them in common.'

A royal gesture, no doubt, but it was downright bad business. Where can a harassed proprietor of to-day read in the old chronicle a golden sentence of this sort set in a purple patch of immortal Pali verse :

'The price at 4 p. m. to-day, according to the Secretary C. C. P. E. A., was Rs. 105 (Continental Shippers) and Rs. 107 (Indian Shippers)' ?

The other great reign glorified by the historian, that of King Dutugemunu, manifests, in spite of the glory, a like frivolity towards the coconut industry. I believe this is the very first mention of coconuts in the Mahawamsa ; and it is ominous. The young Gemunu is looking out for his Giants, and the qualification for which he accepted one of them, Mahasona, into the order of Paladins was that 'in his seventh year he could pull up young coconut plants and in his tenth year, acquiring great bodily strength, tore up (full grown) coconut trees'. The young hero, it is understood, was 'protected by the prince', (thus flouting some of the sections of the Penal Code), and living for ever after in the prince's establishment, Mahasona 'in due course attained the physical power of ten elephants'.

With the probable deracination of all coconut plantations under Mahasona's system of physical culture, it was not to be expected that there was reason for Dutugemunu later on to stipulate with the great Tamil invader Elara's Ministers for better coconut prices to be paid in the North of Ceylon. Even so shrewd an administrator as Dutugemunu overlooked the need for breaking down the high tariff walls among the Tamils and securing the free entry into their country of the Sinhalese coconut. If Dutugemunu did not overlook this matter (and it is more creditable to so illustrious a monarch that posterity should think he did not), then, on the other hand, what could he do, poor man ?

There were no coconuts to confer about on an economic basis with the Tamils, the whole yield having been exchanged for the more estimable strategic weapon, Mahasona's physical power of ten elephants. It was one of those crucial moments of Sinhalese history at which the coconut industry might have been set on its feet for ever ; next only in importance to the opportunity

afforded later by Parakrama the Great's exploits outside Ceylon itself. Parakrama might have established the Sinhalese coconut in all Asiatic countries and with his hegemony in Asia forced the London and European markets.

It would have been thrilling reading those Pali stanzas which describe the trade announcements in the glorious reign :

'London Prices—Copra, Spot. Quoted £. 19. 5. 6 ; Desiccated. Spot Sellers 28/6 ; tone of market, firm. Brisk business was done.'

It is to be understood, however, that in the later reigns were replanted all the devastated areas of Dutugemunu's epoch. But the collapse of the coconut was not to be averted in that fashion. The slump in the *Mahawamsa* coconuts is only too general to be overlooked or glossed over.

Even to Parakrama the Great the fruit served an ornamental purpose, as in his celebrated scheme for the Garden of Delight ; something like the purpose that yellow, red and green bunches serve in the artistic designs of modern tastefully decorated *pandals* put up for newly belted Mudaliyars returning from investiture.

If there were a Coconut-Grower's Association in the *Mahawamsa* periods, these people failed to catch Mahanama's eye. Coconut brokers probably functioned, but they went about disguised as craftsmen ; and travellers in coconut oil or other produce called on patrons, one may suppose, in the habit of mendicants and *sanyassis* and booked their stealthy orders.

Further, if the *Mahawamsa* is ignorant of coconut markets and big coconut incomes, it very grudgingly records the fruit even as a thing to be eaten. The mention is quite off-hand and occurs in a medley of fruits and produce. All which is a pity. Some day

there may be an edition of the *Mahawamsa* from the exclusive standpoint of the coconut industry. It will entail, no doubt, some research. For the present the following addendum and corrigendum (to be inserted at the beginning of the existing edition) must suffice :

Wherever rice, milk-rice, rice-cakes, and curry are mentioned in the text, eat coconut throughout, gratefully making explicit what is only implied. At all the historic second helpings, remember to double the coconut consistently. And wherever the commodity is mentioned in this and other contexts, let it be understood that the supply, according to the best traditions of political economy, has been bought in the lowest market and sold in the highest.

Colombo.

DROPS OF DELIGHT

BY J. F. CAIUS

'DRINK this, neighbour, and tell me what you think of it'. And drop by drop, with the minute care of a lapidary counting pearls, the parish priest of Graveson poured me out two fingers of a green and gold, warm, sparkling, exquisite liqueur. . . . It went down like a gleam of sunshine.

'That's Father Gaucher's Elixir, the joy and health of our Provence', the worthy man told me triumphantly ; 'they make it at the convent of the Premonstratenses, within five miles of your mill. Doesn't it beat any Chartreuse ever made ?'

When Alphonse Daudet wrote these lines in the old mill near Arles, the Carthusian monks had been back at La Grande Chartreuse and lived there in peace for a little over fifty years. Driven out of their monastery and secularized or banished during the French Revolution, they were, in 1816 permitted again to occupy the buildings —their own home—as tenants of the State, at a nominal rent. This meant poverty, abject poverty, unless some means of subsistence could be found to take the place of the broad acres lost in the Revolution.

This is the situation Daudet alludes to in that fanciful story *L'Elixir du Père Gaucher :*

'I must tell you, Reverend Sirs, that Aunt Bégon, in her lifetime, was as skilled in the herb-lore of our mountains as any old Corsican blackbird. Indeed, towards the end of her days, she had brewed a rare elixir by compounding five or six kinds of herbs which we used to go and gather, she and I, on the Alpilles.

'That's many a long year ago, but I fancy that with the help of Saint Augustine and the leave of our Father Abbot, I might, if I put myself to it, rediscover the ingredients of that mysterious elixir.

'Then all we should have to do would be to bottle it, and to sell it at a good price. This would enable the community to make a little pile, as has been done by our brethren of La Trappe and La Grande . . . .'

For the brethren had succeeded, and succeeded beyond all expectation. From brandy and aromatic herbs culled at the season of the year upon the slopes of the valley, the monks of Chartreuse distilled the matchless liqueur of that name, famous for the perfection of its taste and the richness of its flavour. And while chartreuse, whether green or yellow, would delight the palates of the rich, it would also warm the hearts of the poor; for the magnificent revenues derived from the profits of this manufacture were devoted by the monks to various purposes of benevolence, especially in the neighbouring villages, which owe to this source their churches, schools, and hospitals, built and maintained at the expense of the monks. When these worthy men were again expelled from their ancient home by the Government of the French Republic under the laws for the suppression of religious houses, the entire rural population of the vicinity would have defended their benefactors against the power of the Government, had not the Carthusians counselled patience and forbearance. It was touch-and-go with the officers and men of the Fourth Dragoons who, on April 29, 1903, had to evict the monks from their mountain fortress.

After this second ejection from their home, the monks transferred the distillery to Tarragona, in Spain, and the liqueur made there is sold under the name of *Liqueur des Pères Chartreux*. But however closely they reproduce the original, this and the numerous other brands of chartreuse in the market are only imitations. Nor will a silver label with a monk in ecstasy ever pass as a guarantee of the genuineness of the article. Only

if the Carthusians returned to the limestone mountains of Dauphiné could the true chartreuse be manufactured again : when made in other places it cannot be the same. Stocks of the genuine liqueur diminish year after year, and bottles fetch a very high price ; the name of the printer 'Alier' is the only proof of authenticity.

On the other hand, *Bénédictine D. O. M.* is the same now as it was in 1510 when Dom Bernardo Vincelli discovered it. The liqueur was a simple cordial which the monks would take in modest quantities when tired out with work. It also enabled them to fight successfully against the malarial diseases prevalent in their neighbourhood and to succour the sick peasants and fishermen whom they visited as part of their duty. When the Revolution broke out, the Abbey of Fécamp was swept away, the monks were dispersed, and the monastery was ransacked and partially destroyed. Fortunately a quantity of manuscripts, books, and other papers were saved, and among them the precious parchment which contained the recipe of Dom Vincelli's famous elixir. Seventy years after the destruction of the Abbey, in 1863, the relics passed into the hands of M. Alexandre Le Grand, who had some knowledge of chemistry ; he set to work assiduously, and after long and laborious experiments succeeded in reconstituting the formula. Aided by a natural delicacy of taste, he finally achieved the perfection of elegance and bouquet which characterizes the Bénédictine liqueur of to-day. The familiar initials, D. O. M., which are found on every bottle of Bénédictine preserve the memory of its original maker ; they stand for *Deo Optimo Maximo*—'To God most good, most great'—and can be seen on the front door of practically every Catholic church. All the other brands of Bénédictine (and there are many) are imitations.

It must be clearly understood that when used of liqueurs the word 'imitation' has no depreciatory meaning : it implies neither fraud nor inferior quality. In fact, an imitation product may not only be excellent in every way but also in some respects superior to the original. The reason is that the so-called type cannot be defined according to set standards. The manufacture of liqueurs rests on the use of formulæ or 'recipes' which specify the nature and quantities of the materials to be employed ; but no standard formula can be relied on to produce a liqueur of unvarying character, because of the variation in quality of the raw materials and the technique of preparation. The characteristics of the finished product depend very largely on the manufacturer's skill, care, intelligence, and knowledge which no amount of direction can replace.

Liqueurs are usually made from rectified alchohol, refined cane sugar, and flavouring and aromatic substances extracted from fruits, herbs, seeds, and roots. Any one may buy good spirit, good sugar, and good fruit, but the distiller shows his individuality in the harmonious blending of differently flavoured fruits or herbs ; this is why there are not two liqueurs exactly alike, although they may be made with similar or even identical ingredients.

Curaçao, one of the oldest liqueurs, is chiefly made of spirit, sugar, and dried orange peel ; but there are a great many different varieties of curaçao, because there are many distillers who make this liqueur, and each has his own method. Some use more sugar than others, some consider a certain kind of orange better than another, and some choose brandy, whilst others use grain spirit ; so that even in the case of this one liqueur there are many varieties, exhibiting notable differences of colour, sweetness, alcoholic strength, and flavour.

Nevertheless they are all true to type in so far as they all possess the mild bitter taste so very characteristic of Curaçao.

There are three distinct main methods of manufacturing liqueurs: the distillation process, the infusion process, and the essence process. The first, by which the liqueurs of the highest class are prepared, consists in macerating in spirit for a fixed period the selected aromatic and flavouring substances. The liquid is then distilled, and the aroma and flavour of the herbs, seeds, roots, barks, leaves, and fruits will be found in the distillate. The mixture of alcohol, water, and flavouring matters which distils over is termed 'alcoholate'. To this is added a solution of sugar or syrup, colouring matter in the shape of harmless vegetable extracts or burnt sugar, and a further quantity of flavouring matter in the shape of essential oils or clear spirituous vegetable extracts.

All liqueurs, whatever aromatic substances they may be distilled from, are always colourless when they leave the still; and custom has decreed that *Aniseed* and *Anisette*, the alcoholates from the anise fruit, are to be sold as such without being coloured. But the majority of liqueurs are coloured any shade the distiller thinks best to render them more attractive to the eye. However, adding the 'eye appeal' is a risky business, unless it be done with knowledge of the properties of the colour used. The stronger colours may alter the taste and break up the harmonious blend of aromatics in the liqueur. Again, the colours may be affected by light in the storage, and bleach or precipitate in the bottle. Infusions of red fruit tend to bleach to pink, and the violet ones tend to darken. The yellow tend to turn brown. Many of these changes can be averted by

suitable skill or by proper selection of colours. With some vegetable colours the addition of 0·01-0·02 per cent of alum is claimed to give permanence and stability.

Clarification or fining of liqueurs is practised not only to give them limpidity and brilliancy so that they may be agreeable to the eye, but also to render them immune against changes caused by substances which they may hold in suspension. Clarification methods precipitate these insoluble substances so that they can be removed by filtration. Both these operations are better carried out after the liqueur has been resting and settling for several days. Various substances are used : albumen, white of egg, fish glue, gelatin, and skimmed milk. Fining by means of white of egg works very well with cloudy or milky liqueurs. Fish glue or isinglass is a good clarification agent for strongly alcoholic liqueurs, but its preparation is somewhat lengthy and calls for considerable care. Gelatin and milk are best adapted for white liqueurs of low alcoholic content. Milk makes a particularly good fining agent for the curaçaos.

Filtration of liqueurs is done in order to give them the final 'polish' that ensures brilliant clarity and absence of turbidity. The means by which it is accomplished range from a simple felt or flannel bag to more mechanical filters of larger capacity. In any type of filter the true filtration is done by some powdered material—paper pulp, asbestos, wool, talc, diatomaceous earth—added to the liqueur, which builds up a cake on the meshes of the filter apparatus and holds back the slimy suspended matter without clogging. Hence it is always necessary to return the first runnings of the filter once or oftener until an efficient coating of filtering medium has been produced and the filtrate is absolutely clear.

Certain aromas and flavours do not lend themselves to extraction by distillation ; in these cases the infusion method is resorted to. In this process the aromatic substances are steeped in a solution of alcohol and sugar to which they impart their flavouring and aromatic principles. The solution may be coloured, and it is then strained to separate the marc or solid residue. Liqueurs prepared by this method do not have the fine bouquet, flavour, and taste found in the liqueurs obtained by the distillation process, though the infusions of red fruits are a remarkable exception. These form a group of very fine liqueurs when they are made according to the best methods of the art. Typical of the finest are *Cherry Brandy*, *Guignolet* (brandy from black cherries), *Cassis* (brandy from black currants), and *Strawberry Brandy.*

The third method of making liqueurs is that known as the essence process. Essential oils, either natural or synthetic, are added to the alcohol, which is then sweetened and coloured. It is employed, as a rule, for cheap and inferior articles.

The French, who excel in the preparation of liqueurs, grade their products, according to their sweetness and alcoholic strength, into *crêmes*, *huiles*, or *beaumes*, which have a thick, oily consistency ; and *eaux*, *extraits*, or *élixirs*, which, being less sweetened, are relatively limpid. Liqueurs are also classed, according to their commercial quality and composition, as *ordinaires*—ordinaires, liqueurs doubles—*demi-fines*, *fines*, and *surfines* or *super-fines.* Certain liqueurs, containing only a single flavouring ingredient, or having a prevailing flavour of a particular substance, are named after that body ; for instance, *crême de menthe*, *crême de vanille*, *anisette*, *kümmel*, *huile de roses.*

On account of their high sugar content liqueurs are rarely consumed in any quantity and serve either as

appetizers or as after-dinner relishes. The best known appetizers are the *bitters* : aromatized beverages containing a bitter substance or substances. The bitterness is imparted by such substances as bitter orange rind, wild cherry, quassia, gentian, rhubarb, angostura, cascarilla, and cinchona. Chamomile, carraway, cinnamon, cloves, juniper, and other flavouring substances are also employed in conjunction with the bitter principles, alcohol and sugar. The alcoholic strength varies, but is generally in the neighbourhood of 40 per cent of alcohol. Bitters are usually sold under the name of the substance which has been used to give the predominant flavour, such as *angostura*, *orange*, or *peach bitters*. In general, their manufacture is simple, and quality depends on the proper selection of materials and care rather than intricate processing.

Vermouth, another well-known appetizer, was first prepared in 1786 by the monk Antonio Benedetto Carpano. It is made from white wine, aromatic herbs, and sugar. It is delicately perfumed and very clear. The flavour, which varies somewhat in the different makes, depends principally on the judicious selection and blending of the various ingredients. The real, genuine, typical *Vermouth di Torino* is based upon muscatel wine, in the proportion of one part muscatel to three parts white wine, sweet or dry. The making of vermouth involves many processes. The extracted juices of the aromatic herbs, the sugar, and other materials are put together into a vessel and gradually warmed to a temperature of about 150° F., then cooled to about 40° or 45° F. After filtering, the wine is casked for two or three years, when it is filtered again and bottled for sale. The best French vermouth is made from the white wines of the Hérault district. The wine is fortified with spirit up to a strength of about 15 per

cent of alcohol, and is then stored in casks exposed to the sun's rays for a year or two. Another portion of the wine is fortified up to a strength of about 50 per cent of alcohol, and in this various aromatic materials are macerated, in casks which are exposed to the sun in the same way as the bulk of the wine. The two liquids are then mixed in such proportions as to make the strength of the ultimate product about 17 per cent of alcohol by volume. Wormwood is an important ingredient of vermouth.

All parts of wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium*, Linn.) are intensely bitter, on which account they, the leaves especially, have been used for flavouring drinks. The herb is cultivated to some extent for the manufacture of *Absinthe*, of which it forms one of the most important ingredients and which is named from it. The flowers and leaves of wormwood are steeped in alcohol with such other flavouring substances as angelica root, dittany leaves, star-anise fruit, fennel, hyssop, and sweet flag. A colourless alcoholate is first prepared, and to this the well-known green colour of the beverage is imparted by maceration with green leaves of wormwood, hyssop, and mint. There are two varieties of absinthe, the French and the Swiss, the latter of which is of a higher alcoholic strength than the former. The best absinthe contains 70 to 80 per cent of alcohol. Absinthe was first introduced as a febrifuge in the Algerian army, in 1844 ; but on January 15, 1915, its sale was forbidden in France during the Great War, and the drink is prohibited in the French service.

Mint is of all herbs the most extensively used by distillers in the making of liqueurs justly popular for their digestive properties. Whether it be called *Peppermint* or *Crême de Menthe*, left white or coloured green, made with brandy or gin, the beneficial action

of such liqueurs is due to the mint. Unhappily for the consumer, there are many inferior kinds on the market : they are decocted from cheap spirit, sugar, a mineral acid, artificial oil of peppermint, and essences.

Kümmel is produced from grain alcohol, bruised carraway seeds, cumin, and other flavouring bodies. There are about fifty brands included under the generic name of *allasch.* Anise seeds are used in the manufacture of *anisette.* Cherries, blackberries, black currants give excellent results ; *cherry brandy, cherry whisky, kirsch, maraschino, cassis.* Stone fruits, such as apricots, peaches, cherries, and sloes make very good liqueurs ; *Noyau* or *Crême de Noyau* is made from grape alcohol or brandy, sweetened with pure cane sugar and flavoured with crushed peach stone kernels ; pink and white varieties are produced, and for both Martinique has long been famous. Many of these liqueurs enter into the preparation of 'entremets' or sweets, such as, crêpes-suzette, Christmas pudding, and fruit salad much esteemed by teetotallers and *buveurs d'eau.*

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It is not possible to mention more than a few of the many creations of man in the field of liqueur manufacture ; for there is perhaps no other field so very vast wherein man may exercise his ingenuity. He is at liberty to give his liqueurs practically any shade or colour he thinks best to attract attention, rouse curiosity, and charm the eye ; he has also at his command all the fruits of the earth from which to extract an almost unlimited variety of aromas and flavours, wherewith to please the most fastidious taste and flatter the most faded palate.

As beverages, liqueurs stand apart and form a class by themselves. They are neither indispensable—*drops of life* ; nor universally indulged in—*drops of*

fire; they are merely a matter of luxury—*drops of delight.*

'And while over all those white cowls, prostrate in the darkness of the naves, the orison rustled like a puff of wind over the snow, away at the end of the convent, behind the ruddy windows of the distillery, you could hear Father Gaucher singing at the top of his voice. . . .'

Bombay.

References: André L. Simon: *Wine and Spirits* (1919); Frank Hedges Butler: *Wine and the Wine Lands of the World* (1926); Karl M. Herstein and Thomas C. Gregory: *Chemistry and Technology of Wines and Liquors* (1935).

THE ROSE

Sweet, queenly Rose, I've solved your mystery :
  Long have I wondered whence you came to earth,
  How nursed, how grew, how clad in petall'd skirt
Of Tyrian hues, fragrant of Araby.

Now to your secrets I have found the clue :
  From Earth you sprang, and at her breasts, replete
  With nourishment, you sip the nectars sweet
Which, trans-substantiated, live in you.

Who would have thought a broken, marly clod
  And tiny drops of night-distilléd dew
Could, at a touch of Nature's magic rod,
  Become a live, a lovely rose like you !

If thus with earthly clays, then sure *our* clay
The Flower of Jesse's Root will be one day.

C. A. RIBEIRO.

Shembaganur.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

FATHER AND DAUGHTER

Adventures and Misgivings. By E. V. Lucas. Pp. VI+146. *London : Methuen,* 1939. Price 6*s.*

E. V. Lucas : A Portrait. By Audrey Lucas. Pp. XIV+160. *London : Methuen, 1939.* Price 6*s.*

If a sufficient number of *Punch* contributions and other pieces have not remained over from the assembled matter in *Adventures and Misgivings*, this book is the last of that long line of essay-books which made E. V. Lucas the most fascinating essayist of the contemporary world. Miss Lucas's book, on the other hand, is the first of all possible books devoted to the portrayal of her father's complex and delightful character or to the study of the environment in which his writing life was lived and brought to harvest. It is something to be grateful for that the daughter was first in this field. In a letter on this subject she was explaining some while ago that her father would be better pleased with the idea of a memoir of this sort which is an informal and intimate portrait than with the customary formal biography which was a monument of chapter and worse. On looking into the daughter's exquisite portrait one is sure now that not only the idea but also the execution would fetch the father's complete gratification. So charmingly is Miss Lucas daughter not only to his blood but also to his manners.

One of Mr. H. G. Wells's opinions delivered to Pressmen in the few hours he spent in Colombo recently was that E. V. Lucas was one of the greatest literary artists of the age. If that is so, and it must be so if Mr. Wells decided it so, then the essay was the favourite medium of this contemporary master of the essence of the printed word. In this last book there are no two words about that : the urbanity, the cultivated ease, the subdued wit, the quiet humour, the gentle cynicism which leavens all, the sensitive reaction are all there. By those tokens the first book of essays thirty years ago could also be recognized. In Miss Lucas's portrait Mr. Wells appears again at the salute. One of the book's illustrations is a Wellsian pencil-sketch called a Crusty Dawn 'showing the enthusiastic reception given in his household to E. V. Lucas's *England Day by Day* immediately after its arrival'. Mr. Wells is having breakfast in bed, and upon the tray are food, letters, and *England Day by Day*, the last of which the slug-a-bed is devouring first, when a female hand raised from nowhere grabs the volume and transfers it to be devoured by Mrs. Wells breakfasting at table.

It is good to linger over this testimony, as the adventures of that warm-hearted but fastidious spirit, whose mind misgave him

at times in regard to contemporary society, were mostly adventures in friendship. The essays in friendship were written—as well as lived. In Miss Lucas's portrait these proofs of this beautiful humanity appear in a rousing homeliness. There is J. M. Barrie, but he is the captain of a side and sports on a cap in club colours. There is Maurice Hewlett, and the only creative effort of his is to rechristen E. V. 's dog who had kept him from sleep with the name of Macbeth. John Galsworthy was fond of tea in the garden ; Chesterton 'came hugely to several dinners' ; C. L. Graves and George Morrow and Arnold Bennett were week-end people ; Drinkwater hiked there, and Stephen Gwynn wrote a poem on the garden.

E. V. would have shrunk from the adventures of the professional men of action, and he did not prosper in the adventures of sportsmen even, as Miss Lucas is witness to his difficulties with riding, sailing, and fishing. To cricket he was devoted, but it was expressed in songs of the game far better than with the willow. His adventures, then, were of the incidental order, and the last volume records with humour undiminished the experiences of dramatic happenings which are all in the game of life in its ordinary course when the sportsman is a Lucas. One of these last papers proves that a bellicose dog who is a stranger is overcome with a box of snuff thrown in its eyes, 'and that no one should be without a box of snuff'. Another extracts imprecations from the lettering on the backs of volumes of the Dictionary of National Biography : Reilly-Robbins ! ; Pereira-Pockeridge ! A third records that when E. V. and a friend were walking to Bouverie House a navvy who was obstructing the pavement made room with the words which E. V. heard as 'Come on, Daddy' and resented as an allusion to age. The other peripatetic had heard it as 'Come on, Laddy', and would not admit to inferior audition. 'I went on my way rejoicing', winds up E. V. 'Laddy ? Of course it *was* Laddy' ; and the paper is titled 'Reassurance'.

Misgivings, of course, there are in good stock and these season Lucas's last sheaf. There is that sardonic one of the Memorial Service to himself (which contains a pathetic thought of his death which came soon after) : 'My principal impression was one of surprise that so many people should have thought it worth while to put on black clothes for me. I had no idea I was held in such esteem. . . .' There is that other one of 'God and His Stenographer (Miss Giving) : a guess at the origin of it all', which saves itself from blasphemy admirably by its wild absurdity and its final orthodoxy. 'I had a dream the other night in which God was dictating to His typist.' (It would appear that creation was based on some of the ideas of the lady). 'Is it conceivable', I have asked my friends, 'that it all began like that ?' 'But how could those have been typewriters ?', they said, 'Impossible !' 'I agree.' As people who hate heresy, we must all agree.

Miss Lucas's portrait of the man who could pack so much entertainment into one book and has stowed away a whole world of delight in a veritable cataract of such books, is an indispens-

able commentary and annotation on all of them. It increases the enjoyment of all the essays because it increases our knowledge of the man as he was ; of the father as he was known to the daughter. She had memories of him as a son and had seen him as the master of his three homes (one of which was Froghole), as a husband, friend, playmate, connoisseur of things, traveller, clubman, famous man, and perfect Londoner. In her narrative the tastes and predilections of her father which overflowed into so many books live again : cricket, games, food, wine, pictures, books, wandering, London, country life—these and all the rest are adequately and fully recorded. 'I believe', she writes, 'that my father confined himself, on paper, to the urbane, the humorous, and the delicate, in order to protest against different aspects not of human nature only, but of his own.' The explanation explains, on looking back with it on everything. To appreciate the beauty of the portrait one has to borrow words used of the father to compliment the daughter with : urbanity, cultivated ease, subdued wit, quiet humour, and all the rest of it. Like father, like daughter.

J. P. de Fonseka.

Colombo.

MODERN SCIENCE

Background to Modern Science. Edited by J. Needham & W. Pagel. Pp. XII+243. *Cambridge University Press, 1938.* Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

In understanding the growth of civilization no study is more important than the history of science, for it is chiefly through science that man has made himself what he is to-day. But the history of science was till lately comparatively neglected both by historians and by scientists. It is only in recent years that attention has been directed to this branch of study, thanks partly to the rise of economic history and partly to a change in the outlook of the scientists themselves. In 1936, a History of Science Committee was formed in the Cambridge University, and it organized a series of lectures by distinguished scientists—each a giant in his own field. The book under review is a collection of ten of these lectures—dealing mostly with the period 1895-1935.

The first two lectures, dealing with Greek Natural Philosophy and on the period from Aristotle to Galileo, trace the beginnings of scientific speculation from Thales of Miletus (*c.* 6th century B. C.) to the time of Galileo who laid the foundations of modern experimental science. Against this background is presented the progress of the more active branches of modern science during the four decades before 1935. We are told in the introduction that this great gap in the background from medieval to modern times will be filled by a further course of lectures. We hope these will soon be published in book form to record the co-ordinated progress of scientific thought.

The late Lord Rutherford's lectures on Radioactivity and the Development of the Theory of Atomic Structure are of special interest. They show how step by step he developed the ideas of radioactivity and atomic structure with the collaboration of Soddy, Bohr, Aston, and others. In his own words, he tried to show that

'it is not in the nature of things for any one man to make a sudden violent discovery ; science goes step by step, and every man depends on the work of his predecessors. When you hear of sudden unexpected discovery—a bolt from the blue, as it were—you can always be sure that it has grown up by the influence of one man on another, and it is this mutual influence which makes the enormous possibility of scientific advance.'

Then follow the younger Bragg on Crystal Physics, Aston on the Atomic Theory, and Eddington on Astronomy. They deal respectively with the progress of X-ray analysis of crystals, the discovery of isotopes, and the changing ideas of stellar magnitudes and evolution.

The biological sciences have also been making revolutionary progress in their own spheres. Professor Ryle discusses the progress of physiology and pathology following the pioneer work of Beaumont and Pavlov. The next lecture by the late Professor Nuttall gives an account of the progress of tropical medicine in fighting malaria and yellow fever.

The two lectures on the progress of the evolution theory and of genetics, with which the book closes, trace the growth of the evolution theory from Darwin to the modern mathematical theory of evolution developed by Norton, Haldane, Fisher, and others ; the establishment of Mendelism in heredity ; and the discovery and mapping of genes in chromosomes, the ultimate units of heredity.

These lectures by men on the scientific front are vivid, personal and authoritative eye-witnesses' accounts of the progress on their own sections. They have a special appeal to students of science, as they are rich in personal anecdotes.

K. R. Sundararajan.

Poona.

WARNING TO LABOUR

Cast Off All Fooling. By John Scanlon. Pp. 288. *London : Hutchinson, 1938.* Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Of the two phases which can broadly be distinguished in the history of the British labour movement, the second, which started with the formation of the Labour Party, is generally known as the Parliamentary phase. The outstanding feature of this phase is that the leadership of the movement passed from the Trade Union chiefs to the Labour politicians. Naturally enough this change of leadership was bound to have reactions of its own on the working class. In *Cast Off All Fooling*, Mr. John Scanlon, till

recently of the rank and file of the working class, examines with refreshing candour these reactions *vis-à-vis* the workers' welfare in the light of events relating, not to the misty past, but to the last twenty years of British working-class history.

The British workers, like their fellow-workmen all the world over, want not only protection from the excesses of the industrial system but also, and in a sense even more, a decent standard of life. The latter means for them, in the author's vivid phrase, 'not only bread but roses', that is, a decent and secure job with enough wages to provide them with a decent home, good food and clothes, and something for their holidays and the ordinary little luxuries of life.

The author readily concedes that the political leadership of the labour movement has succeeded in obtaining for the workers relief from the abuses of the industrial system :

'We had to admit that the political activities of the small group of enthusiasts who built the Labour Party had focused attention on the worst excesses of the profit-making system. . . . Everything we have to-day in the way of social reform was secured as the result of the activities of that handful in the House.'

But on the other hand, as he ably shows with a wealth of appropriate illustration, that political leadership has done nothing to achieve what is ultimately of greater consequence to the workers—a better standard of life. The Labour politicians, of whom Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Philip Snowden are the type, have been busy instead playing at the pretty game of party politics, making speeches, writing articles, and drafting programmes. Both in Opposition and as His Majesty's Government they have taken the workers along with them from position to position, often with scant regard for consistency, on questions of national and international importance, such as unemployment, finance, subsidy to the coal industry, foreign affairs, disarmament, etc., without bringing them any nearer the solution of their poverty. With hardly any proper appreciation of the workers' real needs and problems, they have merely led them 'from mirage to mirage'.

The workers, who have all these years followed the politicians with characteristic loyalty have at last discovered, to their great disappointment, that all along they have been made pawns in a political game which could in no way benefit them ; they are consequently turning back to their old Trade Union leaders. This return to their traditional leaders is, as the author further points out very truly, a very hopeful sign indeed. For it means that they realize that to get 'bread and roses' they should no longer look to Parliament which can give neither, but rather turn to industry which can give both—that, in other words, their future lies, not in their alliance with politicians, but in their co-operation with the directors of industry :

'For the ordinary workers there was everything to gain and nothing to lose by a clear recognition that they had a greater identity of interest with the new directors of industry, with the managers in industry, and with the scientist who helped both, than with the professional politician who knew nothing of their industrial or agricultural problems.'

And the prospect of success for such co-operation, as the author rightly estimates, was never more hopeful. For on the employers' side new men, who are determined to show more concern for their workers than for their shareholders, have replaced the old Liberal industrialists 'whose one conception of a full life was to amass a fortune out of unpaid labour and then build chapels as fire-escapes from the wrath to come'; and similarly on the workers' side the men who count in the trade unions have never been so little interested in the game of party politics nor more anxious to gain for the workers a decent standard of life by co-operation with the employers.

Racy, brilliant, and witty, *Cast Off All Fooling* is a very useful addition to the literature on the British working-class movement. Its unsparing, yet good-humoured exposure of the political game of the Labour party and its vigorous plea for the worker's return to orthodox trade-union leadership point a most timely and valuable lesson to the British worker. The lesson may well apply to workers elsewhere, especially in India where the danger of the labour movement being led astray into a political wilderness is too real to be lightly ignored.

M. Arokiaswami.

Trichinopoly.

POST-WAR POETRY

The Dynasts and the Post-War Age in Poetry. By Amiya Chakravarty. Pp. 174. *Oxford University Press, 1938.* Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

This is not only a scholarly and comprehensive study of Hardy's *Dynasts* : it is also, what its sub-title claims it to be, a study in modern ideas ; and dealing as it does with war, dictatorship, and 'elemental psychological storms', it has a special value for us to-day.

In Book I ('The Process of Poetry'), Dr. Chakravarty is mainly concerned with the problem of self-consciousness in its relation with cosmic nature, as revealed in the *Dynasts*. 'The Will', said Schopenhauer, 'is aimless. Therefore Pessimism is the only adequate estimate of life.' Superficial readers of Hardy's novels and even of his poetry have frequently labelled him a pessimist, because Hardy's Immanent Will, too, or President of the Immortals seems equally aimless—or if it or he has an aim, it is to 'sport' in the grim manner of Kyd with such poor mortals as Tess :

> 'T is all a chequer-board of Nights and Days
> Where Destiny with Men for Pieces plays.

But that this was not Hardy's own consciously held view becomes evident to the student of Mrs. Hardy's biography or of Hardy's poetry, notably his *Dynasts*. 'What is to-day, in allusion to the present author's pages, alleged to be pessimism', he says

in his Apology to *Late Lyrics and Earlier*, 'is only . . . questionings in the exploration of reality, and is the first step towards the soul's betterment, and the body's also.' To quote his own *In Tenebris* : 'If way to the Better there be, it exacts a full look at the Worst.' The pessimist stops with that full look at the worst. He may see life steadily, but he does not see it whole. He has no faith in humanity, no belief in a better order. The logical conclusion to pessimism, as some of the characters in *Point Counterpoint* find out for themselves, is suicide.

Hardy, on the other hand, is not a pessimist, but what he claims to be, an evolutionary meliorist. Between Schopenhauer and him came Darwin, and there is no doubt that Darwin's hypothesis influenced Hardy to no small extent. Such intelligence as man has to-day is said to be the result of a long evolution from insentience to consciousness. Why may not a similar process be predicated for the workings of the Immanent Will ? No doubt its actions *now* seem like those of a knitter 'drowsed, whose fingers play in skilled unmindfulness' ; but what has happened in the physical world may well happen in the supra-physical, 'consciousness the Will informing, till It fashion all things fair.' The semi-choruses of the Pities at the end are, therefore, not just a pious hope that somehow good will be the final goal of ill, but rather the very core and centre of Hardy's teaching.

In Book II ('Hardy and the Poetry of Modern Consciousness'), Dr. Chakravarty institutes a comparison between *Dynasts* and two contemporary poetic dramas, Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* and Auden's *The Dog Beneath the Skin*. At first sight, indeed, there does not seem to be very much in common between these three plays, but the problem of all three is the problem of a world gone awry, and the different solutions offered are characteristic of the different authors. Thus while Hardy saw 'the emergence of the higher Reason, of Compassion, from the whirlpool of instincts', to Eliot regeneration is possible only through a specific act of faith, while Auden believes that a saner world will result with the removal of social inhibitions.

A great deal of scholarship has gone into the book, and Dr. Chakravarty moves with an enviable ease and assurance among those bugbears of critics and readers—the modernist poets. The fact that we are on the brink of yet another Armageddon gives a special interest to this study of the *Dynasts* (and, in Appendix II, of War Poetry) and makes it something more than a mere academic discussion. But in describing Napoleon throughout as if he were the villain of the piece, 'a megalomaniac tyrant seized by a destructive frenzy', Dr. Chakravarty is surely distorting a little Hardy's own view ? The Immanent Will urges him on as much as the meanest soldier : and he differs from the soldier primarily in this, that he is 'of the few in Europe who discern the working of the Will'.

Cuttack. *P. S. Sundaram.*

BEAUTIFUL CEYLON

Ceylon. By Lord Holden. Pp. 315. *London: Allen & Unwin, 1939.* Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

'The ruins of the "Lost Cities", the urban and scenic beauties, and the singular life of the jungle form a trinity of absorbing interest, one of which, if not all, is certain to appeal to an intelligent traveller.' Thus Lord Holden introduces the reader to what has been a tourists' paradise from ancient times. In fact, the Chinese Monk, Fa-Hien, who visited Ceylon towards the end of the fourth century on a religious quest, the ubiquitous Marco Polo who seven hundred years later was fascinated by its jewels, Robert Knox who was the first Englishman to write of its insular charms, Mrs. Heber who had the singular fortune of encountering the 'flying leech' of which unfortunately no trace is to be found anywhere in the country to-day—all these have had remarkable tales to tell of this 'Island of Jewels', this 'Land without Sorrow', this 'Pearl upon the Brow of India'. Of this land Lord Holden's book gives a charming account.

The author is none of your superficial sight-seers whose boast is to be able to 'do' a country in a fortnight and forthwith proceed to write a book or two filled with the more or less reliable information picked up at one of the first-class hotels in the locality visited. He is a 'traveller of zeal and integrity' who is for roughing it out in order to examine and appreciate leisurely the varied interests of Ceylon. He has travelled extensively, observing not only the well-known towns and 'Ruined Cities'—some of the latter dating back to the pre-Christian era—but also, and especially, the little-known ruins which are still being excavated or restored, and all the varied aspects of Ceylon's luxuriant tropical jungle. Nothing escapes his observant eye. The superiority of the architectural and sculptural genius of Mihintale, Anuradhapura, and Tissamaharama which reached their zenith of glory over 2000 years ago, the engineering feats that called into being the patricide Kasyapa's palace on the well-nigh inaccessible heights of the rocky pleateau of Sigiriya, the possible effects of the monotony of climatic conditions and of Buddhist agnosticism on the Sinhalese character, the modesty and good sense of the Sinhalese women—all this flows from his sympathetic pen in a captivating style enlivened with anecdote, myth, and legend. He is full of his subject. His leisurely stay in no less than 30 different 'rest-houses' in all parts of the island, together with his rare facility for moving with the humble village folk whom he has learned to love, has enabled him to become acquainted with the curious superstitions born of extreme simplicity, and even with such little details of the country dinner table as the 'sambol paste of coconut and chili' and the 'poppadum'.

We have, then, no hesitation in recommending Lord Holden's *Ceylon* to all prospective tourists in the island. It is a charming travel-book containing a wealth of information about every aspect

of Ceylon, and is bound to be of great practical value to the tourist. It will perhaps be of even greater interest to those who, having been in Ceylon, would recapture the enjoyment they once had gazing on its 'Ruined Cities', or driving across its virginal jungles, or again listening to a chorus of mysterious 'singing fish' by moonlight on the Batticaloa lagoon.

Kurseong. *P. N. Peiris.*

JAPANESE STUDIES

Monumenta Nipponica. Vols. I and II, 1938 ; Vol. I, 1939. Pp. 292, 333, 332. *Sophia University* (Jôchi Daigaku). Price $ 4 a year.

We heartily welcome this brother from the Far East. The young Sophia University of Tokyo was so far without an organ to to carry its message across the seas. It has one now—and a full-diapasoned *organ* from the start—in German, French, English, and quotations in Japanese and Chinese.

From the three numbers before us the aim of *Monumenta Nipponica* appears to be not merely to record the good work being done at Jôchi Daigaku but chiefly to interest the West in the rich culture hidden in Japan. Being the only university in Japan with European as well as Japanese professors working side by side, Sophia has the advantage of being the meeting-place of East and West and encouraging mutual understanding. Frs. Kraus (Editor), Laures, Dumoulin, Voss, von Küenburg, Schiffer, who are Jesuit professors of the University, write on Japanese history (unearthed from precious archives kept by religious orders who have worked for centuries in the country), language, manners, philosophy. Fr. Henri Bernard of Tientsin contributes historical studies on his special period of Chinese history. Sir George Sansom, of the British Embassy at Tokyo, writes modest but competent notes on cruxes of Japanese history ; his confrère of the Dutch Embassy, Dr. van Gulik, has a masterly article on that characteristic instrument, the Chinese lute. The discussion of more intimate Japanese problems, like religion and art, has been wisely left to Japanese professors of the Sophia or the Imperial University—Nomura, Anezaki, Katô, Nakamura, etc.—who show a high degree of scholarship. Besides residents in the Far East, of every nationality and religion, there are well-known contributors from Valkenburg, Hamburg, Manila—though these are rightly in a minority, since the journal specializes in things Japanese.

A notable feature of every number is the translation of valuable and hitherto inaccessible texts relating to Japanese traditions, with a view to bringing the West into closer contact, and consequently sympathy, with this rich and ancient culture. The books reviewed deal with Japan and show that contacts have already been established between Sophia University and most of the centres of Oriental study in Europe and the United States.

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It is no small achievement of Fr. Kraus and his collaborators to have obtained so much co-operation from those whose co-operation is worth having. *Monumenta Nipponica* is a much needed link between Japan and the rest of the world, for the good of both. Every library of a certain intellectual level should therefore subscribe to it.

T. N. Siqueira.

Calcutta.

ROUND THE EARTH

DANUBIAN DESTINY. By GRAHAM HUTTON. Pp. 254. *London: Harrap, 1939.* Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

It is none too early to assess the consequences of the Nazi policy in 1938: the annexation of Austria and the Munich agreement may mark a corner in historical development. One essential element of the problem is the economic, one, and it is this which has received special attention from Mr. Hutton in the book under review. With the annexation of Austria, the Facist dream of an Italo-Austro-Hungarian economic *bloc* came to an abrupt end, Italy became dependent on Germany for some raw materials, and Trieste was at the mercy of Nazi trade policy. Moreover, the Balkan States were increasing the clientele of Germany. Economically speaking, the Munich agreement adds little to Germany's recent accretion of strength; but the Czecho-Slovak economy which has been broken up may be rebuilt on behalf of Germany, and it is a bitter thought that the British loan looks a present to Nazi interests when considered in the light of a long-view policy. On the other hand, Austria has added her own liability to the German debt, and the Sudeten industries which have lost their American market after the Munich agreement are threatened with bankruptcy.

This balance-sheet of Nazi enterprise is detailed with competence by the author; its significance is made clearer with the political considerations given in the chapters which precede and follow this central economic study; they are, however, of secondary importance and contain nothing beyond what is common knowledge. The Third Reich is the master of Bohemia; according to Bismarck's saying, the Reich should become the master of the Danube. The present book studies a passing phase of the process; this makes its merit as well as its transient value.

A. Lallemand.

GERMANY PUSHES WEST. By DR. G. SCHACHER. Pp 256. *London: Hurst & Blackett, 1939.* Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The author of *Germany Pushes South-East* now completes his study of the Nazi expansive force with an analysis of the strain existing all along what he calls 'the safety cordon'—Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark—and of the definite threat of explosion on the French border. The book was written by December of last year and no appendix attempts to bring it up to date; the main thesis has not altered, but, had the author been favoured with leisure to review his study, he would certainly have shaped in a different way his conclusion about the results of Munich on Central and Eastern Europe. He writes that 'Germany received a free hand in Central and South-Eastern Europe as a result of the Munich Agreement'; events have shown such a conclusion was unduly pessimistic; the anti-aggression front built up largely under British initiative and the reactions of Poland temper the fear of Nazi domination from the Baltic to the Black Sea in the near future. He would also have toned down the importance he gives to anti-parliamentarian movements like those of the Rexists and Dinasos in Belgium and the National Socialists in Holland.

The subject in which the author feels at home is a very difficult one, and the sifting of rumours and news, of facts and fancies is very arduous; moreover

its kaleidoscopic character soon puts any study out of date. Great is the merit of those who like Dr. Schacher succeed in focusing the situation for at least one day.

A. Lallemand.

BRITAIN'S JEWISH PROBLEM. By M. G. MURCHIN. Pp. 223. *London : Hurst & Blackett, 1939.* Price 5*s.*

From the time Hilaire Belloc called the attention of the British public to the Jewish problem in England, nothing has been done to find a solution that might prove satisfactory ; and the obstinacy which is wasted on the Palestinian home can only delay a fair and peaceful settlement of all the forces at play. The author's pseudonym would apparently cover a well-known Fleet Street journalist ; the method of treatment and the style point that way ; numerous are the newspaper quotations, and few the dates and statistics. One would certainly have expected a more detailed survey of the influence of Jews on the Press and the news agencies ; the best chapter deals with Jewish Finance in Britain and allows one to see how far foreign policy and Jewish interests often work in complete harmony. The author is careful to mark the difference between the varieties of Jewish types and cautions his readers against lumping all the Jews together ; his suggestions may help to abate anti-semitism, but he has apparently no large-scale solution to offer.

A. Lallemand.

HITLER OVER AFRICA. By B. BENNETT. Pp. 197. *London : Werner Laurie, 1939.* Price 5*s.*

Nazi propaganda is spread all over the world, but it concentrates much effort in the former German colonies where it finds some friendly nuclei. The book opens with the scene of the 'Ordeal by Fire' enacted on the south-west African coast ; the youthful members of the Pfadfinders and Meiden Bund were made to jump over fire hurdles and swear loyalty to the faraway Führer. The author is a well-known journalist of South Africa who has had access to much secret information. His main point is that Germany wants back African colonies for strategic reasons : air and sea communications, which are vital to the British Empire, would come within the reach of German military organisms. By way of appendix several documents are published which show Nazi propaganda in its true light ; one can only regret that none is dated later than 1934.

A. Lallemand.

BEHOLD OUR NEW EMPIRE. By L. DIEL, Pp. 256. *London : Hurst & Blackett, 1939.* Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Frau Diel has taken Mussolini's victorious words as a title for her travel book ; she went on her third visit to Africa at the personal request of Signor Mussolini. 'Go and see', the Duce said, 'see for yourself what things are like in our new country.' And so Frau Diel went and she saw ; she saw what the Duce expected her to see : the rich possibilities of the country for economic development, the enthusiasm of the Italian workers and the marvels realized in a few months by Fascist enterprise. Her journey took her to Asmara, Gondar, Assab, and Addis Ababa, as well as Gambela, Harrar, and Mogadiscio ; she interviewed everybody of importance in the colony and the motherland, and her most striking illustrations in the present book are the autographs of Marshals Graziani, Badoglio, and de Bono ; she has taken good care that a photograph would vouchsafe her presence at every important place.

But she has been so taken up with her journey and has got into so intimate a contact with the Fascist world that her style is apt to grow tiringly dithyrambic ; her photograph suggested a more quiet nature and a more critical talent.

A. Lallemand

GERMANY—HAMMER OR ANVIL? By J. C JOHNSTONE. Pp. 156. *London : Hutchinson; 1939.* Price 6*d.*

Von Bülow, the German Foreign Secretary, had once prophesied that Germany would be either hammer or anvil. The metaphor implied a challenge and a bid for power ; it has been used by the author as a method of studying the history of the Second and the Third Reich. The German bid for power has not been scotched by the 1918 defeat, but the author unexpectedly views the Weimar democracy as a mere smoke-screen which veiled untold ambitions ; if he wants to realize how sincerely pacific Weimar was, he has only to read Hitler's denunciation. What changed the German mind back to its former world-ambition was the rise of Nazism. In the study of the Third Reich the author is accurate ; he rightly fears the ambition of the Führer and of his clique ; he rightly recites all the broken pledges of the last years, and aptly urges England to rearm until there be no more need of self-defence.

Hutchinson's have done well in including the present study in their 'pocket' special series.

A. Lallemand.

LANGUAGE HUNTING IN THE KARAKORAM. By E. O. LORIMER Pp. 310. *London : Allen & Unwin, 1939.* Price 12*s.* 6*d.*

This is a book about Hunza near the Karakoram range in N.-W. India, which in spite of a somewhat uninviting title will appeal to any one at all interested in India as a whole. It is a homely recital of the adventures of the author and her husband in the latter's scientific study, after retirement, of some languages with which he became acquainted during Government service in those parts. The author is at her best in her descriptions of life in Hunza, its land and houses, harvesting, babies, crafts, marriages, winter, etc. ; she not merely toured but spent over a year in familiar intercourse with the peasants, whom she makes to appear a really fine people. There is a chapter, too, for those interested in the learning of an unknown language.

Perhaps one would have liked the author to be more concise, and to take less for granted as to her readers' knowledge or intuition of the meaning of foreign words. The book, however, which is well illustrated makes profitable and interesting reading,

A. Fraser.

FROM MY AFRICAN NOTEBOOK. By ALBERT SCHWEITZER. Pp, 132. *London : Allen & Unwin, 1938.* Price 5*s.*

Of books on Africa that hurtle through the press not a few are a farrago of fact and fiction. Here is a volume, by a German medical missionary, which is refreshingly different. The author has pieced together his reminiscences, colourful if homely, of that obscure bit of the Dark Continent over which Trade Horn blazed the trail about the mid-seventies of last century. Written by one who practises what he postulates, that 'really to understand the African, one must get to know him as man to man', his study is marked by a rare insight into the primeval mass-mind, and a mellow human sympathy that allows him at once to put up with the failings and foibles of his erratic flock and to keep track of the tenuous streaks of ore amid the massive and resistant rocks of a benighted humanity. The narrative is richly leavened with anecdotes which reveal the African character in all its facets, while the chapter on Taboos and Magic, of interest to all, should be of especial value to the psychiatrist and the anthropologist besides showing what stark superstition and impermeable ignorance the missionary has to battle against. But the material out of which a character like Oyembo can be hewn holds infinite promise, and a single such success should set off myriads of disappointments and be at once the missionary's pride and his high meed, a solace and a spur.

G. G. Mukerji.

CENTRAL ASIA : *Personal Narrative of General Josiah Harlan 1823-1841.* Edited by FRAK E. ROSS. Pp. 163. *London : Luzac, 1939.* Price 8*s.* 6*d.*

This manuscript, fortuitously saved from a house fire which destroyed manuscript notes, letters, and journals, is a geographical and personal narrative

of the domains in the neighbourhood of Kabul. Josiah Harlan, the author, was an intrepid American who, joining service with the East India Company, gradually moved up till he was destined to play a military role among vindictive Amirs in the rugged highlands beyond the Hindu Kush. Having served with Ranjit Singh in the Punjab, he went over to Dost Mohammed ; with the First Afghan War and the reinstatement of Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, he was left discomfited and unemployed. He returned to America and died in San Francisco, having left a 'Memoir' and this manuscript which had come into the prossession of the Chester County Historical Society of West Chester.

The document gives interesting glimpses into the topography of Northern Afghanistan and the social and economic condition of the contrasting Uzbeck and Hazzarah communities. Written in a serious vein the text shows remarkable geographical accuracy ; the history, however, like that of the British atrocity (p. 126), would seem to need further corroboration.

A. P. O'Brien.

RELIGION

S. ANSELMI CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI OPERA OMNIA, VOL. I. EDITED by FR. S. SCHMITT O. S. B. Pp. X+290. *Benediktinerabtei Seckau, Steiermark, Germany, 1938.* Price Stitched RM. 25.

A complete critical re-edition of the works of St. Anselm of Canterbury, the 'Father of Scholasticism', was greatly needed, and no one was better fitted for the task than Fr. S. Schmitt. Numerous historical and critical studies on St. Anselm and the re-editing of four of his main treatises in the Bonn 'Florilegium Patristicum' have established his authority as a thorough scholar and an outstanding Anselmian critic.

This first volume, to be followed by four more, contains the works of St. Anselm as Prior and Abbot at Bec. Each treatise is introduced with a brief description and classification of the extant manuscripts. The text itself is throughout based on the most genuine manuscript material available, and annotated variants are reduced to a useful minimum. Added references to Scripture and to the Fathers of the Church—chiefly St. Augustine largely help to throw light on the filiation of Anselm's theological thought ; whilst the *priores recensiones*, previous readings altered by Anselm himself, often manifest its progress and growing accuracy. Four photographic plates give the reader an idea of the state of preservation of the main manuscripts.

The '*meditationes sive orationes*' will be published, in Vol. III, by Dom A. Wilmart, a specialist in the matter. With the indexes and general introduction, to come in Vol. V, Dom Schmitt will have presented theologians and historians with an instrument of Anselmian study that is wellnigh perfect. The printing and publishing are wholly adequate to the value of this great work. One can only wish for its early completion.

J. Bayart.

LA GRAND 'ROUTE APOLOGETIQUE. By CHANOINE EUGENE MASURE. Pp. 192. *Paris : Gabriel Beauchesne, 1938.* Price 21 frs.

With the clouds of a long controversy around 'historical', 'integral' and 'new' apologetics slowly dissipating, the time has come to harvest the fruits of much sincere thinking and to retrace, in greater serenity the 'apologetic high-road' which leads up to Faith. Chanoine Masure does it quite efficiently in this beautiful little book. His is a high-road, already pointed out by St. Augustine and St. Thomas, along which God himself leads man to Him, speaking to him in a language which man will not fail to understand provided he listens. For all along that road man witnesses God's miraculous action and intervention, tokens of God's eternal love and of man's own supernatural destiny. Appended chapters on the nature of Faith, on the conversion of St. Paul, and a 'short catechism of apologetics' usefully complete the booklet. Chanoine Masure

does not fail to tell the reader where Catholic theologians still differ, whilst he clearly and boldly states his own views.

J. Bayart.

DOMBAU IM HEILIGEN GEIST. By JOSEF HOFER. Pp. VIII+140. *Freiburg : Herder, 1939.* Price M. 2. 50.

A good but somewhat puzzling little book. On coming to the end the reader will find some difficulty to tell what exactly its subject was. The author speaks about Scheeben, the famous theologian ; about Adolf Kolping, the saintly priest who created the flourishing organization of apprentices ; then again about the foundation and the late continuation of the cathedral of Cologne ; finally he introduces Albertus Magnus. Unfinished and incoherent sketches ? Apparently the author's idea is to bind all these loose leaves together with the one leading idea of the building of the spiritual cathedral, the kingdom of God. And indeed he finds nearly on every page an occasion to make some apt remarks about the vital laws of the growth of this kingdom on earth. Nevertheless he will scarcely escape the reproach of lack of unity. The style, however, is remarkable, rising occasionally to the level of poetry.

F. Löwenstein.

THE DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST. *A study in the history of christian doctrine since Kant.* By JOHN MARTIN CREED. Pp. X+156. *Cambridge University Press, 1938.* Price 6*s.*

This book includes the substance of six Hulsean lectures delivered in Cambridge by the author in 1936. The sub-title, 'A study in the history of Christian doctrine', is scarcely justified, since no synthetic evaluation of the various opinions is attempted, the lecturer merely recounting what modernist and Liberal writers have imagined.

In reading the book one cannot help realizing that Professor Creed is without a creed. Having quoted the Rev. Richard Watson of Trinity, 'I reduced the study of divinity into as narrow a compass as I could, for I determined to study nothing but my Bible, being unconcerned about the opinions of councils, fathers, churches, bishops, and other men, as little inspired as myself', the learned lecturer castigates him in the following words : 'We observe that Watson has lost contact with the tradition of theology.... Watson assumes the hard-won gains of his predecessors and jauntily throws to the winds a system he has never properly understood' (p. 16.) The same may be said of Professor Creed, for according to him, 'Christianity is to be made palatable by drastic reduction, and it is the theologian's function to effect this reduction.' The various Protestant denominations are proof sufficient of the result of this 'drastic reduction'.

What think you of Christ ? Whose son is he ? This question was the touchstone for the Scribes and Pharisees nineteen centuries back. The same question remains the touchstone for those who call themselves Christian. Protestant speakers at a conference held at Girton College, Cambridge, in 1921, urged that 'Christ did not claim Divinity for himself', and said : 'We must absolutely jettison the traditional notion that His (Christ's) personality was not human, but divine.' Roman Catholics, with Peter as spokesman of the Apostles, answer : 'Thou art Christ the Son of the Living God'. Math. 16/16.

F. D. D'Souza.

GODS OF THE GENTILES. By GEORGE C. RING. Pp. 349. (*40 illustrations*) *Milwaukee : Bruce, 1938.* Price $ 3.50

Father Ring does not (as the title might suggest) treat of all the pagan religions, but only of those that formed the *milieu* in which Christianity was born : the religion of the Assyro-Babylonians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. A vast amount of learning is condensed in these pages, in a form accessible to all educated readers, vivid and clear (the book has first been taught in the classroom), without the excessive simplifications into which the

popular lecturer is wont to lapse. We are not given a mere description, but a story ; we can follow the development of the great religions, intimately connected with migrations and wars. Much of this history is as yet conjectural, but the author is careful to distinguish between facts and hypotheses.

A detailed account of the five parts of the book would exceed the limits of a review. We should like to make a general remark. The author repeatedly stresses the fact that mythology is but a by-product of religion ; yet he devotes so much care and space to the analysis of the mythological farrago that some pages make difficult reading, and, above all, the high lights of the history of religion do not sufficiently stand out. Thus Greek mythology is treated with abundant detail, whilst Plato receives scant attention, and Plotinus is not even mentioned. True, Plotinus came after Christ, and, for the rest, the author probably wanted to give us an impression of the popular religion rather than to describe the ideas of an intellectual elite.

The printing is excellent, and the 32 plates are remarkable.

J. Pütz.

THE GREAT HERESIS. By HILAIRE BELLOC. Pp. 277. *London : Sheed & Ward, 1938.* Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Belloc describes only five heresies—The Arian heresy, the enduring heresy of Muhammad, the Albigensian attack, the Reformation, and the modern phase—because 'if one were to catalogue heresies marking the whole long story of Christendom, the list would almost seem endless' (p. 13). His purpose is not to give a thorough theological representation of the Catholic doctrine and its opponents, but to show the historical importance for culture and civilization of revealed religious truth and of deviation, from it : 'Our culture was made by religions' (p. 12), and therefore 'anyone who wants to understand how Europe came to be and how its changes have been caused cannot afford to treat heresy as unimportant.' (p. 9)

Naturally the chapters 'What was the Reformation ?' and 'The Modern Phase' are the most attractive as they not only appeal to the reader's historical interest but affect him immediately. There the author, whose authority in questions of the Reformation is well known, gives a survey of the rise of Protestantism and its crisis and decay, caused by its most interior principle of individualism, and the result of it in the modern phase : 'There are to-day already almost quite distinct and sharing the field between them, soon to be as markedly exposed as black and white, the Catholic Church on one side and on the other the opponents of what has hitherto been our civilization' (pp. 273-4). In the diagnosis of the present position of the Church—a diagnosis based both on a profound knowledge of history and its laws and on the experience of modern life—lies the main value of the book.

J. Neuner.

JESUS OF NAZARETH. By HILARIN FELDER, O. M. CAP. Pp. 382. *London : Coldwell, 1938.* Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Bishop Felder's *Jesus Christus : Apologie seiner Messianität und Gottheit*, first published in 1911, was a masterpiece. But it was too full of battle with the Critics to be of use to the average educated reader who wants to know what modern scholarship has ascertained about the personality of Christ without more than is absolutely necessary of the negative, controversial element which is indispensable to the apologist. It is to answer this need that Bishop Felder wrote another book in 1936, now translated into English.

It would be hard to overpraise the completeness and brevity of this book. While it approaches Our Lord from the inside (if I may so put it) rather than from what outsiders say of Him, it seems to have continually in view the difficulties and prejudices of those who do not believe in Him. This (not to speak of its author's scholarship) prevents the book from being a mere pious Life. In describing the Christology of John, for instance, Dr. Felder briefly

reviews the classical discussion on the *Logos* which every educated student of the Gospels should know. He also clearly distinguishes between the Messiah-idea and the Divine Sonship and thus forestalls the many confusions of the critics.

Neither has Dr. Felder's learning dried up his personal devotion : every line of this book unconsciously (and therefore not unctuously) breathes a manly yet tender love. Deep learning only deepens piety : Bishop Felder, like Lebreton, Prat, de Grandmaison, Lagrange, is witness.

T. N. Siqueira.

GRUNDUNG DER NEUEN JESUITEN MISSION *durch General Johann Philip Roothaan.* By JOSEF ALBERT OTTO, S. J. Pp. XXVIII+551. *Freiburg : Herder, 1939.* Price RM. 16.

This is a serious and detailed account of the missionary activity of the Jesuit Order after its restoration. In a famous Brief Pope Pius VII entrusted to this Society missions of a great part of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. Fr. Roothaan, the 'Missions-General', who held office from 1829 to 1853, carried out the Pope's orders by sending Jesuits out to all these countries.

Fr. Otto first describes the state of the world when the Society was suppressed and the circumstances that led to its revival in Russia, central Europe, and throughout the world. The internal affairs of the Society having been settled by Fr. Fortis, his successor, Fr. Roothaan, began the work of assigning different parts of the mission field to different Provinces of Europe. Indian readers will be grateful for Fr. Otto's detailed account of the early missions in Bengal, Madura, Bombay, and Ceylon. But Syria, China, Japan, Africa are also well described, though some interpretations, especially of disputes and 'schisms', are naturally not quite accurate since they are entirely based on a limited choice of records.

Perhaps even more useful to the non-Jesuit reader than this history of missions is the last part of the book where Fr. Otto interprets the missionary spirit of the Jesuit Order, the object of its missions, their methods, their place in the Church. To Jesuits, too, this will be a lamp to their feet as well as a spur.

T. N. Siqueira

INTO THE LIVING WATERS. By G. A. S. NORMAN. Pp. XVIII+182. *London : Longmans, 1939.* Price 5*s.*

This is not the usual story of a convert's home-coming. It is essentially a personal account of how a young Englishman, brought up in pious Anglican traditions and alive to the joys of music, yachting, and riding, came out to Bombay, lived in the company of his equals, discussed things, reflected, prayed . . . and had the courage to look at what he saw. There is therefore in it not the strict logical order of objection and answer, argument and counter-argument, which one expects in such a book. The reader who has transposed himself into the writer's key is carried along the path of event and inquiry, opposition and solution, till (if he is sincere and the grace of God is not turned away) he cannot help also plunging 'into the living waters'.

What is peculiar to Mr. Norman's book is that it describes the journey not only of the mind but also of the heart. It is in this sense a more complete Apologetic than converts, especially of the intellectual type, generally produce. Dedicated to his friends of Pali Hill, it will reach a much wider circle : it will appeal to all lovers of art and natural beauty, to all Englishmen similarly placed, to all men who respect objective truth. And though, as the sub-title aptly says, this is *one* man's way to the Catholic Church, it is so typical that it may be called every man's.

T. N. Siqueira.

SHORTER NOTICES

GIVE ME THY HEART. By J. GERELY. Pp. 221. *London : Coldwell, 1939.* Price 5*s.* 6*d.*

'Sooner or later every girl gives her life in pledge, whether it be to God, to her family, or to the service of her neighbour.' When her time comes to decide for herself what is to be her vocation in life she needs advice on such vital questions as marriage, divorce, motherhood, bad companions, platonic friendships, a religious calling.

Give Me Thy Heart gives this all-important guidance. In the story, written in an easy and flowing style, we follow with great interest the disappointments and perplexities of Eva, a young Catholic girl on the threshold of life, listen to the instructive explanation of serious and intricate matters by her aunt Jeanne, and eventually share in her joy when she and her husband realize in its fullness the meaning of their vow—'Till death do us part'. At a time when so many conflicting opinions are blazed abroad by various schools of thought a sound book like this is to be welcomed. It will prove invaluable to girls of every class and nationality.

Angela D'Souza.

MIND THE STOP. By G. V. Carey. Pp. 117. *Cambridge University Press, 1939.* Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Though written from Boreham Street, this little book is far from boring. Unlike others, it does not first lay down the law and then show how it is broken, but gives examples from recent writing to prove the necessity of the various stops. Mr. Carey rightly bases punctuation not only on the ear's need but also the eye's—which is after all the need of *clearness*. In the slippery path of the comma he errs neither by excess nor by defect. His chapter on proof-correcting will endear him to all who are condemned to that interesting task.

T. N. Siqueira.

MON CURE PARLE. Vol. III. By HENRY CHEVRE. Pp. 159. *Paris : Beauchesne, 1939.*

Fr. Chevré here continues and completes his fifteen-minute homilies on the Sunday Gospels. This volume takes us from the ninth Sunday after Pentecost to the twenty-fourth, the eve of Advent. The same practical sense and manly unction which we have praised in the previous volume marks this one. The three together will make a good gift not only for a busy priest but even for a serious layman.

IGNACE DE LOYOLA. By BERNARD AMOUDRU. Pp. 207. *Paris : Bonne Presse, 1939.* Price 10 *frs.*

There is nothing new in this Life of a saint about whom such contrary things have been said. But in his usual style M. Amoudru makes his 'master of heroism'a live *man*, who had to acquire what mastery he had over others through painful daily mastery over himself. This Life ought to thrill laymen and deserves to be translated.

EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS FROM THE ANCIENT LITURGIES. Chosen by Evelyn Underhill. Pp. 128. *London : Longmans, 1939.* Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

Some of these prayers have already appeared in Mr. Underhill's *The Mystery of Sacrifice*. This completer collection is arranged according to the five Acts of the Eucharistic drama : the Mass of Catechumens, which is mostly penitential ; the Offertory, ending in the Cherubic Hymn ; the Intercession ; the Consecration, with its threefold prayer—Contestatio, Anamnesis, and Epiclesis ; and the Communion. There is a wealth and a variety in these prayers from Gothic and Gallican and Gregorian and Malabar and Mozarabic and Chaldean and Armenian liturgies, which is characteristic of the *catholic* Church.

MON PETIT LIVRE DE JOIE. By ELIZABETH WAUTERS DE BESTERFELD. Pp. 97. *Paris : Desclée, 1938.* Price 4·50 *frs.*

Only long experience in teaching children can explain Miss de Besterfeld's success in writing that most difficult of books, a prayer-book for children. She does not just come down to them, she thinks and prays like them—morning and night, at Mass, at Confession and Communion, and at great events in their lives like 'quand on a réussi ses compositions', 'avant d'aller au cirque', 'quand je vais chez le dentiste'. There are also prayers for the Way of the Cross and a touching childlike prayer for the grace to suffer, under the euphemism 'à conjuguer le verbe *supporter*'. The pictures are appropriate, though a three-fronded leaf (p. 51) might not help children to understand the Blessed Trinity.

Regd. N. C 2214.

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